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THE POTENTIAL OF COMMUNITY-LED PLACEMAKING TO CREATE GENDER-INCLUSIVE PUBLIC SPACES IN MONTRÉAL

A case study of the Village au Pied-du-Courant

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I'd like to dedicate this to all the women who feel frustrated enough and brave enough to demand change in cities around the world, thanks for all you are doing.

RÉSUMÉ

Les écrits sur l'urbanisme participatif abondent et soulignent majoritairement l'importance de la participation citoyenne et la nécessité de concevoir des espaces publics inclusifs. Bien que pertinents, ces écrits n'abordent que très peu la question de la production et de l'utilisation de l'espace public conçu, notamment au regard du genre. Notre recherche vise ainsi à explorer les différentes façons dont le *placemaking*, une forme particulière d'urbanisme participatif, pourrait être une approche inclusive de production et d'appropriation de l'espace public, particulièrement pour les femmes. À partir d'un projet de placemaking reconnu à Montréal, le Village au Pied-du-Courant, nous avons exploré (1) la façon dont la participation au sein d'un processus de placemaking se réalisait (opportunités de participation, profil et rôle des participant.e.s, mécanismes de communication autour d'une initiative de placemaking) et (2) l'espace public issu de ce processus (design, programmation du site, l'usage social de cet espace et son appropriation). À cette fin, plusieurs outils de collecte de l'information ont été mobilisés. Des entretiens avec quatre expert.e.s et des practicien.ne.s internationaux ont ainsi été réalisés afin de démystifier le placemaking. Après avoir dressé un portrait du quartier où se situe le projet, nous avons également mené six entretiens avec des représentants des organisations qui chapeautent cette initiative de placemaking ainsi que cinq entretiens avec des personnes qui représentent différentes organisations locales afin de mieux comprendre comment le projet est perçu par la communauté de proximité. Sur le site, six séances d'observation – d'une durée moyenne de 2,5 heures – et 65 micros-enquêtes auprès des usagers ont été conduites. Notre recherche montre que les processus de placemaking, contrairement à d'autres formes de participation citoyenne, semblent surmonter la barrière de la participation des femmes : beaucoup de femmes sont mobilisées et motivées à participer et à fréquenter le site. Malgré cet élément d'inclusion, le profil des personnes qui participent dans le processus de placemaking et qui fréquentent la place produite est plutôt homogène et ne reflètent pas la diversité des résident.e.s locales ni de la population montréalaise plus largement.

Mots-clés : placemaking; genre; espace public; design urbain; participation; développement pris en charge par la communauté; revitalisation urbaine; urbanisme participatif; femmes; inclusion

ABSTRACT

The growing body of literature about participatory urbanism overwhelmingly heralds the importance of citizen participation and inclusive public spaces. While relevant, the literature largely neglects the issue of who is producing and using the space, particularly from a gender perspective. Our research thus sought to critically explore the ways that placemaking, a particular form of participatory urbanism, could be an inclusive process of urban public place production and usage, especially for women. On the basis of a well-known placemaking project in Montréal, the Village au Pied-du-Courant, we explored (1) the ways that people participate in a placemaking process (opportunities to participate, the profile and roles of participants, and the means of communication around a placemaking initiative), and (2) the resulting public place (design, programming of the site, the social use of space and spatial appropriation of the site). To this end, a variety of research tools were used. Key informant interviews with four international experts and practitioners were conducted to demystify placemaking. Then, after presenting a portrait of the neighbourhood where the project is located, we conducted six interviews with representatives of the lead organisations of the placemaking project as well as five interviews with representatives of local organisations to understand how the project is perceived by the surrounding community. On the site itself, we conducted six observation sessions - lasting an average of 2.5 hours - and 65 micro-surveys with users of the space. Our research demonstrates that placemaking processes, unlike other forms of citizen participation, appear to overcome the gender gap as many women participate in the processes and frequent the site. In spite of this positive element of gender inclusion, the people leading the placemaking process and using the public place produced are a rather homogenous group that does not reflect the diversity of the local residents nor of the city of Montréal more broadly.

Keywords: Placemaking; gender; public space; urban design; participation; community-led development; urban renewal; participatory urbanism; women; inclusion

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ADUQ	Association du design urbain du Québec
APM	Administration portuaire de Montréal
CAL	Comité d'action locale
CDC	Corporation de développement communautaire
CDC CS	Corporation de développement communautaire Centre-Sud
CÉAF	Centre d'éducation et d'action des femmes
CN	Canadian National Railway
CP	Canadian Pacific Railway
CQVS	Comité quartier vert et sécuritaire
CRL	Comité de revitalisation locale de Sainte-Marie
GISM	Groupe d'intervention de Sainte-Marie
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OCPM	Office de consultation publique de Montréal
PPS	Project for Public Spaces
PPU	Programme particulier d'urbanisme
RUI	Revitalisation urbaine intégrée
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SéM	Société écocitoyenne de Montréal
SISM	Société d'investissement de Sainte-Marie
UCLG	United Cities and Local Governments
UN	United Nations

INTRODUCTION

According to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2014), more people live in cities than not and women and girls are moving to cities at a faster rate than men, sometimes referred to as the 'feminization of urbanization' (Chant 2013, 11). The world becoming majority urban has resulted in increased interest in how people live and experience the city, particularly around various dualities such as inclusion or exclusion or opportunities and challenges. For example, cities are sites of opportunity for women and girls who are more likely to marry later, get an education, have freedom of sexual and gender expression and become economically independent (Chant 2013 ; Plan International 2010). Cities are thus critical spaces for the promotion and articulation of women's human rights, of empowerment and of increased gender equality. Their participation in urban development and city planning is crucial for inclusive growth in order for cities to be able to fulfill their potential as conduits of equality (Chant et McIllwaine 2016). In addition, as cities densify, the need for quality public spaces has been emphasized. In response, citizens have sought to create, animate and activate new public spaces themselves, rather than waiting for the government to provide them with permanent, formal public spaces. These new public places are developed through participatory urbanism as a form of direct citizen-led public space development.

Community participation is not only at the centre of participatory urbanism, but it is increasingly sought in traditional urban planning (Fainstein 2005b). In spite of the increasing trend towards citizen participation, many have argued that the reality is that it has rarely been done effectively, if at all (Fainstein 2005b ; Zetlaoui-Léger 2016). Several processes of citizen participation are done as part of a gold standard of practice or as a means of satisfying requirements without any real impact for change, causing many to call into question the validity and value of such an exercise (Gariepy et Gauthier 2009 ; Paulhiac-Scherrer, Scherrer et Gariépy 2012 ; Bacqué et Gauthier 2011 ; Fainstein 2012b). Several opportunities for consultations are done only after plans have been developed and are often nothing more than an exercise in futility (Fainstein 2005b ; Zetlaoui-Léger 2016 ; Beebeejaun 2017). Further, more all groups of people have the opportunity to participate as much as others.

When there is a failure to consider the multiple users of the city in its design, cities have been developed, in an arguably unconscious way, by male planners for male users (Sassen 2015), effectively ignoring the different and distinct uses and needs of women city users (Greed 2005 ;

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Chant 2013 ; Women in Cities International 2013). This results in gender gaps in urban planning, evidenced through such things as transit routes being designed to bring male workers from their peri-urban homes to their city-centre workplaces at peak hours, when the majority of bus trips are actually taken by women whose trips are often multi-purpose as they continue to bear most of the burden of household responsibilities and care (Chant 2013 ; Whitzman et al. 2013 ; Women in Cities International 2013). When it comes to citizen participation and public space design, it has been argued that ineffective public consultations and opportunities for participating in public space (re)design can thus result in the reproduction of social and spatial forms of exclusions and oppressions (Nez 2001). In fact, it has been argued that the meaningful participation of diverse women in decision making processes, particularly those who experience marginalization due to age or race or a number of other factors, has the potential for transformative impacts on shifting gender norms (Unterhalter et al. 2014).

Beyond the trend towards increased citizen participation, we note an increasing recognition of the importance of public space in cities as well. For example, it is reflected in the global Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) adopted by the United Nations (UN), particularly Goal 11 on cities, and its sub target 11.7 which reads "By 2030, provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities", and 11.3 which reads "By 2030, enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries" (United Nations 2015).

We note that urban development is facing its own duality of top down planning versus bottom up approaches, with the latter gaining traction in modern cities. These bottom-up approaches explicitly recall the importance the pioneering work on small urban public spaces of Jane Jacobs (1961) and William H. Whyte (1980). Relatedly, Henri Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city (Lefebvre 1968) has gained renewed importance in recent years in planning theory, practice and urban activism, in addition to its relevance at global normative level to adopt it as a central tenant to urban development. The New Urban Agenda, ratified in October 2016 during the United Nations' Habitat III meeting is set to guide sustainable urban development for cities in the Global North and South over the next twenty years, retains a mention of the right to the city as an approach (United Nations 2016). This is reflected in calls for increased citizen participation in urban development and governance and claimed by many citizens who assert their rights to the city by actively working on processes of participatory urbanism to claim, develop and activate public spaces.

In that sense, people-centred planning approaches that focus on the micro scale of streets, parks and other public spaces are increasingly influencing and shaping cities. Several terms are used to describe these small-scale urban projects, including 'guerilla urbanism', 'tactical urbanism', 'do it yourself urbanism', and 'urban acupuncture', which strives to effect larger city level change through a series of small scale spatially focused interventions, akin to the work of an acupuncturist. These approaches put community members at the centre of urban development, essentially offering them a role in shaping their communities. Another method that is gaining traction for public space development is placemaking.

Placemaking refers to place-specific community-driven urban planning, first piloted in cities in the USA and Canada in the 1970s, and since expanding in cities around the world (Zetlaoui-Léger 2016 ; Westfield 2017 ; Project for Public Spaces n.d.-a ; Wyckoff 2014). Placemaking asks users of a space, usually residents or local organisations, to work to reimagine underused public spaces to invest their creativity in transforming them to public places. Placemaking initiatives focus on transforming public spaces as a means of effecting community level change by transforming public spaces into places people can engage with and where bonds can develop (Kelker et Spinelli 2016 ; Project for Public Spaces n.d.-a). These processes, which frequently claim to be bottom-up, are often facilitated by local groups who have acquired a professional or experiential expertise in urban design, planning or architecture, though this is not a requirement. However, little is known about who participates and benefits from these processes, for example, how can these initiatives foster women's participation in developing urban public spaces?

While based on the principle of inclusion, a rapid literature scan reveals an important gap in terms of consideration or discussion of gender in placemaking discourse, practice and analysis, itself understudied considering its current popularity (ex. Project for Public Spaces n.d.; Montréal Urban Ecology Centre 2015). In fact, much of the work around placemaking continues to be rather idyllic, failing to consider its potential perpetuation of social and spatial exclusions related to gender, race and class, among others, both in its processes and results.

The proposed research seeks to understand the ways in which placemaking, a flexible, participatory bottom-up approach to planning, can be an inclusive process of public space development and subsequent public space appropriation, particularly for women. Literature on placemaking lacks mention of the diversity of people it purports to represent, thus the research will explore how inclusive placemaking actually is, critically assessing the process by considering diverse women's roles at various stages, especially related to decision making and designing the

public space. The research questions its potential to create gender inclusive spaces if women's needs and wants are not explicitly considered throughout, a consequence we have seen in urban planning more generally (Greed 2005 ; Mozingo 1989 ; Whitzman et al. 2013 ; Women in Cities International 2013).

Through an in-depth case study analysis, consideration of the manifestation of various forms of social and spatial inclusions and exclusions will be considered in the process and results of a recent placemaking initiative in Montréal, the Village au Pied-du-Courant. The research will draw from the fields of feminist geography (Dyck 2005), urban sociology (DeSena 2008), and feminist urban studies (Peake et Reiker 2013) as the theoretical underpinnings for the research. The research will begin to fill a current gap in existing literature around gender and placemaking in the fields of urban studies, geography and urban planning. Insights from the research will also have a broader social benefit by informing future community-led development to be gender inclusive in process and impacts, thus transforming how women use and engage with urban public spaces.

Our research begins by providing a detailed literature review in Chapter 1. As the topics we are interested in exploring - citizen participation, placemaking, public space, and women have not been previously studied all together in the literature, our literature review addresses each topic more broadly before bringing it back to the core of our research question. We begin with an exploration into the topic of citizen participation, which has been the subject of important studies in past decades. We explore some of the key contributions to the field, particularly around efforts to qualify how meaningful citizen participation is in different contexts. More recently, there are a number of articles that highlight the importance of citizen participation in the context of sustainable urban development. From there, we explore participatory urbanism and placemaking more specifically. This portion of the literature review points to important existing gaps in the knowledge base which serves to support the need for studies such as ours. To begin, we note the lack of a shared definition of the term placemaking, which is often used interchangeably with other terms related to participatory urbanism. We subsequently note the lack of shared understanding of the parameters of such public space development, noting that the fact that they are value-laden and appear to be increasing in cities around the world being the only consistent elements. This takes us to a closer examination of the literature around public spaces and public places and the important role they play in cities. In particular, we explore the place attachment people feel towards these spaces and how they can become and expression of shared identity for users of the space. Finally, we dive into the literature of women in cities, exploring the various forms of inclusion and exclusion that we note when gender is considered against opportunities for participation or for

using public space. All of this is explored through a lens of power, considering how meaningful women have been engaged in making cities and how their experience in cities is shaped by their gender identity, particularly in urban public spaces.

This literature review is followed by a presentation of our methodology in Chapter 2. In this chapter, we will begin to respond to an important gap in the literature, by operationalizing the key definitions and research dimensions that guide our study. Furthermore, this chapter serves to provide details of the various methodological choices made to fill these knowledge gaps, including information about the tools used, the sampling and the data analysis. Our research made use of different methods to generate data on what we perceive to be a knowledge gap, including interviews, surveys, photography, documentary analysis and observations. In this Chapter we also introduce the research site that is the basis of our case study. The site is presented in the context of the local neighbourhood where it is based. Finally, we present the measures taken to ensure that our research complied with ethical standards.

In Chapter 3, we present the research findings from our key informant interviews with four international experts on the topic of placemaking to understand how practitioners comprehend and practice placemaking in cities around the world. We used this as a time to generate the first data we came across about women's participation in placemaking processes more specifically. The information from these interviews is presented in Chapter 3, a chapter aimed at demystifying placemaking. In addition, we explore the process of placemaking, including the efforts taken to ensure that processes are inclusive, where possible. Finally, we share the results from our exchanges with the experts about gender gaps and potential for placemaking to overcome gender gaps in participation and planning with the key informants.

In Chapter 4, we present the results of our interviews with six leaders involved in the development of placemaking the Village au Pied-du-Courant along with the results of five interviews with representatives of local organisations who work with different groups of people. Specifically, in our first section we will draw from our interviews with representatives from other organisations who are based in the Sainte-Marie neighborhood to understand how they and their respective clientele perceive the changes in the neighbourhood in recent years. These interviews provide key insight into how local residents and people whose daily lives are based in the Sainte Marie neighbourhood perceive and use public spaces, including the Village au Pied-du-Courant. In addition, a history of neighbourhood activism in reaction to these plans and changes is presented to attest to the local participation, activism and engagement.

In addition, the results from our semi-structured interviews with the placemaking leaders who led the development of the Village au Pied-du-Courant are presented in the second part of Chapter 4. Specifically, we conducted interviews with people who were directly involved in the conception, development, and programming of the Village au Pied-du-Courant in various capacities. This includes interviews with the lead organisations who develop and manage the Village, as well as various local organisations who have been involved in the design, conception, animation or overall strategic thinking around the project. This section presents the history and evolution of the development of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, from a temporary to an annual public place, and its migration from the Peel Basin to the Sainte Marie neighbourhood.

The final section in Chapter 4 unpacks the process of participating in the placemaking process of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, our first research dimension. Specifically, the section sheds light on the profiles of the people and organisations involved in developing the Village au Pied-du-Courant. We go on to explore the different ways in which people can and do participate, with particular consideration of the roles and potential contributions of various people and organisations. Finally, we explore the aspect of communications about the Village au Pied-du-Courant to understand how people can learn how to be involved, how they hear about the public place and who acts as a spokesperson for the site.

Our next results chapter is Chapter 5 where we present the results related to our second research dimension, the public place. To this end, we highlight the results from our site observations and photography to better understand who the users of the public place were and what the uses of the space were. In addition, we present the results from the 65 microsurveys that we conducted *in situ.* This Chapter sheds light into the spatial and temporal patterns of the use of the site. We also considered the quality of the public space, considering elements such as the comfort, accessibility and aesthetic of the place. In addition, we explored the programming of the site to see how this changed who was using the site and for what purposes. Further, the microsurveys serve to supplement our perspectives of the site from our observations. They provide user-generated insight into what motivates people to go to the site, with whom they came, the frequency with which they come and what they appreciate or what they would change about the site. The findings from these methods were brought together and presented in Chapter 5, about the public place the Village au Pied-du-Courant.

Our research findings and conclusions are presented in Chapter 6. In this chapter, we respond to our initial research question - in what ways is placemaking an inclusive process of urban public

place production and usage, especially for women? Our findings highlight the lack of clear parameters and definitions of what constitutes a placemaking process. We find that there are important challenges related to mobilization and exclusion that present challenges for it to be meaningfully inclusive of diverse people. We then highlight the importance of appropriation and ownership of public places, as these elements are intricately related to inclusion. Finally, we offer some indicative conclusions that placemaking appears to have the potential to overcome many of the gender gaps related to participation and public place use. However, when we consider gender against a number of other factors, we observe that the Village au Pied-du-Courant placemaking project fails to be representative of the diversity of women and girls, including those living most closely to the project site. We conclude with a brief discussion of the future of placemaking, Sainte Marie and the Village au Pied-du-Courant.

CHAPTER 1: INCLUSIVE BOTTOM UP URBAN PLANNING: FACT OR FICTION

This chapter seeks to present an overview of the existing literature on topics related to citizen participation in public space development processes from a critical lens around gender and social exclusion. More specifically, an overview of the citizen participation in urban planning and design processes will be offered. Here we will explore the degree of citizen participation in the different strategies used, including both top-down and bottom-up approaches. Following this, we will explore the emergence of active citizen participation in creating, activating and maintaining public space, particularly as they relate to the tactical urbanism and placemaking movements. We will then go on to explore the gendered differences in urban public space experience, considering factors such as safety and sense of safety, acceptable uses, and exclusions. We will also highlight gender gaps in the process and results of urban planning and design, with a focus on exploring issues of social exclusion or inclusion in the production of such spaces and in their subsequent uses. Finally, we will provide an overview of how these various factors - citizen participation, public space production, gender and social exclusion - are currently being played out. This review of the literature will serve to anchor our research and demonstrate its contribution to a body of knowledge that lacks a critical lens around gender and social exclusion.

1.1 Citizen Participation in Making the City

1.1.1 Citizen Participation: strengths and weaknesses

Citizen participation in urban development is often positioned as a good practice, seen as being more democratic and aligned with the goals of sustainable development (Paulhiac-Scherrer, Scherrer et Gariépy 2012 ; Gariepy et Gauthier 2009). Citizen participation can take many different forms and the redistribution of power, which has an impact on how meaningful their participation is (Arnstein 1969) varies greatly. Further, it has been reasoned that the process of participation is as important as the tangible results of that participation (Chevrier et Panet-Raymond 2013 ; Andres 2011). Some have argued that the great variance in the possible forms and impacts of citizen participation means that the definition remains vague and takes on different forms in different contexts (Folco 2016). Either way, it is clear that while citizen engagement is increasingly

positioned as a core element of urban development (Gariepy et Gauthier 2009 ; Bacqué et Gauthier 2011 ; Racine 2017), and numerous efforts to encourage citizen participation in urban issues is increasingly common (Bacqué et Gauthier 2011), this was not always the case.

In the first half of the 20th century, it was common practice that urban planning was developed by professionals and the city through a top-down planning process. In her seminal work, J. Jacobs (1961) challenged this form of decision-making, arguing that it was too far removed from the everyday needs and practices of city residents. Her reflections brought a conversation around city development to the neighbourhood level where arguments in favor of mixed use and quality public services and spaces in close proximity to where one lives began to define quality of life in cities. She argued for local participation in decision-making for issues that would affect them directly. The 1960s also saw the emergence of community design (A. Jacobs et Appleyard 1987) and advocacy planning, which positioned considerations of social justice and equity at the heart of planning decisions (Fainstein 2012a). Others too began questioning top down approaches to planning in the 1960s and 70s (Finn 2014a), calling for a paradigm shift and increased citizen participation in urban development, particularly at the neighbourhood scale and for consideration of the quality of public spaces and everyday urban life (Lynch 1960).

Soon after, with the publication of their Urban Design Manifesto, A. Jacobs et Appleyard (1987) offered their vision for what this paradigm shift, away from the top-down functionalist approach to city building. They argue that "people should feel that some part of the environment belongs to them, individually and collectively, some part for which they care and are responsible, whether they own it or not" (A. Jacobs et Appleyard 1987, 115). By the 2000s, citizen participation in urban development, "shifts in the thinking about citizens' roles in urban planning, design and policymaking were also taking place" (Finn 2014a, 386). The paradigm shift to a post-functionalist model, based on communicative planning theory was also observed (Éthier 2017). Simultaneously, an important increase in citizen-led urban initiatives can also be observed, but it has been criticized that this trend has yet to be adequately studied and incorporated into planning theory (Silva 2016). Similarly, analysing and assessing the degree of citizen participation, in a context as dynamic and complex as the city, has proven to be a challenge.

For many, Arnstein's (1969) seminal work in which she proposed a hierarchical ladder of the degrees of citizen participation, represented by eight rungs ranging from manipulation to citizen control remains relevant today (Bacqué et Gauthier 2011 ; Racine 2017). Since Arnstein's ladder, a great number of new forms of citizen participation have emerged (Racine 2017 ; Bacqué et

Gauthier 2011), and some have criticized that the vast diversity of means of participation today can be contradictory or unclear (Folco 2016), thus making it difficult to assess in terms of its influence and inclusion. To illustrate, the various modalities of citizen participation used today range from simple information-sharing or consultation (Folco 2016) to surveys, meetings with citizens and the inclusion of members of the community in working groups (Chevrier et Panet-Raymond 2013), to public assemblies, referendums, participatory budgeting, advisory groups, and roundtables (Bacqué et Gauthier 2011) to co-creation and co-design (Racine 2017) to community appropriation, temporary use of space, and citizen designed and managed spaces (Mould 2014). Finally, with the increasing institutionalisation of public participation (Paulhiac-Scherrer, Scherrer et Gariépy 2012), new policies and entities intended to facilitate such processes are being created.

In 2006, Fung offered a framework for understanding public participation in the context of complex governance (Fung 2006). He proposes a three-dimensional model dubbed 'the democracy cube' to represent his framework for analyzing public participation, based on three distinct but interrelated elements: who participates, what are the communication and decision-making processes, and what authority is given to the participants in terms of the impacts of their participation (Fung 2006). Within each of these elements there is a degree of nuance and different forms that they take, which are reflected in the specifics of the process of participation itself. His framework responds in part to criticisms that Arnstein's ladder fails to capture the nuances of participation today, which are often complex, involving multiple steps, forms of engagement, and opportunities for influence (Bherer 2011). Where her ladder was concerned primarily with the third dimension of the cube - authority, Fung (2006) dismisses this, arguing that citizen control is not always desired, and should therefore not be positioned at the height of the ladder, implying that it is the most desired or best means of engaging the public.

While the literature reveals a positive bias in favor of citizen participation (Bacqué et Gauthier 2011 ; Folco 2016), this does not mean that all participation is positive. Lack of awareness about the process, overly technical plans and lack of confidence in the process and in the results, all act as barriers to participation. Furthermore, power dynamics continue to play an important role in both the processes and results of citizen participation efforts and public space development (Iveson 2013). As Arnstein (1969) notes, participation without a redistribution of power is not meaningful participation. There is an inherent power differential in all citizen participation efforts aimed at informing urban development. Iveson (2013) describes this as "the shaping and reshaping of urban spaces is a product of complex power-geometries, as different actors seek to determine who and what the city is for" (942). The average citizen does not have formal training

in urban planning and architecture and does not understand the nuances of norms and regulations which guide these processes, putting them at a disadvantage. When processes are too formal or not accessible in terms of their location and language, they can also cause exclusion. Further, it is important to always question who participates. The process of participation itself runs the risk of reproducing exclusions, reflected in who feels that they have the capacity to participate (Nez 2001).

Cities are working to overcome barriers to participation by looking to information communication technologies to try new and innovative ways of facilitating community participation. For example, there are now online platforms where residents can vote on what businesses they want in their neighbourhoods[1], and mobile applications such as CitySwipe which allows users to "swipe right" to support proposed projects, or left to oppose them, inspired by Tinder's famous online dating platform (Wainwright 2017).

1.1.2. The Growing Importance of Citizen Participation

The assertion of one's right to the city as an assertion of one's right to participate in shaping the city is a growing trend in cities today (Peake 2017). As noted earlier, this is reflected by an increase in citizen participation, seen as being increasingly important in urban development projects in cities today (Gariepy et Gauthier 2009 ; Bacqué et Gauthier 2011 ; Chevrier et Panet-Raymond 2013 ; Racine 2017). Citizen participation has become a critical component for the governance of urban development initiatives (Nez 2001 ; Paulhiac-Scherrer, Scherrer et Gariépy 2012). Citizen participation is seen as a way of legitimizing planning processes (Finn 2014a ; Silva 2016). The increasing attention by both developers and local authorities to community-led public space development corresponds to the broader shift towards participatory and collaborative approaches to urban planning policies and practices that we have observed over the past years (Thorpe 2018). In response to this, there is an increased pressure on architects and urbanists to ensure that the community participate in the elaboration of urban development initiatives (Racine 2017).

The increased pressure to encourage public participation is in part a recognition of an inherent expertise of local communities about their own neighborhoods (Talen 2015). The *"savoir d'usage"* that they gain through their daily lives, filled with frustrations, challenges and ideas about what they need and what could work has the potential to provide great insight to cities and developers

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[1] See www.potloc.ca for example.

for building successful urban spaces (Nez 2001, 392). This local knowledge works to fill a knowledge gap (Fung 2006) on the part of experts or politicians.

Many have been critical of such participation efforts, arguing that they are merely symbolic and do not lead to real change or shift in power structures. For example, Lydon et al. (2011) offer the following critical explanation of ineffectual participation, "in the pursuit of progress, citizens are typically invited to engage in a process that is fundamentally broken: rather than being asked to contribute to incremental change at the neighborhood or block level, residents are asked to react to proposals that are often conceived for interests disconnected from their own, and at a scale for which they have little control" (1). Some argue that this local knowledge is not enough, and that there must be additional support to build the capacities of citizens to be able to participate effectively (Chevrier et Panet-Raymond 2013). Further, notwithstanding these dynamics and different objectives, it is important to consider both the process and the results of citizen participation when considering its impact, relevance and potential for success or failure (Chevrier et Panet-Raymond 2013 ; Andres 2011). Fung's democracy cube (2006) allows for increased nuanced analysis of the participation process and results.

There are a number of efforts by cities and developers to encourage participation, there are many citizens who are organising and taking matters into their own hands to change their cities. The articulation of the right to the city is expanding to include the right to participate in making the city, and expressions of what some have dubbed the "neo-Lefebvrian 'right to the city,' have come to the fore as a means of reclaiming urban spaces" (Beebeejaun 2017, 324). There is an emergence of more involved citizen-led urban public space development initiatives that can be classed at the higher end of Arnstein's ladder of participation, namely citizen power, and citizen control (1969), and it has been suggested that we now live in a culture of participation (Britton). While Arnstein intended for this to mean the state or power holder sharing their power and abdicating control to citizens (Arnstein 1969), bureaucratic processes and traditional control over power and resources mean that this remained in the hands of a few. These new practices emerged as a response to these frustrations and to top down urbanism, in an effort to demonstrate that things could be done quickly, easily and at low-cost, urban activists began reclaiming unused public spaces or taking over parking spots to demonstrate alternate uses of public space and ways of making cities more liveable (Mould 2014 ; LaFrombois 2017 ; Douay et Prévot 2016). While not new, these approaches are gaining momentum (Wyckoff 2014 ; Mould 2014). The energy, creativity and engagement of citizens involved in such processes has the potential to contribute to urban development and building a sense of ownership, affinity and identity with the city. Finn (2014a)

has suggested that this could be introduced as way to "generate ideas and input in parallel with the other kinds of public participation that are already central in planning orthodoxy" (382). This focus on citizen participation is not only used for big development projects, but also for smaller projects and for public spaces. In fact, citizens themselves are taking the initiative and leadership to evaluate and generate new public places, or to transform public spaces into quality public places in cities around the world, through both physical interventions, such as urban furniture, or through programming, such as an outdoor picnic in a street. These interventions are collectively referred to as participatory urbanism.

1.1.3 Participatory Urbanism: an emerging social and political movement

Participatory urbanism as we recognise it today first made its appearance in the 1960s and 70s in the form of experimental architecture and pop-up temporary design that served "as both practical solutions to urban issues as well as mechanisms for social commentary" (Finn 2014a, 386). This, coupled with the emergence of advocacy planning which introduced normative goals, such as social equity and inclusion of marginalised groups into planning (Finn 2014a ; Fainstein 2012a), saw urban public spaces as potential sites for democratic participation and social inclusion. Following J. Jacobs (1961) observations of public spaces, especially streets, it was Whyte (1980) work that is credited as having a major influence on stimulating an interest in public space. Quality public space is increasingly seen as a public service, and public spaces have been referred to as "the only spaces in cities where people from all social classes can meet and engage on the same level with the same rights" (United Cities and Local Governments 2016, 14). This implies a social justice and equity function of public space.

Prior to Whyte (1980) seminal work *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*, the potential use and importance of public space for the quality of life in cities was understudied and overlooked. Inspired by J. Jacobs (1961) and others, Whyte sought to understand why some public spaces worked and others did not, thus offering a model for public space development that could be used to maximize the potential success of the space. The American Fred Kent was a research assistant on Whyte's seminal work as part of his *Street Life Project* went on to found the organisation Project for Public Spaces (PPS) in 1975. PPS is a professional placemaking organisation focused on involving people in actively shaping or reshaping public space design, use, and programming to make quality public spaces. PPS continues to be regarded by practitioners and academics alike as the leading reference for placemaking to this day (Douay et Prévot 2016).

Others were also inspired to draw from the work of Whyte and Lefebvre to encourage participation in public space design, leading to the emergence of participatory urbanism. Drawing from Whyte's work, and applying Lefebvre (1968) concept of the right to the city which has been revisited to insist on the right to participate in making the city (Harvey 2009). Participatory urbanism, which engages citizens in shaping their public spaces, has been on the rise for the last few decades but has growing exponentially in recent years in cities around the world (Mould 2014 ; Finn 2014a ; Ferraris 2016). The right to the city, understood as a new kind of human right (Harvey 2008) is now considered to be a movement unto itself (Finn 2014a) and is enshrined in international normative agreements, notably the New Urban Agenda (United Nations 2016). The right to the city continues to guide efforts characteristic to participatory urbanism which seek to engage people in reshaping and investing in transforming public spaces into places of affinity and attachment (Ferraris 2016 ; Iveson 2013). Further, the framing of participatory urbanism actions under the banner of the right to the city removes some elements of contestation and confrontation, as it reframes interventions in the positive banner of equity and assertion of equality (Iveson 2013).

Placemaking efforts, aimed at transforming public spaces into places of sociability and attachment, have expanded globally. For example, several European cities like Berlin have been promoting small-scale placemaking efforts in recent years which emphasize the use of temporary placemaking as ways to rethink urban development and use of space (Finn 2014a). Such efforts allow citizens to make use of the space while simultaneously transforming it (Silva 2016). More recently, in 2010, the American Street Plans Collaborative, led by Mike Lydon coined the term tactical urbanism and produced the first in a series of manuals by the same name that continue to be the key reference materials for professionals today (Douay et Prévot 2016).

Douay et Prévot (2016) explain the rise in popularity of participatory urbanism as the results of a renewed sense of civic engagement coupled with interest in public life and a DIY culture, that makes use of information and communication technologies to learn and share knowledge and images about public space interventions (7). They argue that it is the convergence of these four dynamics created the context for participatory urbanism to thrive in today's cities. Several authors contend that these approaches are forms of protest by urban activists (ex. (Mould 2014). For example, Talen (2015) asserts that they "in direct opposition to top-down, capital intensive, and bureaucratically sanctioned urban change (…) most often associated with urban planning" (135). Others argue that they simply reflect a transformation from seeking individualism and isolation to striving for connection and social inclusion (Éthier 2017). Bérubé et Giaufret (2017) argue that appropriating unused spaces is one of the most important ways of connecting space and

sociability and contend all unused spaces, be they cement or wild plant growth, have the potential to be transformed if citizens are willing to invest in them, even if only symbolically. Either way, it is clear that participatory urbanism puts public space at the centre of urban life (Douay et Prévot 2016), thus highlighting the central role it plays in the daily life for urban citizens.

Urban activism and a demonstrated will of citizens to take ownership of their neighbourhood spaces and processes have given rise to a number of smaller scale participatory redevelopment initiatives through a variety of approaches under a banner of names including guerilla urbanism, tactical urbanism, do it yourself (DIY) urbanism, urban acupuncture, and placemaking, with equivalent diversity in the French literature (Ferraris 2016 ; Douay et Prévot 2016). These typically go beyond participation in the form of consultations to citizen-led and managed development of urban spaces, often associated with the tactical urbanism movement (Mould 2014). Traditionally conceived as forms of bottom up urban planning where citizens, who do not necessarily have a professional background in urban planning or architecture, are able to act as agents of change in the redevelopment of urban spaces (Douay et Prévot 2016), they are increasingly professionalised and institutionalised (Mould 2014). The objectives of such forms of participatory urbanism are often value-driven, citing such things as public safety and equity. They are often positioned as solutions to neighbourhood level challenges that respond to social needs and are largely temporary or transitory and allow for testing out new ideas and concepts before investing politically and financially in seeing them implemented as permanent solutions (Lydon et al. 2011 ; Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Talen 2015 ; Thorpe 2018). In this sense, they are often positioned as temporary initiatives that can lead to more permanent transformation, in terms of how space is produced, what it looks like, and how it is used (Silva 2016).

There has been a notable rise in such practices in recent years, with several going so far as to refer to these forms of participatory urbanism as a movement (Finn 2014a ; Silva 2016 ; Mould 2014 ; Douay et Prévot 2016). The rise in popularity is attributed in part to the global financial crisis of 2008 (Mould 2014 ; Lydon et al. 2012), changing demographics with an increase in young and educated people, as well as retirees, wanting to stay and live in urban centres (Lydon et al. 2012), and the communicative and collective intelligence potential of the internet and social media (Lydon et al. 2012 ; Bérubé et Giaufret 2017). The growth in these practices in recent years has given rise to a budding body of literature, though many consider that it remains understudied (Douay et Prévot 2016), and Iveson (2013) goes to far as to say ""at present, we are not quite sure how to describe what is happening" (941). In spite of this, there is no consistent definition of distinction between these various appellations, even among experts (Éthier 2017). Many articles

simply include several lines of possible alternative names for a same or similar practice, acknowledging that they are often used interchangeably. Finn (2014a) recognises this and states that "for a movement that goes by perhaps dozens of names, the lack of unifying theory or definition (…) is no surprise" (382). Similarly, the practices make claim to a wide variety of urban interventions, ranging from chair bombing (introducing low-cost upcycled materials in public space to create seating); to guerilla gardening (unsanctioned gardening in unused spaces); to pop up shops and cafés; food trucks; and pedestrian streets, to cite a few (Lydon et al. 2011).

These citizen efforts to transform and activate public space (Douay et Prévot 2016) all fit within a continuum of participatory urbanism. As noted above, academics and professionals alike refer to and rely on the knowledge produced by groups such as the Project for Public Spaces and the Street Plans Collaborative[2], whose information is widely shared and made available through digital means (Douay et Prévot 2016).

1.2 Participatory Urbanism: multiple names, approaches and results

1.2.1. Synonymous Appellations or Deficient Definitions

The first thing we notice when we begin to research participatory urbanism is that there is a multitude of terms used to describe this approach, the way the approaches are defined is often contradictory or so generalised that they fail to retain meaning, and that there is an overall lack of clarify in the terms used to describe citizen participation in public space development and redevelopment. While categorizations, such as tactical urbanism, are relatively new, they are staking claim over other efforts that predate them by decades, including guerilla gardening (Lydon et al. 2012) or temporary street closures for public art and festivals (Hartley et al. 2014), in an effort to bring together a broader umbrella category for modest short-term urban interventions. Hartley et al. (2014) agree that the tactics themselves are not new, and asserts that their rise in popularity in cities around the world demonstrates that there is "something new – the desire for a more democratic, equitable, fast-paced and flexible way of making cities" (7). Similarly, Cities for People (2016) argue that the roots of placemaking are much older, going back to Aboriginal culture that predates our modern city planning, by the placement of symbolic elements including inuksuk's

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[2] Consequently, this literature review captures both grey literature and academic literature to ensure that it accurately assessed and presents the knowledge available on the processes, practices and results participatory urbanism.

which then marked a space a place, and Talen (2015) argues that it harkens back to early 19th century citizen engagement. While the practice had existed for some time, it only started to be commonly referred to as "placemaking" in the 1990s, and has been gaining traction in recent years (Project for Public Spaces n.d.-b), now even being offered as a graduate degree by Pratt Institute[3] (Pratt n.d.).

Not all authors agree on what overarching term should be used to describe diverse phenomena. For example, Finn (2014a) considers that cities around the world are witnessing a "new brand of citizen-led placemaking activities" that include tactical urbanism and pop-up urbanism and a number of other categories that he goes on to assert are part of a wider "do-it-yourself (DIY) movement" (381). As noted earlier, Lydon et al. (2011) group these forms of participatory urbanism and urban interventions as 'tactical urbanism' (Lydon et al. 2012 ; Hartley et al. 2014). Finally, Zimmermann (2016), on the other hand, classifies all of these practices on a continuum of placemaking, categorizing event-based interventions such as pop ups as "temporary placemaking" (54) and temporary tactical urbanism interventions as "tactical placemaking initiatives" (57). Further, the authors themselves fluctuate in their use of terms. For example, the lead author of the Tactical Urbanism vol. 4 (Hartley et al. 2014) is a self-described placemaking professional (Studio n.d.), and photos of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, described by the instigators as a placemaking initiative (La Pépinière espaces collectifs n.d.) has been used as an example to illustrate DIY Urbanism (Thorpe 2018) and tactical urbanism (Éthier 2017).

It is not only the fluidity of the umbrella names that fluctuate from one author to the next, but also the definitions of the phenomena they are describing. Specifically, seemingly opposing characteristics may be used to describe the phenomena, resulting in catch-all descriptions. Let us illustrate by exploring how authors address the question of whether these actions are authorised or not. In their pioneering work, (Lydon et al. 2011) opted for an inclusive and flexible definition by asserting that the activities are "sometimes sanctioned, sometimes not" (1). By the second edition of their work, released one year later, Lydon et al. (2012) introduced 'hybrid' as an additional category to mediate between sanctioned and unsanctioned (7), thus capturing widely diverse forms of urban interventions and claiming them as 'tactical urbanism'. Not everyone agrees with such flexible catch all definitions. Mould (2014), for example, asserts that tactical urbanism that is

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[3] The Pratt Institute was founded in 1887 in New York City. It is a prestigious private higher education institution offering courses to undergraduate and graduate students in the select fields including art, design and architecture. See https://www.pratt.edu/the-institute/ for more information.

sanctioned or institutionalised ceases to be tactical urbanism, while others argue that the unsanctioned nature of tactical urbanism was prominent in American cities but not in other contexts, including Australia and New Zealand where it is often initiated or at least sanctioned by the local authority (Hartley et al. 2014). Either way, the rise of such practices, particularly those that are unsanctioned, present a challenge for urban governance (Finn 2014a). Governments responses have ranged from ignoring it (LaFrombois 2017 ; Finn 2014a) to accepting and institutionalising it (Cities for People 2016 ; Hartley et al. 2014) with little mention of the imposition of any sanctions for interventions that are otherwise not quite legal, including something as banal as yarn bombing (Mould 2014).

The use of catch all defining characteristics remains true for many other elements. Iveson (2013) offers a list of such contradictions, including: periphery to centre; public to private, authored to anonymous and collective to anonymous, to name a few. Some authors have cautioned against grouping all of the activities together (Thorpe 2018 ; Iveson 2013), arguing that, all of these contradictions, catchall terms, and all-encompassing definitions make it difficult to research or even properly evaluate these practices (Iveson 2013). Let us consider the following additional contradictions, themselves inherent to the very definition of the such forms of participatory urbanism, as illustrated in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: The Diverse Forms of Participatory Urbanism

The Diverse Forms of Participatory Urbanism	
Scale	**Small scale** (Iveson 2013 ; Finn 2014a ; Talen 2015); local (Ferraris 2016 ; de la Llata 2016) **Different scales** (Silva 2016);
Cost	**Low cost***: (Finn 2014a ; Ferraris 2016 ; de la Llata 2016 ; Talen 2015 ; Éthier 2017); lighter, quicker, cheaper (Project for Public Spaces n.d.-a ; Lydon et al. 2011) ; **High cost** (Finn 2014a ; Lang et Rothenberg 2017)
Degree of formality	**Informal** (Ferraris 2016) **Formal and informal:** "self-organised processes can be somewhere between formal and informal spheres" (Silva 2016, 1041); connect the formal and informal (Éthier 2017)**;** **Formal:** governments must balance regulation and deregulation (United Cities and Local Governments 2016, 10)
Interventions	**City as a lab,** a way to test out new ideas (Lydon et al. 2011 ; Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Talen 2015 ; Thorpe 2018 ; Ferraris 2016 ; Silva 2016 ; Éthier 2017 ; Banville 2016) **Events-based** (Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Éthier 2017): street closures for public art and festivals (Hartley et al. 2014) **Microscale interventions :** Guerilla gardening (Lydon et al. 2012); pop up shops (Éthier 2017) parklets (Mould 2014)
Temporality	**Temporality:** *Temporary* (Talen 2015 ; Finn 2014a): short-term (Lydon et al. 2011 ; de la Llata 2016); "plus ou moins temporaire" (Douay et Prévot 2016, 2); light (Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Project for Public Spaces n.d.-a ; Banville 2016 ; Silva 2016) ; *Can be temporary or permanent***:** some start as temporary but are then made permanent (Lydon et al. 2011 ; Silva 2016) **Degree of forethought:** *Spontaneous* (Finn 2014a ; Ferraris 2016 ; Éthier 2017); unplanned (Silva 2016) *Planned***:** more complex and concerted efforts (Ferraris 2016)
Who initiates and leads	**Bottom up** (Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Ferraris 2016 ; Silva 2016) Activist-led (Silva 2016 ; Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Mould 2014 ; Talen 2015 ; Hartley et al. 2014 ; Lydon et al. 2011) grassroots urban activists (Talen 2015); "vigilante urbanism" (Finn 2014a, 382) Citizen-led (Éthier 2017); resident-generated (Talen 2015) **Bottom-up or top-down** (Hartley et al. 2014*)* **Top down** Increasingly professionalised and politicized (Silva 2016 ; Mould 2014) City-led (Hartley et al. 2014 ; Lydon et al. 2011) urban design collectives **(**Éthier 2017)
Profile of participants	**Citizens** (Silva 2016 ; Ferraris 2016): resident-generated (Talen 2015); citizens are engaged in the collective effort of making the place (Douay et Prévot 2016); the citizen designer (Finn 2014a)**;** educated young professionals, white, millennials, not property owners (Thorpe 2018) **Either citizens or professionals:** (Éthier 2017) **Professionals:** embraced by the design community (Finn 2014a)
Values and objectives	**The importance of everyday lived experiences** (Finn 2014a ; Talen 2015); quality of life (Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Lydon et al. 2011 ; Lydon et al. 2012); more flexible (Hartley et al. 2014); **Human centred:** *People first* (Douay et Prévot 2016) *pedestrian* (Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Éthier 2017); connection, socio-spatial inclusion (Éthier 2017); social urbanism (Douay et Prévot 2016) social inclusion (Talen 2015 ; Lydon et al. 2011). **Alternative model** that is quicker and less costly (Lydon et al. 2012 ; Silva 2016 ; Iveson 2013 ; Hartley et al. 2014).

Source: K. Travers

1.2.2 Participatory Urbanism: objectives, values, cost, scale and temporality

As illustrated in Table 1.1 many authors offer contradictory characteristics as defining characteristics of participatory urbanism, consequently resulting in catch all definitions that remain vague and overly generalised. The efforts at finding a common name was acknowledged by Éthier (2017) who referred to it as an attempt *"d'encapsuler ces pratiques à contours flous"* (125). In spite of such contradictions, some trends do emerge across the literature.

Many of the stated objectives of the multiple forms of participatory urbanism are value-driven, aligned with normative goals including social and environmental justice (Thorpe 2018), connection and socio-spatial inclusion (Éthier 2017), class integration (Talen 2015) or simply to contributing to beautifying the city (Thorpe 2018). By focusing on local, small scale public spaces, the aim is to positively impact the everyday lives of urban residents (Talen 2015). Some view the extent of the proliferation of such initiatives positively, arguing that they reveal an optimism about the city (Talen 2015). This is articulated by Finn (2014a) who stated "DIY urban design, if nothing else, is evidence that there are citizens out there in the world who care about their communities and are willing to spend time, effort and, often, their own money to make their neighborhoods better, at least by their own definition" (Finn 2014a, 393). On the other hand, participation can be motivated by pessimism and cynicism. For those people, their participation may be fueled by apprehensions about social exclusion and gentrification (Thorpe 2018). Through a series of interviews with people involved in DIY initiatives, Thorpe (2018) found that most did not feel that their interventions were forms of protest, but rather that they were contributing to beautifying and making improvements to their city.

A number of authors argue that these forms of participatory urbanism - DIY urbanism, tactical urbanism and placemaking - are intended to showcase an alternative form of citizen participation and urban space development that is more efficient (Lydon et al. 2012 ; Silva 2016). In this sense, they are understood as efforts to confront and challenge traditional planning approaches that are too lengthy and costly (Hartley et al. 2014 ; Talen 2015). They are motivated by the need for more open space and to challenge how space is allocated and developed (Finn 2014a). In spite of the centrality of place in the discourse, with few exceptions, such as Iveson (2013) who points to the location in the periphery as well as the city center as another example of a contraction, the literature does not place a great deal of emphasis on the location of the interventions. It does, however, highlight that participatory urbanism can be used to showcase the potential use of otherwise underused and ignored spaces (Ferraris 2016). It can be used as a cost-effective way

of activating spaces that are between designated uses, including old rail ways or industrial spaces and prior to a big development project (Éthier 2017).

Many authors seem to agreed that participatory urbanism is a low-cost solution to city building (Finn 2014a ; Ferraris 2016 ; Talen 2015). It has been argued that it being low-cost played an important role in its proliferation following the 2008 financial crisis (Mould 2014). This has been embraced by authors and practitioners who brand it a "lighter, quicker, cheaper" way of building public spaces, thus implying that it is less costly not only in terms of financial resources, but also in terms of time and administration (Project for Public Spaces n.d.-a ; Lydon et al. 2011). Many make use of materials that they can recycle or upcycle materials that are available to them as a means of limiting costs (Hartley et al. 2014), the emblematic example being wood pallets (Éthier 2017). While the city does invest in some select efforts, particularly in cities where such practices are institutionalised (Cities for People 2016), the majority of participatory urbanism interventions are privately-financed. For smaller scale projects, this can be accomplished through microloans to develop public space (Talen 2015) or through small foundation grants (Cities for People 2016), larger efforts, including New York City's iconic High Line, require much larger and sustained private funding to support management and maintenance efforts (Lang et Rothenberg 2017).

While the scale of interventions can vary, as noted above, almost all authors agree that the scale of the interventions occurs at a local level, further qualified by some as 'microscale' (Finn 2014a ; Iveson 2013). Several authors probed the significance of scale, conceding that it reflects an attempt to build a space at a human scale (Banville 2016), but questioning whether such small scale efforts would results in the broader change that is desired (Talen 2015 ; Banville 2016). Others defended the scale, arguing that interventions could be taken to scale to have a bigger impact at the city level (Hartley et al. 2014), though, as Iveson (2013) points out, the connection of small scale participatory interventions in public space with the broader systems and structures remains vague, consequently making this broader objective difficult to evaluate.

While the connection to other local processes may remain vague, it has been noted that urban processes have undergone a major transformation related to scale - they have gone global (Harvey 2008). It appears that participatory urbanism has followed this trend and the ease of access and availability of the internet and social media have allowed for a virtual community of participatory urbanism practitioners to be created to share information and exchange best practices and can even be an important source of information for research on the subject (Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Éthier 2017 ; Thorpe 2018). Douay et Prévot (2016) refer to open source tactical

urbanism and point out that these interventions make the city itself more open source. These global connections offer an opportunity to expand the impact and memory of interventions that are otherwise often temporary.

Many of the interventions associated with these forms of participatory intervention are describes as "spontaneous interventions intended to improve the public's urban experience" (Finn 2014b, 381). This notion of spontaneity and temporality recurs throughout the literature (Éthier 2017 ; Lydon et al. 2011). There are, however, some examples of how short-term interventions transformed into permanent interventions. The Build a Better Block initiative in the USA is one such example (Lydon et al. 2011), which consequently implies the formalisation of the initiative as well. It has been argued that unplanned and self-governed projects are an increasingly important part of urban processes (Silva 2016), so a transfer in governance is not always sought for there to be long-term change. In NYC, for example, the High Line remains a space that is managed and maintained by the Friends of the High Line and supported with private funding (Lang et Rothenberg 2017).

The connection of short-term or temporary interventions with long term change is important, and some authors caution that failure to connect with these objectives means that the tactics become nothing more than a tool in neoliberal city building intending to attract a creative class and build the global competitiveness and attraction of the city (Éthier 2017 ; Mould 2014). This explicit connection with the long-term objectives can be observed as one of the primary distinctions between the first and second editions of the Street Plans Collective's Tactical Urbanism Guide, with the acknowledged that "tactical urbanism is most effective when used in conjunction with long-term planning" as of the second edition (Lydon et al. 2012, 2). For such long-term change and impact, careful consideration into who participates in the process and the resulting intervention are needed, ideally with a lens of inclusion and equity.

1.2.3 Participatory Urbanism: who participates and how, and who is left behind

The recent literature reveals a shift in leadership of participatory urbanism, now inclusive of a variety of instigators or 'tacticians' who lead the interventions, as iterated in Table 1.2, from grassroots activists to non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to the city itself (Lydon et Garcia 2015). With the increasing professionalization of activism and institutionalisation of bottom up approaches to public space development (Mould 2014 ; LaFrombois 2017 ; Douay et Prévot

2016), it is increasingly important to consider these efforts with critical thought towards their objectives, questioning whether they are really for the public good or whether they serve neoliberal interests and economic development (Mould 2014 ; Leslie et Catungal 2012 ; Lang et Rothenberg 2017 ; LaFrombois 2017), something Lang and Rothenberg refer to as "the contradictions of market driven sustainability projects in a climate of neoliberal urbanization" (2017, 1744). These practices thus risk being confounded with neoliberal approaches as their activist dimension diminishes (Éthier 2017). Further, with the institutionalisation of tactical urbanism as city urban design strategies (Mould 2014 ; LaFrombois 2017), efforts to resist cooptation of processes and results by economic and political elites must be undertaken (Fainstein 2012b). The reality is, however, that today's tactical urbanism and DIY urbanism efforts, including placemaking, are also being organised as top down processes while standing by their normative goals of inclusion and community first (Mould 2014 ; LaFrombois 2017).

This evolution is not embraced by all. For some, an important defining characteristic of tactical urbanism is its political roots, reflected by the fact that it is urban activists who are doing these kinds of urban interventions to demonstrate a need for an alternative way of city development (Silva 2016 ; Douay et Prévot 2016). Some go so far as to argue that tactical urbanism that is not activist-driven ceases to become tactical urbanism (Mould 2014), while others argue that today's DIY urbanists are less radical and are less driven by a social vision that seeks to disrupt and change the system than their predecessors (Finn 2014a). So while the bottom up approach used to be one of the unifying characteristics in an otherwise loose and variable set of characteristics, this is now evolving as they become politicized and institutionalised (Silva 2016). It is also becoming more professionalised as the design community has embraced DIY urbanism, especially in USA (Finn 2014a), and some activists have organised into collectives offering fee for hire services to other communities wishing to introduce similar interventions in their own cities (Mould 2014 ; Ferraris 2016).

A number of groups, after having led a few successful urban public space interventions, have formerly organised into consultancy firms to bring their knowledge and experience to other neighbourhoods, such was the case for Build a Better Block in the USA (Lydon et al. 2011). While they are developed as alternatives to formal planning processes, they often mimic the same steps (LaFrombois 2017). There are many small local collectives and professional organisations that have been founded to do the same, including: Co*Design Studio in Melbourne, Australia; Urban Foxes in Brussels, Belgium; Project for Public Spaces (PPS) in the USA; Stipo in Rotterdam, the Netherlands; and *La Pépinière espaces collectifs* in Montréal. These "professionals" of

placemaking and tactical urbanism (Ferraris 2016) offer fees for service while maintaining that their work is done on behalf of communities, not for themselves (Douay et Prévot 2016). These professional 'placemakers' are growing in numbers, and increasingly count developers and local authorities as their clients (Thorpe 2018).

The places developed though participatory urbanism efforts are meant to respond to local needs and reflect the collective vision of the community in their design and programming. People leading these efforts believe that by transforming the physical space, you can change the social space of a place as well (LaFrombois 2017 ; Talen 2015). While the degree of meaningful participation of the residents (i.e. non-experts) varies greatly, some argue for the principle of co-design which is largely taken up in placemaking efforts led by professionals (Project for Public Spaces n.d.-a). Co-design involves experts (urban designers, planners, architects) working with non-experts (residents, community groups) to co-create a new place, which intrinsically implies a more horizontal process of community engagement where power is more evenly distributed (Kelker et Spinelli 2016). In this sense, designers become just another partner in a bottom-up process to transform public space (Silva 2016).

Some cities view citizen-led development of public space as a new form of urban governance where "openness and collaboration is sought for the placemaking and keeping as well as for the use of the space" (United Cities and Local Governments 2016, 19). Some cities have institutionalized practices associated with tactical urbanism, including street fairs, pedestrian streets and pedestrian plazas (Lydon et al. 2011). Other cities, including Halifax and Victoria, have introduced programmes to support local placemaking efforts (Cities for People 2016). Porto Alegre has introduced participatory public space development practices which has had resulting in "democratic interactions" and a shift in the purpose of public space use, shifting from primarily for mobility purposes to "areas used for people to gather and interact" (United Cities and Local Governments 2016, 4). In the USA, Chicago created a non-profit to work with community groups to manage small public parks and gardens, and San Francisco created an online platform to support citizens in designing their own urban interventions (Finn 2014a).

Through collaboration on the production of public spaces, the increased contact between officials and citizens has the potential to influence wider formal planning processes (Silva 2016). For example, urban planning efforts in Paris have been reshaped as citizen-initiated efforts have been institutionalised, resulting in more sustainable and collaborative planning efforts by the city that include both top-down and bottom-up approaches (Douay et Prévot 2016). Many other cities have

embraced these approaches and created programs and systems to support them on their territories. In Mexico, the Ministry of Social Development introduced a programme to 'rescue' public spaces, resulting in more than 42,000 public spaces in the country being activated by communities, particularly in marginalised and unsafe urban neighbourhoods (United Cities and Local Governments 2016, 17). Institutionalisation can also be done through policies and local ordinances, such as formal permitting for parklets and community gardens in San Francisco and other American cities (Thorpe 2018).

Another form of institutionalisation has been noted - the institutionalisation of approaches and interventions. As discussed earlier, the literature reveals that participatory urbanism practitioners and enthusiasts are connected globally through virtual networks (Éthier 2017). This has led to the production of 'how to' guides to implement the same interventions in multiples spaces and cities. A good example of the proliferation of an intervention is PARK(ing) day. It went from being an intervention by activists in San Francisco USA to occupy a parking space for 2 hours, the duration of the parking meter, showing alternate way of using the parking space, spreading globally to 975 park(ing) day events in 162 cities by 2011 (Finn 2014a). Today, the initiative continues to be held annually in hundreds of cities around world, and a manual on how-to organize a park(ing) day in your city is made available for digital download, reflecting efforts to maintain the vision and integrity of the day which has gone from local to global (Douay et Prévot 2016). With such a uniformization of interventions, are the results still spaces where local citizens see themselves reflected in (Ferraris 2016 ; Mould 2014)?

The increased institutionalization has been criticized and questions in the literature. To continue with the Park(ing) Day example above, some are prompted to ask, as Mould (2014) does, whether the activist motivations for Park(ing) day are still respected, given the awareness about the day, its institutionalization as an annual event organized and sanctioned by cities, and supported by a manual to inform the organisation of the day - has it lost its meaning? Has its globalization resulted in it being disconnected from local issues, as Douay et Prévot (2016) assert. Others have criticized that the increasing in placemaking and DIY urbanism reflects the state withdrawing from investing in and managing public spaces (Thorpe 2018), something others have argued should be seen as a public service and core responsibility of the local authority (United Cities and Local Governments 2016). Others still contend that institutionalisation can be seen as a way of controlling the intervention (Mould 2014). Within a neoliberal context, the increasing acceptance and sanctioning of placemaking and DIY urbanism in cities can be seen as a way of encouraging the creative class to settle near those spaces as a way stimulating economic growth and competition (Thorpe 2018).

These concerns have been addressed by others who proposed instead that "more city-shaping should be delegated to citizens, and government should take the role of enabler rather than controller" (Hartley et al. 2014, 8). Either way, with the increased number of actors leading participatory urbanism interventions, the roles and boundaries of each can be unclear.

The interventions, or tactics, often used as the actions or results of participatory urbanism vary widely, from guerilla gardening (Lydon et al. 2012) to pop up shops (Éthier 2017) to pedestrianized streets (Hartley et al. 2014). The nature of the intervention can reveal the degree of formality or sanctioning of the intervention as well as the actors involved in spearheading it, as depicted in Table 1.2. Several of these efforts are undertaken as ways of demonstrating and alternative way of making the city. Many authors refer to the potential of the urban space to acts as a laboratory for testing out new ideas (Lydon et al. 2011 ; Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Talen 2015 ; Thorpe 2018 ; Ferraris 2016 ; Silva 2016 ; Éthier 2017 ; Banville 2016). Many are artistic or events based, intended to be temporary activations and alternate uses of public space (Éthier 2017 ; Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Hartley et al. 2014). They are also sometimes presented as creative and localized way of problem solving (Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Finn 2014a). This demonstration of an alternative way of making and engaging with urban public spaces is considered to be a reaction to traditional urban planning models that lack flexibility to "accommodate our shifting social structures, rapid economic change, local variations or new knowledge and insights" (Hartley et al. 2014, 8).

The results of placemaking processes and tactical urbanism interventions are presented as very positive, and having achieved value-driven goals such as building social cohesion, promoting social interaction (Lydon et al. 2011), or building social and political capital (Lydon et al. 2011), and created economic and commercial opportunity (Lydon et al. 2012), and improved urban livability (Lydon et al. 2012). It is touted as "an emerging city-building tool that has been adapted to a vast range of local contexts and is relevant to citizens, experts and municipal governments alike" (Hartley et al. 2014, 4). In terms of the tangible results, a recent empirical study in London reveals that public art and seating were the elements shown to have had the greatest positive impact on use of space following community interventions intended to improve the space (Anderson et al. 2017).

Results of interventions linked to participatory urbanism are often colorful, artistic, fun and playful (Douay et Prévot 2016). All of this serves to make the public place photogenic, or 'instagrammable', which increases its potential to be shared and seen in virtual spaces and assists with connecting to the global network, and connecting the global to the local (Douay et Prévot

2016). In spite of the playful appearance of many of the interventions, the intended change is serious and meant to be long-term (Lydon et al. 2011 ; Hartley et al. 2014). As noted earlier, to achieve this long-term change, some participants who are considered to be urban activist introduce their interventions themselves without waiting for, or needed city support and approval, while other efforts are city-led or at least city-endorsed, reflecting the varying degrees of formality observed in the spaces produced through participatory urbanism.

The notion of informality comes out in the literature, primarily in the language of sanctioned or unsanctioned approaches, as discussed earlier and illustrated in Table 1.2 below. For some, participatory urbanism is necessarily informal. This is expressed by Finn (2014a) who asserts that "despite the movement's roots in participatory planning, protest art and the Right to the City, DIY is by its nature a self-motivated activity engaged in by individuals or small groups using private funds and conducting their guerilla urban design raids in secret, thus skirting public approvals, public funding and public process" (Finn 2014a, 391).

In many ways, participatory urbanism appears to operate in a grey zone "somewhere between formal and informal spheres" (Silva 2016, 1041). Silva (2016) explores this further, arguing that there is a "confrontation between legality [interventions are often unsanctioned] and legitimacy [gained through participation in planning]" (1042). Similarly, the network United Cities and Local Governments notes that while community participation in all phases of public space development is an objective for many local governments, for such citizen appropriation of unused space to be possible, local governments must "promote the use of public spaces in an equitable way by finding the right balance between regulation and deregulation" (United Cities and Local Governments 2016, 10).

Geographic particularities also come into play when considering informality in developing public space. Specifically, informal spatial interventions by residents is seen as revolutionary in an American context, but it is standard practice in the developing world (Talen 2015). Even within the developing world, it has been argued that in an American context the notion of informality emerges, however for Australia and New Zealand such practices are sanctioned through formal approval processes (Hartley et al. 2014). Finally, with the increasing professionalization and institutionalisation of these processes (Mould 2014), a trend that we will explore further, it is clear that they are losing their informality. It has even been observed that some formal interventions, financed and led by the city, have been implemented under the guise of informal interventions (Éthier 2017).

Approaches linked to tactical urbanism and placemaking attempt to offer an alternative, quicker and more inclusive model of city development that is led by users in addition to experts (Banville 2016 ; Silva 2016). The tension between formal and informal processes are again alluded to by Ferraris (2016) who points out the irony that while these interventions aim to build bridges between the city and the citizens, they are also a form of activism against the city. Finn (2014a) goes on to argue that in addition to appealing to citizens, DIY efforts also align with the image projected by planners who see themselves as "citizen-centric, proactive and visionary" (382). In Porto Alegre, for example, under the city's leadership, "public spaces have been true laboratories for innovative community organisation and networking" (United Cities and Local Governments 2016, 18).

1.2.4 Process, a distinguishing feature of placemaking

We are able to infer some distinctions between the various forms of participatory urbanism. Specifically, the literature about placemaking places a greater emphasis on the process of the symbolic transformation of a space to a place of community attachment than what we observed in the literature around tactical urbanism and DIY urbanism. Some authors, such as (Zimmermann 2016), clearly highlight the centrality of process in placemaking initiatives, positioning it as the primary focus of the approach. She also positions interventions, including tactical urbanism and DIY urbanism as tactics that can be used during a placemaking process, but that are distinct from placemaking itself (Zimmermann 2016, 61). Others also insist that the importance of placemaking is the process itself (Cities for People 2016), with quality public places being the results (Wyckoff 2014). Placemaking's emphasis on the importance of the both the process and the results of a space, is something that traditional planning has tended to overlook (Fainstein 2012b). Table 1.2 Below offers a visual representation of this.

Table 1.2: Placemaking, process and tactics

PLACEMAKING		
PROCESS	Community-based	Relationship-building Links between producing a place and giving sense to a place Building connections at the neighbourhood level Empowerment Capacity development Local leadership Social capital Community engagement Community members as change agents Community members in decision-making roles Local ownership Local solutions to local challenges
TACTICS	Place-based	"Place-based interventions "Lighter, quicker, cheaper" projects Pop-up urbanism Tactical urbanism DIY Urbanism Guerilla urbanism Better block Open streets Long-term development projects" (Zimmermann 2016, 61)

Source: K. Travers, largely based on information found in (Zimmermann 2016, 61).

Event-based interventions, such as temporary pop ups, art exhibits, street fairs or festivals are a way of activating unused public spaces. They are included as examples of tactical urbanism (Lydon et al. 2011), though Zimmermann (2016) adds a nuance that "these events and shorter-term projects encourage community engagement and collaboration, while also focusing on community place; the attention here is the process occurring at the place rather than the built environment itself" (54-55). Similarly, for Douay et Prévot (2016), a placemaking initiative is more involved, going beyond citizen appropriation of public spaces goes through their involvement in

transforming a space to ensuring their continued appropriation and through the management of the place as well, reflecting also the importance of process in placemaking.

The emphasis on the process begs a reflection on how inclusive this process is, who can participate, how, and who is left behind. As we noted earlier, several authors critiqued the apparent shift from activists to professionals leading placemaking and participatory urbanism efforts. In the past, it was assumed that experts could make all of the decisions on behalf of the community and that consultations were not necessary (Fainstein 2012b). Now, it is recognized that efforts to transform public spaces must be more inclusive and go beyond since asking residents what they think they want (Fainstein 2012a). Similarly, Finn (2014a) argues that it is generally accepted that "the emphasis on process and participation is now widely accepted as a minimal requirement of effective and ethical practice for municipal planning and placemaking, while DIY efforts take this mindset to a substantially more radical end" (387). The first to join in efforts to transform neighbourhoods, reclaim unused space and proactively change the physical space are the creative class (Florida 2002), the artists, those seeking to be a part of a cultural transformation (Andres 2011 ; Leslie et Catungal 2012 ; LaFrombois 2017). Thorpe (2018) offers a portrait of an ideal type, which she claims to be reaffirming of other studies: educated young professionals, relatively well-off, white, millennials, but not property owners. Further, interviews with people involved in placemaking activities revealed that most people are involved in more than one site development (Thorpe 2018) which calls into question the degree of involvement of the local residents, in terms of its geographic proximity to the space, in its design and development. Profiles of DIY Urbanism professionals in Europe and North America point to a culturally homogenous group of people who are young, urban, creative and connected and less radical than their predecessors (Douay et Prévot 2016). Similarly, research in Australia, Canada the USA and New Zealand revealed that the profile of participants are often groups of young designers (Thorpe 2018). This seemingly homogenous profile of people engaging in and leasing placemaking and participatory urbanism is problematic, as it necessarily means that large segments of the population are left out, including those who may already be experiencing social exclusion by not sharing some characteristics noted above, such as being 'educated young professionals, relatively well-off, white'.

Social exclusion is experienced when a segment of the population in unable to assert their rights and benefit from opportunities afforded to others, including social, economic and political (Davis, Gacitua et Sojo 2000 ; McGuinness 2002). In the context of urban development, social exclusion can manifest when people are unable to assert their rights to the city by participating in urban

development and governance. When processes are designed in ways that are intended to be universal, such as 'public' participation, or 'citizenship' they reproduce existing inequalities and oppressions (Fenster 2005). Critical thought should thus be given to who leads and participates in such efforts, knowing that women and racial minorities are still underrepresented as urbanists and architects collaborating to create urban public spaces (Leslie et Catungal 2012). As alluded to earlier, the integration of a strong socially inclusive vision in participatory urbanism does not often translate into practice, and processes often reproduce the same gender, racial, class and other factors of exclusion found outside of these practices (LaFrombois 2017). The literature also reveals that the creative class, often the first non-professionals to participate, also reproduce gender and racial exclusions through their rather homogenous composition, which are consequently reflected in the resulting spaces (Leslie et Catungal 2012).

The right to participate, a cornerstone of the right to the city, necessarily means participating in shaping the urban space, but the reality is that when "the 'public' is involved, women, blacks and other people of colour, working-class people and poor people tend to participate less and have their interests represented less than white, middle-class professionals and men" (Fenster 2005, 227). The same is true for participatory urbanism, inconsistent with its roots in studies that called for increased citizen participation and smaller scale efforts to revitalising public spaces (J. Jacobs 1961 ; Whyte 1980 ; Lefebvre 1968). This trend echoes earlier efforts of advocacy planners and equity planning, which strived for social inclusion without necessarily being participatory themselves (Fainstein 2012b). There are many barriers to participation in public space development processes, including limited access to resources, lower education levels, and time (Anguelovski 2015). When certain groups of people are excluded from participating in urban planning and public space development processes, the built environment itself can also be a source of social exclusion (Leslie et Catungal 2012).

1.3 Public Space and inclusion

The interest in exploring exclusions produced by and reflected in the built environment is not new. Over twenty years ago, Hayden clearly articulated the parameters for debates around the built environment, arguing that such debates "take place in much contested terrain of race, gender and class, set against long-term economic and environmental problems, especially in large cities" (1995a, 6). This remains true for large urban projects as well as small scale public space interventions, as Zimmermann notes, "with every placemaking process in a community, there is

always politics, history, context, conflicting interests, disengaged residents, motivated developers, and focused town/city planners and designers" (2016, 116). It is thus imperative to pay critical regard to the processes involved in all of these participatory consultations and small-scale interventions, to understand who is included in such processes, how meaningful their participation is, and who is the place being designed for. Essentially, asking what Greed refers to as the "classic urban question – 'who gets what, where, why and how?'" (2005, 722). These questions are largely ignored in the literature around participatory urbanism (Silva 2016), with few exceptions such as Zimmerman's study that pointed to the exclusion of certain groups from participating in a placemaking process in Washington DC, particularly people from the poorer class and those who were Black (Zimmermann 2016). While they are overlooked in the literature around participatory urbanism, issues of inclusion and exclusion in public space have been explored by numerous authors over the years.

Public spaces are critical elements of cities. They take many different forms, including streets, parks, markets or gardens, among others (Ghorra-Gobin 2012). When we seek to define public spaces, we quickly see that the emphasis quickly goes to the value of public spaces, or what it offers community members. In fact, one author argued that public spaces symbolize "*l'essence même de la ville et du vivre ensemble*" (Ghorra-Gobin 2012, , p.88). Other examples of value-based offerings of public space that are reflected in the very description of what a public space is include: open and accessible; benefiting everyone; for the common good; sites of political expression and contestation, to name a few (Parkinson 2013).

However, we are seeing another trend related to public spaces in the neoliberal cities of today - the privatization of public spaces, often with the objective of encouraging consumption (Ghorra-Gobin 2012). Management and maintenance is increasingly handed over to the private sectors, to offer big shows on vacant lots or to local businesses to try to increase pedestrians to the sidewalks in front of their shops (Parkinson 2013). It has thus been argued that these spaces create differences along class lines and discriminate against the poor (Smith et Low 2006). The consequence of privatizing public spaces includes increased social divisions which are then reflected in spatial divisions (Harvey 2008). To illustrate, privatized spaces can provide a sense of safety among those who can access them, while simultaneously producing exclusion and isolation for others who cannot (Smith et Low 2006). Many privately owned and managed public spaces make use of prescriptive regulations to control both users and uses of the space, which produces implicit exclusions (Smith et Low 2006). Finally, Smith et Low maintain that the "control of public

space is a central strategy of neoliberalism" (2006, 15), rather than free use of public space, thus contradicting the value-based descriptions we noted earlier.

In response to these dynamics, engaged residents and activists have undertaken "attempts to implement new complex and radical socio-spatial initiatives that question the commodification of the urban space and put in place self-management and self-organisation projects" (Anguelovski 2015, 704). Participatory urbanism, in its many forms, falls within this category. Interventions to transform public space will necessarily transform the meaning of that place and, as Breux et Bedard (2013) point out, this can cause tensions arise, particularly with top down approaches that try to impose meaning onto a place, versus the people who use and experience the space regularly, and who have formed their own individual and collective meanings and attachments to the place. In addition to challenges related to regulation and privatization of public space, environment and social justice activists are facing the challenge of being confronted with the fact that many of the neighbourhoods they invested in have been revitalised through participatory urbanism are or are at risk of gentrification, due to "wealthier and whiter residents [being] (…) attracted by the recent liveability and attractivity of the neighbourhood" (Anguelovski 2015, 721). We must therefore distinguish public spaces for everyone from public spaces for some (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014).

1.3.1 From Space to Place

One of the central tenants of placemaking is that public *spaces* have the potential to become *places* of community attachment, engagement and emotional connection – these spaces can be made into places, hence the term 'placemaking' (Kelker et Spinelli 2016). This process by which a public space becomes a place is a 'human-led activity' that explicitly explores the distinction between space and place (Zimmermann 2016, 23), and, by "focusing on the social dimension of planning, linking meaning and function into the spaces" (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014). Place is thereby produced when sense is invested into it give meaning to it, and in anchoring it in the local in terms both its physical location as well as the social and cultural context (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014). A sense of place thereby "refers to the feeling of attachment or belonging to a physical environment, as a place or a neighbourhood, and the sense of personal and collective identity that comes from this sense of belonging" (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014, 416).

It has been argued that the notion of place is thus central for urban planners and that there is increasing thought given to efforts to increase the "experience and feeling of places in order to influence and enhance community dynamics" (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014, 413). Places communicate identity, meaning and values to individuals and the collective, which is turn give a sense of place to that space (Breux et Bedard 2013). Sense of place accordingly reflects the meanings people ascribe to a place and to their "subjective attachments (…) to a place they can identify with, define themselves through and find comfort in" (Breux et Bedard 2013, 75).

Lacaze (2010) cautions that this attachment to place is fragile and can be destroyed if redevelopment is abrupt or ill-prepared, which can quickly transform the feeling of attachment into one of social exclusion. In fact, an empirical study on the impacts of public space redevelopment in the UK showed that people stayed longer in spaces where there had been community interventions (Anderson et al. 2017). The same study demonstrated that the intervention sites "promoted social interaction, positive emotion, and short-term psychological functioning, such as a sense of being engaged" (Anderson et al. 2017, 704).

The uses of a space also impact how people feel in that space, and any attachments that are formed. Parkinson (2013) notes an apparent contradiction between what he calls flexible spaces that allow for spontaneous use and serendipitous collisions between strangers, versus prescriptive spaces where such encounters are planned for by the planners, land owners, developers and businesses controlling the space. People are able to derive meaning from a place both from the social dynamics occurring within it and from the intended meaning prescribed to the place by the people who produced it (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014). Lahad et May (2017) refer to this process as 'territorialising' space, which means to make a place one's own by being able to attach meanings to it. Individual and collective attachment to place increases its potential to be a successful public place that valued, used and invested in (Anguelovski 2015).

Participatory urbanism have been described as a tool of empowerment (Douay et Prévot 2016) with the potential to transform a space into a place by developing links between the space and individuals or communities (Bérubé et Giaufret 2017). They are a way for citizens "*de se réapproprier les lieux d'expression de leur quotidien*" (Ferraris 2016, 2), and it has been suggested that a sense of ownership is a prerequisite for involvement in DIY initiatives (Thorpe 2018). Community interventions in public space can also lead to improved urban legibility (Talen 2015), recalling the work of the image of the city by (Lynch 1960). They are have been described as cultural act of reappropriation of city spaces in order to redefine reference points and limits (Éthier

2017) as part of a process of 'defamiliarization' and 'refamiliarization' that transforms how people feel about and use a space (Iveson 2013).

The potential for people to use the public space in their daily lives is tied to their sense of belonging and attachment (Fenster 2005). When people feel a sense of attachment to place, they have a tendency to be "more motivated to invest time in it, interact more with their neighbors, watch over developments in the neighbourhoods, and unify others around them" (Anguelovski 2015, 705). It stands that every place is the product of dynamic stories, attachments and representations (Bélanger 2005a). All kinds of public spaces can therefore become places of attachment, affinity and appropriation for individuals and the collective. It is important to consider the potential of participatory urbanism as a vehicle used to promote such a transformation.

1.3.2 Territory, Community and Identity

Urban inhabitants are shaped by experiences related to their unique identities, including those related to age, gender, ethnicity, and class, among others. These identities are reflected in the social and spatial environments and can be sources of inclusion of exclusion. Space can communicate who is welcome or not, and marginalized populations and the urban poor often receive the message that the spaces redeveloped through participatory urbanism are not for them, thereby reproducing social exclusion (Éthier 2017). The various forms of participatory urbanism consequently risk producing or reproducing spatial and social inequalities in their implicit communications about who the space is for, and who it is not for, and essentially prescribing who new users should be (Douay et Prévot 2016).

Several authors refer to the risk of spatial and social exclusion in the neoliberal context of city planning (Parkinson 2013). Others have maintained that in such a context, efforts to increase the quality of place are done to attract tourists and investors, not increase attachment to place or improve the quality of daily life (Leslie et Catungal 2012 ; Lang et Rothenberg 2017 ; Douay et Prévot 2016). Urban redevelopment done within a neoliberal context can thus produce and accentuate social exclusion, even if the resulting place appears to be successful (Lang et Rothenberg 2017). These efforts have been criticized for privileging consumers over the urban poor and other marginalized people, something Parkinson (2013) observes in London, where public spaces are being developed with the intent of attracting tourists, shoppers and people on their lunch breaks, over "democratic claim makers" (694).

In order to better understand the potential attachments of people to place, it is important to understand the social and political history of a space and neighbourhood (Bélanger 2005b ; 2005a, 413). As Lynch notes, "nothing is experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surroundings, the sequences of events leading up to it, the memory of past experiences" (Lynch 1960, 1). The social and economic context in which urban spaces are created gives meaning to place and reflects local values, beliefs and tensions (Bélanger 2005a, 15). For many, it is the banality of the daily use of a space that forms bonds between people and place (Lacaze 2010). Others therefore call for flexible places, allowing people to use and appropriate them as they wish, and it has been argued that "successful public places have a variety of smaller spaces within them that appeal to a variety of people" (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014, 415), thus enhancing the potential of the place to attract and be appropriated by a greater diversity of users.

Participatory urbanism initiatives have been described "the interplay of the needs and the aspirations of the community enacted in the design of the built environment", thus pointing to the emotional connections between people and place (Kelker et Spinelli 2016, 54). Even temporary interventions and activation of otherwise unused public space are said to be an investment into the memory of that space, and thus have a lasting impact (Ferraris 2016). Citizens' engagement in developing and creating places where unused spaces once stood has given rise to a new form of social interaction based on common goals and action to create public places (Bérubé et Giaufret 2017). Furthermore, people recognize themselves in the places they create, which is arguably one of the more powerful results of participatory urban interventions (Thorpe 2018). When people identify with a place and spend time there, they can experience a sense of belonging when they are in that place (Breux et Bedard 2013). Belonging comes with a feeling of comfort and connection, and identification with place and people (Lahad et May 2017). The quality of public spaces is important in producing this connection of people to place and can help to overcome social exclusion, as Kelker and Spinelli describe, "the feeling of being in a great place gives people a sense of belonging even when diversity in a community is a challenge" (2016, 61).

Sense of place, attachment to place, and a sense of belonging can be linked to feelings of ownership over that place. It has been argued that "*l'appropriation de l'espace public est essentielle pour la démocratie*" (Lelièvre 2017, 1). While sense of place remains subjective, daily users of the space "invest meaning in it - either directly or indirectly through subtle gestures of appropriation - in order to identify with or define themselves through that place or, simply put, to feel good in the place" (Breux et Bedard 2013, 79). Appropriation over a space is gained through the daily activities one engages in in that space (Fenster 2005). In fact, the very act of using a

public space is an informal claim to that space and to the city more broadly, even if only for a short time (Fenster 2005).

Thorpe (2018) suggests a link between the sense of ownership in the form of feeling 'at home' and activism and proactive engagement in the public space as a way of demonstrating care for one's place, which she then links with sense of community and agency through support for one's neighbors and the power of a collective voice. Furthermore, shared values can act as a mobilizing force to rally residents who are 'historically marginalized' to be engaged in urban processes (Anguelovski 2015). Participatory processes strengthen social cohesion, thereby producing social cohesion and local ownership over space (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014).

Ownership as it relates to green space in the city can be broken into two categories: legal land ownership and sense of ownership. "DIY urban practices can thus be understood less as a formal assertion of (or challenge to) legal title, but instead as an expression of informal ownership" (Thorpe 2018, 32). Simply put, "if you don't own something, what you have is the city" (Lydon 2014 quoted in (Thorpe 2018, 36). Thorpe (2018) argues that both forms of ownership, legal and symbolic, offer the same benefits, namely "inclusion, community, power and political voice" (Thorpe 2018, 26). It follows then that community-led public space development stems from this sense of ownership over shared spaces. It is this sense of ownership that invites action to preserve, improve and use the space, and reveals feelings of connection to place at different scales, from the micro where the intervention may take place to the city as a whole (Thorpe 2018).

Local ownership and investment in public space is often seen as favorable in the literature. For example, the network United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) asserts that with "community ownership and appropriate design of public spaces, including urban furniture, in consultation with inhabitants, especially women, children, people with disabilities and youth, can contribute to building safer urban areas" (United Cities and Local Governments 2016, 17). Participatory urbanism can be seen as a means of "building 'cities within the city', by both declaring new forms of authority based on a presupposition of the equality of urban inhabitant, and finding ways to stage a disagreement between these competing forms of authority" (Iveson 2013). As described earlier, the transformation of a public space reflects the image of the people who are involved in the process of transforming it. It stands that, as UCLG suggests, the involvement of many and diverse people in the process of creating the change is desirable for the resulting place to be a place people can see themselves in. However, not all authors agree with the assumption of the 'equality of the urban resident'. Some argue that there is a need for planning and design to

consider the specific needs and wants of groups who have traditionally been excluded (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014).

The process of appropriating and transforming a space is an expression of the social in a spatial form has been referred to as "the socialization of space" (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014, 415). It is not just about the space, but rather how people interact within the space that can generate positive meaning into a place (Finn 2014a). This potential for sociability of a space can be "*très fortement ancrée dans un lieu, un territoire restreint, bien souvent la rue ou la ruelle, se répand comme un rhizome, génère de nouvelles communautés et de nouveaux réseaux*" (Bérubé et Giaufret 2017, 62). The social life small urban spaces, to borrow from Whyte's book of the same name (1980), denotes who uses the space and to what end. One of the findings from his seminal work studying this phenomenon was that the more diverse users of the space there are, and women in particular, is an indicator of a safe, quality urban space (Whyte 1980). It follows then, that socially inclusive public spaces that are gender inclusive are quality public spaces and should be the objective for both traditional urban planning and participatory urbanism.

1.3.3 Women and Public Space

Where authors such as Whyte (1980) noted a positive correlation between the quality of a public space and the presence of women, the literature on women in public spaces explores how they feel in the space and the elements of the built and social environment that respond to women's needs and wants for a public space. In fact, many authors have explored the gender[4] dimensions of the city, highlighting inequalities or gender gaps related to a number of factors including safety, mobility, the built environment and participation. The literature on women and public space has its roots in a number of disciplines, including geography (Leslie et Catungal 2012 ; Peake 2017), urban planning and urban studies (Whitzman et al. 2013 ; Sassen 2015 ; Berg 2018 ; Greed 2005 ; Sweet et Ortiz Escalante 2010), sociology (Lewis et al. 2015) and criminology (Fanghanel 2016); and feminist urban theory (Berg 2018). In spite of this, Berg (2018) argues that "work on gender and urban space has remained largely isolated in a parallel world of feminist scholarship" (Berg 2018, 754). In addition, there is a gap in the literature on participatory urbanism and considerations

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[4] The genders are overwhelmingly presented as a binary understanding of cis-women and men in the literature around women in cities.

of gender inclusion in the process of developing a space or in mitigating the potential of gender gaps in the space produced.

Beyond acknowledging that women experience the city differently than men, the literature recognizes that women live, use and experience the city today differently than they did 50 or 100+ years ago. The cities of the past do not reflect the needs or realities of today's woman. Let us consider some major changes to women and the city over the past century. In the past, many women did not work outside of the home, but today the majority of women do (Berg 2018 ; Lahad et May 2017 ; Spain 2014). Similarly, where we saw the development of suburban living in the mid 20th century, there is now a shift where women and families are moving back to urban centres (Berg 2018). Finally, where women in the 19th century were not welcome in public space (Spain 2014), today, women's presence in public spaces has been used as a proxy indicator for a good public space (Whyte 1980). Collectively, these changes - women working, women living in urban centres, and women using public spaces, have highlighted the gender gaps in city planning, that is, that cities have not been built for women.

Berg (2018) argues that there are spatial consequences to the increase in women's presence in the city, as residents, workers, and users of city spaces and services, which have given way to what she describes as '*genderfication*'. She goes on to qualify this as an "urban gender revolution [that] is translated spatially" (753). In addition, she observes that while gender relations have evolved, partly due to economic conditions for women, the gendered spatial division of the modernist era, that is separating the private space from the public space, continues to abound in cities today (Berg 2018).

Several authors offer distinctions between different types of spaces, particularly public and private space (Sweet et Ortiz Escalante 2010). Traditionally, the public and private spheres have been differentiated in terms of "rules of access, the source and nature of control over entry to space, individual and collective behavior sanctioned in specific spaces, and rules of use" (Smith et Low 2006, 3-4). The distinction between the two is often highly gendered, with the public being seen as masculine and the private being seen as feminine (Lahad et May 2017). This perceived division between the public and private spheres have also been referred to as the sexual division of space (Lelièvre 2017). This sexual division of space is largely due to the sexual division of labor, particularly for white American families where women stayed home in the suburbs and men travelling to the city for work, that dominated during the modernist era (Spain 2014). Sweet et Ortiz Escalante (2010) offer more details about this perceived distinction: "the public sphere's economic

and political activities at the community, state and national levels were linked to production, paid employment - and men. The private sphere, defined as a site for reproduction, was and is still associated with personal and family relations and activities, informal and unpaid employment - and women" (2131).

The distinctions drawn between the private and public spheres are largely to considered to be negative and are argued to inhibit women's rights to the city and gender equality (Fenster 2005 ; Sweet et Ortiz Escalante 2010). Others argue for that the spheres are in fact blurred and overlapping, not separate (Pain 1997 ; Spain 2014). While others still have cautioned that the reasons for maintaining the divisions between the public and private spheres are nefarious, having been used to maintain gender inequality and women's subordination, while also hiding the oppression and violence women face in the private sphere (Fenster 2005). Either way, urban planning must consider both spheres is order to be gender inclusive, ensuring, for example, the proximity and availability of transit options and daycare facilities to home and work (Berg 2018). Sassen (2015) goes so far as to suggest that "urban planning that overlooks this care function works against those in charge of households and children" (n.p.). As Berg says, "*genderfication* aims to change this patriarchal order into a new gender order in which public and private spheres are intertwined" (Berg 2018). Planning for the continuum of spheres has also been argued to be necessary preventing and responding to violence against women and girls (Sweet et Ortiz Escalante 2010). Consequently, a failure to see the different spaces as a continuum of space that are mutually reinforcing can lead to important knowledge gaps and, in turn gender gaps in the built environment.

To respond to these gender gaps and exclusions, a number of cities have introduced efforts to take a gender responsive approach to urban planning (Sassen 2015). Mixed use planning that disrupts the division of the private and public spheres can be used as a strategy to reduce gender gaps. Specifically, mixed use planning that ensures the proximity of urban services, shops and affordable housing options support women and families in the city (Berg 2018). Furthermore, mixed use development promotes activation of public space by different people at different times of day, which can contribute positively to women's sense of safety and their use of public space (Sweet et Ortiz Escalante 2010). Some authors point to the transformative potential of investing in addressing the gender gaps in cities. For example, Lelièvre believes that *"les autorités publiques et les mouvements sociaux peuvent agir pour une plus grande justice sociospatiale dans l'utilisation de cet espace, à travers le prisme du genre"* (Lelièvre 2017, 1). It can also be argued

that the spatial consequences intended to accommodate women and families cities have the potential to support the achievement of gender equality as well (Berg 2018).

Parkinson concedes that "a given space cannot possibly meet all the requirements of all different 'users' at once", but goes on to add that "the emphasis on 'all users' masks the exclusion" of some citizens from public space" (2013, 696). It is for this reason that it is essential to name and acknowledge the gender gaps in public spaces and in urban planning to be able to consciously work to overcome them. Examples of deliberate inclusion of gender in design and planning, including "contemporary feminists [who] built their rights into the city, with women's centres, credit unions, and feminist health clinics. These places, created by and for women, declared women's rights to public space" (Spain 2014, 590), can serve as inspiration for women to become involved in participatory urbanism to create spaces that they see themselves in, where they feel like they belong, and where they can appropriate as their own.

1.3.4 Women: exclusion and inclusion in the city

As we noted earlier, cities are not neutral spaces. It has been argued that "women have been the subject of citizen discrimination in numerous cultures and political contexts at all scales and sectors; from private - the home, to the public - the city and the state, in economic, social, welfare and political contexts" (Fenster 2005, 218). The city itself is "gendered through multiple actions and experiences of its inhabitants" (Beebeejaun 2017, 323).

Feminist scholars highlight that gender is a socially prescribed and culturally specific set of norms and expectations that shape and define the daily lives of men and women. Beyond their mere presence, it is increasingly accepted that men and women experience cities differently (Mosconi, Paoletti et Raibaud 2015 ; Peake 2017). The literature identified the city as a site for the expression of "normative constructions and performances of masculinity and femininity" (Fanghanel 2016, 60). The social construction of gender translates to social norms of what is acceptable behavior for women, which is in turn reflected in the social and spatial manifestations of public space (Fanghanel 2016). Even today, the acceptance of women in public space varies at different times of day and in different spaces (Lahad et May 2017). Some authors argue that when women appear in public alone, it is goes against the gendered expectations and social norms, and may provoke negative responses and harassment, all of which communicate that this space is not for them (Lahad et May 2017). Furthermore, gendered social norms impact women's experiences, freedom

and use of public space. Early feminist critique of planning theory pointed to the gendered nature of urban experiences (Beebeejaun 2017 ; Peake 2017). A recent study in Paris, for example, showed that women and girls stay for shorter periods of time in public space (Dagorn et Alessandrin 2017). In spite of a marked increase of women in public spaces over the last decades, the literature reveals that "women continue to experience, compared to men, higher degrees of vulnerability, harassment and general feelings of being 'out of place, in public spaces" (Lahad et May 2017).

The literature additionally acknowledges that gender gaps in city planning are further aggravated by intersectional identity markers, and that "gendering often takes specific forms for different groups of women through ethnicity, race, status and religion, with certain combinations producing the most devastating effects" (Sassen 2015, n.p.). Most of the literature fails to capture identity nuances or acknowledge that people can and do belong to more than one group at a time (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014). In her discussion about structural intersectionality, Crenshaw (1991) clearly explains how multiple systems of oppression, related to gender, culture, race and class, result in systemic exclusion of certain groups, particularly those individuals who are on the oppressed side of more than one system, which is true for citizen participation efforts as well. Relatedly, it has been argued that in order for cities to undergo a truly transformative shift to be inclusive of the full diversity of women and girls, *"un changement social de grande ampleur, intersectionnel et intersectoriel est nécessaire*" (Lelièvre 2017, 6). This change is not reflected in the current available literature, however. So while many authors writing about women in cities, who are overwhelmingly not using an intersectional analysis themselves, continue to present the idea of intersectionality and highlight its importance as somewhat of a disclaimer in their work (Spain 2014 ; Sweet et Ortiz Escalante 2010). In summary, much of the available literature thus takes a gendered approach and acknowledges the importance of intersectionality without necessarily applying the lens to their own work.

To understand gender gaps and exclusions, feminist scholars point to the importance of considering power dynamics. Greed (2005) iterates "while 'gender' is not synonymous with 'women', gender' intrinsically contains within its scope the acknowledgement of a specific form of gender relations—namely, patriarchy. This societal condition disadvantages women and calls forth the need for greater acknowledgment of women's needs in the area of public policy" (Greed 2005, 720). City public spaces reflect, reinforce and reproduce prescribed masculinities and femininities (Mosconi, Paoletti et Raibaud 2015). This is even reflected in what is considered appropriate for a women to be wearing when out in public space (Spain 2014). These prescriptions

reinforce exclusions based on gender, and even the more subtle messaging, such as a sexist billboard, communicates to women that the public space is not for them (Lewis et al. 2015).

When considering gender gaps in spatial planning in cities, it is important to also consider the social, symbolic and political nature of these spaces (McGuinness 2002 ; Mosconi, Paoletti et Raibaud 2015). This layered understanding of space is essential to understand the process in which that space was developed, by whom and for whom it was developed, and its potential to be an inclusive public space. These social, political, economic and symbolic relationships to space are guided by our everyday urban experiences though the multitude of identities that make up an individual (ex. race, age, gender, etc.) which intersect with one another. For example, the literature reveals that the nature of the harassment experienced by women changes, with younger women and racialized women experiencing specific verbal abuse related to those traits, and women who are overweight, racialized or transgender all report a less positive view of the ambiance of the city (Dagorn et Alessandrin 2017). Acknowledging the nuanced and dynamic complexity of identities as they relate to oppressions that are experiences through multidimensional experiences (ex. social, political, economic) as well as though spatial experiences is essential in understanding factors of inclusion and exclusion in cities. This intersectional approach "is about making visible complex and combined forms of domination" (Berg 2018, 754).

An intersectional approach recognizes that not everyone has equal access to the city spaces, services and decision-making processes, with notable exclusion along gender, race and class lines. Much has been written about gender and urban planning (Greed 2005 ; Seoul Foundation of Women and Family 2013 ; Goteborg 2002 ; Fainstein 2005b), and since the mid 2000s, there has been an increase in the literature exploring women in cities and how cities have failed women (Sassen 2015). Consequently, there have been some institutional and political efforts to address these gender gaps. For example, the European Union adopted the Amsterdam Treaty in 1997, which called for the mainstreaming of gender in all policy making, including spatial planning, though it has had very little impact in practice (Greed 2005).

There are many gender gaps across the process of conceiving, developing and using the space. Cities today have been largely planned by men, for men (Mosconi, Paoletti et Raibaud 2015 ; Leslie et Catungal 2012 ; Beebeejaun 2017). This does not mean that women have been intentionally excluded in the results of city planning, rather it simply means that men are often "*aveugle aux inégalités sexuées*" (Mosconi, Paoletti et Raibaud 2015, 25), and the lack of gender and racial diversity among urban planners and architects reproduces racism and sexism in the

public space (Leslie et Catungal 2012 ; Beebeejaun 2017). To illustrate, the lack of gendered approach and considerations are expressed symbolically in public spaces through subtle ways, such as commemorative statues, street names and the names of public parks and places that fail to include women. Recognizing the importance that women be made visible so that they can see themselves reflected in the public space (Mosconi, Paoletti et Raibaud 2015), the City of Montréal, launched its *Toponym'Elles* initiative[5] in 2017 and pledged to name 375 public spaces or streets after women from Montréal who contributed to advancing the city.

There are a number of expressions of gendered exclusion in the process of developing and using public space. Specifically, Lelièvre identifies five forms of oppression related to women and public space: (1) *exploitation*: women are primarily responsible for unpaid work related to care and the household, meaning they are more affected by lack of access to close, quality urban services including transportation; (2) *marginalization*: women are often excluded from processes to produce public space; (3) *lack of power*: women have little influence over the decisions that impact their daily lives; (4) *cultural imperialism*: a neutral approach to urban planning typically defaults to decisions by men for men, producing gender gaps in the urban space; and (5) *violence*: women continue to experience gender based violence including sexual harassment in public spaces, which communicates that it is not for them (2017, 2). Other authors support Lelièvre's assertions, arguing that there is not only a gender gap in terms of the actual design of cities, as there is also a lack of gender disaggregated data available to inform policy and design (Blumenberg 2004), lack of women working as architects and urban planners, (Mosconi, Paoletti et Raibaud 2015), and lack of women in decision-making positions (Blumenberg 2004 ; Whitzman et al. 2013). Therefore, we can refer to gender gaps not only in terms of the built environment, but also gender gaps that occur when there are inequalities between men and women in terms of access, power and utility.

The last oppression named above, violence against women and girls, is important as it is linked with their ability to participate in producing public space and in how they use it. In fact, much has been written about in terms of gender exclusion in urban public spaces, particularly in the field of safe cities for women (Falu 2010 ; Shaw et Andrew 2005 ; Whitzman et al. 2013) and intended to understand women's experiences of fear and safety in the city (Pain 1997 ; Sweet et Ortiz Escalante 2010 ; Whitzman et al. 2013). It is acknowledged that quality public spaces can make women feel safe and included in the city, linked to their ability to avoid sexual violence (United

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Cities and Local Governments 2016). There is some acknowledgement that "inclusivity, access and safety are dynamically produced through space and negotiated in tandem with other people", thereby recognizing the inextricable links between the social and spatial spheres (Beebeejaun 2017, 324). We also know that social use of space, by a variety of people, can make people feel safer and provides 'eyes on the street' (J. Jacobs 1961). Additional research has been undertaken to better understand the issues, expanding exploration of the topic beyond perception of safety to consider how other dimensions of city, such as participation and governance, have an impact on (re)producing gender gaps in urban planning (Sweet et Ortiz Escalante 2010 ; Whitzman et al. 2013).

Many of the attempts to overcome gender gaps in public spaces are linked to women's perceived and real safety issues. Efforts to promote women's inclusion and mitigate fear have been introduced by cities and planners around the world. For example, lighting in parks and on streets was improved in Lima, Peru and signage was improved in Rosario, Argentina (Sweet et Ortiz Escalante 2010). In spite of this, urban planning is still criticized for being very slow to respond to violence against women and girls (Sweet et Ortiz Escalante 2010). The research also points out that the perception of safety guides women's behaviours, curtailing women's access to and enjoyment of the city (Whitzman et al. 2013 ; Women in Cities International 2013). The perception of safety has thus been used as a starting point for exploring the gender gaps that are prevalent in urban areas (Women in Cities International 2013). This has produced much research about the link between safety and gender exclusion in urban public spaces (Falu 2010 ; Shaw et Andrew 2005 ; Whitzman et al. 2013 ; Women in Cities International 2013). Specifically, it has been argued that the violence and discrimination women and girls face, coupled with various elements of the built environment that further limit their sense of safety (ex. lack of lighting, lack of maintenance), results in their limiting their use of public space (Lelièvre 2017). This is aggravated by social norms that prescribe certain behaviors to ensure women's safety. This safety narrative, which often includes avoidance of public spaces altogether or at different times of day, simultaneously communicates who public space is for, and it is not for women (Fanghanel 2016).

In addition to elements of the built environment in urban public spaces that can cause women to experience fear and exclusion, the sexual harassment women face in public spaces communicates that women are not welcome in urban public spaces (Dagorn et Alessandrin 2017). Further, it has been posited that "patriarchal power relations are the most affecting elements in abusing women's right to the city in different ways than those of men" (Fenster 2005). As noted earlier, spaces also communicate who is welcome and who is not, this, coupled with gendered

norms and expectations for women's behavior and occupation of space, serve to shape, limit and control their mobility patterns (Fenster 2005). This means that in spite of some efforts by some cities to be gender inclusive, we know that women in cities around the world in the Global North and South often limit their movements and do not occupy public space for leisurely purposes in the way their male counterparts due, itself an important gender gap (Chant 2013 ; Phadke, Ranade et Khan 2011). Finally, social norms that promote avoidance behaviors in the name of safety, including not going out alone (Fanghanel 2016) or not taking public transportation (Sweet et Ortiz Escalante 2010), serve to further limit women's access to public spaces and their ability to benefit from urban opportunities, including political, economic and social, or to participate in democratic life (Plan International 2010 ; Spain 2014).

Women have organised in response to this danger and avoidance narrative through the Take Back the Night marches that began in the 1970s and that continue today (Lahad et May 2017). In addition to this activism, tools such as the women's safety audits that are used by local women to participate in producing a safety diagnosis of public space have been used in such diverse cities as Montréal, Delhi, and Dar es Salaam (Women in Cities International 2013). This tools allows local women users of a space to identify factors in the built environment that can be improved to enhance women's sense of safety and promote their appropriation and use of urban public spaces (Lelièvre 2017 ; Whitzman et al. 2009).

These efforts open the door for women to participate in conversations about city planning, recalling the work of J. Jacobs (1961) that shifted how women were seen in relation to the production of public space, from passive users of space to agents "actively involved in the everyday making of public space" (Berg 2018, 761). Women's participation in making the city is supported by Sassen (2015) who argues that what is needed to overcome gender gaps is for all women, particularly those who are most excluded or vulnerable, to be enabled to advocate for themselves and be agents of change in the transformation needed. Going further, Chant argues that women's "engagement in urban politics and governance is not just a fundamental right but also an integral and potentially major route to gender equality in urban prosperity" (Chant 2013, 22). Knowing that formal urban design and planning in cities around the world has resulted in gender gaps and other exclusions, it is essential that we critically consider gender inclusion in bottom up approaches used to assert ones right to the city so as to not reproduce the same exclusions.

As noted in the first part of this review of the literature, there are two main elements to the right to the city narrative that are mobilized in discussions around public space: the right to appropriate

public spaces for a variety of uses as part of the quality of daily life of urban residents, and the right to participate in producing city spaces at all scales, from micro to city level (Fenster 2005). Fenster (2005) criticizes this approach for its lack of consideration of unequal power relations that affect the ease with which people can articulate this right, including along ethnic and gendered lines, among others. So while the right to the city implies the right to use public space freely and without discrimination, as well as the right to participate in making and transforming that space, in practice, inequalities and discrimination persist and limit some groups, including women, from freely participating in creating and using the space (Lelièvre 2017).

The right to the city, a right that is articulated through participatory urbanism among other things, links people's daily lives with local governance, but it has been criticized for "being blind to the effects of gendered power relations on the fulfillment of women's right to the city" (Fenster 2005, 218). However, the increased relevance and significance of the right to the city articulated in part as the right to participate in making and shaping public space, is a useful framework for exploring issues around gender inclusive participation in public space design and development. Harvey contends that "the right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city" (Harvey 2008, 23). However, the right to the city must be democratized for all to be able to claim that right and change their city (Harvey 2008). This language, while anchored in urban human rights language has been criticized for being gender neutral and willfully ignorant of the barriers to participation facing women (Fenster 2005). It has been argued that "the right to the city is therefore fulfilled when the right to difference on a national basis is fulfilled too and people of different ethnicities, nationalities and gender identity can share and use the same urban spaces" (Fenster 2005, 225).

The right to the city serves as a backdrop for placemaking and other forms of participatory urbanism that purport to transfer power back to citizens, including the most vulnerable (LaFrombois 2017). These approaches propose to put inclusion and participation into practice, as citizens are active in designing the cities they want and need, beginning with select public spaces (Wyckoff 2014). All relevant stakeholders, including potential users of a space and local residents - men and women - must be included in the process for it to be able to understand the plurality of associated needs and opinions in order to minimize reproducing exclusions and spatial inequalities (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014). Furthermore, all efforts to transform a space through participatory urbanism must consider current social and political contexts (Lacaze 2010 ; Fainstein 2012b), be anchored in the local context (Blumenberg 2004 ; Lacaze 2010) and consider the needs, realities and aspirations of the diversity of community members in order to be inclusive in

both its processes and results. If not, we end up with public spaces that serve tourists and may be economically viable, but lack buy-in and appropriation by the existing local community, a lesson to draw from the High Line (Lang et Rothenberg 2017).

Unfortunately, even bottom up urban initiatives such as placemaking and tactical urbanism run the risk of reproducing social and spatial exclusion of different groups based on their race, gender, class, age, and other identity markers (Leslie et Catungal 2012 ; LaFrombois 2017). While the various forms of participatory urbanism are intended to be a collective practice for neighbourhood change (Douay et Prévot 2016), we know that poorer and racialized residents participate less in these processes (Lang et Rothenberg 2017 ; Zimmermann 2016). Hayden proposes that these small scale urban projects are actually about identity politics that are "defined around gender or race or neighbourhood [and] are an inescapable and important aspect of dealing with the built environment", in a sense, they are a community's way of claiming a place to make a statement (ex. against urban renewal, against spatial segregation due to race, gender or class, etc.) (Hayden 1995a, 7). Unfortunately, the integration of a strong socially inclusive vision in participatory urbanism does not often translate into practice. Talen argues that efforts to preserve city spaces and symbols can risk reproducing exclusions as they were often done by and for the elite - white and affluent (2015). However, the literature scan on participatory urbanism reveals an important gap of gender in the discourse and analysis of these approaches, themselves understudied considering their current popularity. (For example: Montreal Urban Ecology Centre 2015 ; Project for Public Spaces n.d.-a ; Cities for People 2016). Across all of these, research largely favours community involvement in designing public spaces for which they are the intended users, pointing to opportunities for inclusion, cultural and social relevance and empowerment, yet without regard for or mention of gender differences.

Lafrombois, offering one of the few feminist critiques of these new forms of bottom up urbanism, goes on to say "dominant conceptualisations of DIY urbanism reflect and reinforce the masculinist privileging of public urban spaces, physical and economic infrastructures and the public activities that take place in these spaces" (2017, 428). It is therefore crucial to understand their real potential for gender inclusion, both in terms of processes and results, particularly in light of a noted decrease in gender inclusion in planning discourse in the last decade or so (Beebeejaun 2017) coupled with the acknowledgment that *"l'accès genré à l'espace public est une manifestation du sexisme qui persiste dans nos sociétés"* (Lelièvre 2017, 6).

Little is known about women's participation in participatory urbanism and placemaking efforts. Some posit that when public spaces are designed in an inclusive participatory way, they produce for equitable public spaces and contribute to gender equality (United Cities and Local Governments 2016), while others qualify bottom up planning as a feminine approach (Berg 2018).

Some DIY urbanism efforts, notably the work of the Better Block Foundation in Barberton, USA recorded the gender of users of the space and noted that prior to their intervention, women represented 42.1% of the users of the space, which quickly climbed to 53.3% following the revamping of the street (Amos 2017). Generally, research largely favours community involvement in designing public spaces for which they are the intended users, pointing to opportunities for inclusion, cultural and social relevance, and empowerment. Women learn, often through subtle socialization of gender norms, that their voices do not count as much as men's, and some women have been known to 'self-silence' even when there are opportunities to participate (Lewis et al. 2015). The literature highlights the links between participation and attachment to place, noting particularly that power to decide, to choose and to influence decision-making strengthens women's sense of belonging (Fenster 2005). We know that more gender equal cities are ones where "girls and women have a place as agents in the production of space" (Berg 2018, 762).

Efforts such as participatory urbanism that bring different elements together (participation, urban design and development, public space) must be particularly deliberate in their efforts to promote inclusion or risk contributing to further exclusion (Kelker et Spinelli 2016). Exclusion is linked with human rights, including the right to the city as it relates to accessing the city but also shaping the city. Some have argued that the high degree of citizen engagement we see today, notably through local place-based initiatives, reflects new social movements who are asserting themselves under the banners of spatial justice and the right to the city, articulated through claims and interventions at the local level (Anguelovski 2015). In these cases, it is community activists in marginalised urban neighborhoods who have been organising to improve the quality of public spaces and services for local residents and to encourage environmental justice and the potential for wealth generation (Anguelovski 2015). These resident-based urban interventions reflect the original expressions of participatory urbanism, itself more radical and activist and aimed at changing the status quo (Mould 2014). Finally, it has been suggested that there is a paradigm shift towards accommodating new forms of citizenship that incorporate diversity, including cultural diversity, ethnic and racial diversity, and gender diversity (Fenster 2005). This conceptual shift proposed strives to be much more inclusive, to overcome the existing structural and systemic barriers and

oppressions that maintain unequal social standings in society (Spain 2014 ; Sweet et Ortiz Escalante 2010).

In spite of many advances for women, socially, economically and politically, cities continue to be punctuated with gendered urban spaces (Spain 2014). Authors accuse urban planning of being gender blind (Sweet et Ortiz Escalante 2010), in spite of a narrative that is both gendered and classed in its descriptions of an ideal city (Berg 2018). Simply put, authors contend that "urban planning is not gender neutral" (Sassen 2015), in fact, under the guise of neutrality or in planning for the ideal type' (Berg 2018), urban planning by men for men, failing to consider women's experiences, needs and positions (Lelièvre 2017). Some go so far as to argue that the result is that the public space is in fact a "white middle-upper class, heterosexual male domain", which can consequently mean that women cannot use public space, particularly if they are alone, - this is true in the Global North and South (Fenster 2005, 220). Others still point out that "structural gendered inequalities are linked to power dynamics, which are shaped by notions of identity, and human agency" (Sweet et Ortiz Escalante 2010, 2131). Finally, where there are efforts to be gender inclusive in planning public space, there is a tendency to ignore the complexities of women's identities, which gives way to "universalising women's needs in alignment with a white, middle-class, suburban imaginary" (Sweet et Ortiz Escalante 2010, 2142). This can produce exclusions for women who do not identify with these character traits.

Further, the literature reveals near universal gender blindness in guidance for small scale urbanism (Platt 2017). For example, both a 2016 review of placemaking in Canada and a 2015 Guide to Participatory Urban Planning by the Montréal Urban Ecology Centre fail to mention gender, women or girls once throughout the guide (Montreal Urban Ecology Centre 2015). Similarly, while the work of Concordia's urban lab is intended to be a participatory and inclusive process, there is no mention of women, gender, diversity or any number of factors, with the exception of one access ramp for wheelchair users (de la Llata 2016). Some also argue that the mere focus of new approaches, including placemaking, of concentrating their efforts in the public space, traditionally male-dominated space, is itself a reflection of a gender bias (LaFrombois 2017). It is crucial to understand the real potential for gender inclusion in participatory urbanism, both in terms of processes and results.

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Conclusion thoughts, key issues and an overview of the research site

In spite of claims of apparent civic apathy and disengagement, we are simultaneously seeing a resurgence in bottom up action that is asserting the central role of the community in making the city (Ferraris 2016). Regardless of what they are called, bottom up planning strategies are relatively new and growing quickly (Finn 2014a), emerging as a response to criticisms around the lack of consultation of local actors about plans that would affect them, their needs and their neighbourhoods (J. Jacobs 1961 ; Fainstein 2005b ; Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Mould 2014). It has been argued that there is a "need to foster urban complexity and diversity explicitly, via small-scale interventions that contrasted with top-down, large-scale, orthogonal planning" (Talen 2015, 143). Through the various forms of participatory urbanism, people are empowered to participate actively and meaningfully in the conceptualisation, design and implementation of the redevelopment of urban public space (Kelker et Spinelli 2016 ; Project for Public Spaces n.d.-a ; Wyckoff 2014). All of this is part of a broader conversation about public space and the role of citizens vis-à-vis its creation, development and use. While there is an increasing body of literature around participatory urbanism, there remains a lack of a uniform understanding of processes and interventions and a lack of a uniform lexicon to describe the efforts. In an effort to capture everyone under one term (or several that can be used interchangeably), they begin to mean everything and nothing. For some, tactical urbanism is the umbrella category for all of these forms of small scale participatory urbanism (Lydon et al. 2011 ; Lydon et al. 2012 ; Hartley et al. 2014), while others prefer DIY urbanism (Finn 2014a), while others still prefer placemaking (Zimmermann 2016 ; Project for Public Spaces n.d.-a).

Either way, the ubiquity of participatory urbanism practices today, in particular the acceptance and institutionalisation of such practices have meant, for some, that they have been mainstreamed and coopted into the neoliberal approach to urban development that is necessarily creative and participatory (Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Mould 2014). This rapid increase in global uptake of such practices begs us to reflect critically on the various models. With the noted acceptance and institutionalisation of such practices in cities such as Paris, some posit that this alternative model of urban public space development may slowly become the dominant model (Douay et Prévot 2016). Should more cities become the participatory urbanism leaders, authors question whether the bureaucratic institutionalization and control could erode the vibrant bottom-up character of participatory urbanism, leaving it vulnerable to co-optation by neoliberal interests (Ferraris 2016 ; Mould 2014). Further, when efforts are more institutionalized, it is important to question whether the degree of citizen participation, per Arnstein (1969) ladder shift. Specifically, with increased institutionalization and formalization, there will likely be challenges to maintaining the bottom up

and meaningfully participatory element of the approach, which was fundamental to its origins. Should this element be lost, citizen engagement risks becoming token participation where designers distill recommendations to fit into their designs. On the other hand, there are also important considerations for citizen-led participatory urbanism. For example, one authors questions how can small scale interventions be coherently integrated into the fabric of the city (Silva 2016). Further, with citizen-generated public places, it is essential to consider the governance implications due to gradual removal of state involvement investing in developing, maintaining and providing quality public spaces be considered to understand who is responsible for the long-term maintenance, management, and upkeep of the places (Finn 2014a). Either way, as the authors point out, regardless of the form that the process takes, participatory urbanism is making its mark on our cities and it is critical that we consider the impacts and potential consequences of the rise of these interventions.

Many of the first initiatives that were collectively grouped under the banner of participatory urbanism were featured in the first Tactical Urbanism guide (Lydon et al. 2011). This book highlighted the diverse efforts bring done in cities throughout North America to reclaim their rights to the city through place-based interventions. From the emergence of guerilla gardening in the 1970s or Pop-up cafés in California, a number of participatory urbanism efforts are credited with having been introduced in North America (Lydon et al. 2011). Some argue that they date back to the early 20th century in the United States (Silva 2016). Some initiatives, including Park(ing) Day, expanded not only to other North American cities but around the world as well, and have been formalized in some cities. Some groups, including Build a Better Block, transformed from a community organisation to a fee-for-hire professional group that offered its services to other cities. There are also much bigger urban projects, such as Bryant Park and the High Line that are credited as being examples of participatory urbanism and placemaking (Lang et Rothenberg 2017). Finally, as more cities got on board and the lines between unsanctioned and sanctioned were increasingly blurred (Silva 2016), foundations such as the Knight Foundation became interested in funding additional participatory urbanism interventions in other cities (Blumgart 2016).

Canadian Foundations, including the McConnell Foundation, have also joined the effort to provide funding support to the participatory urbanism movement in Canada (Cities for People 2016). In Canada, the placemaking movement more specifically is increasingly networked, having convened 40 placemakers from across the country in an inaugural Canadian Placemaking event, which culminated in a publication (Cities for People 2016). There is also a Facebook group with

over 450 members for Canadian placemakers to share practices and lessons with one another[6]. Some Canadian Cities, including Victoria and Halifax, have created departments within their municipal structures to work on placemaking initiatives in their cities (Cities for People 2016).

Montréal is also witnessing a number of participatory urbanism interventions and the city is taking notice. One group, La Pépinière espaces collectifs, has received funding from the McConnell Foundation for its placemaking work (Foundation n.d.). In Montréal, people have fought to preserve spaces from being developed. The *Champs des possibles* in the Mile End neighbourhood in Montréal is an example of community organising that succeeded in preserving and activating an underused space that celebrates its wild underdeveloped side while offering a space for relaxation and socialization (Bérubé et Giaufret 2017).

More and more tools are available to support people wanting to get involved in transforming underused spaces in Montréal. The group Lande, for example, offers a digital map identifying underused spaces and allows citizens to indicate their interest in transforming the space into a place (Bérubé et Giaufret 2017). Similarly, Wild City Mapping invites people to crowdsource greet spots and supports citizens wishing to activate those spaces (Bérubé et Giaufret 2017). There is also a trend towards institutionalisation of these initiatives by professional groups and by the city itself (Ferraris 2016). The professionalization and institutionalisation that Mould (2014) cautions us against is thus present in cities such as Montréal, and the transformation of the objectives of such interventions from subversive acts to feeling more like public space festivals is observed (Ferraris 2016). While the trend thus appears to be increasing, in Montréal and around the world, it is not clear what the long-term the impact of the various efforts will be.

While several authors have alluded to the motivation of participatory urbanism to effect long-term change (Hartley et al. 2014 ; Lydon et Garcia 2015 ; Lydon et al. 2012), others have cautioned for approaches to catalyse long-term change in city planning processes and urban public spaces, the impact must be broader than the microscale (Iveson 2013). Similarly, the potential effectiveness of small scale interventions on their own has been interrogated (Talen 2015). While the body of literature of the topic is growing there are many important knowledge gaps that must be filled. There is little empirical data or baseline information about how public space usage changes pre- and post-community intervention that is disaggregated by age and gender (Anderson et al. 2017). There is also a need for more academic research into the phenomena of participatory urbanism

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[6] See https://www.facebook.com/groups/1535821856737089/

(Finn 2014a). Others have criticized the existing literature for being overly positive (LaFrombois 2017), and some have gone so far as to claim that existing literature is "laudatory and even overtly partisan" (Finn 2014a, 382). More balanced scientific inquiry into the processes and results of participatory urbanism is thus needed to responsibly inform the continued growth and expansion of the various forms in cities around the world. It is clear that much work and thought has gone into feminist critiques of urban theory and planning, but much remains to be done. Feminist critiques of placemaking are notably few (Beebeejaun 2017) and, given its increase in popularity by both urban activists and formal urban actors, it is important that this be prioritised to inform future practice.

Emerging strategies, such as placemaking, strive to encourage use and appropriation of public space by local communities as a means of not only transforming the spaces themselves, but also transforming social relations and cohesion. It is said that spaces should be flexible to accommodate ever-changing needs and wants of users of a space to ensure that the social dimension of the space remains activated (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014). Unfortunately, we know that "DIY approaches run the risk of creating or perpetuating inequity in many urban neighbourhoods" (Finn 2014a, 392) in both their processes and resulting places. We question whether women's leadership in placemaking initiatives that aim to create inclusive places have the potential to begin to close this gap. For the purpose of this study, our research question seeks to understanding in what ways placemaking in an inclusive process of producing and using urban public space, especially for women. Meaningful participation is understood and more than mere attendance in meetings, rather it implies speaking but also being heard and having power over decision-making.

It is within this context that the research proposes to evaluate the extent to which placemaking, a process-centric form of participatory urbanism, can overcome the well-documented gender gaps in urban planning to create gender inclusive public spaces. We concede that placemaking *could* be a powerful process for women to engage in transforming their cities, as the process is intended to be one of empowerment that invites people to collectively dream of the potential of their public spaces – not what they are now, but what they can be – and to work together to make these dreams a reality. It has also been argued that focusing on transforming public spaces into places increases ownership, sense of belonging, and emotional bonds between people and place, which can positively shape place identity and foster a sense of inclusion (Kelker et Spinelli 2016). This study seeks to understand whether this process, as positive as it reads on paper, is as positive in its implementation and it the subsequent places it makes. Just as the placemaking leaders, we

are interested in the process itself, in the inclusions and exclusions it reproduces and in the place it culminates in, paying particular attention the potential of the process and place to be an inclusive one for the diversity of women. The second element the research explores is therefore the public place produced by the placemaking. We hope to understand how this place is used and in what ways by women, and whether they appreciate the space itself.

The principal research question that this study thus seeks to answer is "In what ways is placemaking an inclusive process of producing and using urban public space, especially for women?" As this research will use a gendered approach, it will critically assess who is included in the process and to what degree, how was gender inclusion considered throughout – if at all, and who was excluded from the process. Further, it seeks to understand to what degree diversity and gender inclusion is reflected in the end results of such processes, as evidenced by social use of space, assessed by the presence of a diversity of users at varying times of the day and different days for various durations and uses. More specifically, spaces produced as part of a placemaking process as evidenced through the Village au Pied-du-Courant are for one type of community, not the diversity of the community.

The research consists of an in-depth case study of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, an area along the waterfront in Montréal's Sainte-Marie neighbourhood, in the eastern part of the Ville-Marie borough of Montréal that was recently redeveloped through placemaking (see Chapter 3 for greater description of the research site). The development was led by *La Pépinière espaces collectifs* (La Pépinière et co.), in partnership with the *Association du design urbain du Québec (ADUQ)* and *les AmiEs du Courant-Sainte-Marie*. The group referred to the process being "development by and for the community"[7]. The redevelopment process began in 2014 but stalled and the site was officially inaugurated as a temporary place in 2015. In 2016, its name was changed from 'Village Éphémère' to Village au Pied-du-Courant to signal it becoming perennial. The choice of the name "au Pied-du-Courant" is a nod to the former Pied du Courant prison that operated in the area from 1836-1912. One of the stated objectives for the summer 2017 season was to increase appropriation and use of the site at all times (i.e. even when there is nothing animating the site) to make it more of a neighbourhood public space for the community to enjoy at different times, rather than a place that is only enjoyed when it is programmed. Specifically, a stated objective for the Summer 2017 season is to promote "harmonious cohabitation of the

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[7] " Monté par et pour la communauté"

neighbourhood residents, families, workers, young people and tourists" (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017a, 3).

In Montréal, the *Village éphémère* developed by the *Association du design urban du Québec (ADUQ)* in the Peel Basin in 2013 is one of the first local examples of a temporary urban intervention that sought to activate and unused public space (Ferraris 2016). This Village éphémère then migrated from the Peel Basin to the Sainte-Marie neighbourhood, and evolve from its ephemeral state, to become a recurring seasonal public place called the Village au Pied-du-Courant that is developed and managed by La Pépinière espaces collectifs. Its significance for Montréal's placemaking movement has been recognised, some referring to it as being the site that pioneered placemaking in the city (Mercille 2018). In fact, Mercille (2018) argues that the initiative embodied placemaking before we even knew the word to describe it, and that the site itself has become emblematic of the placemaking movement.

The research will provide key insight into how inclusive placemaking truly is, both as a process and in its impacts, to understand its potential to generate gender inclusive public spaces. The gender approach will also provide important insight into the social and spatial exclusions that may manifest in the placemaking process or place. It will begin to fill existing research gaps on placemaking across the fields of urban studies, geography, sociology and urban planning. Specifically, with few exceptions (Zimmermann 2016 ; Semenza et March 2009), very little research has been done to evaluate the process of placemaking itself, even less from a critical gender lens. This research will therefore provide key insights into the process of placemaking, considering how inclusive it is as a process, critically considering who is excluded from the processes, and who are the places being made for. As more and more people continue to move to cities, it is critical that we find ways of enabling women to participate in shaping their urban environments.

Furthermore, the research has broader social contributions related to increasing the effectiveness and gender inclusiveness of participatory urban planning, which can contribute to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in cities in the Global North and South. Specifically, SDG 11.3 on community participation in planning and SDG 11.7 on safe and inclusive public spaces for women stand to directly benefit from improved practices as a result of this research, as well as SDG 5 achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls. The practical insights that will come from the research can inform the traditional space and place professionals (urban planners, designers and architects) about how to effectively engage diverse women and girls in participatory

processes, including but not limited to placemaking. This can serve to inform future processes that are more inclusive of all women and girls, across diversity, empowering them to become active citizens and agents of change who shape their communities, rather than beneficiaries of change.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

In this chapter we will present our methodological approach to the research. To do this, we have divided this chapter into three main parts: operationalizing the key terms of the research question and introducing the research dimensions; introducing the research site; presenting the research tools and strategy for data collection and analysis; and ethical considerations in carrying out the research.

The objective of the first part of this chapter is to operationalize the terms included in the research question to ensure shared comprehension of the question itself. The chapter will therefore begin with the operationalisation of the phenomenon in question - placemaking. We will then explain the various elements of the research question to offer clarity for each of the elements that were relevant to the study, as we understood them within the confines of the research. We will then present the two dimensions of placemaking that we will explore in order to respond to our research question. The first dimension is participation in placemaking processes - drawing from the literature to support the decision to include various factors that can support us in partially responding to the research question about the ways in which placemaking processes can be inclusive, particularly for women. Following that, we will present the other dimension, namely the public place produced by a placemaking process - drawing from the literature to support the decision to include various factors that can support us in partially responding to the research question about the ways in which the places produced by placemaking can be inclusive, particularly for women.

Our second section of this chapter is be used to share pertinent information to add context to the case study, by introducing the public place in question - the Village au Pied-du-Courant. In this section we will provide context about the neighbourhood in which the public place was produced and information about the public place developed through the placemaking initiative.

The following section of this chapter will provide details about the research tools, their application and any challenges faced during the data collection. This section aims to provide transparent information about the data collection process itself, across each of the research tools deployed. In addition, we will report on the sampling for each of the tools. This will include a section on how we organised and analyzed the data to be able to respond to the research question. Finally, we will share the ethical considerations for our study.

2.1 Elements of the Research Question Explained

In order to respond to the research question - In what ways is placemaking an inclusive process of urban public place production and usage, especially for women? - it was important to deconstruct and understand the various terms included in the question. Specifically, this means understanding the following terms in the context of this research: placemaking; public place; inclusive process of urban public place production; and inclusive public place usage. Given that the study strived to understand the gendered dimension, particular attention was paid to how women were participated in developing the site and in using it subsequently when assessing their potential to be inclusive. Furthermore, while this study did not go so far as to be able apply an intersectional lens to the research, a conscious effort was made to acknowledge other identity markers and how they interact with gender when it was possible to do so.

Placemaking, for the purpose of this research, is understood as the process of physically redesigning an urban public space with the intended involvement of the community, as co-creators and users of the place. The community is often accompanied by a professional organisation, and the purpose of the intervention is to transform the space into a place that the community can use, develop an attachment to, and can see itself in, through design-based interventions and programming intended to activate the place. Now that we understand placemaking, we must consider two dimensions when assessing the potential for placemaking to be inclusive: participation and public place.

Public place: A public place, as it relates to placemaking, is the result of a transformation of a space that was underused and lacked attachment, activation and appropriation to a public place where such attachment, activation and appropriation are made possible. It is therefore a place within a bounded geography with clear limits, and is a place of meaning (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014).

Inclusive process of urban public place production: Placemaking is a participatory process of development urban public places. Inclusive participation in placemaking processes is understood as an ease of participation, a variety of means used to recruit community members, a variety of communication strategies to disseminate information to the community, and participation in decision-making, including having an influence over the design of the final place produced, management and maintenance of the place, and activation of the place via its programming. For our study, we are particularly interested in how gender inclusive the process was, and were

interested in understand whether women participated in the process and what roles they had if they did.

Inclusive public place usage: As stated earlier, the other dimension that was studied to assess the degree of inclusivity of a placemaking process is the public place produced, explored in terms of the users of the space (profile of people using the place) and the usage of the space (programme and spontaneous uses). A public place that is inclusive in its usage, is open and accessible, comfortable, offers activities for diverse people, and is well managed and maintained. Inclusive public place usage is reflected in the presence of diverse users of the place, notably by a gender balance between males and females. For our study, public spaces can be considered to be inclusive when they are being used by diverse men and women of different ages, cultures, abilities, socioeconomic backgrounds, and other factors. The nature of the use of the space can vary by person and at different times of day. For this study, gender inclusion in the public place was considered in relation to the presence of women as users of the space (gender balance), as well as the way they were using the space, both in terms of its design and the available programmed activities and spontaneous activities (uses).

Now that we understand the elements of the research question, it is important to understand how the research was organised to be able to respond to the research question. To this end, given the lack of comparable studies that focused on the topic specifically, we opted to undertake an exploratory qualitative research study. We then identified a number of dimensions have been used to facilitate the research and data analysis. Since the research investigated the placemaking process as well as the results of the placemaking initiative, both participation and public place were included as dimensions for analysis. More specifically, the participation in placemaking processes, and the public place produced through the placemaking process were explored, including considerations for how the public place was used and by whom. To do this, each of these were further operationalised by identifying related characteristics that would allow us to determine the elements that made participation in placemaking processes and in the public space inclusive, especially for women. The analysis accordingly considered the dimensions of participation and public place as they relate to inclusion and exclusion. The research dimensions were then used to guide the field data collection and to code and analyse the resulting data.

2.1.1 Defining Research Dimension 1: Participation in Placemaking Processes

As we explored in literature around participation, several authors, particularly Arnstein (1969) and Fung (2006) offer models of assessment of the degree of participation for various forms of citizen participation. Both of the authors are concerned with the potential influence that participants have over the outcomes of the participation. For Arnstein (1969) this implies the correlation of sharing or redistribution power with the degree of participation, along a two dimensional ladder of participation. Fung (2006) goes further in complexity to propose a cube of participation, where degrees of authority and power are indicators of the influence of participants over outcomes. In addition to the power dimension, he offers two additional dimensions, namely the means used to recruit participants and communication and decision-making, as indicators of the quality of the citizen participation. For the purpose of this study, we embrace Fung's more complex understanding of participation and understand inclusive participation to mean processes where participants have influence over the outcomes (authority and power), which are reflected in the design of the public place and the associated programming. We also understand inclusive participation to be demonstrated by the deliberate recruitment and use of a variety of means to attract diverse participants (participant selection methods), and the ability of diverse participants to know about the placemaking process and to share their ideas and shape the outcome of the process (communication and decision-making) (Fung 2006). Either way, there is some indication that community mobilization and involvement around common issues, such as planning a new public place, are positive examples of citizen participation (Blondiaux 2001).

Placemaking processes occur at a very local, neighbourhood scale, regarded as being favorable to citizen participation (Bacqué et Gauthier 2011). In order to assess how inclusive a placemaking process was, especially for women, a number of factors were considered along the following lines: the profile of participants, the roles attributed to the different participants, and the means of communication used both to reach participants and during exchanges as part of the process. The research drew from some influential studies on public participation (Fung 2006 ; Arnstein 1969) to identify elements that would assist with understanding what factors would make participation in a placemaking process inclusive, especially for women. See Table 2.1 below for the research dimensions that were selected to explore participation in placemaking processes.

Profile of participants: The first thing we wanted to understand when assessing participation in a placemaking process was who participates in such a process. This would allow us to generate a profile of people participating in a placemaking process. With citizen participation, it is important to understand who is around the table and represented in the process, including city officials, citizens, and representatives of local organisations (Blondiaux 2001). In exploring the profile of

participants, we considered who the placemaking leaders were. By placemaking leaders, we are referring to the people who are directly representing the lead organisations in the process. Since placemaking is intended to be a participatory process, we distinguish the leaders from the other people who participated in the placemaking process who were not employed by or a representative of the lead organisations, who we simply referred to as 'participants'. In addition, we paid attend to the diversity of participants, particularly in terms of gender and organisational affiliation, whenever possible. In particular, we were interested in the diversity of people represented in the placemaking process. As we saw in Chapter 1, it has been argued that the more diverse representation of people in public space development, the more inclusive the place will be (United Cities and Local Governments 2016). People involved in revitalising public spaces should be done at a very local, neighbourhood scale, and involve the daily users of the space (Bacqué et Gauthier 2011), hence the interest in place of residence and any organisational affiliation. As it would be impossible for every resident to be engaged in the process, participatory urbanism relies on the representation of diversity, particularly marginalised or exclude groups, via community organisations (Silva 2016 ; Blondiaux 2001). These organisations can support their members and the people who use their services to participate. It is, however, important to remember that people who are already involved with community organisations in various capacities reflect a degree of social integration already (Blondiaux 2001). Participation must include both men and women, as we know that with traditional urban planning processes, public space development that fails to specifically consider the needs of women often becomes as space for everyone, which in reality is a space by and for men (Lelièvre 2017). Considerations to assess how inclusive participation is - as reflected in the profile of participants - will seek to identify who the leaders are and the diversity of participants beyond gender to include age, institutional affiliation and place of residence (i.e. in the local area of not). Finally, while we know that daily usage of a space is its own form of expertise (Nez 2001), we also know that lack of formal training, reflected in education and technical skills, can be a potential barrier to participation (Anguelovski 2015) and can cause exclusion. While the neighbourhood scale does favor the valuing of everyday lived experience as valuable expertise (Bacqué et Gauthier 2011), it was important to understand whether there was an expectation of technical skills, language or knowledge to be able to participate. This is salient as we also know that existing social inequalities can limit access to such formal education and training (Nez 2001). It is for this reason that we included a final element that we wished to explore for the profile of participants, that of educational background.

Roles for participants: Drawing from both Fung and Arnstein's work on the type and degree of public participation, the roles attributed to different participants are of interest for our study, as they symbolize the degree of power-sharing and authority given to participants. In order to understand how people are participating in placemaking processes, different roles for participants were identified: leadership and decision-making; conception, design and implementation; programming; and management and maintenance. As we saw in Chapter 1, many placemaking professionals argue that it is a process of co-creation, where experts work with community members (non-experts) to conceive of a new place (Kelker et Spinelli 2016). This process is intended to produce a collection vision of the place (Thomas 2016). Further, with co-creation, participation is more inclusive and consequential as a sharing of power is necessarily implied (Kelker et Spinelli 2016 ; Silva 2016).

To assess this, we wanted to understand the various roles available to participants of the process, beginning with understanding who the placemaking leaders and decision-makers were. We considered that power and decision-making would also be reflected in who has control over the budget and resource allocation, often grant management or management of self-funded placemaking initiatives (Finn 2014a), and who has control over setting the agenda (Blondiaux 2001). Aside from leadership and decision-making, there are opportunities for people to participate in other moments of participatory urbanism processes, including in the conceptualisation and design of the place (Finn 2014a), from as early as site identification (Douay et Prévot 2016). Knowing that participation in this phase does not always result in action or implementation that reflects this vision (Bacqué et Gauthier 2011), we were interested in understanding the degree to which community input was reflected in the design and programming of the new public place and the degree to which they participated in decision-making about the design (Thomas 2016). This is consequent for participatory urbanism, as some authors have criticized that "participation is still seen more like the inclusion of suggestions filtered by the designer" (Silva 2016, 1043). For many placemaking initiatives, including the one our case study is interested in, the design is complemented by programming to help to attract people to use the space. We were therefore interested in understanding who participated in developing and animating the programming of the site, with particular attention paid to gender and institutional affiliation. With placemaking and other forms of participatory urbanism, there are often opportunities for members of the community to participate in the implementation and building of the place (Finn 2014a), some maintain that this is important (Silva 2016), so we were curious to know who took part in the building and implementation phase, noting gender and institutional affiliation here as well. Lastly, with

placemaking there are opportunities to participate in site management and maintenance as well (Finn 2014a), and many places are in fact citizen-managed (Douay et Prévot 2016). Some contend that the daily maintenance and management reflects a sense of ownership and attachment to place (Bacqué et Gauthier 2011), dimensions that we are also interested in as part of our study. Accordingly, we were interested in understanding who was involved in site management and maintenance, responsibilities that imply delegations of power which, according to Arnstein and Fung, are crucial in understanding the significance of the citizen participation. Once again, gender and institutional affiliation were studied.

Communication: As Fung (2006) notes, communication is an important factor in determining type and significance of community participation. For the purpose of our research, we were interested in three moments where communication takes particular importance in the potential of a process to be inclusive: representation, recruitment and dissemination. Representation here is understood as who is given the mandate and opportunity to speak on behalf of the placemaking process, the community or the place itself. Recruitment is about the ways in which the placemaking leaders are reaching out to the community to invite people to join the process. The methods of recruitment are related to the potential for the process to be inclusive, as reach and preferred mode of communication are directly affected. Some have argued that communication should be more visual and less verbal in order to encourage greater participation (Thomas 2016). We know that information to participate in the process and to visit the place are often communicated through digital and social media (Douay et Prévot 2016), which means that only citizens who are already engaged receive information. We were thus interested in the way information was shared about the public place. We wanted to know how people could learn about the place and its programming, and whether these dissemination strategies used a variety of methods (ex. posters, media, as well as Facebook) to ensure broad exposure by community members.

The various elements related to our first research dimension, participation in the placemaking process, are summarized and presented below in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Research Dimension 1: Participation in Placemaking Processes

Participation in placemaking processes		
Profile of participants	*Placemaking leaders*: gender, age, affiliation with organisation	
	Diversity of participants: gender, age, affiliation with organisation, place of residence	
	Education: background in urban planning, design, architecture	
Roles for participants	*Leadership and decision-making*: leadership role, decision-making role, control over resources	
	Conceptualisation, design and implementation: opportunities for participation in the various phases of the placemaking process, profile of participants in the different phases (gender, institutional affiliation), validation of design	
	Programming: opportunities for participation in the programming, validation of programming, animation, profile organisations leading an activity	
	Management and maintenance: site management roles, profile of managers (gender, organisational affiliation), site maintenance roles	
Communication	*Representation:* spokesperson(s) for the placemaking process, spokesperson(s) for the community (gender, organisational affiliation)	
	Recruitment: methods and media used to invite people to participate, conditions for participation (minimum commitment, technical language or skills)	
	Dissemination: methods and media used to inform people about the process, strategies to reach diverse people (age, gender)	

Source: K. Travers

2.1.2 Defining Research Dimension 2: Placemaking - the Public Place

In order to assess the elements of inclusion offered in the design and programming of the public place, the researcher drew inspiration from the seminal work of Whyte (1980) and his research team. This research inspired the creation of placemaking, and was thus considered to particularly relevant for looking at the public place itself. The research similarly influenced subsequent work, notably by Jan Gehl, whose work focuses on the linkages between people and place, and on the 'public life', which relies on a number of tools, and direct observation in particular, to assess public space and public life within that space (Gehl et Svarre 2013). Finally, another important source used to evaluate a public place is the Project for Public Space's (PPS) 'What Makes a Great Place?' diagram, which identifies four key attributes: sociability, uses and activities, access and linkages, and comfort and image (See ANNEX 1). This diagram is not only used by PPS, but also referenced in academic literature and used by other actors, including the Baltimore City Department of Planning (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014), which is the source we referred to when

identifying the research dimensions. Finally, we also drew from work done to adapt environmental assessment methodologies to propose spatial performance goals to specifically assess the quality of placemaking public places (Thomas 2016). In order to critically assess the public place - both in terms of its design and programming - three key areas were explored: design and programming of the place, the social use of space, and spatial patterns. See Table 2.2 below for the research dimensions of the public place.

Design and programming: the design and programming of the public place communicates who the space is for, which directly relates to how inclusive it is. In evaluating design and programming, we considered three key elements: accessibility, comfort and programming. The accessibility of the space is essential in determining the potential for a place to be inclusive. It has been argued that public space, in the true sense, should be accessible to everyone (Finn 2014a). For our research, this means that hours of operation should be flexible, open at during times of day, and different days of the week (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014). The physically accessibility of the place, in terms of its location, but also in terms of universal accessibility was also an important element to consider. An accessible public place, particularly in the context of our research, also had to be economically accessible with no gatekeeping measures, including entrance fees, that could limit access to the site (Finn 2014a). A final important element related to our understanding of how accessible the place was, is the legibility of the place, which, while based on Lynch's seminal work, can be described as "urban environments whose physical form would be such as to enable people to form clear mental images and maps of them, on the basis of which they would find it easier to orient themselves and find their way around" (Taylor 2009, , 191). For places produced through participatory urbanism, this has been considered as the ways in which is built into the design of the space and observed by a layout that is organised and readable (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014), which in turn allows users to understand what activities happen in what space (Thomas 2016), and makes the place approachable. The legibility of the space is complementary to the aesthetic quality, both of which contribute to the comfort of a space (Taylor 2009).

For a public place to be inclusive, it must be comfortable (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014). For the purpose of our research, for a space to be determined to be comfortable, it must be possible to sit in it, it must be attractive and welcoming, it must be safe, and there must also be greenery. For a place to be inclusive and comfortable, there must be a variety of places for people to sit is best, and these seating options must be arranged in "socially comfortable" configurations (Whyte 1980, 28), meaning that they are organised, in different spaces, and evenly spaced. In fact, one study demonstrated that public art and the availability of seating in places produced through

placemaking processes were shown to have the greatest positive impact on social use of space, measured by increased duration of people's time spent in the place (Anderson et al. 2017). To be socially comfortable, the design must respond to the lifecycle nuance, appealing to different ages - including children and the elderly, different genders, and be culturally inclusive (Thomas 2016). A comfortable public place includes nature - greenery, trees, flowers, plants (Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Thomas 2016 ; Cilliers et Timmermans 2014), but also offers some control for the elements (Thomas 2016), by offering users of the place the choice of being in the sun or shade, for example (Whyte 1980 ; Gehl et Svarre 2013). It also offers essential services on site, including public toilets, access to water and food, at affordable prices. A comfortable space feels safe (Thomas 2016 ; Cilliers et Timmermans 2014), an element that is particularly important for it to be gender inclusive (Women in Cities International 2013). In fact, some studies show that sense of safety emerged more than income in terms of importance, and that fear of violence and harassment is more important for women (Falu 2014). Further, a lack of sense of safety limits women's mobility and use of public space (Whitzman 2013 ; Whitzman et al. 2009 ; Women in Cities International 2013). For our research, safety is linked to how attractive, clean and well-maintained the place is (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014 ; Whyte 1980). An inclusive public place is thus attractive and has a nice aesthetic (Thomas 2016 ; Cilliers et Timmermans 2014 ; Anderson et al. 2017 ; Whyte 1980), meaning that its design makes use of different shapes, textures and color (Thomas 2016), and is artistic and fun (Douay et Prévot 2016), which makes it an aesthetically pleasing place.

The programming of a place can contribute to its potential to be inclusive. Some authors suggest that a public space should be fun (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014), offering different activities and recreational options (Thomas 2016 ; Gehl et Svarre 2013). It is said that a place should be allow for flexible use (Silva 2016), offering opportunities for both formal and spontaneous recreational options (Thomas 2016), so our research was interested in the diversity of the programming offered. We already described being interested in understanding the organisations or people who animate the place and who offer programmed activities, but we are equally interested in knowing who the intended participants were for the various programmed activities to gain an understanding of who the intended participants or users of the place were. Relatedly, we were interested in understanding whether different programmed activities attracted different profiles of users of the place, paying attention to gender and age and other observable identity factors, and whether a variety of activities were offered to respond to these different needs.

Social use of place: There is a link between the quality of a public space and the social use of the space (Anderson et al. 2017, 707). Knowing that the physical design and the programming of a

place can communicate who the place is for (Fenster 2005 ; Bérubé et Giaufret 2017), it was important to study the social use of the place, with particular attention being paid to women in the space. In order to understand the social use of space, we identified three key elements to examine further: the profile of the users of the place, usage and sociability of the place, and temporal patterns. Generating a profile of users of the place was necessary to understand whether it was used by a diversity of people across age, ability, gender, language and place of residence (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014 ; Gehl et Svarre 2013). We know that what attracts people to a place is other people (Whyte 1980). But we also know that gender balance and a high proportion of women in particular is an indicator of a good public place (Whyte 1980). The presence of women in public space often has the added benefit of making the space feel safer (Gehl et Svarre 2013). We were therefore particularly interested in whether there was an observable gender balance in terms of the profile of the users of the place.

Next, we were interested in understanding the usage and sociability of the place, essentially, exploring what people do on the site and who they do it with. We were interested in understanding the degree to which people engaged in the planned activities (Anderson et al. 2017) or in spontaneous use. We know that inclusive places are flexible and multi-purpose (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014 ; Silva 2016), reflecting appropriation of the space by diverse city residents for different reasons (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014). Previous research demonstrated that the presence of couples or small groups of two or three people promotes the potential for sociability in a public place (Whyte 1980). It was thus relevant to note whether people arrived at the place alone, in small groups or in large groups (Gehl et Svarre 2013). The degree to which people were engaged in group activities (playing games, talking in a group, eating) or in solitary activities, including being on a cell phone or taking photos (Liao et al. 2012) was observed. Further, to assess the potential for spontaneous social encounters and networking (Thomas 2016), characteristic of a social space (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014), we observed whether people stayed with the people they came with or whether they engaged with other people or groups - this is the sociability of the place. Finally, the temporal patterns of the social use of the place were determined to be relevant in order to understand whether it is a place that was used at different times of the day (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014), whether the profile of users changed throughout the day, as determinants of the potential for inclusion, particularly for women, of the place. Relatedly, we were curious to understand how long people stay in a space (Gehl et Svarre 2013), as the duration of their stay typically reflects how good they feel in that space (Anderson et al. 2017). The final thing we were interested in is the spatial patterns in the public place, or the geography of use. Understanding

what spaces were the most used, and therefore appreciated most, and whether some groups of people always used one space vs. another, what areas filled up first and whether they stayed occupied would allow us to assess the overall potential for inclusion of the place, as well as the smaller spaces within it. The spatial patterns of the movement of people was determined to be pertinent as well, specific attention being paid to whether pedestrian flow was constant and whether people consistently entered and exited through the same places (Whyte 1980). Essentially, we sought to understand whether there were areas where people cluster, whether there were more people at the periphery or at the centre of the place, and whether usage was evenly distributed throughout (Gehl et Svarre 2013). As we noted earlier, an inclusive place has a variety of spaces with seating and different activities to appeal to a broader diversity of uses.

The various elements related to our second research dimension, placemaking - the public place, are summarized and presented below in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Research Dimension 2: Placemaking - the Public Place

Placemaking: the public place	
Design and programming	*Accessibility*: physical accessibility, universal design, cost, hours of operation, legible space
	Comfort: greenery, mix of sun and shade, attractive, seating options, facilities on-site (toilets, water, food), different spaces, welcoming, safe, designed for lifecycle nuance
	Programming: profile of organisations animating the site and their target populations, intended participants of the programmed activity, diversity of activities, opportunities for spontaneous use
Social use of place	*Profile of people in the place:* diversity of users (gender, age, place of residence, language), gender balance
	Usage and sociability: programmed and spontaneous uses, solitary and group activities, interaction between different groups, groupings - alone, couple, small and large groups
	Temporal patterns: time of usage, duration of stay, type of usage and profile of users at different times of day
Spatial patterns	*Geography of use:* clustering of groups of users in one area, movement on site, pedestrian flow, distribution of usage

Source: K. Travers

2.2 Overview of the Case Study

2.2.1 Introducing the Village au Pied-du-Courant

As we presented in the literature review, many cities are sites of urban experimentation via the production of participatory urbanism, including placemaking. These experimentations can change the way people use and experience public spaces, often offering new public places where people can meet, loiter, and enjoy. Montréal is no exception to this trend and boasts a number of such spaces throughout the city. The Village au Pied-du-Courant, seen as the precursor to participatory urbanism in Montréal (Mercille 2018), sits at the waterfront of the Sainte-Marie neighbourhood at the foot of the Jacques-Cartier bridge (see Figure 1 below to situate the site in the context of Montréal). This seasonal public place is the object of our case study.

Figure 1: Map of Montréal with the location of the Village au Pied-du-Courant
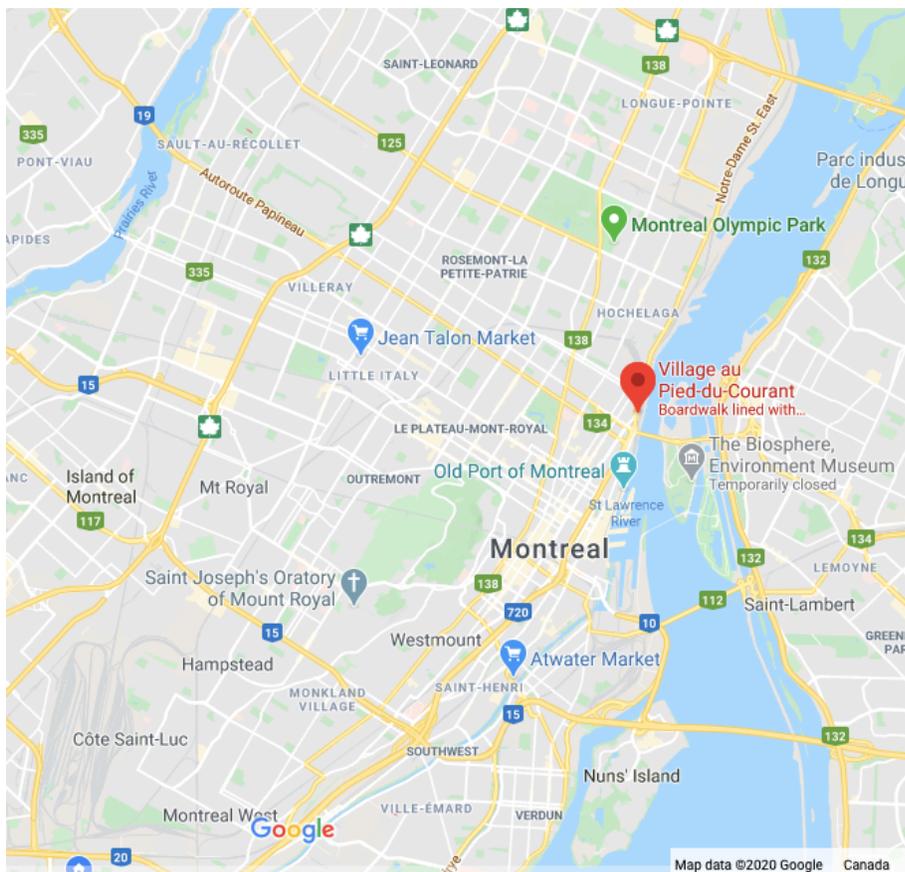
Source: Google Maps

Drawing from grey literature, city documents, reports produced by local organisations as well as content from websites to present information about the Sainte-Marie neighbourhood, including its geographic location and an overview of recent changes and public consultations. This information will offer an insight into the historical transformation, or plans for transformation, of the Sainte

Marie neighbourhood in the past two decades. In addition, a sociodemographic profile of the neighbourhood will be presented.

The following section will hone in on the Village au Pied-du-Courant itself, which is the focus of our study. To do this, we consulted web pages of the lead organisations involved in developing the project, reports produced by the organisations, and articles that have been written up about the placemaking project.

Figure 2: Map of Village au Pied-du-Courant
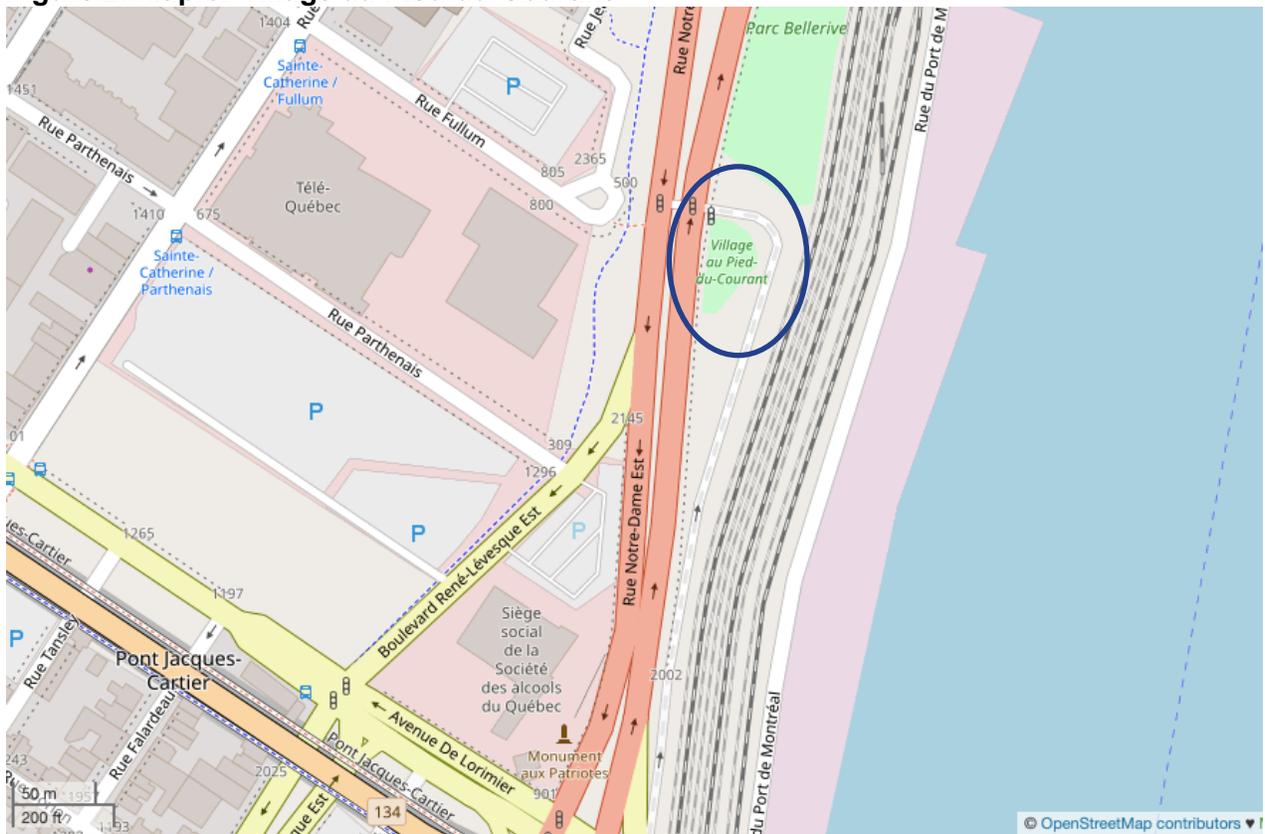
Image source : Open Street Map, https://www.openstreetmap.org/search?query=village%20au%20pied%20du%20courant#map=17/45 .52506/-73.54455

The Village au Pied-du-Courant is a seasonal public place that welcomes people to make use of an otherwise vacant urban space. In the winter months, the site serves as a dumping ground from snow from the Plateau Mont-Royal borough. The site offers food, music, drinks, activities and a view of the Pont Jacques Cartier and the Fleuve Saint Laurent. Temporary urban furniture is mounted and sand is brought in as part of the design of the space (see Figure 2 above).

The neighbourhood where the place was developed from an historical perspective which reveals the degree to which it has been scrutinized as a potential area to redevelop in recent years. In the winter, the area, known as the *Chute à neige Fullum* serves as a dumping ground for city snow removal and is therefore unusable. It remained unused in the summer until the Village éphémère came to activate the space in 2014. The Village éphémère was a temporary public place developed through placemaking. Of particular interest about the Village au Pied-du-Courant is the fact that was started as a temporary pop up public space evolved into a seasonal public space. Specifically, while it was only intended to be ephemeral, as the name suggests, interest on the part of the public and placemaking leaders meant that the Village was able to return to the site every year since 2014, rebranded as the Village au Pied-du-Courant. The site is thus redeveloped each year through a placemaking process, meaning that the features on the site and the programming also vary from year to year. There are a number of elements inherent in the site that lend themselves to being an appreciated public space. Specifically, its location next to the water, the view of the La Ronde amusement park across the water and at the foot of the Jacques Cartier bridge all serve as visual draws for the public. However, the site itself remains a destination, and since there is otherwise not use or appropriation of the space by the public, it is essentially as "optional public space" (Gehl et Svarre 2013).

Essentially, since 2014, in the summer months the site is opened up for public access at scheduled times. It is transformed by the addition of urban furniture, games, bars, and programming to attract people to the space. Further, sand is brought in in large amounts to create a beach-like feel, to an otherwise concrete space at the foot of the water. In that sense, the placemaking organisers took care to also consider what would motivate people to come to use the space, particularly since they are not in the habit of doing so. They therefore ensure that there are organised activities that can draw the public to the space. The site saw some 90,000 visitors in 2016 and has 22,000 people subscribed through its social media channels, numbers it is hoping to increase these numbers for their 2017 season (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017a). Our study took place in the 2017 summer season.

Year after year, La Pépinière endeavours to make the Village au Pied-du-Courant a "*lieu rassembleur, inclusif et dont l'accès est gratuit*", as a means of promoting wide use of and appropriation of the public place by diverse people (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e, 3). To this end, two specific objectives were set for the 2017 season : to be a site of innovation and to be a park that is inclusive and participatory (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e). These objectives were intended to guide all site development and activation throughout the season.

Furthermore, La Pépinière identified four interrelated spheres that they refer to as the DNA of the project's 2017 iteration: community, being an alternative park, being a living lab, and being a platform for dissemination (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e, 4).

2.2.2 The Sainte Marie Neighbourhood

In order to gain a more nuanced understanding of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, it is important to consider its anchoring in the Sainte-Marie neighbourhood, which has been the site of much discussion, consultation, development and speculation over the past decade or so (see Figure 3 for map of the limits of the Sainte Marie neighbourhood.

Figure 3: Map of the limits of the Sainte Marie neighbourhood.
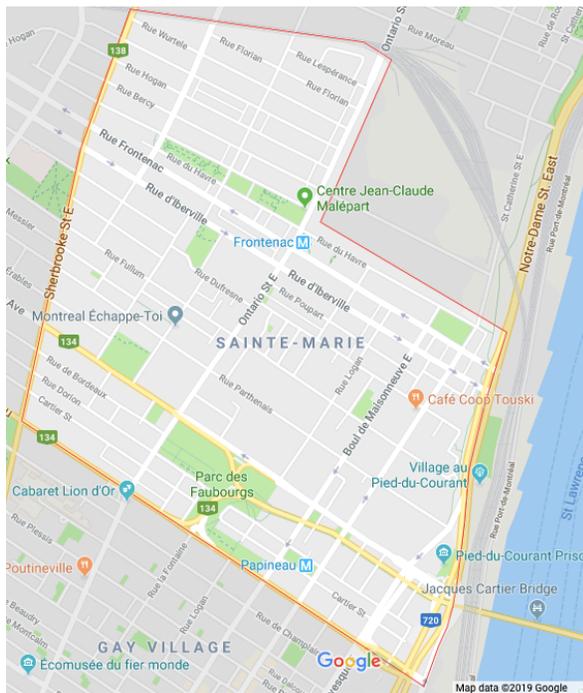
Image source: Google Maps, downloaded from https://www.google.com/maps/place/Sainte-Marie,+Montréal,+QC/@45.5299873,-73.5589921,15z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x4cc91b960fe90d6f:0x8f217284ab2efa11!8m2!3d45.5301959!4d-73.5527213

The Ville Marie borough includes Montréal's downtown core. Sainte Marie is one of nine neighbourhoods of the Ville Marie borough, located in the eastern part of the borough, away from the downtown core. It is a historically industrial neighbourhood, also informally referred to known as the "*Faubourg à m'lasse*", though the origins are unknown, some posit that it alludes to the poor population who lived in the area who could not afford the more expensive forms of sugar, or

to the fact that vats of molasses would be taken off the ships in the port (Linteau 2015). Either way, the nickname stuck and resonated differently for different people. As Linteau (2015) describes it, "*Dans l'imaginaire montréalais, le Faubourg à m'lasse devient l'archétype du quartier populaire canadien-français, à la fois rustre et coloré. Pour certains de ses habitants, le nom devient un élément identitaire d'une population vaillante et fière, pour d'autres, il est plutôt synonyme de mépris et de discrimination*"(n.p.).

The research site is located in a neighbourhood that has been going through a process of revitalisation for a number of years. In 2011, the city of Montréal began a neighbourhood renewal process (*Programme particulier d'urbanisme, PPU)* which "focused on the pole Frontenac, the areas around the metro stations, revitalising a commercial artery – the rue Ontario East, creating new green spaces, cleaning up vacant lots and increasing walkability" (Ville de Montréal n.d.). There have been a number of recent plans to revitalise the neighbourhood as well, see Figure 4 below, Timeline of municipal planning plans and consultations for Sainte Marie.

Figure 4: Timelines of plans and consultations for Sainte Marie

1999 Sainte Marie is designated a "quartier sensible"

2003 a programme municipal de revitalisation urbaine intégrée (RUI) begins in Sainte Marie

2011 the Programme particulier d'urbanisme Sainte-Marie is approved, following a consultation of the OCPM

2016 the Stratégie du Centre-Ville identified Sainte Marie as a "secteur à requalifier"

2017 about 100 people participate in the event "Une vision de développement du sud-est de Ville Marie"

2018 the preconsultation phase for the public consultation on the Secteur des Faubourgs

2019 OCPM public consultations on the Secteur des Faubourgs to develop a PPU

2020 second phase of OCPM consultations on the PPU

Figure source: K.Travers

It is a challenge to find sociodemographic statistics for Sainte Marie itself. For example, the census data is easily accessible at the borough level, but not to the sector level. More recently, public

consultations on the redevelopment of the *Secteur des Faubourgs* have produced localized data, however while the majority of the area subject to the consultation is in the Sainte Marie sector, part of it falls within other sectors as well (see Figure 5 below). The figures, trends and statistics below come reflect this challenge, as some are from the district level while others are from the sector level. The researchers have carefully referred to the geography of origin for each of the facts noted below, so as to minimize confusion and conflation.

Figure 5: The *Secteur des Faubourgs*
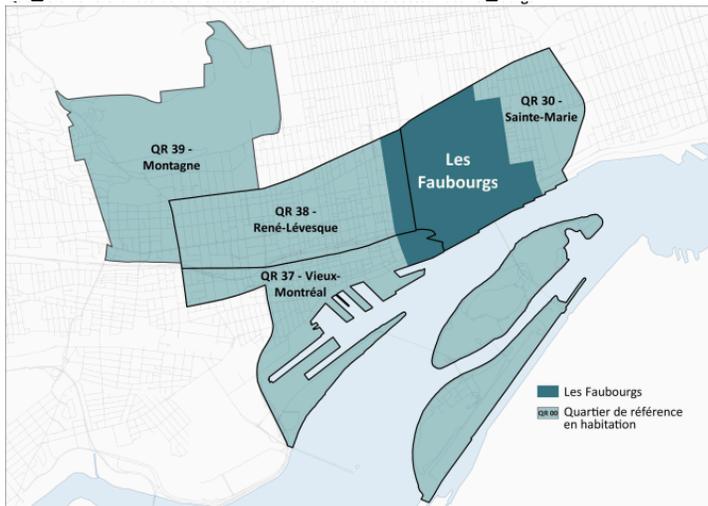
Image source: Ville de Montréal, Service de la mise en valeur du territoire, Direction de l'habitation, Division de la planification des stratégies résidentielles, accessed via OCPM at: http://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P97/3.3.2_donnees_sur_les_menages_et_logements_secteur _des_faubourgs_direction_de_lhabitation.pdf, p.3

The *Secteur des Faubourgs* has a total population of 24,035 people, with notably more men than women (14,140 men vs. 9,880 women), with the great majority being adults aged between 25 and 64 years (69%) ((SDE) 2018, 1). It saw an increase of 14% of its population since 2001, and a 37% increase in the number of families between 2001 and 2016 ((SDE) 2018, 1). During this same period, the number of immigrants increased by 94%, from 2,925 to 5,556, principally coming from France, China and Morocco ((SDE) 2018, 3). The number of people identifying as racialized also nearly doubled, from 2,650 in 2001 to 5,260 in 2016, representing nearly a quarter of the total population (22%) ((SDE) 2018, 3). These shifts correspond with a shift in main language spoken at home that was not French, which saw an increase of 232% in the same period. In spite of this shift, 94% of the population report that they can speak French (22,340 people), of which 16,110 report speaking both French and English ((SDE) 2018, 2).

In 2015, the average household income for the Sainte Marie district was a little more than $10,000 less than the median salary at the agglomeration level (Service de la mise en valeur du territoire 2018, 4). In spite of this, the average household income in Sainte Marie increased by 40% since 2005, compared with an average 30% increase at the agglomeration level (Service de la mise en valeur du territoire 2018, 4). Further, throughout the *Secteur des Faubourgs*, there was a marked decrease in the percentage of people living in households below the poverty line, falling from 49% in 2001 to 29% in 2016 ((SDE) 2018, 5), and a decrease in people relying on welfare to support themselves in the same period, down from 12.9% to 7.7% ((SDE) 2018, 4).

In the *Secteur des Faubourgs,* people overwhelmingly rent their residences (72%) ((SDE) 2018, 2). Between 2001 and 2016, there was an increase in the number of residences that are owned by the occupants, from 1,745 to 3,915 ((SDE) 2018, 2). In fact, 1,390 new residential units were built between 2013 and 2017 in Sainte Marie, 75% of which are co-ownership (Service de la mise en valeur du territoire 2018, 10). Finally, as the *Service de développement économique* underscores, the housing costs in the *Secteur de Faubourgs* have risen considerably between 2001 and 2016, representing a 63% increase in the housing costs for owners, and a 58% increase in the housing costs for renters ((SDE) 2018, 2). A number of students occupy the rental units throughout the neighbourhood Sainte Marie, given its close proximity to the Cegep du Vieux Montréal and the Université de Québec à Montréal (UQAM) (QSTM4Mark 2018 ; QSTM1Simone 2018). Finally, while it borders neighbourhoods of Saint Jacques, Rosemont, and Hochelaga-Maisonneuve (see Figure 6 below), it has been argued to have been spared much of the development and perceived gentrification that these neighbourhoods have undergone (QSTM3Laura 2018).

Figure 6: The Sainte-Marie District

Image source: Ville de Montréal, accessed at :
http://ville.Montréal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/ARROND_VMA_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/CARTE%20ET%20INDEX_JD_VM_2016_FINALE_HR.PDF

The Sainte Marie neighbourhood is home to several community groups, including the *Centre d'éducation et d'action des femmes (CÉAF)* which seeks to promote women's empowerment and autonomy in the neighbourhood and who have been actively working at the neighbourhood level since 1972 ((CÉAF) (n.d.)). We also find *Voies culturelles des faubourgs,* a group that houses several different artists, cultural groups and local organisations, under one roof. The organisation strives to promote citizen engagement with local culture and encourages its members to be active in the projects and plans for the neighbourhood, including the development of the Village

Éphémère[8] (Voies Culturelles n.d.). There is the Société écocitoyenne de Montréal (SéM) which promotes environmental sustainability and community engagement through initiatives such as *ruelles vertes* ((SéM) n.d.).

Figure 7: Strategic locations in Ville-Marie
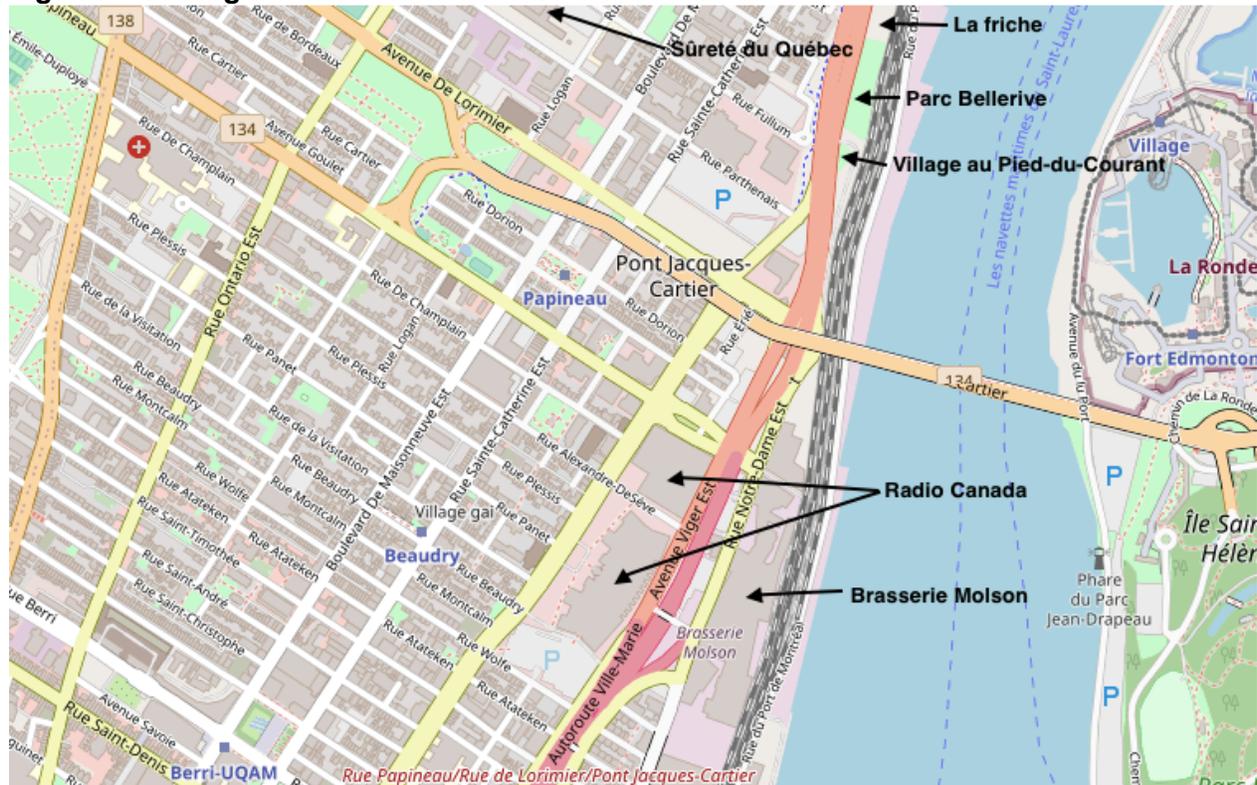
Image source: K. Travers, modified from ax map downloaded from Open Street Map: https://www.openstreetmap.org/#map=15/45.5199/-73.5517

In recent years, there are a number of very large territories in the neighbourhood that have been occupied by big companies for years but who have announced that they are leaving, including the Brasserie Molson, which can be seen below in Figure 7 above. These announcements are in part what precipitated the most recent rounds of public consultations and planning for the future of Sainte Marie. The number of consultations has led to increased community mobilization to react to proposed plans and to defend the interests of the neighbourhood. With all of the complexity of the research site, a decidedly qualitative and exploratory approach was retained as the methodological choice that was the most appropriate for our case study.

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[8] In the first edition of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, it was called the Village Éphémère as there were no plans for it to return annually at the time.

2.3 Qualitative and Exploratory Perspectives

The proposed research fulfills the description of a qualitative approach: it intended to study a single phenomenon in-depth and to study and understand a particular setting or context of the research participants; it made use of imagery and semi-open-ended questions to explore the issue; and data was then analysed and interpreted and the findings presented in a way that includes recommendations for change aimed at improving placemaking processes and results (Creswell 2014). The study made use of different research tools to gain complementary and robust insight into the potential of placemaking to be inclusive of gender and other factors both in its process and impacts by focusing on one placemaking site. There were two distinct phases of data collection, the first being preliminary research and the second being field data collection.

The nature of the study itself is exploratory, as we sought to gain insight into a topic that has not been studied extensively - placemaking processes - which supported the use of different qualitative research tools (Creswell 2014). Our study sought to gain an in-depth understand of a particular placemaking project, the Village au Pied-du-Courant, which is why an exploratory study was selected. To achieve this, a variety of research methods were selected to allow us to respond to our research question (see Table 2.3 below).

Specifically, the preliminary research consisted of key informant interviews with placemaking experts and practitioners and documentary analysis of existing work on related issues. Secondly, as we fought to gain an in-depth understand on a particular phenomenon as part of this exploratory research, semi-directive interviews with representatives from the organisations that led to the redevelopment of the Village au Pied-du-Courant and semi-directive interviews with representatives of different community organisations working in the neighbourhood were done. In addition, site observations were conducted to document social use of space and photography was used to supplement observations. Finally, micro survey with users of the space were conducted to understand how different people use and appreciate the site. The information was then compiled and analysed against a set of dimensions around inclusion and exclusion, particularly as they relate to gender during the participation phase of placemaking process itself and in the subsequent use of the place that was developed.

2.3.1 Documentary Research and Analysis

Literature on placemaking and participatory urbanism has been increasing steadily in the last few years. The study thus continued to refer to existing and emerging research throughout all phases. A more intense documentary analysis was undertaken prior to the data analysis to complete a comprehensive assessment of existing literature on placemaking and other forms of participatory urbanism as it relates to inclusions and exclusions related to gender and other identity markers. A preliminary literature scan and review was undertaken at the inception phase to understand existing research gaps and to highlight key findings from related studies to support this research. Both academic and grey literature that has been published on the topic were consulted as part of this exploratory qualitative research (Creswell 2014). The initial documentary research also informed the methodology and development of data collection tools, drawing lessons from other studies to inform this one. When possible, related studies were also used to inform the research and help to respond to the research questions, and proved to be critical for the process of analysing research results and supporting the conclusions from this study.

While some articles were identified through course materials as part of a Master's degree in Urban Studies, much of the literature was found with the help of online databases accessed through the INRS and UQAM libraries. Databases that proved to be particularly useful included: Web of Science, SCOPUS, JSTOR, SAGE Journals, and ResearchGate. Literature from various disciplines were consulted and brought together as part of this study, including from urban studies, urban planning, women's studies, geography and sociology, using the key words placemaking, gender inclusion, women and cities, women and public space, public space development, tactical urbanism, DIY urbanism, participatory urbanism, inclusive urbanisation, women and placemaking, feminist urban development, feminist critique public space, feminist critique placemaking, safety women and public space, and intersectional urban research. Additional research was found using Google Scholar and select books from the Women in Cities International office were consulted as well. Searches were conducted in both French and English. As the phenomenon being studied, placemaking, has not been extensively studied from an academic standpoint, grey literature produced by placemaking organisations and groups involved in participatory urbanism, the United Nations, and other international organisations proved to be an important element in understanding the phenomenon more fully as it exists today.

Of particular importance for chapter 3, were the websites and social media accounts of the organisations involved in developing and animating the Village au Pied-du-Courant: *Pépinière*

espace collectifs, AmiEs du Courant, ADUQ and *Conscience urbaine*. Not only did they provide insight into the history of the space, but they also contained key insights into the placemaking approaches used by the organisations, the outreach strategy, the promotional and dissemination strategies and the language used around community engagement. These social media accounts proved to be an invaluable source of information, as they were among the primary means of communication about the Village au Pied-du-Courant to its followers and users. This meant that information was shared in real time, through both visual (photography and video clips) and through messaging. This gave the research team insight into how the organisations wished to be seen - as lively, inviting, fun - essentially as a place you want to go to.

In addition, all of the organisations shared reports that they had produced about the Village au Pied-du-Courant that were useful for the research. The *Pépinière espaces collectifs* regularly publishes blog posts on topics related to participatory urbanism and community public space activation in addition to featuring its own programming at the Village au Pied-du-Courant as well as its other placemaking sites in Montréal. The Village au Pied-du-Courant also has its own social media feeds, particularly active through its Facebook and Instagram accounts. This allowed the researcher to gain insight into how the space is promoted and how use is captured and shared with external audiences. Furthermore, newspaper and other media articles about the neighbourhood and the Village au Pied-du-Courant were consulted, as were reports and web pages of the city and the borough about the status and changes in the Sainte-Marie neighbourhood. This information was complemented with reports produced by other local community organisations, notably the *Centre d'éducation et d'action des femmes de Montréal* (CÉAF) and by the city of Montréal (see Table 2.3 below).

Table 2.3: Sources consulted as part of documentary analysis

Source	Type	Type of documents consulted
AmiEs du Courant Sainte-Marie	Non-profit organisation	Facebook, reports, PowerPoint presentations
Association du design urbain du Québec (ADUQ)	Network of local designers and architects	Website, Facebook, mémoires
Arrondissement Ville-Marie	Ville de Montréal	Reports, website
Centre d'éducation et d'action des femmes (CÉAF)	Non-profit organisation	Reports, declarations, website
Comité quartier vert et sécuritaire, Table de développement social Centre Sud	Collective of local organisations	Mémoire
Conscience urbaine	Social entreprise	Report, website
Corporation de développement (CDC) du Centre Sud	Collective of local organisations	Reports, mémoires
Office de consultation publique de Montréal (OCPM)	Independent paramunicipal organism	Documentation assembled as part of public consultations; report on recommendations
La Pépinière	Social entreprise, also running and producing content as *le Village au Pied-du-Courant*	Website, blog posts, Facebook, Instagram, reports
Rayside Labossière	Architecture firm; convening organisation for local collectives under the umbrella *Tout pour l'aménagement du Centre-Sud*	Reports, PowerPoint presentations, mémoires
Service de développement économique (SDE)	Ville de Montréal	Report
Service de mise en valeur du territoire	Ville de Montréal	Report
Société écocitoyenne de Montréal (SéM)	Non-profit organisation	Reports, website
Ville de Montréal	City	Website, reports
Voies culturelles des Faubourgs	Collective of local groups	Website

Source: K. Travers

As we saw in Chapter 1, the Sainte Marie borough has been the site of several public consultations, reports and redevelopment plans over the years. Most recently, Secteur des Faubourgs, the area which includes the site of the Village au Pied-du-Courant and a good part of the east of the Ville Marie borough, including much of Sainte Marie, was the object of a public consultation led by the Office de Consultation Publique de Montréal (OCPM). The OCPM website contains all of the documents produced by the City of Montréal, the Borough, local organisations, and many others, about the various areas subject to consultation. Importantly, these included

maps of the areas and sociodemographic presentations that included the most recent census data, which provided important information that we included in this study to understand the local context and neighbourhood where the Village au Pied-du-Courant is located.

2.3.2 Key Informant Interviews

Key informant interviews were conducted with four expert practitioners, representing organisations whose work is esteemed and recognised globally. The key informant interviews served to fill a current gap in the literature about the process of placemaking, particularly as it related to meaningful participation, gender, inclusion and exclusion in both processes and impacts. In fact, a literature scan revealed only one study that critically explored the process itself, which supports this assertion. The aforementioned study included a critical lens around race and poverty, but none on gender, much less on intersectionality (Zimmermann 2016). The purpose of the key informant interviews was therefore to generate data and insights into what current practices are, what gender gaps exist, what other exclusions are apparent, and ideas for overcoming these exclusions. This information was used to provide important knowledge and ideas on how placemaking can become the inclusive process that it prides itself as being already, and was a useful tool for analysing the data that emerged from this study against international examples of placemaking practices.

Key informants were identified through the work they have been doing on placemaking, and in particular on inclusive placemaking. Specifically, the key informants were identified through literature on the topic in which the organisations they are affiliated with or they themselves were cited, or their work included as case studies. Three key informants have authored publications on the subject that the research team had come across during the literature scan, and who are thus cited in our bibliography. Not all of the people and groups identified in the literature as the leading thinkers and practitioners agreed to participate in the study, so we had to go back and identify other leading placemaking practitioners to invite. We did, however, meet our objective of conducting four key informant interviews. Contact was then made through the general contact information provided on the websites. With one group, this was linked to their Facebook account and so a message was sent through messenger, inquiring about an email address to send the formal interview request information to. For the other groups, the person who checked the general address was not necessarily the person who we interviewed. In two cases, we were exchanging information with someone who supported the administrative work of the organisation, who took

charge of relaying information and of scheduling the interviews on behalf of the organisation founders.

The interviewees were based in Amsterdam, Australia, Belgium and Canada, all having worked in cities in the Global North to make the contexts as similar as possible to the case study site. It was not possible to conduct the interviews only with organisations based in Montréal, as many of them were involved in the Village au Pied-du-Courant project and were invited to participate in subsequent interviews in that capacity. See Annex 1: Key Informant Interview Protocol. The geographic diversity of the key informants meant that the interviews were conducted using technology, with two having been done using Skype and a third done using Google Hangouts. The software Callnote was used to record both the skype and google hangouts conversations. Using skype opened up the possibility of connecting to participants in other parts of the world in real time and at low-cost, thus allowing us to reach global experts in the field (Iacono, Symonds et Brown 2016). The fourth was with a representative of a pan-Canadian placemaking organisation that has its headquarters in Montréal, making an in-person interview possible for this last key informant interview. The recordings were then be transcribed for coding and analysis and used to identify similar trends, arguments, ideas and challenges highlighted by the interviewees. In particular, they were useful to fill existing research gaps identified in the literature about placemaking processes and results.

2.3.3 Semi-structured interviews with the organisations who led the placemaking efforts for the Village au Pied-du-Courant

Semi-directive interviews were held with representatives of the three organisations that led the placemaking efforts for the development of the Village au Pied-du-Courant: *Pépinière espaces collectifs (La Pépinière), Association du design urbain du Québec (ADUQ)* and *les AmiEs du Courant-Sainte-Marie*. Through the interviews, it was discovered that a fourth organisation, Conscience Urbaine, had also played a role in developing the Village au Pied-du-Courant and the adjacent sites over a couple of years, and so were included in this sample. The initial objective was to conduct interviews with two representatives from each organisation – one man and one woman if possible – for a total of six interviews. The rational for seeking a gender balance for the interviews was to see what roles were given to women, and what their involvement was in the placemaking process, issues which are related to the research question itself. While the sample of six interviews was achieved, it varied slightly from what was originally intended as we noted a

fluidity of roles played by the people interviewed, with some belonging to more than one organisation. We thus ended up with one people representing only La *Pépinière espaces collectifs*, one people representing only ADUQ, one person representing both La Pépinière and ADUQ, two people representing *AmiEs du Courant*, one person representing *Conscience Urbaine* and *les fricheuses*, and one person representing La Pépinière and the local *Corporation de développement communautaire*.

2.3.4 Observations

Site observations were an important tool used to explore social use of space as a means of understanding social inclusion and exclusion, particularly as they relate to gender, providing insight into how a space is used, by whom and for what purposes (Gehl et Svarre 2013 ; Douay et Prévot 2016). This is one of the key methods that was used to inform the intersectional analysis of the placemaking initiative. Observations allow for recording information about things as they occur, importantly, they also allow for recording things that are unexpected or unforeseen. Non participant observation was thus considered to be a strategic tool for this research, as they were used to observe a space that was clearly defined - both socially and spatially - and that has been understudied up to now (Laperrière 2003). Further, the site was readily accessible and the researcher was likely to fit in with the existing crowd, thereby minimizing chances of being identified as a researcher and of disrupting the behaviour as a result (Laperrière 2003). While on site, the researcher made use of the voice recording software in her mobile phone to capture her observations. She had a paper print out of the observation table as well, but the detailed descriptions were subsequently introduced to the table immediately after the observation session. A small notebook was also carried to allow the researcher to easily record additional information, including drawing small maps of what was observed to help capture the narrative and to add context to the photos, and to support the observations about spatial use and appropriation.

In determining the exclusion and inclusion of the results of the placemaking, we recorded social use of space using an observation table and photography. These observations recorded who was using the space and how. We were interested in noting whether people were participating in programmed activities and whether they are simply enjoying the place (ex. hanging out with friends, enjoying the sun, reading a book, looking at their phones), what some may consider to be loitering (Phadke, Ranade et Khan 2011) or private behaviour in public spaces (Liao et al. 2012). Liao et al. argue that cell phones have "revolutionized the use of public space for private behavior"

(Liao et al. 2012, 15) by allowing people to feel connected and as though they are socializing when they are actually alone in a shared public space, a modern expression of civil inattention (Goffman 1963). This information considered the temporal use of space, noting how long people stay in what space, how long people stay on the site itself, and who comes at what time of day.

An observation table was used to document the elements observed during the observations. In order to maximize understanding of the social use of space and how that changes on different days and at different times of day, the observations were conducted during both weekdays and weekends and at different times of the day and night. The observations also noted whether there was an observable geography to the use of space. For example, were there groups of young men always occupying one particular area? Did families stay in another area? Finally, the characteristics and dimensions of the public place were considered. Photography was used to supplement the written data, recorded in the observation table. The use of photography to document social use of public spaces has been well-established (Gehl et Svarre 2013), beginning with Whyte's influential work in New York neighbourhoods (1980) to a recent study on social behaviour in public spaces in Chicago (Liao et al. 2012). Data from the observations was used to explore the various dimensions related to inclusion and exclusion to try to respond to the research questions that relate to this case study of the Village au Pied-du-Courant.

Using an observation table (see Table 2.4: Observation Table), information was noted for each session and then brought together for analysis. Ample room was provided for recording information in the table. The data generated offered key insights into patterns about who is using the space, how and for what duration, and to what end. It also provided insight into changing demographic use of space, for example, who is there and what are they doing in the afternoon versus the evening users of the space.

Table 2.4: Observation Table

Observation
Date, time, weather
What activities are being offered in the space?
Who is using the space? Are there are a diversity of users in the space (gender, age, new and old residents, language)?
What are people doing in the space? Do different events (animation on the site) attract different users of the space? • Socializing (in a group, talking) • Solitary activities (reading, on cell phones) • Solitary activities in a group (on phones with friends) • Participating in programmed activities • Drinking or eating • Nothing
Temporal patterns What time do people come? How long do they stay? Do people stay for different activities?
Spatial patterns Are there areas that are consistently used by a particular group? • Are families in one place? • Are people who come alone in one particular place? • Are women in one area? • Are people settling into one place or moving through it? • Do different events attract different people?
Do people come alone or with others?
Are people interacting and exchanging with people they did not come with?
Language spoken?
Other comments, observations

Source: K. Travers

While the researcher had wanted to conduct the observations over a single week at different times of the day, and different days of the week, as is good practice (Gehl et Svarre 2013), this proved to be impossible, largely due to weather constraints. The Village au Pied-du-Courant, being an open-air site with little shelter, closes when it is raining. The Summer of 2017 was quite rainy and

so the period for observations was extended to ensure that each day of the week the site is open was observed, thus respecting the initial intention for saturation. In all six observations sessions were completed between 26 July 2017 and 19 August 2017 (see Table 2.5: Observations Schedule below). The duration of the sessions ranged from one hour to 4.5 hours, with the average duration of the observation sessions being 2.5 hours. The temporality was an important element for the research, hence the decision to spend longer periods of time on site to be able to record changes in the social use of the site, including the observable profile of users of the space. As the observations did not include direct contact and exchange with users of the space, the notes made by the researcher around the identity markers of the people in the space (age, culture, gender) were based on observable characteristics and not on self-disclosure. To illustrate, we noted the gender balance in the use of space, but did not ask people whether they identified as women, men, or other. This can lead to some false identification on our part, which we acknowledge. When recording the observations, which is necessarily the case with direct observation of social use of public space, and it is likely that there is a degree of inaccuracy in the recordings as a result (Gehl et Svarre 2013). As the observations were focused on the aggregate use of the space and not specific users, such errors should not bear any consequence to the overall research results. Furthermore, the use of the microsurvey allowed the researcher to capture some self-identified and voluntarily disclosed identity markers to support the observations about who is using the space (gender, age, education, place of residence).

Table 2.5: Observations Schedule

OBSERVATIONS SCHEDULE					
DAY OF THE WEEK	**DATE**	**TIMES**	**DURATION (in hours)**	**WEATHER**	**SPECIAL EVENTS**
Wednesday	26-Jul	18h - 22h30	4.5	Cloudy, a bit windy, a bit cool, 22 degrees	Fireworks, DJ (hip hop), food trucks
Thursday	27-Jul	17h - 18h	1	Beautiful, sunny, hot, slight wind, 26 degrees	5 à 7, DJ (indie electronic)
Saturday	5-Aug	17h - 18h15	1.25	Sunny, 24 degrees, some wind, not too hot or humid	Mexico Day, piñata making activity, games for kids
Sunday	13-Aug	16h45 - 18h45	2	Beautiful, sunny, sporadic clouds, hot, not too humid, slight wind, 26 degrees	Artisan market, flag making craft for kids, DJ (Afro-Caribbean dance music)
Friday	18-Aug	17h15 - 20h	2.75	Nice, sunny, some clouds, light breeze, 25 degrees, cools down quickly as wind picks up	5 à 7, DJ (experimental EDM; starts as ambient then speeds up and gets louder as it gets later)
Saturday	19-Aug	17h15 - 20h30	3.25	Beautiful, warm, sunny, slight breeze, 25 degrees	Haitian day; pride, day DJ (Haitian music), dance troops, Haitian food and bar

Source: K. Travers

2.3.5 Micro surveys with users of the space

Micro surveys were administered to users of the space at different times of day and different days of the week to understand how they used and appreciated the space. Inspired by the work of Leloup, Germain and Radice to conduct micro interviews *in situ*, the research conducted *in situ* micro surveys with users of the Village au Pied-du-Courant (Leloup, Germain et Radice 2016). Rather than informal open-ended questions, the micro surveys consisted of seven questions and five demographic questions in a multiple-choice format. This also served to simplify and organise the data and facilitated the analysis and presentation of the findings. Space was also made available for anyone wishing to add additional information or to comment on a question. Similarly, respondents had the option of refusing to answer a question if they did not feel comfortable to do so. Potential responses already thought out to ease the process of analysing the data afterwards, and with the option of refusing to respond or of inserting a different answer. The micro survey was administered using the Quick Tap Survey application on a tablet so that information could be backed up and collated in real time. The study mentioned above conducted 155 micro interviews in 4 research sites, for an average of 38.75 respondents per site (Leloup, Germain et Radice 2016), whereas Cloutier et al. relied on 50 respondents per intervention site as part of their **LA**boratoire **P**iétons et e**S**pace urbain (LAPS) research project[9]. Since our research is a case study based only in one site, our sample size was increased slightly, with a target objective of 60 participants.

These micro surveys were administered only after the site observations had been completed to prevent tainting the research in the event that people react differently to someone asking them questions about the place. The micro interviews were intended to provide some important information to supplement that gathered through the observations. They sought to understand what people like about the space, how often they use the space, how long they have lived in the neighbourhood (if at all), and what additional improvements they would like to see (see Annexe 2: Microsurvey).

2.3.6 Interviews with local organisations

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[9] Information shared during informal exchange with research intern Caroline Pagel-Grechi on 20 April 2017.

Semi directive interviews with different local organisations were conducted to gain insight into how the site is perceived and used by the local community. Since an important part of the placemaking process is its emphasis on community inclusion and ownership, local organisations whose clientele consists of local residents are uniquely positioned to share insight into how the community perceives changes to the neighbourhood and whether they appeared to appreciate the Village au Pied-du-Courant or not. As this research intended to assess identity markers, minimally gender and others where possible, we were interested in the inclusion or exclusion of different groups, the interviews were conducted with local organisations serving different populations (ex. youth, elderly, immigrants, families, low income housing, women, etc.) in an effort to bring in their different perspectives to the research. The sample was chosen from a list of organisations that are active in the neighbourhood[10].

As we have presented above, this qualitative and exploratory research study used different methods to explore two research dimensions, participating in a placemaking process and the public place. Table 2.6 below summarized the elements of each of the research dimensions and notes which methods were used to study each of the elements.

Table 2.6: Research methods used to explore each of the two dimensions

DIMENSION	QUESTIONS TO EXPLORE	METHOD
Research Dimension 1: Participation in placemaking processes		
Profile of participants	• Placemaking leaders: Who are the placemaking leaders (gender, age, organisational affiliation)? • Diversity of participants: How diverse are the participants: (gender, age, organisational affiliation, place of residence)? • Education: Is knowledge of technical terms necessary to enable participation? Is a background in urban planning/design/architecture necessary?	Interviews with lead organisations
Roles for participants	• Leadership and decision-making: Who has a leadership role? Who has a decision-making role? Who manages the resources? • Conception, design and implementation: What opportunities are there to participate in the different phases of the placemaking process? Who is involved and how (gender, institutional affiliation)? How is the design validated by the community? • Programming: Who is involved in programming the space? Who is involved in animating it? What organisations lead activities? Who are these activities intended for? What flexibility is there for spontaneous use?	Observations Interviews with lead organisations Interviews with local organisations

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[10] Local organisations active in Sainte-Marie include: Centre d'éducation et d'action des femmes (CÉAF); Comité de revitalisation locale de Sainte-Marie; Carrefour alimentaire Centre-Sud / Marché solidaire Frontenac; Sentier urbain; Association sport et communautaire du Centre-Sud; Tandem Ville-Marie; Tous pour l'aménagement du Centre-Sud; Corporation de développement communautaire du Centre-Sud; Société d'investissement du Centre-Sud; Rayside Labossière; Comité habitation familles; Éco-quartier Sainte-Marie; Table de développement social du Centre-Sud; Comité social Centre-sud, etc.

	• Management and maintenance: What plans are there for site management? What roles are there for daily management (gender, organisational affiliation)? Who is responsible for maintenance (gender, organisational affiliation)?	
Communications	• Representation: Who speaks on behalf of the community (gender, organisational affiliation)? Who speaks on behalf of the placemaking collective (gender, organisational affiliation)? • Recruitment: How are people invited to participate? Are there any conditions to participation (minimum commitment, knowledge of technical language, knowledge of technical skills)? • Dissemination: How is information shared about the process? What strategies are used to reach a diversity of residents (by age, gender, etc.)?	Interviews with lead organisations Interviews with local organisations Micro surveys
Research Dimension 2: Placemaking - the public place		
Design and programming	• Accessibility - Is the physical design of the space accessible for all? When it is open? How easy is it to access the site? Is there a cost to enter? How easy is it to understand the place (legibility)? • Comfort: is the physical design welcoming (shade, greenery)? Are there services on site (toilets, water)? Are there multiple spaces, seating options to choose from? Was it designed with the lifecycle nuance in mind? Is it safe and well-maintained? Is it attractive and aesthetically pleasing? • Programming: Who are the intended participants for the activities? Are there different activities for different groups of people? Do different events (animation on the site) attract different users of the space?	Observations Micro surveys
Social use of space	• Profile of people in the space: Who uses the space? Are there are a diversity of users in the space (gender, age, residence, language)? Is there a gender balance? • Usage and sociability: what people are doing in the space (programmed activities, solitary activities, on phones, taking photos, engaging with others, eating, drinking, dancing)? Who are they engaged with? Do people come alone? In groups? Is there interaction between different people? • Temporal Patterns: What time do different people use the place? How long do they stay? Do different people come at different times?	Observations Microsurveys
Spatial dimensions	• The geography of usage: Are there areas that are consistently used by a particular group? Do people always enter and leave from the same spaces? Where do people cluster? Is usage evenly distributed? Which areas are occupied first, by whom?	Observations

Source: K. Travers

2.3.7 Sampling

The sampling for all of our three sets of interviews relied on criterion-based selection, since we are seeking to interview a small, very specific population, not a random sample. Additionally, Once the interviews began, interviewees connected the research teams with other people who were involved. Whenever possible, we strived for a gender balance in our sampling, to ensure better representation.

The key informant interviews all took place between August 2017 and March 2018. A total of ten invitations were sent out to practitioners, and four accepted to take part in the research. Three of the interviewees were men and the fourth was a woman. The interviews lasted between 54 minutes to one hour and eighteen minutes, for an average duration of 66.23 minutes. All of the interviews were conducted in English, three of them used Skype and one used Google hangouts.

For the interviews with the organisations leading the placemaking of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, the interviews were all conducted in person in French between the months of January and May 2018. Three of the participants were women and three were men. Each location was different to accommodate the schedule and preference, with three being at their place of work and the remaining three being in cafés. They were audio recorded using the built-in voice recorder on the iPhone and a backup was recorded on a tablet using the Application Voice Recorder. The interviews lasted between 55 minutes and almost two hours, for an average duration of 76 minutes. The audio recording was subsequently manually transcribed using the support of Transcribe online subscription-based software. In addition, select notes were taken throughout to facilitate the transcription process. An interview guide was developed that relied primarily on semi-open-ended questions to allow flexibility for the respondents to share the things that were most important to them. The semi-structured nature of the interview also allowed for some flexibility to explore previously overlooked topics that might emerge, and to delve further into the different roles played by the different organisations, given that people were engaged in various capacities throughout, as shown in Table 2.7 below. See Annex 3 for Interview Protocol for Lead Organisations in Developing the Village au Pied-du-Courant.

Table 2.7: Interviews with people involved in placemaking the Village au Pied-du-Courant and their institutional affiliations

	La Pépinière	ADUQ	AmiEs du Courant	Conscience urbaine	Autre
Interview 1 (man)	X	X			
Interview 2 (woman)		X			
Interview 3 (man)			X		
Interview 4 (woman)				X	X (les Fricheuses)
Interview 5 (woman)	X				X (CDC)
Interview 6 (man)			X		

Source: K. Travers

For the interviews with local organisations, we approached organisations working with different groups (ex. women, low-income housing, youth, etc.) to try to bring diverse perspectives into the

research. Once we began our interviews, interviewees connected the research teams with other people who could be useful. In particular, interviewees identified other people who were active in the neighbourhood and whom they felt would contribute unique insight to the research. We thus achieved our target sample of five. Three of the participants were women and two were men. See Annex 4 for Interview Protocol for Sainte-Marie Organisations.

With one exception, the interviews were all conducted in French between the months of March and May 2018. The interviews were all done in person in different locations to accommodate the schedule and preference, with three being at their place of work, one in their residence and one in a café. They were audio recorded using the built-in voice recorder on the iPhone and a backup was recorded on a tablet using the application Voice Recorder. The interviews lasted between 58 minutes and almost one hour and forty-eight minutes, for an average duration of 74 minutes. They audio was subsequently manually transcribed using the support of Transcribe online subscription-based software. In addition, select notes were taken throughout to facilitate the transcription process. An interview guide was developed that relied primarily on semi-open-ended questions to allow flexibility for the respondents to share the things that were most important to them. The semi-structured nature of the interview also allowed for some flexibility to explore previously overlooked topics that might emerge. Furthermore, the interviews revealed that people were engaged in their neighbourhoods in different capacities, often leading or belonging to more than more group. All had been directly involved in public consultations around public space development in the neighbourhood, and all were familiar with the Village au Pied-du-Courant, with some having been engaged in planning processes for the design and the programming of the space. The flexible nature of the interview allowed for exploring this involvement in greater detail. While these interviews provided greater insight into how different neighbourhood organisations perceive and engage with changes in the neighbourhood and with the Village au Pied-du-Courant more specifically, they were limited in their representation of the experiences and perceptions of community members who were not engaged. The identity-based insight that the research had hoped to gain through these interviews was thus also limited.

Finally, for the micro surveys, the sampling was also convenience sampling, since it depended on finding people who were available and willing to participate and who were using the space (Creswell 2014). In an effort to be more representative, and in respecting the orientation of the research, the researcher strived to deliberately approach a diversity of users of the space in order to gather broad perspectives of users of the space, by age, observable race, language and gender. 65 users of the space participated by completing the micro survey. People overwhelmingly agreed

to participate in the survey, though the specific number of refusals was not calculated. It was important to hear from both men and women, with a particular emphasis on including the voices of women, to understand whether there was a difference in how men and women perceived and used the space. The survey allowed for the option for people to select the gender that they identified with as they were asked to fill in the information themselves, rather than having a drop-down menu. In total, 2 people opted not to respond, 36 respondents self-identified as women and 27 as men see Table 2.8 below for profile of respondents by gender. We also asked survey respondents their age, which we then crossed with their gender, as demonstrated below in Table 2.9. The average length of time it took to complete was 3 minutes (181 seconds). The micro surveys were administered on different days of the week between Thursday and Sunday (the days of the week that the Village au Pied-du-Courant is regularly open) and at different times of day to capture a broader audience. The surveys were completed between September 9-15 2017.

Table 2.8: Profile of micro survey respondents by gender
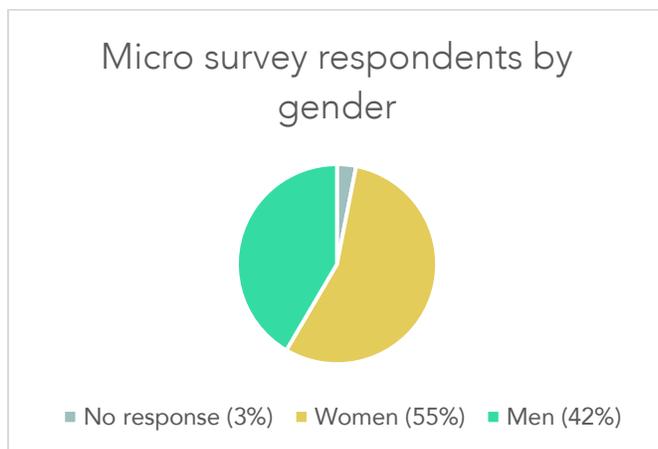
Source: K. Travers

Table 2.9: Profile of micro survey respondents by age and gender

NUMBER OF RESPONDANTS BY AGE AND GENDER

No gender disclosed ▪ Women ▪ Men
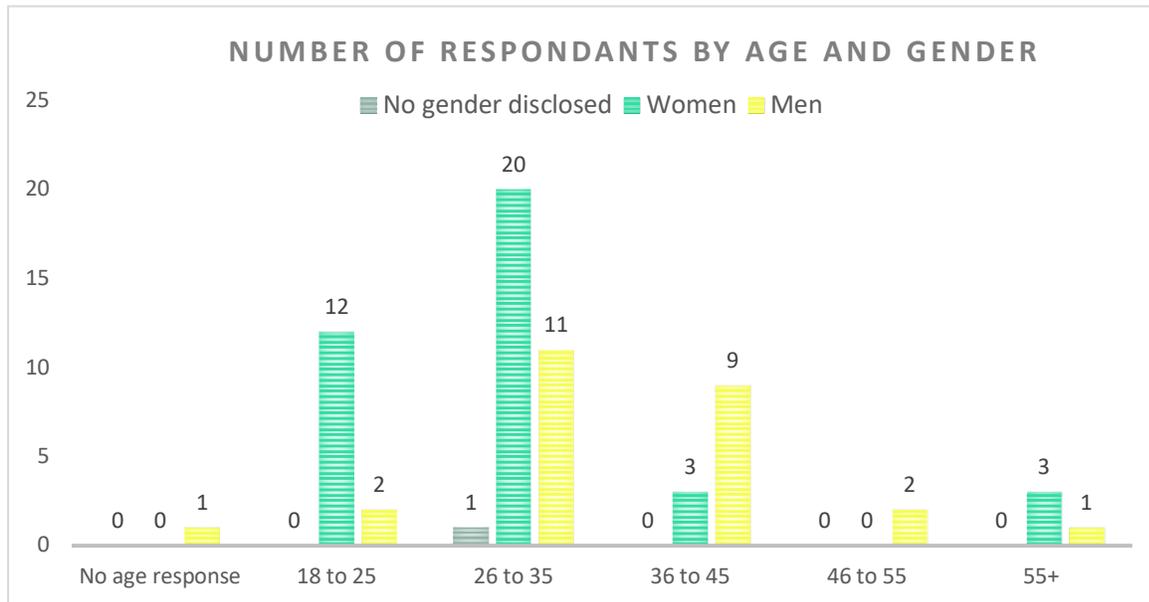
Source: K. Travers

2.3.8 Organising and Analyzing the Data

This qualitative research study sought to understand the potential of placemaking to overcome gender gaps and create inclusive public places, through a case study of the Village au Pied-du-Courant. The study strived to include an intersectional lens when possible, in order to understand how gender intersects with other identity markers in order to gain a more nuanced understanding of the patterns of inclusion and exclusion that could be observed in the process and results of placemaking the Village au Pied-du-Courant. While it has been argued that intersectionality has evolved from Crenshaw's seminal work in 1991 to its own field of studies with different applications, this research retained the application of intersectionality in its guiding framework and in its analysis of the data collected whenever possible (Cho, Crenshaw et McCall 2013 ; Crenshaw 1991). At a minimum, however, data was disaggregated to understand how women's experiences, appreciations, and opinions differed from men, as this was the minimum information needed to respond to our research question about the potential for placemaking to be gender inclusive in its process and in the resulting public place.

The documentary analysis and key informant interviews were intended to provide key insight and information about the practices of placemaking globally, with particular attention paid to inclusions and exclusions, especially those related to gender. The documentary analysis served to position

this particular research vis-à-vis existing academic and grey literature. As for the key informant interviews, these were a key contribution of this particular study, since they generated important insight into the process of placemaking and the place of women and other community groups within the larger processes themselves. As noted earlier, "there is virtually no academic research concerning the process of placemaking and what the benefits may be of such a process for/in the community impacted" (Zimmermann 2016, 8). Gaining key insights from practitioners and placemaking experts helps to fill a current research gap and provided the foundation needed to proceed with the analysis of the data from the field. Information from the four key informant interviews was coded using Excel and brought together to highlight areas of consensus and disagreement. Potential strategies, lessons and areas for future research have also be extracted from the interviews and included in the final study.

As we noted earlier, the study seeks to explore the gender aspects of the research dimensions of the placemaking process and the public place produced. While not going so far as to undertake a complete intersectional study, we did seek to apply an intersectional lens to the observations and analysis wherever possible, in an attempt to understand different experiences of inclusion and exclusion in occupation of public space and place.

Intersectionality is an approach commonly adopted by feminists to understand how gender intersects with other identities, including race, age, religion and income to shape our daily experiences. By considering multiple identity factors, it views an individual's matrix of identities as relational social positions and "makes visible the multiple positioning that constitutes everyday life and the power relations that are central to it" (Dhamoon 2011, 230). It is used as a tool to begin to understand difference (Puar 2013) first introduced in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Crenshaw 1991 ; Dhamoon 2011) that has since gained much attention and traction (Cho, Crenshaw et McCall 2013 ; Dhamoon 2011). It has grown to become its own field of study (Cho, Crenshaw et McCall 2013) and research paradigm (Dhamoon 2011). While we acknowledge that factors such as gender, age and race make us different from one another, Lorde, whose work predates Crenshaw's coining of the term 'intersectionality', argues that "it is not those differences between us that separate us; it is rather our refusal to recognize those differences, and to examine the distortions which result (…) and their effects upon human behaviour and expectation" (Lorde 1984, 115). Intersectional approaches attempt to overcome this by explicitly seeking to understand these different and nuanced experiences and many call for their application in research on cities (Mosconi, Paoletti et Raibaud 2015 ; McGuinness 2002). However, some critics have argued that intersectionality has backfired and become a sub-text for cis-gendered black women as a result

of the use of inflexible categories such as gender (thereby ignoring its inherent fluidity) and race (often meaning black and ignoring other races or mixity) (Puar 2013 ; Dhamoon 2011). Others further argues that this creates an us (read white women) vs. them (as other) mentality (Lorde 1984), as Puar explains, "Despite decades of feminist theorizing on the question of difference, difference continues to be "difference from", that is, the difference from "white woman." (Puar 2013, 375). Further, it has been argued that intersectionality puts the onus on the oppressed to teach the oppressor, thereby further absolving the oppressor of the responsibility of atoning for the oppression (Lorde 1984).

For the purpose of our research, we made use of Dhamoon's understanding of intersectionality that has evolved beyond the limited intersections of identities considered to be marginal to consider all identities, including from dominant groups (Dhamoon 2011). We thus made the effort to be intersectional wherever possible, in acknowledgement of and response to arguments put forth in the literature which maintain that gender exclusions are intensified by other intersecting identity markers, including race, ethnicity, class or religion (Sassen 2015).

The first step for analyzing the field data was ensuring that all of the materials from the field data collection have been prepared for analysis. This included downloading the survey data into CVS format, transcribing all interviews, inputting all field notes from the observations, and uploading all photographs. The field data was collated and coded for analysis, following the predetermined set of dimensions presented earlier in Tables 2.1 and 2.2 to understand inclusion and exclusion through the placemaking process and in the resulting public place. After the data was first reviewed in its entirety, it was be "winnowed" to determine what data was pertinent and what was extraneous to the study, by verifying the data against the dimensions that had already been identified (ex. inclusion, exclusion, process, social use of space, gender gaps, etc.) (Creswell 2014). The data was then analyzed in its aggregate form against these dimensions, where we strived to affirm or refute the stated hypotheses. We then sought to explore and expose any outlying data or unexpected outcomes, supporting all assertions and claims with evidence generated through the data collection, such as quotes from the interviews or tables from the surveys and observations. The data was also assessed against other factors, such as gender or living in the community or not, to see if these reveal trends in the data. Finally, the data was interpreted and written up in the results chapters of this research study. The presentation of the analysis included a reflexive narrative about the data collection process, paying particular attention to report any biases that presented themselves. The presentation of interpreted results was further

supported by information from the literature when appropriate and available. Finally, all data, now collated and analyzed, will be stored in a secure location and password protected.

2.4 Ethical considerations

Our exploratory study used methodologies that directly engaged human subjects and we thus ensured that we adhered to ethical standards in carrying out the research. Prior to commencing the data collection, we obtained an ethics certificate by the university that attested that we respected the ethical considerations required for such a study, and were granted authorization to move forward with the research. This certificate was renewed throughout the ongoing drafting and evaluation period so as to ensure its validity up to the moment the thesis is formally submitted. In this final section of the chapter, we will share an overview of the ethical considerations taken for the different methods used.

All but one of our key informant interviews were conducted using electronic means, as our experts and practitioners were based in different countries around the world. To ensure ethical compliance, we shared information about the project in an information letter which was sent and which accompanied our letter of invitation (see Annex 5: Letter of information KII; and Annex 6: Letter of invitation to participation in a KII). These documents were sent electronically a minimum of one week prior to the scheduled interview, thus allowing time for the key informants to review the materials sent and to share their full and informed consent. To this end, the consent form was also shared electronically at least one week prior to the interview (see Annex 7: Consent form KII). The information shared with the informants also ensured that their names would not be used in the research, as they would be replaced in order to ensure their anonymity as much as possible. We also explained how the information they shared would be stored. Namely, that we would audio record our interview and save the audio recording for two years following the final submission of the thesis, and preserve the notes and transcriptions of the audio recordings for five years after the final thesis submission.

The semi-structured interview with individuals from the organisations who led the development of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, our case study site, were conducted in person in Montréal. To ensure ethical compliance, our letter of invitation to participate in the semi-structure interview was accompanied by an information letter about the project (see Annex 8 - Letter of information lead organisation; and Annex 9: Letter of invitation to participate in an interview, lead organisation). In

addition, the consent form was shared electronically prior to the interview, and was signed in person prior to beginning the interview (see Annex 10: Consent Form Interviews Lead organisations). These documents were sent electronically a minimum of one week prior to the scheduled interview, thus allowing time for the interviewees to review the materials sent and to share their full and informed consent. The information shared with the informants also ensured that their names would not be used in the research, as they would be replaced in order to ensure their anonymity as much as possible. We also explained how the information they shared would be stored. Namely, that we would audio record our interview and save the audio recording for two years following the final submission of the thesis, and preserve the notes and transcriptions of the audio recordings for five years after the final thesis submission.

Our observations were conducted on-site and made use of photography. As the site was a public place, we did not require particular permission to be present. The greatest ethical consideration for the observations was with regards to the photography element, where efforts were taken to minimize the use of recognizable faces in the final thesis. Where faces were recognizable, photo editing software was used to ensure that anonymity was maintained, either by blacking out or blurring their faces, or my replacing them with emojis.

The micro surveys were conducted in person on the site of the Village au Pied-du-Courant. To ensure ethical compliance, a few steps were taken. The first was a verbal explanation of the research was presented to the interviewee, where we ensured that no identifiable information would be collected. The second was that a short blurb about the research project and the use of the data was available on the tablet as the first question, which requested that the respondent give their full and free consent to participation in the survey and thus the research study. Without this step, the survey would not proceed. Finally, in the event that any participant wanted additional information about the study, the researcher carried printed papers with a letter of invitation to participate in the survey that contained her contact information (see Annex 11: Letter of invitation micro-survey). Only one participant wanted this additional information, though no follow up contact was made.

The semi-structured interview with individuals representing local organisations in Sainte Marie were conducted in person in Montréal. To ensure ethical compliance, our letter of invitation to participate in the semi-structure interview was accompanied by an information letter about the project (see Annex 12: Letter of information Sainte Marie organisation; and Annex 13: Letter of invitation to participation in an interview, Sainte Marie organisation). In addition, the consent form

was shared electronically prior to the interview, and was signed in person prior to beginning the interview (see Annex 14: Consent Form Interviews local organisations). These documents were sent electronically a minimum of one week prior to the scheduled interview, thus allowing time for the interviewees to review the materials sent and to share their full and informed consent. The information shared with the informants also ensured that their names would not be used in the research, as they would be replaced in order to ensure their anonymity as much as possible. We also explained how the information they shared would be stored. Namely, that we would audio record our interview and save the audio recording for two years following the final submission of the thesis, and preserve the notes and transcriptions of the audio recordings for five years after the final thesis submission.

CHAPTER 3 - DEMYSTIFYING PLACEMAKING: PERSPECTIVES FROM INTERNATIONAL EXPERTS AND PRACTITIONERS

This chapter explores the placemaking process in greater detail. The chapter draws on information collected through key informant interviews with international placemaking experts and practitioners involved in developing, managing and programming placemaking projects in cities around the world. The first section of the chapter explores the concept of placemaking further, contributing first-hand accounts and reflections gathered through the key informant interviews. These interviews highlight some international practices in placemaking, attesting to its global expansion and evolution as a public space intervention in cities around the world. These interviews further explored how placemaking was defined and put into practice, consider who participates in such process and how they can be inclusive or not. Finally, the key informants shared their reflections and experiences with gender inclusive and responsive placemaking initiatives.

3.1 Global Practices in Placemaking

We conducted a series of interviews with key informants who are directly involved in placemaking. Given the lack of clarity and consensus around the concept, approach and implementation of placemaking, as exposed in the literature, these interviews were conducted in an attempt to generate primary data around these knowledge gaps and to see whether a consensus emerged. This information was thus subsequently used to inform the local interviews and the data analysis. These people were identified through the literature as key thinkers on the subject who are actively contributing to raising awareness about placemaking, to implementing placemaking initiatives, and to contributing to the knowledge base. The key informants are based in four different countries: Australia, Belgium, Canada and the Netherlands. To summarise their profiles, the first is an Australian landscape architect who founded a social enterprise that leads placemaking efforts, among other things. The second is a project officer working for a national foundation in Canada that funds placemaking initiatives. The third is a Belgian activist who founded a non-profit as his passion project which he does alongside his full-time job as a teacher. Finally, the fourth is a founder of consulting firm for urban development in the Netherlands, which originally started with links to the local university and which regularly publishes books and articles about public space that are frequently referenced in urban studies literature. Both the first and fourth key informants are actively engaged in global normative discussions around the urban agenda as well.

3.1.1 Placemaking in the Words of Practitioners

3.1.1.1 Is placemaking more process or place?

We asked key informants to define placemaking for us in their own words and some people highlighted the process, while others focused more on the place. Specifically, on the process, one key informant shared, "for me it's a process (...) that has to be collaborative and inclusive in building more resilient communities, (...) so it's a process that has to reflect the realities of the communities where they are located" (KII2CA 2017). Another said "placemaking is a (…) collaborative process of making places in the city that are suitable for the people who use those places" (KII1AU 2017). She went on to add specificity, arguing that "it's about whoever is using that place collaborating on designing that place with whoever is managing and enabling that place, whether it's a property developer or a government and being involved in the design, but then the use and activation of that space" (KII1AU 2017). In that sense, all actors who are involved in the place design, activation, maintenance, management and use are brought together to develop a shared vision. Finally, she shared that her organisation has a four-step process for placemaking: (1) community mobilisation, (2) resource mobilisation, (3) design and pilot testing the design via short-term site activation, and (4) interventions which can be either temporary or permanent (KII1AU 2017). She was the only key informant to provide such a formulaic approach to the placemaking process, though most seemed to follow similar steps.

The Dutch interviewee shared, "we see ourselves really in the tradition of William Whyte of finding out what it takes to turn quite anonymous public spaces into places where people want to be, people feel at home, interaction, intuitively stay longer than they intended to, and to have a warm feeling and kind of have the inner living room experience and bring it outdoors" (KII4NL 2018). He went on to made the point that it can be easy to forget the process behind placemaking when all you are looking at is the resulting place. As he put it, "there are lots of things that happen during this process, you make people dream, you connect to them, you make them think, you make them think about sitting and being in a public space so I think process is often neglected, people just want to see nice picture of colorful well-designed places" (KII3BR 2017).

Some key informants themselves did point to place, though they did not highlight the colors nor the design, rather they pointed to the importance of the place for people. The first described placemaking as "giving this place a sense of belonging", going on to add that it is "giving back a

place to the people, keeping in mind the local community" (KII3BR 2017). He does, however, mention that the importance is process over place (KII3BR 2017). The final key informant recalled the confusion around the term, pointing to what he described as "a general conception among developers that place making equals place branding", which he goes on to say can be a part of it, but it is not all of it (KII4NL 2018). For his organisation, placemaking involves transforming underused and appreciated public spaces "into places where people want to be", going on to explain that this also means longer term interventions, which can be decades long (KII4NL 2018). The idea that placemaking creates places where people want to linger was echoed by another key informant who described the place resulting from placemaking as a "place of immobility", going on to describe how busy people are, constantly focused on mobility and moving through spaces, and arguing that this must be balanced with places to stop, "for people to hang out, and where social contact is possible" (KII3BR 2017).

3.1.1.2 Becoming a placemaker

We were also curious to know how these experts came to know about and lead placemaking initiatives in the respective cities. Two key informants learned about placemaking through their university (KII1AU 2017 ; KII2CA 2017). Conversely, another maintains that while there is a strong planning tradition in his country, the Netherlands, the works of Jane Jacobs or William Whyte are not studied, and he argues that this is the case "for much of Europe" (KII4NL 2018). So, while his organisation has an affiliation with the university, this is not where he heard about placemaking. Rather, this key informant shared that he first heard about placemaking, "from this nice gentleman called Fred Kent" (KII4NL 2018). He went on to explain that his organisation has been working on and active in public space for years prior, and they had always strived to achieve results beyond the design and place itself, "we were always looking for a way to not just see these projects as physical projects" (KII4NL 2018). Rather what they were seeking was a "connection with the users, the use of patterns, the activities, the social side of public space", going on to confess that the body of knowledge, the tools, the approaches produced and promoted by Fred Kent and the Project for Public Spaces (PPS) "felt like coming home (…). They had something that we were actively looking for all those years" (KII4NL 2018). Another key informant also pointed to PPS and the documents they produce and promote as a key source of knowledge about placemaking (KII1AU 2017).

The Australian key informant recounted how she pushed back against saying that she was doing placemaking, as she believed it was often "all hype and no substance", at best a variation of place branding, but three years later came to accept and embrace that the approach that she used was in fact, placemaking (KII1AU 2017). She explained that the reason was also that, given her architecture background, their initial process was one of "social impact design" or "inclusive design", with the vision of a place first and the assumption that the place itself would promote inclusion. As their work evolved, however, the approach did as well, with community engagement taking a much more central role as their processes become increasingly participatory, as she explains it, "we found that we needed to start calling ourselves placemaking because no one understood what we did otherwise" (KII1AU 2017).

Another key informant described how he became an urban activist, and it was through internet research that he came to find that what he was doing had a name, placemaking (KII3BR 2017). He described his earlier interventions, participating in parking day, developing a mobile pétanque game, going on to explain that it evolved into "urban interventionism" at a larger scale, citing an example where he participated in organising Sunday picnics on one of the biggest boulevards in Brussels, and that public pressure from this site occupation resulting in the city designating it a car-free zone (KII3BR 2017).

3.1.1.3 Diverse placemaking examples from around the world

Other key informants also shared some examples of successful placemaking. One immediately pointed to Bryant Park in New York City, particularly "because of the organizing mechanism behind it", explaining that the organisation is responsible not just for the physical design and maintenance, but also for the programming and for securing funding, all of which they have done successfully and which have allowed them to maintain it over time (KII4NL 2018). Another participant cited the central business district of Adelaide which was redeveloped through placemaking, and while the government took the lead, "it was very top down", the key informant maintains that this is an example of a best practice (KII1AU 2017). Finally, the Parckfarm project in Brussels, formerly an unused space near the train tracks was transformed was also underlined, "they revived the place and they had co-creation with the neighbourhood and even made a greenhouse and a coffeeshop, this is a really nice project" (KII3BR 2017).

The key informant from the Netherlands offered a more detailed example as he described their process of revitalising an area of the city which was mostly unoccupied, with up to 80% of vacancy in many buildings. He describes their approach as one of "slow urbanism" where they had a ten-year vision for transforming the space. They made an agreement with the landlord who owned most of the buildings to bring in skilled workers, social entrepreneurs, creative businesses and others' who were unable to find space elsewhere in the city and to give them 10-year leases. These leases came with the stipulation that after ten years the housing corporation could take back the space to use it in another way. In the end, they brought in 100 new tenants with the condition that they come "only if you want to co-invest into the area as well" (KII4NL 2018). Further, he explained that they sought to create a multifunctional space and selected tenants "very much based on the criteria of diversity", resulting in about half of the applicants being rejected. The project produced a number of fruitful serendipitous collaborations and increased property value for the property owner and housing corporation, which, in hindsight, should have been properly costed pre-and post-intervention with a profit cost-sharing clause built into the agreement with the property owner, part of which could then have been reinvested into the local area (KII4NL 2018).

3.1.2 Placemaking: increasing and evolving

The aforementioned examples are just a few of many. All four key informants agreed that placemaking is gaining momentum and increasing in a number of cities globally. One informant suggested that the rise in placemaking is due to "the globalization of knowledge (…) and the globalisation of tourism", recalling how a trip to Copenhagen really affected him and showed him that "other things are possible" (KII3BR 2017). Another suggested that "the conversation in the past five years has evolved substantially and now there are a lot of people doing placemaking and it's much more tangible than it was" (KII1AU 2017), while another proposed that "policymakers are starting to embrace the idea [of placemaking] more" (KII4NL 2018). Finally, one key informant pointed out that in the past ten years there has been an increase in openness towards placemaking in Europe, but still, "for a lot of people within the European network this is an entirely new concept" (KII4NL 2018).

When asked about what the recent increase in placemaking in cities globally can be attributed to, one key informant joked "well if you ask Fred Kent it's because of their work [at the Project for Public Spaces]", but immediately concedes that you cannot deny the significant contribution they have made, from coining the term placemaking to building a global network (KII4NL 2018).

Another argues that the increase in past five years is due to better internet connectivity, making it easier to share ideas, and a greater interest on the part of citizens to engage with their cities (KII1AU 2017). One key informant suggests that the rise in placemaking is almost a necessity, arguing that cities today are growing faster than cities themselves can manage, "placemaking in particular with the tactical urbanism kind of lighter, quicker, cheaper scale does offer you an interim solution", making it possible to test solutions and respond quickly to the needs of a rapidly changing context (KII1AU 2017).

Finally, one key informant offered an historical perspective on the evolution of cities post WWII, arguing that the separation of functions and car-centric mobility planning created cities that we are now trying to correct (KII4NL 2018). He explains the failure of the modernists and CIAM and follows, "as human beings, as users of the city (…) we want to experience, we want to see beautiful things, we want to be inspired and challenged by the city, and I guess this is the part that the modernists totally overlooked" (KII4NL 2018). He points to a recent "paradigm shift towards much more focus on quality public space, more participatory approaches, and the human scale of things", arguing that the latest UN Habitat New Urban Agenda adopted in Quito in 2016 is a reflection of this shift, and notes that people are increasingly moving back to cities (KII4NL 2018). The shift is not only among urbanists, but he argues that placemaking is gaining momentum as there is greater awareness among city officials and economists that what drives the innovation economy is "people being nearby, meeting each other, exchanging ideas", and that people also place greater importance on "the meaning of place and interaction" (KII4NL 2018). This latter point was supported by another key informant posited that placemaking was increasing due to an increase in the number of people "looking for places to connect" (KII3BR 2017).

The key informants we interviewed spoke not only of an increase in placemaking, but also an evolution in placemaking practices. For example, two participants pointed to the work happening in Lebanon to engage refugees in placemaking, branding it as "placemaking for peacemaking" as an example of this evolution (KII2CA 2017 ; KII4NL 2018). Another suggested that placemaking is also evolving to other spaces, bringing art and culture together, citing Art Hives and Evergreen Brick Works in Toronto are good examples of this (KII2CA 2017). While another simply said that a way that placemaking is evolving is by hybrid collaborations, by involving other groups - not just the public sector - in supporting these projects (KII2CA 2017).

The increase in awareness about placemaking and the possibility to learn and share experiences can also inspire innovation. To illustrate, one key informant shared how her experience in working

in the development context of slum upgrading initiatives had a big influence on her placemaking approach in Australia. As she describes it:

> *"I spent two years working in South East Asia and they're obviously dealing with extremely rapid urban change, the scale that we don't experience in Australia... There's a lot of slum upgrading projects that I was involved with that are essentially like 'lighter, quicker, cheaper' if you wanted to put a theory on them, and I think that that was a really good case of how do you take informal settlements without a lot of resources and look at ways of fixing very immediate problems, like flooding or water supply or lack of roofing or whatever it is, through a sort of place based model and those projects (…) just an ABCD-based approach to urban development. So understanding where the community energy is, understanding what resources they have, what time frames they can act in, what support they would need to deliver. Delivering a project in three months - very low-cost - and then moving on to the next one, and I guess from that experience I then started to apply that same methodology in Australian projects." (KII1AU 2017).*

She goes on to explain how this is an example of evolution in the Australian context, where placemaking tends to very much government-led, as her organisation launched an initiative, the Neighbourhood Project, to support more community-led placemaking (KII1AU 2017),

Finally, one key informant spoke of the evolution leading to what he refers to as a "multidisciplinary placemaking approach" (KII2CA 2017). He goes on to describe the case of the Jardins Gamelin in Montréal to illustrate. He explains that the location of the placemaking initiative is one where mental health, drugs and homelessness were issues at the site, which were acknowledged, considered, and integrated in the placemaking approach. These efforts were deliberate and complementary to the typical elements you would see in a placemaking project, such as the introduction of urban furniture, music, and the use of upcycled materials. Specifically, workshops and talks were organised with a local roundtable on subjects such as alternatives to drugs and to raise awareness about the resources that are available, etc. A clinic was made available and even included a safe injection site for drug users. Furthermore, ethnographers were brought in as core partners who document the stories of the people who lived in the park, culminating in a public space exhibition which served to "make those narratives of the past of those spaces visible" (KII2CA 2017). Finally, the place led to job creation for park inhabitants who could support urban agriculture efforts by tending to the gardens (KII2CA 2017).

3.1.3 Efforts to be Inclusive

As we saw in the literature review, positive values are often associated with placemaking. The importance of values emerged with the key informant interviews as well. One key informant in particular felt that shared values were critical to the success of a placemaking initiative, stating that it is very important "to have these common goals and values and to make them explicit" (KII4NL 2018). Another interviewee highlighted that for the Foundation where he works, "we believe in innovation that has to be inclusive and also to support resilience and sustainable development for all" (KII2CA 2017). He sees placemaking as a strategy to overcome a current challenge "our cities need to be liveable spaces and we need to work on strengthening the social fabric of them"(KII2CA 2017). He goes on to add, "I'm optimistic about placemaking because to me, placemaking should not be about displacing people, it should be about working with the people who are already there because it is their home" (KII2CA 2017).

This importance of community involvement and connection is also a recurring theme. As one key informant maintains, placemaking must put the current users of a space at the centre of any future place without displacing existing users, as one key informant states "if it is isolated, then it's not real placemaking" (KII2CA 2017). In some cases, defining or understanding who the community is can be relatively easy, according to the Belgian key informant (KII3BR 2017). For example, he described how his organisation was asked to co-create a recreational area for students in a school where there were none. They worked together with the students to think of multifunctional furniture and installations that "can be used to play with and [where] they could also eat", to maximize the utility of a small space (KII3BR 2017). Another key informant suggests that identifying the community is actually more complex, stating that for his organisation, "we have a very large definition of what a community can be, (…) for us, it is not only residents" (KII4NL 2018).

Beyond defining the community, several key informants commented on the importance of inclusion. One suggested that the placemaking process can be put through, what she referred to as an "inclusion lens" to consider who must be included in the process and in considering how to go about "creating a place that's suitable for the people who use that space" (KII1AU 2017). Another added that "placemaking also involves equality, making sure the spaces are accessible to all people" (KII2CA 2017). One person suggested that the placemaking process itself was a strategy for inclusion, recounting how her Australian design studio uses placemaking as a strategy for reaching groups who are not participating, including youth, women or a cultural group and for bringing them together (KII1AU 2017).

The Dutch key informant cautioned that for processes to be inclusive of diverse people, "you have to be very active in this" (KII4NL 2018). He describes how his organisation began a placemaking project in a tough neighbourhood where about half of the residents were Syrian Orthodox, many of them refugees. He explains that reaching this community was very hard, particularly given their mistrust of the government, due to their experience in their native country. His group thus had to engaged in a prolonged trust building process with the community, and it took about nine months before the first real exchange took place. He recounts how one person shared his impression of the cultural difference, telling him "you Dutch guys have a conversation and then you start doing business, we [Syrians] have the saying that says you have to eat a kilo of salt before you start doing business" (KII4NL 2018).

The Australian interviewee agrees that it can be hard to be inclusive, sharing "I also note that in the process (…), there's lots of probably great people and ideas who would never put their hand up (…) so we're just thinking through how we improve that" (KII1AU 2017). To be inclusive, a few key informants mentioned that importance of a good communication strategy and using plain language (KII2CA 2017 ; KII4NL 2018). Another pointed out "it begins with the pictures that you show, and in pictures you see a lot of happy white people in summertime", which are not representative of diversity (KII4NL 2018).

The Australian interviewee shares, "we were quite deliberate about in trying to then hear from voices that might not be at the table, which is often say younger people, seniors, culturally diverse groups", going on to explain that her organisation encourages the people they are working with - government and community - to go out to try to find and meet with these people (KII1AU 2017). She explains how they use different tools of engagement to reach out to particular groups to try to encourage them to participate (KII1AU 2017). Interestingly, the interviewee working for the Foundation explains how their roles as donors who fund placemaking initiatives enable them to impose certain criteria, specifically "inclusion, reconciliation and urban innovation" (KII2CA 2017). Finally, for one key informant, the importance and effort put into inclusion of diversity is correlated with the scale of the placemaking initiative (KII1AU 2017). As she explains it, reaching diverse people is more something that is done with bigger or more permanent projects, with less emphasis on this for smaller community-led projects (KII1AU 2017).

3.1.4 Variations in Scale and Temporality

The scale of placemaking initiatives is quite variable, ranging from a specific street corner to a whole street (KII1AU 2017). She laments that increasingly, placemaking in Australia only results in small scale and temporary solutions, without a long-term vision or strategic reflection, something that is increasingly criticized. As she puts it, it's the "I don't know what to do here so let's put a food truck park here" approach to placemaking (KII1AU 2017). Another interviewee made a similar comment, noting that in the Netherlands there is also this "tendency to always get food trucks, (…) but here in the Dutch context food trucks are for the higher income", which means that when they are a focal point, "you are going to be selective, not inclusive" (KII4NL 2018).

The temporality, or how temporary or permanent these urban interventions are, came out repeatedly throughout the key informant interviews, without consensus. So while the Australian placemaker criticized the increasing temporary interventions in her country, for the Belgian group, which is composed of volunteers who all have careers outside of the placemaking organisation, they have to be mindful about what projects they take on, often preferring more temporary projects, as their capacity for larger or more long-term initiatives is limited (KII3BR 2017). Even so, he concedes that a co-creation process takes a lot of time, often about one year to do it properly (KII3BR 2017). Another key informant pointed out that the temporality of placemaking initiatives in Canada is a challenge because of winter, but noted that there are some groups who are working develop placemaking activities in the winter, this is something the Foundation is working to support and expand on (KII2CA 2017).

One key informant was clear that placemaking was a much longer term process, as he simply states, "you don't just create a place from one day to the other" (KII4NL 2018). He goes on to share that for his organisation, "we see placemaking not only as temporary interventions, because very often we are seeing nowadays that it has a connotation of always being temporary, always being about the deck chairs, but it's a long-term commitment with the community to shape great places and often it's over the course of 10, 20, 30 or 40 years" (KII4NL 2018).

When redeveloping existing urban areas, one key informant highlights that the planning process is much more complex, noting "you cannot not do the classical linear planning type model where you make a plan for three years and implement it and do the maintenance kind of thing", as planners are taught in university (KII4NL 2018). Rather it takes time to develop a network of stakeholders who will participate in the co-creation process, and "you really need build the faith between people for a new future", going on to highlight that quick wins, or solutions that are easily implemented quickly, can be a tool for this trust-building with the community (KII4NL 2018). These

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quick wins can also be seen as ways of testing solutions to see what works in that space, before introducing more permanent infrastructure or scaling up solutions, as he says, "that's really the aspect I like very much about tactical urbanism" (KII4NL 2018). In that sense, "tactical urbanism is one of the tools that we use", but it is not the same as placemaking (KII4NL 2018).

3.1.2 Participating in a Placemaking Process

3.1.2.1 The role of different actors in placemaking

We were curious to know more about the organisations who lead placemaking initiatives around the world. The key informant working for the Canadian foundation explains that "placemaking is one of our three priority areas" (KII2CA 2017). As they are on the funding side of things, they also work to connect people together, ensuring that good practices, lessons and tools are shared (KII2CA 2017). Additionally, they strive to support innovation and inclusion. To illustrate, he shared that his organisation supported the creation of an Indigenous Placemaking Council, which strives to promote the presence of indigenous people in public spaces (KII2CA 2017).

The key informant from Belgium shared how he suffered from activist burnout and that "it is very tiring to always be against things", so together with two partners he founded a local non-profit that leads placemaking activities, which is the origin of his organisation (KII3BR 2017). His group is very diverse, consisting of a school teacher, architects, designers, 'handymen', a welder, a lawyer, and others, explaining that the common ground is that "it's always people who have this love for the cities and humans" (KII3BR 2017). Due to the often unsanctioned nature of their interventions, he explains that not all member of his group want to be named, as some are involved in politics and are worried about their careers (KII3BR 2017). "We often tend to neglect the permits", laughed the informant, "because we started as activists and we never asked for permission", going on to explain that the permitting process is long and onerous and the government often denies the permit requests anyway (KII3BR 2017). They are an activist volunteer-based organisation and reject hierarchy in its decision-making to allow for each of its members to contribute to the areas that they specialise in, adding that they are guided by the principle that "if it doesn't make you laugh, we don't do it" (KII3BR 2017). This does not mean that all of their work is unsanctioned, however, as we saw in the earlier example where they worked with students to develop a recreational place for them at their school. Most of the sanctioned work for them in Belgium is

when his team is brought on to run the participatory element of bigger projects by architect bureaus, as "they are legally obliged to the participation" (KII3BR 2017).

One key informant works for a design studio in Australia. She explains how the role of her organisation is multifold, and can vary from one project to the next, ranging from support community mobilization and organisation, to facilitating links between community and local government, or to doing strategic consulting services related to place planning for government (KII1AU 2017). She explains how in Australia, "people don't feel like they have social licence to act, because they don't know anyone in their neighbourhood" (KII1AU 2017). She went on to clarify that a role her organisation fulfills is to support community connections and organizing to enable community members to participate in placemaking processes (KII1AU 2017). Even when community based organisations exist, they are "not big and organised and strong in the same way that I've observed in the US" (KII1AU 2017). She explains that sustainability is considered from the onset of the project, but her organisation often has to be the one to raise the issue, asking participants to consider the management and maintenance of a place or even support local groups of citizens to form a registered non-profit to enable them to request additional grants to support the sustainability of the project (KII1AU 2017). She goes on to add that her organisation thus strives to support community-led placemaking but also relies on its own expertise to support strategic site selection, among other things. As she explains, "it's a mix of we follow community energy about what people want to do, but we also use a bit of urban design advice about trying to make sure those ideas are going to be successful, just with basic principles of where people are likely to go, walkability, and access and lighting and that kind of thing" (KII1AU 2017).

For the Dutch key informant, his organisation has been leading co-creation exercises and providing training to various stakeholders for the past 25 years, essentially working to develop an "alternative for the how" to be able to harness people's creativity and apply it to urban planning (KII4NL 2018). Similar to the Australian group, his organisation provides consulting services for urban design and planning for diverse clients both in the Netherlands and internationally. In addition, given its historical links with the local university, knowledge production and dissemination are key activities for the group, which has produced works that have been translated into other languages (KII4NL 2018). In terms of placemaking, he stressed the importance for a lead organisation to do the groundwork to maximize the potential impact of a project. As he puts it, "you have to organise the power of implementation before you launch any sort of process", meaning that you have the proper resources to implement recommendations from the participants and the proper partnerships in place to enable implementation (KII4NL 2018).

It is not only organisations such as these who are involved in placemaking. Rather government, community members and even the private sector have roles to play. The Dutch key informant acknowledged that it was the government's job to design and maintain public spaces, going on to argue "but that doesn't necessarily mean that we get great places - we get spaces, we do not necessarily get places" (KII4NL 2018). For the Belgian group, it is people who are the most important and who have the most influence over the direction of a project, "we don't work from books, we always work with the people" (KII3BR 2017). In addition, as they are a voluntary organisation, young people are hired to animate the places on weekends and earn a "voluntary contribution", a nominal fee, for their time (KII3BR 2017).

The Australian key informant recalls how the centrality of the role of government in placemaking incited her organisation to launch a new initiative that would support and accompany community-led placemaking, the Neighbourhood Project. In spite of this effort, they must still rely on the government for permission and permits, so the role of the government remains critical to the success of the project (KII1AU 2017). She offers two reasons for the continued centrality of the role of government in placemaking, firstly, she argues that the government "feels challenged by an idea that came up that wasn't in their strategy and they don't know what to do with it", and that Australia civil society is less mobilised and active, "there is no sense of urgency or agency around active citizenship", compared with some African or South Asian cities who have to be organised to advocate for their basic rights and needs (KII1AU 2017). In her opinion, this means that "the whole sort of unsanctioned guerilla thing just sort of doesn't really exist in Australia", going on to add "we wrote the tactical urbanism guide to Australia and every single project had a permit" (KII1AU 2017).

Local government also has budget allocations to support placemaking projects but also tends to manage the resources related to implementation (KII1AU 2017). A key informant explains how her efforts to support more community-led placemaking in Australia include efforts to enable communities to manage the related budget as well, as she puts it, her organisation is trying "to provide communities with greater access to direct funding so that they can have a little bit more power in the decisions" (KII1AU 2017). This is not to say that they are completely excluded from government-led processes. The community has influence over some choices, for example, where to put shade or how they want to access a site, but not over every choice as there are regulations and safety standards to consider, explained the interviewee (KII1AU 2017). Furthermore, it was interesting to hear that based on her experience of placemaking in Australia, when community members bring up the idea of a project that they would like to see realised, such as a community

garden, and are not typically tied to a specific location where they want it to be realised, so there is less resistance to acquiescing to a site proposed by the government, as she says ""we are really limited to what local government would let us use" (KII1AU 2017). Another way the community participates indirectly is through the temporary activation of a space prior to a longer term or even permanent intervention to test and eventually validate the design of a place (KII1AU 2017). The central role of government in decision-making, permitting, and resourcing placemaking means that the reality in Australia is "we can't always do it in such a community-led way" (KII1AU 2017).

In addition, in Australia, property developers are also actively involved, as "they are increasingly seeing placemaking as part of their community building strategies, particularly in greenfield developments" (KII1AU 2017). Property developers therefore fund placemaking as part of their development contributions. In Canada, on the other hand, it is still difficult to mobilize the private sector to participate in or support placemaking initiatives (KII2CA 2017).

One key informant pushed back on the standard roles of community, designers, or government, offering instead a typology of placemakers that speaks more to roles than to job titles (KII2CA 2017). Specifically, he spoke of: (1) entrepreneurs, people seeking to innovate, to change culture and create opportunities; (2) pollinators, people who share ideas, tools and resources, who connect ideas, and who are story tellers; (3) researchers, people who gather and analyse data; (4) activators, people who implement projects and develop sites; (5) system changers, people who operate on a strategic more macro level; and (6) reformers, people who seek to change laws and regulations, typically working the city of provincial level (KII2CA 2017). He went on to explain that considering types of placemakers allows people to break out of traditional siloed roles, such as urban designer, policy maker, or community leader, particularly at times when these different people are coming together to exchange (KII2CA 2017).

3.1.2.2 Communications and mobilisation strategies

We were interested in learning more about the participation of community members in placemaking. In terms of commitment, key informants shared vastly differing expectations. For example, the Australian organisation estimates that people should expect to give five to six days of time, and government partners are expected to participate in two to three workshops, all of this over a period of three to six months, depending on the project (KII1AU 2017). The Belgian group, on the other hand says that there is "no minimum commitment" (KII3BR 2017). One key informant estimated that approximately ten to thirty people participate actively in the placemaking process (KII1AU 2017). The Belgium interviewee offered some insight into the profile of people who do

participate, which he describes as "mostly young people (…) and retired people" (KII3BR 2017). He went on to add that most of the people who participate in their urban activist projects and activities are "white middle class people" (KII3BR 2017).

Several key informants spoke of the need to build the capacity of people to participate in placemaking. To enable participation, one key informant highlighted the need to build capacities of people to participate, to enable them to "understand the language and how the system works (…) so that they can be active changemakers" (KII2CA 2017). As placemaking is a process, another key informant explains that her organisation makes sure that the first step is to build people's capacity to participate, and is thus organised as a workshop where community members acquire tools and skills, and where they will be assigned some homework to complete before the next step (KII1AU 2017). As she tells is, "the best practices are the one's which are very collaborative and have an element of community capacity building" (KII1AU 2017).

In addition, there is a need to adapt language to the specific group of people you are working with and to the kind of project you are working on, be it a pop up workshop or a big process of street redesign (KII1AU 2017). The key informant went on to explain that technical terms related to planning and design are explained during workshops, and that while plain language is used to enable participation, at the end of the day, "we are talking about the same subject matter of lights, design standards, and planning codes" (KII1AU 2017). Similarly, the key informant at the Canadian foundation spoke about their efforts to change their communications to make them more accessible to people, noting a redesign of their website and using clear and simple language as part of these efforts (KII2CA 2017).

Before any such capacity building can occur, organisations leading placemaking efforts must think about their community mobilisation strategies. Some groups may prioritise social media as an outreach strategy (KII3BR 2017), while others use different outreach strategies. One strategy used by the Australian group is to meet with existing groups to ensure that they know about the placemaking process, which also allows for "understanding what they are already doing and how we could add value to that" (KII1AU 2017). Another strategy that they use it to find local leaders and early adopters and bring them into the process first, as this can have a catalytic effect (KII1AU 2017). The Belgian group meets with existing groups, particularly cultural centres and local groups who are already connected to people, to partner with them to "implement their expertise in the neighbourhood" and to mobilize people to participate in the placemaking" (KII3BR 2017). Finally, the Dutch key informant ensures that they are transparent in their expectations, which involve

active participation by the community, as he affirms, "we never invite people for the sake of talking, we really make it clear that we want everybody to participate for the sake of doing" (KII4NL 2018).

Beyond their work to train local participants, the importance of building capacity and sharing information was brought up by key informants as an important piece of their work that was complementary to their ongoing work at international, regional or national levels. For the Belgian key informant, himself a teacher, sharing information is a central tenant on his work. Part of this involves hosting an annual training where people from Europe come to "investigate matters of liveable cities", learning about grassroots movement building and the downfall of for-profit planning and development, among other things (KII3BR 2017). Another interviewee shared that he is involved in organising a "European network of placemaking" (KII4NL 2018). On a national level, the interviewee working for the foundation shared that they financed the organisation of a Canadian Placemaking Week, which took place in Vancouver in 2016 and brought together more than 100 placemakers from across the country to exchange allows for collective reflection, identifying best practices and sharing lessons learned (KII2CA 2017). In addition, the Canadian Placemaking Week event resulting in the publication of a placemaking guide for Canada, which his foundation also supported (KII2CA 2017). He highlighted the importance of creating space for exchange, noting "we make sure the right people are connected to each other so that they can exchange ideas" (KII2CA 2017).

3.1.2.3 Variations in measuring success: from smiles to policy transformation

The increase in awareness about placemaking is not always positive. For example, one challenge to placemaking is that people see bad examples and believe that it will lead to gentrification. For example, the interviewee from the Canadian Foundation describes how they gave a local organisation a grant to support a placemaking project in the Parc Extension neighbourhood of Montréal, but due to local concerns about gentrification, it was not able to move forward (KII2CA 2017). He goes on to concede that "it's a valid concern" to worry about the potential of gentrification as an outcome of placemaking, but argues that when placemaking is done as it should be, "it is about representing the values of those communities" it should not be a concern, except "if those values do not reflect inclusion" (KII2CA 2017). Another interviewee also commented on gentrification, arguing that in some areas, "a certain amount of gentrification is not bad" (KII4NL 2018).

Placemaking has spread and appears to be increasing, with regional networks and conferences being organised to discuss lessons and to share ideas and tools, so we were interested in learning

how practitioners evaluate their placemaking initiatives. Some interviewees shared high expectations for the impact of placemaking. One noted, placemaking is "also a platform to just not only tackle some of the social and urban issues that we have such as inequality, exclusion, violence, but also to accelerate social change" (KII2CA 2017). While others claim that they have changed people's behaviours, asserting "people adapt their use of public space according to what is available, so if parking lots become small plazas, people will gather there in ways they never would had they remained parking spots" (KII1AU 2017).

Not all of the key informants we interviewed had not all given much importance to evaluating their work. As one interviewee said, "we are not that organised (…) we just basically meet for coffee after work and (…) we evaluate our success with the amount of smiles that we have" (KII3BR 2017). Though he did go on to suggest that the number of media mentions can also serve as a proxy for the success of a project (KII3BR 2017). Another pointed to the importance of sharing both positive and negative experiences for others to learn from, noting "we are constantly trying to learn and are trying to make explicit the mistakes that we made during a process" (KII4NL 2018).

The two other key informants placed more emphasis on evaluation. As one noted, the key roles for the Foundation related to being on the funding side of placemaking include monitoring and evaluation (KII2CA 2017). They therefore go out to visit the places they fund and support grant recipients to integrate lessons from other groups into their own work (KII2CA 2017). The Australian design studio had a more rigorous approach to evaluation. The interviewee shared that they sometimes do time lapse photography to understand who uses the space and what they do there, which can then be disaggregated by men and women (KII1AU 2017).

In addition, they have developed their own placemaking evaluation framework. Specifically, the Australian organisation evaluates their placemaking projects along three pillars: "people, process and place" (KII1AU 2017). For PEOPLE, this means skills, relationships and commitment to the project are considered, for PROCESS it is the impact on the government partners and developers that is considered, thinking about what they may have learned about a community, or any resulting efforts to simplify processes related to placemaking (permitting, access to grants), and PLACE considers how connect people feel to the place and how inclusive it is (KII1AU 2017). Finally, she goes on to explain that while ideally they would find positive results across all three pillars, a positive outcome in just one of the pillars would still indicate a degree of success (KII1AU 2017). She shared a few lessons from her experience in leading placemaking efforts, firstly, "try to deal

with the bigger decisions first, such as site selection, to be able to move on quickly afterwards", and secondly, "what we have found is that projects are long-term successful if governments and communities have a collaborative working relationship" (KII1AU 2017).

It is interesting to know that the Australian and Dutch key informants share an indicator for the success of their projects that transcends the specific placemaking project itself, seeking to have a positive impact on the urban system that would favor similar approaches in the future. Specifically, the Australian interviewee noted that the larger objective is to create an "enabling environment to support placemaking", and in that sense the placemaking process is given more weight than the place itself when the success of a project is being considered (KII1AU 2017). Similarly, the larger objectives that the Dutch organisation is working towards include mobilizing more people to embrace placemaking, changing building codes and bylaws to "focus on the human scale", and to ensure that policy makers are aware of local needs and priorities (KII4NL 2018).

No key informants we interviewed are evaluating inclusion. One did acknowledge that some voices are louder than others, in spite of conscious efforts to be inclusive and balanced (KII1AU 2017). She went on to concede that it would be a good idea to develop a checklist that can be used to assess inclusion of different groups, including women (KII1AU 2017).

3.1.3 Gender Gaps and Placemaking

Key informants were asked about the potential for placemaking to overcome gender gaps sometimes seen with traditional urban planning processes. This prompted a reflection on the current state of public spaces. On the design of public spaces, one participant said, "I think that most of the public spaces (…) reflect the discrimination that is within our society, they are very man-dominated, and very white male dominated" (KII2CA 2017). He went on to explain that beyond simply considering women's needs in public spaces, "it's actually about reflecting those identities, bringing back the identities of the women that built these cities", going on to cite the example of street names that fail to represent women as an example of this gender exclusion (KII2CA 2017). Another added, "there is a lot of greater scope of work to be done to be a little bit more direct and explicit and intentional around practical issues around women in public space, be in safety, comfort, what the space looks like to be inclusive (...) I don't think we are particularly deliberate on that" (KII1AU 2017). She goes on to propose a strategy for deliberate and explicit gender considerations in placemaking practices, explaining:

[thinking about] *"some of our other work which is around developing principles for public space design or others, it's rarely explicit that you're thinking about gender in that context. It's sort of like we want this place to be a local, a vibrant local economy, or we want this place to be whatever it is - X that someone has pulled out of the sky - but it doesn't say that we want this place to specifically be inclusive for women but if you made that one of your pillars - of your ten pillars in your place strategy - then I think actually you would naturally start to this differently in terms of outcomes"* *(KII1AU 2017).*

While the strategy to be gender inclusive may not be deliberate at this stage, all four key informants agreed to some degree that placemaking was gender inclusive, particularly when it comes to participation and process. Specifically, in response to whether placemaking has been successful in overcoming the gender gaps, one key informant responded "in our experience, yes" (KII1AU 2017), and another said "yeah! I actually see women involved" (KII2CA 2017). A third respondent said "it's a funny thing, I've noticed kind of the opposite is happening", explaining that there is a reverse gender gap where more women are engaging with these issues than men, advising that he is witnessing this trend not just in the Netherlands, but in a conference that the Dutch group organised in Brazil, where "about 80% of the participants were women" (KII4NL 2018). Finally, the fourth informant added a nuance to the question, responding "when it comes to design, not so much, but when it comes to placemaking as a community process, a lot I think" (KII3BR 2017).

One key informant shared a project that she had done that was specifically gender inclusive, both in process and design (KII1AU 2017). She shared that she had done a placemaking project with UN Women aimed at improving women's perception safety in a problematic laneway. This meant spending time with local community women to understand how they felt in the laneway, and relying on their lived experiences to both diagnose the problematic issues and to generate ideas for change. The women's recommendations were then further expanded by the introduction of some principles of crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) and resulted in increased lighting, the addition of some street art, and community activities to activate the space, interventions which are still ongoing (KII1AU 2017).

The subject of gender gaps and placemaking prompted several key informants to consider their own competencies. One admitted that this was a new area for his team, explaining, "we are still rookies on the matters of urbanism and feminism", going on to explain how he fails to see how design and architecture have the potential to have an impact on women's roles in society (KII3BR

2017). Another few reflected on the composition of their own teams, asserting that the composition of their respective team members is quite mixed (KII4NL 2018 ; KII2CA 2017), with one affirming "we make sure we are gender equal" (KII2CA 2017). The key informant working for the Canadian foundation went on to note that "most of our program directors are women (…) but the president is a man", concluding that "I don't think that there's a lot of issues in terms of gender gaps or inequality in the foundations, I would say it's more ethnic diversity in the philanthropic section, it's very white-dominated, but things are changing" (KII2CA 2017).

Beyond their teams, two key informants considered who participates in the placemaking activities they run. For the Australian key informant, she maintains that in some cases, almost all volunteers and leaders on a placemaking project are women, who are also the ones who take leadership and decision-making roles for community-led placemaking (KII1AU 2017). After some thought, she shares that community placemaking initiatives "sort of all have been women-led in my experience", going on to suggest that the high percentage of women participating, which she estimates to be generally at least 70%, mean that there is a "female lens" on these projects (KII1AU 2017). She contrasts this with government-led placemaking, which is the dominant form in the country, describing this as "very male-dominated" and the whole working environment and process are very different, with turnovers that can result in discontinuity (KII1AU 2017). She reflects that even with government-led placemaking, "once you got to the participatory element you'd still see quite high levels of female participation" (KII1AU 2017).

The Dutch key informant also agreed that there were more women participating, but he felt that the greater participation of women was not limited to placemaking, arguing that it was reflective of the changing nature of the planning profession more broadly (KII4NL 2018). He presented his case as follows:

> "as planning is less and less the linear traditional model rational type of planning, and is more and more networked and more and more embracing complexity about relationships and about also the emotional parts and the experience parts of the brain in general, (…) you could say that these are more feminine qualities (…) so perhaps that's one reason why the profession is changing quite a lot (…) and embracing a lot more than the only the rational model" (KII4NL 2018).

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Concluding thoughts

Rather than generating consensus around placemaking, our key informant interviews reflected that there is a lack of consensus around it. Specifically, interviewees did not agree on the scale of the approach, which varies from a street corner, to Bryant Park in New York City. They did not agree on whether place or process was more consequent for placemaking, nor did they agree about the duration of a placemaking initiative, which ranged from a weekend to 40+ years! Some other fundamental issues from the literature, such as whether placemaking is sanctioned or not, were not resolved with these interviews.

Rather, the interviewees upheld the important association of values with placemaking. These values were associated with both process (inclusion, equality, trust) and place (accessibility, a place you want to spend time in, a space that reflects shared values). In that sense, it is the qualitative experience of both process and place that emerged as important for our key informants. In addition, the key informants agreed that placemaking is increasing, evolving and expanding to other cities. Much of this appeared to be due to increased networks at national, regional and international levels, and the globalisation of knowledge being shared. At local levels, however, the importance of identity being reflected in place came out, and it was suggested that this also reflected how inclusive a place was and for whom.

In addition, it was noted that beyond numbers of women around the table, it is also important to consider the diversity of the women who are participating, and this is an area that some key informants felt had to be strengthened. One key informant cautions that while there is a high percentage of women participating and she agrees that placemaking overcomes the gender gap in planning, it is still "not necessarily a representative voice" (KII1AU 2017). She went on to clarify that according to her, it is not the participation of women in placemaking that is a barrier, it is that "we don't necessarily have a representative voice across demographics and age" (KII1AU 2017). Another key informant went on to insist that we must consider the people the furthest removed, describing a single mother who relies on government assistance and housing and asking "how is she involved in the decision-making process? In the co-creation process?" (KII2CA 2017). He added that an additional challenge is not just getting women to participate, but giving them opportunities to participate meaningfully, "it has to go beyond making sure that there are enough women in the room, it's actually about allowing women to take part in the co-creation process" (KII2CA 2017). Finally, one key informant felt that a bigger effort was needed to overcome gender

gaps, noting, "there is a lot to be done about girls, women in public space, but merely thinking of data and design, I don't think it's possible, it has to be through education and sensitisation" (KII3BR 2017).

In our following results chapter we will demonstrate how placemaking has been localized and implemented here in Montréal in one particular site, the Village au Pied-du-Courant. Further, our interviews with leaders from the placemaking project reveal the process of redeveloping the site, with a lens of who participates, in what phases, with what degree of power, and how. In particular, we will seek to understand the role different women have played in placemaking the Village au Pied-du-Courant in Montréal.

CHAPTER 4: PLACEMAKING THE VILLAGE AU PIED-DU-COURANT

In this chapter we will present the results from our interviews with local groups and organisations to offer neighbourhood perspectives on the proposed and perceived changes to the neighbourhood. Specifically, we will share insights and perspectives from eleven interviews, six with people involved in leading the project and five from local organisations working with diverse populations in Sainte Marie. These people are intimately familiar with the neighbourhood and/or the project site. This chapter is divided into three sections, the first highlights the transformation, consultations and community mobilisation and activism in the neighbourhood over the past two decades. The next traces the history of the development and evolution of the Village au Pied-du-Courant. The final section presents the results related to our first research dimension - participation in a placemaking process.

4.1 Sainte-Marie: a neighbourhood of transformation and mobilisation

4.1.1 Community Activism and Mobilization

Our interviewees, many of whom come from local organisations who have been working in Sainte Marie for years, commented on the community activism and mobilization in the neighbourhood. Sainte Marie is home to many local organisations, including the feminist organisation, the Centre d'éducation et d'action des femmes. In reaction to many of the proposed changes in the neighbourhood, CÉAF developed a *Déclaration citoyenne des femmes de Sainte-Marie*, calling for gender responsive urban development that puts women's issues at the centre. It calls for increased active participation by women in local urban development, for measures to mitigate gentrification, for support for low-income residents, and for urban planning practices that apply the principles of design for women's safety, among other things (femmes n.d.). While the declaration was developed a number of years ago by the *Comité d'action locale*, it is still considered to be relevant today and remains a reference document. In spite of all of the work, accomplishments and collaboration in the neighbourhood, QSTM1Simone (2018) expressed her frustration that other groups do not advocate for women's right and inclusion in the neighbourhood, arguing that women's needs are rights continue to be overlooked and that if a women's group is not present in a meeting, important issues like street harassment, safety in public spaces or domestic violence will be left off the agenda.

In addition to the groups who have worked in the community for years, several new groups have been formed in response to the number of consultations and plans for the neighbourhood. One such example, mentioned by a number of interviewees[11], is the Group d'intervention de Sainte Marie (GISM) (QSTM3Laura 2018 ; QSTM1Simone 2018 ; QSTM5Jean 2018 ; QSTM2Ginette 2018). QSTM1Simone (2018) describes the GISM as "*c'est une table de concertation citoyenne, tous les citoyens, citoyennes sont les bienvenus (…) le GISM c'est l'espace citoyen*". The group remains intentionally unregistered, and while it was previously supported through both the SéM and the CDC, it is now fully organised and maintained by local residents (QSTM1Simone 2018). It is a space that brings together citizens, local organisations, and elected officials (QSTM5Jean 2018). The idea that the GISM is a convening space is supported by QSTM2Ginette (2018) who shares, *"on allait souvent aux rencontres du groupe d'intervention Sainte-Marie pour être en lien avec les autres groupes qu'il y a dans le quartier"*. The group meets monthly and strives to respond to local concerns. The even managed to mobilise developers to attend the meeting to meet with community groups in a less formal setting. For example, they managed to get the people who bought the Tours Frontenac, the Bertone brothers, to accept an invitation to attend and respond to local preoccupations about what would happen to the site, which attracted some 150 citizens (QSTM3Laura 2018). The CDC was similarly credited for bringing together different groups and interests, including citizens, to share concerns and discuss the future of the neighbourhood (QSTM1Simone 2018).These are just a few examples of the diversity of local organisations found in the neighbourhood. Further, with this increased attention came an increase in local organising, with several new groups, coalitions or organisations being formed in parallel to the consultations and plans that were led by the city (see Figure 8 below for the timeline of the formation of new neighbourhood groups).

Figure 8: Timeline of the formation of new neighbourhood groups to participate in local consultations and planning processes

Source: K. Travers

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[11] Names have been replaced with pseudonyms in order to protect the privacy of interviewees.

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Many of these active community groups and organisations are interested in the changes to the Sainte-Marie neighbourhood. In fact, several were mobilized and began working together in reaction to the designation of the Sainte-Marie neighbourhood as a "*quartier sensible*" in 1999 (Sud 2013). As QSTM4Mark (2018) notes, "it took the RUI and it took a certain amount of time to have that *lunette* on that kind of a territory for people really to start to activate more and more". For example, this resulted in the formation of the *Comité de revitalisation locale de Sainte-Marie (CRL)* to translate local needs into a comprehensive action plan to revitalise the area. The CÉAF created a Comité d'action locale to mobilize women to follow the urban development and revitalisation processes related to the RUI (QSTM2Ginette 2018). Further, in 2007, the *Société d'investissement de Sainte-Marie (SISM)* was created by the Borough to coordinate the CRL and to promote local economic development, and in 2012, in response to the approval of the PPU for Sainte-Marie by the Ville de Montréal, the *Comité Quartier vert et sécuritaire* (CQVS) was formed by the *Corporation de développement communautaire du Centre-Sud (CDC CS)* to facilitate local consultations and develop an action plan for implementing the PPU (Comité Quartier vert et sécuritaire 2013). Today, Rayside Labossière, an architecture, design and urban development firm located in the neighbourhood, coordinates *Tous pour l'aménagement de Centre-Sud*, a multisectoral committee that seeks to facilitate the process of citizen consultation and participation in local revitalisation efforts, using its profession skills to translate the results of the consultations into action plans for implementation (Tous pour l'aménagement du Centre-Sud 2011). The firm is socially engaged in various neighbourhoods throughout the city, having participated in over 30 committees and sub-committees on issues related to urban development, neighbourhood revitalisation, etc. (QSTM4Mark 2018). They also accompany local groups and organisations to understand the proposed changes and to be active when there are opportunities for citizen participation, including public consultations (QSTM4Mark 2018).

Many local groups continue to be active in expressing their opinions, concerns and ideas for the neighbourhood. To illustrate, in an interview, PDC3Robert (2018) told us, "*moi et d'autres membres dans le groupe (…) on a fait des mémoires, on a présenté des mémoires à des sujets relatifs à nos visions pour le quartier".* In another example, Stephanie, who went on to found an organisation recalled how her motivation to start working in Sainte Marie began when her son went to live in a coop building under the Jacques-Cartier bridge when she started shared custody with her former partner. As she recounts, "*tu sais on est toujours le premier acteur du changement de notre quartier (…) et quand mon fils - son quartier est devenu le dessous du pont Jacques-Cartier - et j'ai vu les enjeux de sécurité des enjeux du quartier Ville-Marie (…) j'ai fait un projet*

en fait j'ai transformé le dessous du pont Jacques-Cartier en ciné parc dans le cas de journée sans ma voiture"(PDC4Stephanie 2018). As she describes it, the event was the first of many and was a great success, particularly because "*le potentiel du lieu était révélé par une activité culturelle*"(PDC4Stephanie 2018). QSTM1Simone (2018) describes how her organisation mobilization and accompanies women to participate, as she explains:

> "*on a des femmes qui sont très très actives dans le quartier, il y en a qui habitent le quartier depuis 30 ans, donc elles se tiennent au courant, elles participent aux événements du quartier, aux assemblées citoyennes, elles vont donner leurs opinions. Ici souvent on essaie d'y aller pour avoir une délégation puis se préparer avant pour dire pour nous en tant que femme du quartier (…) ça serait quoi un quartier où ça fait bon de vivre pour les femmes.*".

On the other hand, some groups who are closely aligned with the city hesitate to take an official stance. This was the case for QSTM3Laura (2018), who went on to explain that the current proposed changes, in particular the large development projects being proposed, are causing her Board of Directors to rethink this stance.

Other groups have taken the time to invest in developing their own vision for the neighbourhood, drawing examples from international experiences and taking the time to draw up schematics to illustrate them (PDC3Robert 2018 ; PDC6Charles 2018). PDC6Charles (2018) described his vision during our interview:

> "*Il n'a pas de piscine donc on aimerait peut-être avoir ça sur ce terrain là-bas trois pavillons complètement vitrés, et un pavillon, ça serait un marché public, parce qu'il manque un dans le quartier aussi de ce côté-là, et avoir un pavillon multifonctionnel, puis la piscine quatre saisons ouverte sur le fleuve et de l'autre côté - côté nord de la rue - mais un développement d'habitation mixte là. Et on transférerait la piste cyclable parce que dans le fond ces terrains-là sont sous-utilisés et puis avec ça bien c'est sûr que la rue Notre Dame pourrait devenir un Boulevard, au lieu d'à 60 puis à baisser à 40 ça n'a pas de sens pour une autoroute.*"

Finally, while the level of engagement, mobilization and activism in the neighbourhood is impressive, it has its downfalls too. QSTM2Ginette (2018) explains how in spite of years of activism and engagement, there is a feeling that the impact of their collective actions is negligible. She explains how this is demotivating and causes people to stop being engaged, a challenge that

the CÉAF's Comité d'action locale is currently facing. According to QSTM5Jean (2018), there are simply too many different local groups and organisations and it can be confusing. He goes on to explain how "*la bureaucratie communautaire*" can be a barrier to getting work done, as it reproduces the same institutional models of more formal organisations, which slows down processes. Either way, it is clear that Sainte Marie is an area where residents and local organisations are active and are concerned about the future of their neighborhood. In particular, it is the potential impact and change on people's daily lives that is of concern, the place for existing community members in the future transformed Sainte Marie is of particular concern, especially for many women (QSTM1Simone 2018). This is summed up by QSTM5Jean (2018) who simply says *"il faut voir comment - avec la population existante du quartier et l'arrivée de la nouvelle population -comment créer un équilibre"*. Maintaining this equilibrium while recognizing that some change is inevitable, such as changes to housing structures and new property owners, can be difficult, particularly when we see how gentrification, lack of adequate public transportation and lack of green space all emerged as pressing issues facing the community today and in the future.

4.1.2 Perspectives on Revitalisation and Changes to the Sainte-Marie Neighbourhood

Our interviews with local actors revealed more information about how residents and people working in the area perceived the changes in Sainte Marie over time. As we noted earlier, there have been many consultations and plans for the neighbourhood, including a public consultations process that is ongoing at the time of the drafting of this research. From our interviews[12], we note that some people feel that the prior consultations were inconclusive and that while there have been many proposals since then, there are no concrete conclusions about the future of the Sainte-Marie neighbourhood (QSTM3Laura 2018). In fact, QSTM4Mark (2018) argues that these first exchanges about the neighbourhood were focused on the micro level, as he describes it, "*it was really public spaces, parks and cleaning up and getting community events and (…) it wasn't at all a macro view of planning and going to be coming along into the neighbourhood in 20 or 30 years*".

Others maintain that the changes to the neighbourhood started even before the RUI. For example, one interviewee pointed to the establishment of new entities as early evidence of change: "*organisations and cultures started to appear and there was already cultural venues like Espace*

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[12] All of our interviews were conducted before the current consultations of the OCPM began, meaning that reflections about public participation, consultations and plans reflect past experiences.

libre and those kind of places, so gradually there was more and more attention to Sainte Marie through the end of the 90s into the beginning of the 2000-2010s so it was a very gradual process" (QSTM4Mark 2018). Regardless of when it started, interviewees all agreed that there was change in Sainte Marie. Unfortunately, this change was not always perceived as positive, as interviewees perceived a growing schism in the population. To illustrate, one person shared, *"les femmes en fait nous ont parlés de cette espèce de sentiment que les écarts se creusent entre les différentes personnes qui habitent le quartier"*(QSTM1Simone 2018). Regardless of when the shifts began, the series of public consultations and recent land acquisitions (ex. Radio Canada) and vacancies (ex. Molson) have put the transformation of Sainte Marie in the spotlight.

During the 2011 public consultations, some common concerns and causes were identified. Notably, many people expressed that they wanted better access to the waterfront or that they were concerned that this be public space, not private residential developments (QSTM3Laura 2018). These shared concerns are what led to the creation of the AmiEs du Courant in 2012, envisioned as an organisation dedicated to fighting for public access to the waterfront (QSTM3Laura 2018). Aside from identifying this common ground, the wider process was criticized for failing to provide a coherent and specific vision for the neighbourhood (QSTM4Mark 2018).

In spite of the lack of a decisive way forward for the neighbourhood, or a long-term vision for change, many spoke about the changes that they have observed in Sainte-Marie over the last decade. PDC4Stephanie (2018) describes the neighbourhood as it was in 2010, before many of the local organisations and spaces we know today were created, recalling the presence of *"des stationnements vacants, loués le jour, mais le soir… beaucoup de prostitution et d'itinérance et moi je me questionnais sur la cohabitation avec la famille"*. In spite of the development since then, people maintain that the neighbourhood lacks certain things, such as a swimming pool (PDC6Charles 2018) or access to fresh fruits and vegetables (QSTM1Simone 2018). QSTM3Laura (2018) notes that when she started working in the neighbourhood in 2010, much of her work objectives were around improving cleanliness in the neighbourhood, something that she estimates has greatly improved in the last decade. She goes on to recall how the Parc des Faubourgs used to be appropriated by biker gangs some 15 years ago, noting that this is no longer the case (QSTM3Laura 2018).

Several groups are concerned about what will happen to immense spaces now occupied by Radio Canada and Molson once they leave. Some are also concerned about the potential opportunities for local consultation and input into the future plans for the space, as one interviewee stated, *"il y*

a beaucoup beaucoup d'idées qui ont circulé quoique ce n'était pas dans le mandat du PPU Sainte Marie au Sud de la rue Notre Dame" (PDC3Robert 2018). Some interviewees have affirmed that they do not want these sites to become additional parking lots (PDC3Robert 2018), or to be developed in a way that would block the view of the water (PDC3Robert 2018). Others add that there is a lack of green space and public spaces for people who are already living in the neighbourhood (QSTM1Simone 2018).

A final change that was noted by the interviewees was the change in leadership in Montréal following the 2017 elections. While our observations and the research site we are studying was already closed for the season by the time the elections took place, it is important to note that Valérie Plante, Montréal's first woman mayor, was previously the city councillor who represented the Sainte Marie neighbourhood so she was very familiar with the proposed and actual changes, including the Village au Pied-du-Courant. She was active in supporting bringing the Village au Pied-du-Courant to Sainte Marie, and, generally, the interviewees who commented on this were positive about the election outcome as a result (QSTM3Laura 2018 ; QSTM1Simone 2018 ; PDC1Fabrice 2018).

Either way, it seems hard to ignore the interest of developers in building Sainte-Marie. QSTM3Laura (2018) describes this pressure as "énorme", and goes one to site a number of current or proposed projects: quai de Lorimier, Havre Frontenac, and the recent purchase of the land around the Tours Frontenac. Others brought this up as well, *"si tu regardes la carte (…) de l'évolution du secteur autour [du Village au Pied-du-Courant], il y a énormément de pression immobilière" (PDC1Fabrice 2018).* Some estimate that the potential number of new residential units in the neighbourhood is as high as 25,000 (PDC6Charles 2018), while others' note that Sainte-Marie is the neighborhood in Ville-Marie that is experiencing the most pressure by developers (QSTM3Laura 2018).

4.1.3 Affordable Housing and the Growth of Condos

Most notably, however, people spoke about residential condo developments in the neighbourhood, and the resulting impact on the community, pointing to gentrification as a negative force. This was notably highlighted by the women of the CÉAF. As QSTM2Ginette (2018), put it when describing the increase in condos "*ça pousse comme des champignons!*", before going on to describe sites that were converted into condos, including former churches or even gas stations.

Specifically, it was noted that the recent changes in the neighbourhood have led to an increase in the price of housing in the neighbourhood, which is a great case for concern for many women (QSTM1Simone 2018 ; QSTM2Ginette 2018). This is compounded by a decrease in the number of rental units, which are either converted into condos that are then sold, or converted into undivided property to then be sold (QSTM1Simone 2018). Interviewees used strong language to refer the potential for exclusion, cautioning against what they refer to as "*l'exil des quartiers centraux des gens qui ont moins de sous*" (QSTM5Jean 2018). Others shared that they are already hearing stories of forced or threatened eviction, "*c'est sûr qu'on entend les histoires de gens qui sont menacés d'expulsion parce que le propriétaire veut racheter le bloc ou ça change de propriétaire (…) c'est des histoires qu'on entend en tout cas*" (QSTM1Simone 2018).

The access to affordable housing and to rental units is part of the identity of the Sainte Marie neighbourhood. One interviewee described Sainte Marie as, "*historiquement un quartier populaire où est-ce que les logements étaient accessibles, on a une population étudiante qui habite le quartier (…) donc c'est (…) quand même un quartier populaire avec les logements accessibles*" (QSTM1Simone 2018). A number of people noted their concerns with what they perceive to be the gentrification of the neighbourhood (QSTM1Simone 2018 ; QSTM3Laura 2018 ; QSTM2Ginette 2018). QSTM1Simone (2018) clearly expressed this as she asserted, "*on voit vraiment une gentrification qui s'accélère donc les condos, les condos qui poussent, et les projets de condos dont on entend parler qui ne sont pas forcément construits mais qui s'en viennent, c'est assez inquiétant*". It was underscored that the need for community mobilization in face of the transformation to Sainte Marie is now. *"Ce n'est pas demain les changements, on est dedans* (…) *il faut développer les forces citoyennes autonomes*" (QSTM5Jean 2018). Indeed it was noted that there have already been consequences for women, where rent increased have led to women having to move away from the neighbourhood or having less money for things like food and transportation, all of which can increase social isolation (QSTM1Simone 2018).

Not everyone feels threatened by this shift. For example, PDC6Charles (2018) welcomed more socioeconomic diversity in the neighbourhood, as he perceived an increase in the number of wealthier residents. All in all, it was felt that there is a growing number of people speaking out against social housing and expressing that they want new businesses, a nicer neighbourhood, but ignoring that the consequence of this is that people who have lived in the neighbourhood for a long time may be forced to leave when they can no longer afford to stay to enjoy these new businesses and spaces (QSTM1Simone 2018). The need for social housing was therefore underscored (QSTM2Ginette 2018). On the opposite end, others felt that some groups were

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vehemently against any new development regardless of what is being proposed (PDC6Charles 2018). Regardless of this division, a number of men and women in the community did still express a desire for closer proximity of services and access to different products, such as organic fruits and vegetables, but with a contingent that they be accessible to the existing local population (QSTM1Simone 2018).

4.1.4 The Public Spaces Local People Use

People's daily lives are shaped by their experiences in the places they go to, move through and live in. As our study is interested in the local use and appropriation of a particular public space, it was important to understand where people who are in the neighbourhood on a daily basis - those who live and/or work in the neighbourhood - use and see others using public space. During the interviews, we learned that people tend to loiter around the Frontenac metro station and around the McDonald's right next to the metro (PDC5Rania 2018). In addition, as PDC5Rania (2018) explained, some years ago there had been a big fire in the neighbourhood and many small houses were burnt to the ground. Today, the sites where these former houses once stood are the many tiny green spaces that punctuate the neighbourhood. This means that there are a number of small parks that are located throughout the neighbourhood and close to people's residences, which are the local public spaces that they use (PDC5Rania 2018 ; QSTM3Laura 2018). Not everyone agreed that people used these spaces. One interviewer started that while *"les gens sont très protecteurs de leurs espaces verts (…) mais en même temps ils n'y vont pas"* (PDC3Robert 2018). Robert went on to assert that for the younger generations, programming in public spaces was particularly important, suggesting that without programming *"ils veulent rester chez eux regarder la télé"* (PDC3Robert 2018).

In addition to the spaces where people go, there are some local groups who are concerned with the spaces they want to go. For example, the Fricheuses and the AmiEs du Courant are both working to gain access to the waterfront (PDC3Robert 2018 ; PDC6Charles 2018). The AmiEs du Courant are also working to make the area under the Jacques Cartier bridge a public space (PDC3Robert 2018). Several people spoke about their ideas for the waterfront, with a number speaking about a continuous access spanning the Village au Pied-du-Courant, the Parc Bellerive and the friche (PDC6Charles 2018 ; PDC1Fabrice 2018 ; PDC4Stephanie 2018). Others shared their ideas, such as the creation of a *passerelle* that would be tubular and closed and could go over the train tracks to give people access to the water (PDC6Charles 2018). Other suggestions

including giving people access to at least one of the docks, and as one interviewee pointed out, there are many docks that are never used, and he suggests that the authorities are reluctant to give one up, since they know the community will ask for more as soon as they get one (PDC6Charles 2018).

It was also explained to us that it was difficult to get people to go to the public spaces near the water, as there are a number of barriers to access. Specifically, there are a number of train tracks that serve to cut people from the water. To complicate matters, these train tracks belong to and are governed by different institutions, notably the Administration portuaire de Montréal (APM), Canadian Pacific (CP) and the Canadian National railway (CN) (Rayside-Labossièree 2017). This means that at its best, access to the water is visual, not physical. In addition, the lack of services offered, including lack of water and public bathrooms in Parc Bellerive were noted, as were the lack of public telephones and wifi service (PDC3Robert 2018). Perhaps the most disconcerting is the suggestion that people do not feel safe in those areas, which is only aggravated by the absence of users of the space (PDC3Robert 2018).

PDC4Stephanie (2018) recounted a project that her organisation did in Sainte-Marie that explored the issue of community appropriation of public space. While they were concerned with the site of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, they also build a bike-mounted mobile unit to travel through the neighbourhood. This allowed them to curate a photo exhibit about citizen appropriate of public space in Sainte-Marie, which was displayed at the Village au Pied-du-Courant for two weeks in 2015 (Conscience urbaine 2015). The experience demonstrated that even in spaces where there is little in terms of urban furniture or organised space, people will come and will appropriate the space for themselves when there are activities to draw them there, such as the weekly fireworks. For Stephanie and her team, the main conclusion was that programming was equally, if not more, important that the physical design of a space (2018).

4.2 Placemaking the Village au Pied-du-Courant

As one leader described, *"le village est un peu plus événementiel et lieu de rassemblement"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018). Each year, the design of the space, the urban furniture and the programming are developed from scratch, meaning that each year is different from the last, which has been argued to be its most innovative aspect (PDC3Robert 2018).

4.2.1 Migrating from the Peel Basin to the Foot of the Jacques-Cartier Bridge

The first edition of the Village au Pied-du-Courant was not called by the same name, nor was it organised in the same space. Rather a Village éphémère was erected at the Peel Basin. The idea behind this, recounts PDC2AnneSophie (2018), was that (name omitted), a member of ADUQ who had come to Montréal from France loved the Peel Basin, with its proximity to the water and the views of the iconic Farine Five Roses sign and he wanted to do something that would make other people come and discover the site. The event, which only lasted 2 days, was considered to be a success by some (PDC1Fabrice 2018), and "*un peu n'importe quoi*" by others (PDC2AnneSophie 2018).

With no funding, ADUQ launched a call for proposals in 2013, offering a prize of $500 for the winning design. They ended up with about 20 installations on the site of the first Village éphémère (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). PDC2AnneSophie (2018) describes the lack of organisation of this first edition, remembering how the permit for the event was obtained a mere 24 hours before it was set to launch and how that meant that the on-site installation and construction began at 5am, while the site launched later that same day at 6pm. While their objective was to reach about 300-400 people, they ended up having almost 1000 people pass through the event (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). Following the perceived success of the Village, some members of ADUQ then had the idea of doing a second edition the following year in a new location, but the idea of a second Village éphémère, even if it was in a new location, was far from unanimous internally (PDC2AnneSophie 2018).

During this time, the ADUQ was approached by les AmiEs du courant to bring the Village éphémère to Sainte Marie near the water, at the foot of the Jacques Cartier bridge. As PDC5Rania (2018) explains, *"dans le fond quand l'initiative a pris plus d'ampleur ça a été déplacé dans l'emplacement actuel à cause des AmiEs du Courant Sainte-Marie qui sont un groupe de citoyens qui travaille pour la revitalisation des berges et l'accès au fleuve qui ont vu le projet et qui se sont dit ok ça serait vraiment cool qu'il y ait ça dans notre coin"*. The work to animate the waterfront was something that the local organisation had been advocating for some time, having made frequent calls to borough leaders and city representatives to grant public access to the site of the chute de neige during the summer months (PDC3Robert 2018). As PDC3Robert (2018) describes

it, *"nous on se voit (…) comme les intervenants principaux pour ces questions-là* [of access to the waterfront]*"*. The efforts of the AmiEs du courant also got the attention of the ADUQ, who were intrigued not only by the site itself, but by the potential for a consistent revenue stream that was all but guaranteed from the draw of the fireworks (PDC1Fabrice 2018).

Bringing the site to the foot of the Jacques Cartier bridge by the water in 2014 was not simple. The city council had to approve the project by vote, which was repeatedly delayed (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). Finally, PDC2AnneSophie (2018) recounts how ADUQ made the decision to launch their call for designs for the site at their annual general meeting, which, while only being six weeks before the slated opening date, but also before the permit was granted and before city council had approved the proposed project. The AmiEs du Courant garnered the support of a few key local political leaders who supported their efforts and opened doors for them. For example, it was Manon Massé who succeeded in getting the Ministère du transport du Québec (MTQ) to grant the permit for summer access to the site (PDC3Robert 2018). Finally, less than a week before the launch date, all permits and approvals were granted, leaving the team to scramble to construct the village, as PDC2AnneSophie (2018) describes it, *"c'était complètement fou d'avoir construit tout ça en trois jours, je ne sais pas comment on a fait ça."*

4.2.2 From a Pop-up Public Space to a Recurring Public Place

Even after the first edition of the Village éphémère at the Pied-du-Courant location, there were no ambitions to bring it back. As PDC1Fabrice (2018) explained, *"c'est un laboratoire, on le faisait juste une année [2014]"*. Several people mentioned the challenges of funding this kind of initiative (PDC1Fabrice 2018 ; PDC5Rania 2018). PDC5Rania (2018) suggests that this is due to the lack of grants made available for this kind of project, since these projects simply did not yet exist. In February 2015, a news article emerged which mourned the fact that ADUQ, which had been the organisation who led the creation and animation of both editions of the Village éphémère, said that there would not be a 2015 edition, but they did not close the door to a 2016 edition (Carignan 2015). The article quotes team leaders as citing funding challenges and fatigue of the unpaid volunteers who make up the organisation as key reasons (Carignan 2015). Following the release of the article, the team changed their minds and used the momentum of the article to launch a crowdfunding effort to try to mobilize resources to support a next edition of the Village, but they only succeeded in mobilizing $10,000 of the target $40,000 (PDC1Fabrice 2018). PDC1Fabrice (2018) describes how less than two months after the article came out, the organisation La

Pépinière stepped in to formally replace ADUQ as the lead organisation to put on the Village éphémère and confirmed that the Village would once again return to its location at the foot of the water, au Pied-du-Courant (see Figure 9 below for timeline of Village éphémère to Village au Pied-du-Courant). He recalls that not everyone was pleased with the news, including an important partner of La Pépinière: "*le Quartier des spectacles ont détesté quand on leur a annoncé que ça revenait*" (PDC1Fabrice 2018).

Figure 9: Timeline: from the Village éphémère to the Village au Pied-du-Courant

Village éphémère Bassin Peel (2013) → Village éphémère, Sainte Marie (2014) → Village au Pied-du-Courant, Saine Marie (2015 - present)

Source: K. Travers

It is not just the partners who evolved over time. The objectives for the Village evolved over the years. At first, PDC1Fabrice (2018) recalls how the initial drive was to have more spontaneity in public space and to show the city that there were other ways of working that were faster than the city itself. PDC2AnneSophie (2018), on the other hand, insists that ADUQ was known for its parties more than its mission, explaining how they threw parties as a way of encouraging people to come to discover new spaces, as she puts it *"en fait, ADUQ on faisait l'évenementiel (…) tout le monde trouvait ça super cool"*. Another interviewee describes how she went to see the ADUQ and the borough to insist that if the Village was to be brought back for a second year, it would have to not just be about designers, but be about the whole community (PDC4Stephanie 2018). This was echoed by a former staff member who added that it was always the intention of the ADUQ that the process be participatory, but she had to explicitly point out to the team that it was an event space that they had made, and that for it to shift to be a project for the community, their whole way of working also had to shift to engage the community from the ideation phase (PDC5Rania 2018). Finally, PDC1Fabrice (2018) went on to explain how the mission of the Village then also evolved with time, as the team essentially discovered that they had a social mission aimed to bring different people, such as families, to use public space. This led them to create a new position within the team in 2016, whose job it was to try to engage the local community and local community organisations (PDC4Stephanie 2018). There was some doubt as to the effectiveness of the work done in the summer of 2016, since the person who had the role met with a lot of people but did not succeed in building lasting engagement with them (PDC5Rania 2018). In spite of this, and despite financial limitations, the role was renewed for the 2017 season and a new person hired for the position (PDC5Rania 2018).

One thing that appears to remain constant is the challenge of financing the design and management of the Village au Pied-du-Courant. The financial model of the Village au Pied-du-Courant was repeatedly cited as a challenge for the sustainability of the initiative (PDC1Fabrice 2018 ; PDC2AnneSophie 2018 ; PDC5Rania 2018). In fact, PDC1Fabrice (2018) maintains that it costs La Pépinière money to put it on, but that they continue to do it year after year as they recognize that it is an important place for Montréalers. The financial limits also mean that many of the people who build and animate the site receive little to no financial compensation, or as one full-time salaried employee put it, they received "*un salaire symbolique*"(PDC2AnneSophie 2018).

The financial model imposes other limitations that are related to the potential for the site to be inclusive of all. PDC1Fabrice (2018) explains this as follows, *"les projets d'évènements c'est sur-subventionné, puis en tout cas c'est vraiment très précaire au niveau du financement, et juste si on allait à 30% de financement, peut-être cette année… on pourrait un peu moins (…) mettre la pression sur tout le temps programmer et pour être plus accessible aux familles".* In spite of these limitations, the Village au Pied-du-Courant has continued to return to the foot of the Jacques Cartier bridge every year since 2014. According to the yearend report for the 2017 season, however, it ran a deficit again, for the third consecutive year (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e). PDC5Rania (2018) explains her frustration with this, stating that the biggest challenge is "*assurer sa pérennité, d'aller chercher un véritable appui financier soit de la ville, l'arrondissement, parce que c'est ça le projet tu sais les politiciens aiment le village puis ils aiment se faire photographier à l'ouverture et à la fermeture, et c'est comme oui merci d'exister, vous êtes fantastique on vous aime, mais c'est comme ils ne sont pas capables de mettre leurs mains dans leurs poches".*

4.2.3 Village au Pied-du-Courant 2017 Edition: more inclusive, more participatory?

Ever since the Village au Pied-du-Courant settled in the Sainte-Marie neighbourhood, it has had a similar concept for the space: a beach with a wooden boardwalk, with numerous smaller spaces off the boardwalk, each with their distinct form and function. Specifically, each year the site is designed to offer the following: a relaxation space, a shaded terrace, beach cabanas, hammocks, beach seating, DJ booth and stage, bar areas, pétanque court, basketball court, etc. to offer diverse spaces to suit the needs of diverse people, in addition to the bigger parties, events, and fireworks viewing (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e). Covering a surface area of 72,000 square feet and a maximum capacity of 3000 people, the 2017 edition intentionally created more

play areas, an urban agriculture project, a free access library and a small insect farm (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e, 8).

The 2017 season of the Village au Pied-du-Courant ran from June 1st to September 17th (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e). The site was open weekly from Thursday to Sunday. Exceptionally, the site also opens on Wednesday if there were fireworks at La Ronde, the amusement park across the water, and opened on May 17th to allow people to view the lighting of the Jacques Cartier bridge (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e). The site also had to close some days due to bad weather, resulting in it being open for a total of 66 days in 2017 (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e).

As with previous years, a design competition was launched, inviting local designers to share their ideas for this year's edition of the Village au Pied-du-Courant. The theme that aimed to tie the diverse installations together was "the boardwalk" (Godin 2017). A total of 56 people collaborated to conceive of and build the site, including artists, designers, and architects (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e) (see Figure 10: Timeline of the 2017 edition of the Village au Pied-du-Courant). Given the large number of contributors, La Pépinière assured the coherence of the public place by conferring one design firm with the task of painting each of the different installations in bright colours (Godin 2017).

La Pépinière received funding from the Québec government through its *Fonds d'initiative et de rayonnement de la métropole* (FIRM), the Ville Marie borough and the Port of Montréal to be able to implement the Village au Pied-du-Courant 2017 season (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e). In addition, the Ministre de Transports du Québec, la Serre - arts vivants, and the Société des Ponts Jacques Cartier et Champlain came on as partners, providing additional support (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e).

Figure 10: Timeline of the 2017 edition of the Village au Pied-du-Courant

Call for proposals	• 10 March: Deadline call for proposals • 14 March: Winning designs announced
Conceptualisation	• 20-24 March: Co-creation workshops; meeting with engineer • 24 March - 20 April: Final changes to designs done and agreed; required paperwork completed • 20 April: Final designs submitted to engineers for approval
Building	• 10 May: La Pépinière gets access to the site • 11-15 May: Special projects begin construction • 19-29 May: All remaining projects are built • 30 May: Engineers verifies construction, adherence to all norms and standards
Season	• 1 June: Site opens to the public • 25 September: Last day of operations for the season
Tear down	• 26-29 September: Tear down of all projects on the site

Source : K. Travers, based on information presented in the Cahier de preparation des bâtisseurs (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017a)

In its call for proposals for the 2017 season, La Pépinière described the impact of the Village au Pied-du-Courant on the surrounding area, "depuis son arrivée sur la rue Notre-Dame, le Village au Pied-du-Courant a démontré le potentiel d'humanisation de ce secteur oublié et dominé par des infrastructures majeures (zone portuaire, autoroute, industries de transformation) et en créant un milieu de vie à l'échelle humaine" (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017a, 5). Beyond the design, urban furniture, beach and other hard interventions, there are softer, less tangible objectives that La Pépinière set for the site in 2017.

The mission of the Village au Pied-du-Courant is to be "*un véritable espace de vie collectif ainsi qu'un laboratoire d'initiatives urbaines offrant une fenêtre exceptionnelle sur le fleuve Saint-Laurent*" (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017a, 3). In addition, the site is said to serve as a laboratory for innovative urban experiments, as well as being a site with multiple vocations,

namely: cultural, social, participatory, festive and events-based (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e). The notion of the space being flexible, in order to respond to the potential needs of diverse users comes up repeatedly in the year-end report on the 2017 season (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e). This was indeed one of the stated objectives of the season, *"cette année, l'un des objectifs est de renforcer l'attrait et l'appropriation spontanée du site, même sans programmation, afin de tendre vers l'esprit d'un parc où l'on se rassemble naturellement."* (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017a, 3).

4.2.4 Village au Pied-du-Courant 2017: driving attendance, innovation and inclusion

In 2017, approximately 120,000 people visited the Village au Pied-du-Courant, with the reach clearly going beyond local neighbourhood limits (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e). La Pépinière tracks the number of people who visit the site each day, allowing them to track trends to see what days, months are the busiest. The site sees a clear peak in number of users in the summer months, when schools are out and many people take their vacation, with July being the biggest month of the year, followed by August (see Figure 11: Number of visitors to the Village au Pied-du-Courant per month in 2017).

Figure 11: Number of visitors to the Village au Pied-du-Courant per month in 2017
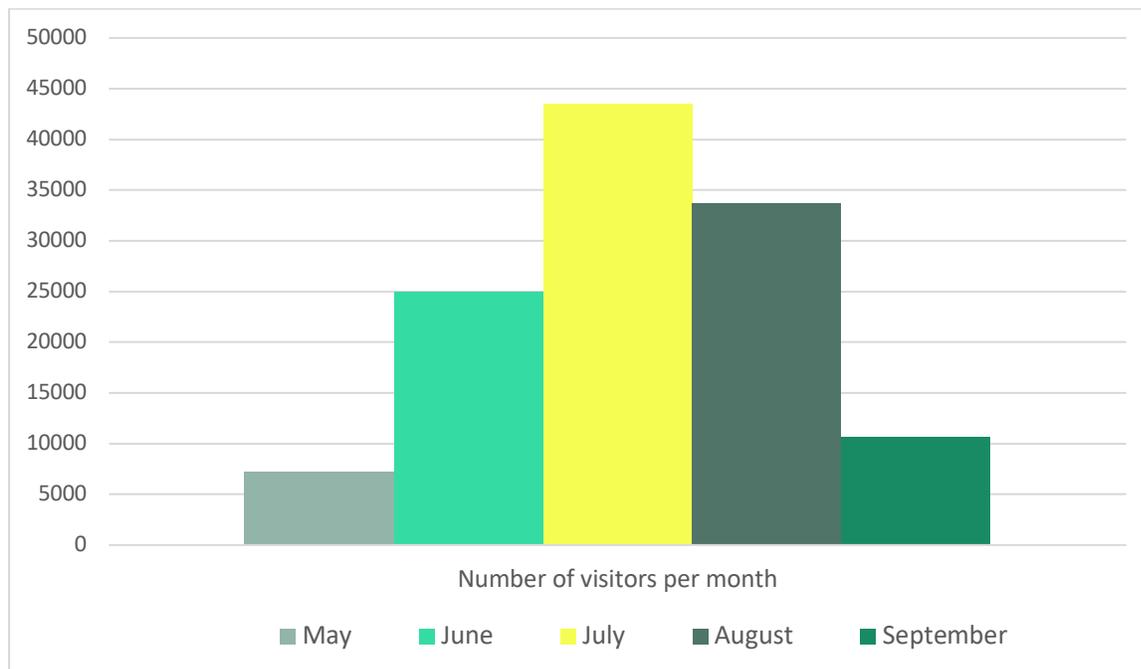
Source: K. Travers, based on data from: (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e, 5).

The 2017 edition saw an evolution in the space itself. Whereas before it was largely *"les designers faisaient des installations un peu flyées un peu pas forcément en lien avec le lieu mais des installations qui peuvent être un show case pour leur CV",* the space evolved to respond to the need to have a space for events but also for the everyday, with the addition of things like beach cabanas to provide much-needed shade (PDC1Fabrice 2018). The space and site itself are described in detail in Chapter 5.

Interviewees were asked about whether they felt that the site was gender inclusive. Before responding, one interviewee reflected on her own experience in the city as a woman and as a mother, and concluded that public spaces were particularly important for women. She recounted how in her housefold, while she and her partner are both *"deux professionnelles, inévitablement c'est plus moi qui vais chercher la petite, qui va arrêter au parc, puis je le vois c'est plus les mamans dans le parc, la fin de semaine il y a plus de papas dans le parc, mais je le vois, puis je veux dire j'essaye de défaire les stéréotypes, mais on a nos habitudes, c'est ancré et n'est pas juste du mal"* (PDC4Stephanie 2018). Others responded to the question from more of a design standpoint, arguing that women's sense of safety in public spaces is important and that the Village au Pied-du-Courant does offer this safety (PDC1Fabrice 2018), while others argued that it can be uncomfortable for women to leave the Village after dark (QSTM1Simone 2018).

Even those who maintained that the people who frequented the Village au Pied-du-Courant were a rather homogenous group agreed that there was a good gender balance on the site, in terms of men and women present (PDC5Rania 2018). In spite of this, PDC5Rania (2018) cautions that *"il y a des dynamiques de pouvoir qui se reproduisent dans absolument tous les espaces même dans des espaces progressifs le village n'est pas une bulle genre à l'extérieur de notre société, fait que c'est que comme partout ailleurs les gars prennent plus de place, ils parlent plus fort puis non je ne pense pas que c'est à l'abri de ça"* (PDC5Rania 2018). Others are more optimistic, such as QSTM1Simone (2018) who goes so far as to suggest that "*ça vaudrait la peine que tout type de femme aille au moins une fois pour se rendre compte que c'est sa place"* (QSTM1Simone 2018).

Finally, when asked about whether she thinks that woman want more public places like the Village au Pied-du-Courant in Sainte-Marie, QSTM1Simone (2018) replies that what is truly needed is a feminist place. She shares how she and other women experience frequent street harassment and are regularly solicited for prostitution in the neighbourhood, as if all women there are prostitutes.

She notes the high number of men in the neighbourhood and says that what is needed for women to claim their space, which is why she insists on using the word feminist to describe the space that is needed (QSTM1Simone 2018).

Toward the close of the 2017 season, La Pépinière invited the people who "like" or "follow" the Facebook account of the Village au Pied-du-Courant to fill out a short questionnaire to share their impressions of the site that year. In total, 177 people, out of its almost 30,000 followers completed the survey (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e). The results of the survey are compiled and made available in its year-end report. In short, they used the results to develop a profile of the users of the space, noting that 69.6% of respondents identified as women, while 29.2% identify as men as 1.2% identify as other (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e, 6). They further deduce that 20.9% of visitors come from the local neighbourhood, while 51.4% come from other Montréal neighbourhoods (i.e. Plateau Mont-Royal, Rosemont Petite-Patrie, Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, Villeray), and the remaining 27.7% of respondents come from other areas) (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e, 6).

While there is no additional data systematically collected about who frequents the site (age, gender, race), it is said that the 2017 edition of the Village "invites a diverse crowd that encompasses all ages" (Godin 2017, n.p.). This echoes the desire of La Pépinière which claims that *"le Village souhaite faire cohabiter harmonieusement résidents du quartier, familles, travailleurs, public jeune et touristes"* (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017a, 3). PDC2AnneSophie (2018) shared that she was happy that she observed that the people who went to the Village au Pied-du-Courant in 2017 were more diverse than in previous years, recalling having seen older people, having seen people going with their parents and grandparents, and noting a gender balance of users of the site. While QSTM1Simone (2018) added, "*les enfants sont roi là, ça court partout puis c'est merveilleux".*

Not all interviewees agreed that the site attracted diverse users. For example, one person noted that people who work in the area are a category of people who are absent from the site (PDC3Robert 2018). Another interviewee, when asked who frequents the place exclaimed, "*oh mon dieu ça c'est clairement pas les gens du quartier!*" (QSTM3Laura 2018). In another example, when asked who was not present throughout the season, one person replied "*les personnes racisées, y'en a quand même dans le centre-sud, de plus en plus en fait, une diversité ethnoculturelle de plus en plus, (…) c'est quand même très blanc, 20-35 ans, assez aisé"*, going on to explain that this is the typical profile of the person who goes to the Village au Pied-du-

Courant (PDC5Rania 2018). The homogenous age group was echoed by others as well, one person simply recounted how if you go "on va voir beaucoup beaucoup de très jeunes personnes un peu hipster" (QSTM3Laura 2018). Another person simply referred to attendees as "*jeune nightlife*" (PDC4Stephanie 2018).

This perception of the site being for a rather homogenous group led to a form of self-exclusion - of people who look at the site and decide it is not for them. To illustrate, PDC3Robert (2018) said, "*à une certaine heure ou quand tu quittes tu vois que c'est des vingtaine, trentaine tu dis ce n'est pas notre place là*", pointing to loud music as being a means of communicating who the space is for. Another interviewee shared how she felt she was too old for the site, explaining that in spite of going at least once a year with her husband, "*on est des aînés nous autres puis ce n'est pas aménagé pour nous autres*" (QSTM2Ginette 2018). PDC1Fabrice (2018) also speak to this self-exclusion, "*population locale, il y en a qui s'en viennent là, mais il y en a pas mal qui ont l'impression que c'est comme un petit Piknic électronik fait pour des jeunes mais ce n'est pas fait pour eux là*".

This impression has become a reputation of sorts for the Village au Pied-du-Courant, which has had an impact on the other projects proposed by and realised by La Pépinière. PDC1Fabrice (2018) explains the consequences of such a reputation:

> "*on travaille fort pour que le Village qui est notre projet le plus connu rentre un peu plus mission sociale parce que actuellement c'est notre projet le plus connu, les gens pensent que ça c'est un peu évènementiel, un peu pour faire le party avec trois mille personnes, fait que quand on veut aller développer un projet au pied de la montagne ou ailleurs, les gens font ooohh oooh dans Hochelaga là dans un propriété privé, les gens sont comme ben là ça ça pas uh ça serait pas comme les Jardins Gamelin ou le Village là, tsé il y aura pas tant de monde, fait qu'il y a toute cette étiquette là qu'on essaye d'enlever*" (PDC1Fabrice 2018).*

PDC1Fabrice (2018) explains that conscious efforts and dedicated resources were made available by La Pépinière in 2017 to overcome this reputation of being a space for young people to party, via efforts to reach more diverse people, by the creation of a position within the team whose job it was to reach the community. This did yield some results, for example, the community outreach person managed to get a group of elderly people to come every week. The interviewee goes on to concede, however, that for local people, a real barrier to inclusion was not being able to go to the site unaccompanied or during any time and day of the week (PDC1Fabrice 2018).

The site does attract a number of people from outside the borough, outside of Montréal and from even further (PDC4Stephanie 2018 ; PDC2AnneSophie 2018), some even describing it as a tourist attraction (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). As we saw earlier, 80% of respondents to the 2017 year-end survey came from outside of the borough (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e), which echoes the results of the work on Conscience urbaine from 2015 (Conscience urbaine 2015). In spite of these numbers, La Pépinière maintains that "*au fil des éditions, un fort sentiment d'appartenance s'est développé au sein de la communauté locale envers le Village au Pied-du-Courant*" (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e, 20). This is contradicted by other interviewees who do not believe that the local community uses the place. One person declared "*la crowd ce n'est pas la crowd du quartier il ne faut pas se le cacher. C'est du monde huppé, Jacqueline de Ville-Marie, ce n'est pas son élément là, ce n'est pas sa musique là*" (PDC4Stephanie 2018).

Regardless of where people come from, it appears that the place does appeal to certain people, as the attendance attests to. Rania proposes that the site serves one particular community – a community of designers (PDC5Rania 2018). PDC4Stephanie (2018) also alluded to this, explaining that ever since the first iteration of the project, it was clearly by urban designers for the community, but by designers. PDC2AnneSophie (2018) suggests that the tone was set as of the first years, when many of the people involved with the ADUQ, themselves young designers, came often and took up a lot of space. Another interviewee agreed that it was a place for designers and he was not happy about it, exclaiming "*espaces collectifs! Espaces collectifs! Mais c'est qui la communauté? C'est juste les designers puis eux autres!?*" (PDC3Robert 2018).

In an article about the Village au Pied-du-Courant, one author contended that the site itself "*tente de briser l'isolement social en effaçant les frontières urbaines afin d'encourager la spontanéité dans l'espace public*" (Mercille 2018, n.p.). The notion that the site can break isolation was brought up by PDC1Fabrice (2018) as well, who suggested that it was particularly good for women on maternity leave, arguing that "*ça crée des communautés de proximité fait que ça crée aussi des liens de voisinage qui sont bons quand t'es en congé de maternité*". Others also noted that many families and young children were present on the site, something she thought was very positive (QSTM1Simone 2018).

In addition to the space itself, le Village au Pied-du-Courant offers a variety of activities to try to encourage different people to come. Specifically, the Village au Pied-du-Courant offers a weekly schedule featuring different activities or themed days (described in detail in Chapter 5), as well as flexible uses throughout its site. In spite of these offerings, one article succinctly and simply

described the primary uses as "sitting, chilling and playing being the main activities" (Godin 2017, n.p.). QSTM1Simone (2018) enthusiastically shared that she believed that the site was designed to be inclusive, as she describes it "*c'est gratuit tu rentres là puis ça ne coûte rien à part si tu veux manger un petit quelque chose (…) il y a une programmation très variée - ça pourrait être du yoga, de la danse, je pense, c'est vraiment un espace inclusif (…) c'est juste l'accès qui est difficile.*" The varied programming can lead to different people coming to the site for different events. To illustrate, one interviewee explained that if you come at night you will see many young people, loud music, and people drinking a lot of alcohol, but if you come on a Sunday you may think that the site looks more like a park used by families (PDC1Fabrice 2018). Finally, some activities, such as the fireworks, are said to attract more and diverse users to the site than those who would typically come (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). Rania agreed that with the combination of new programming and the outreach strategy, 2017 saw more families on the site and that the culturally themed days managed to bring new people to the site (PDC5Rania 2018). It requires much reflection, planning and energy to come up with activities to make people come to the site (PDC2AnneSophie 2018).

The 2017 season also saw the introduction of some new features. For example, it was the first year that a canteen with food offerings was built and operated throughout the season. La Pépinière explained that this was in responses to requests for affordable fresh food options on site (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e). More games were made available as well, and an artistic component introduced, whereby artists were invited to paint murals, design branded reusable bags, and to develop a visual brand identity for the site, which could be seen from la rue Notre Dame and invite new people to come and discover the space (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e). In addition, a dedicated space to incubate new and innovative projects was made available to aspiring entrepreneurs, thus giving them a space to exchange with other people also developing their projects, a space to work, and increased visibility and awareness of what they were developing. In total, three entrepreneurs benefitted from this addition to the site in 2017 (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e).

4.3 Participating in Making and Managing the Village au Pied-du-Courant

The Village au Pied-du-Courant project has been positioned by some as *"le projet pionnier de ce mouvement de placemaking"* here in Montréal (PDC1Fabrice 2018). Since its establishment, several interviewees agreed that placemaking has been on the rise in Montréal (PDC4Stephanie

2018 ; PDC1Fabrice 2018 ; PDC2AnneSophie 2018). For one interviewee, the arrival of new urban practices was welcome, *"quand j'ai vu arriver la discipline du designer urbain puis qui est arrivé l'aménagement plus dit éphémère ponctuel parce qu'enfin je n'étais plus la seule à dire je veux changer ma ville puis on peut la changer"* (PDC4Stephanie 2018). Organisations like La Pépinière have been founded essentially to lead placemaking efforts and to animate the sites they produce (PDC1Fabrice 2018). The leader of La Pépinière goes on to explain that his organisation *"essaie d'amener un urbanisme qui est plus de communauté"*, as part of its placemaking approach (PDC1Fabrice 2018).

Ironically, a number of interviewees who have been directly involved in implementing the Village au Pied-du-Courant affirm that is it not real placemaking, *"c'est ça pour moi, (…) ce n'est pas du placemaking du tout du tout"* (PDC5Rania 2018). Even for the interviewee who called the Village au Pied-du-Courant the pioneering example of placemaking in Montréal, he concedes that "*pour nous, ce n'est pas du tout le plus respectueux pour le placemaking* "(PDC1Fabrice 2018). He goes on to reflect that, *"le placemaking c'est vraiment faire avec la communauté, le village est pertinent pour une communauté qui est créative (…) qui a besoin d'avoir ce type d'espace (…), mais pour le quartier, ce n'est pas vraiment un projet qui s'est bâti avec le quartier, ce n'est pas tant un projet de proximité"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018). Another person suggested that had the AmiEs du Courant been more actively involved throughout the process, perhaps the project could have been a real placemaking project. As she asserts, *"pour que ça soit vraiment du placemaking, ça aura pris place avec les AmiEs du Courant puis ça aurait été eux qui auront fait vivre ça"*, going on to quickly admit that this was a paradox, as *"ça ne peut pas vivre sans La Pépinière"* (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). Finally, one interviewee highlighted the pertinence of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, even if it was not done with the local community, noting that it permits access to the waterfront, something that is important at a metropolitan level (PDC1Fabrice 2018).

4.3.1 Profiles of Placemaking Participants

As we presented earlier, number of different organisations have been involved in various capacities with the development and programming of the Village au Pied-du-Courant over the years. Each year, the design of the site and the programming are changed. Different organisations have been involved in this reflection, either offering to animate certain activities or by making broader strategic suggestions to the lead team, meaning that the partners on the project change from one year to the next as well.

There have been shifts in the lead organisations who put on the Village éphémère and the Village au Pied-du-Courant, being an ADUQ initiative the first year, followed by a project that was jointly-led with ADUQ, La Pépinière and les AmiEs du Courant, to eventually being a project led entirely by La Pépinière (PDC1Fabrice 2018). As PDC1Fabrice (2018) stated simply, *"on sait que l'ADUQ peut bâtir un lieu, mais n'est pas capable d'opérer le lieu"*. It was this precise challenge that got him thinking about creating an organisation that could respond to both needs - designing and building public places, but also public place programming and management, leading eventually to the establishment of La Pépinière in 2014 (PDC1Fabrice 2018).

This led to some confusing overlap between the two organisations, as some people from ADUQ were hired by La Pépinière to work on the Village au Pied-du-Courant. This is revealed by how people describe their positions at the time: *"j'étais comme la double casquette là"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018) or *"j'étais vraiment plus La Pépinière, mais il y a quand même fallu que je fasse un pont entre les instances sur différents dossiers"* (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). PDC2AnneSophie (2018) goes on to describe the state of confusion, *"tout se faisait tellement vite que ça été compliqué de démêler les choses aussi après, comme qui est responsable de quoi"*. In an attempt to clearly distinguish the different roles and responsibilities, it was decided that for 2015, ADUQ would put out the call for proposals and select the projects that would be realised. La Pépinière would then take over the daily operations as soon as the public place opened for the season. By the following year, La Pépinière would take over all of the operations - prior to and during the site operation (PDC2AnneSophie 2018).

In spite of these clear distinctions, not all partners agreed to how responsibilities were divided and some partnerships were tense. One interviewee explains how the partnership with the AmiEs du Courant Sainte-Marie is particularly strenuous, acknowledging that they were the ones who encouraged the Village to settle in the neighbourhood, but that they were since only negative and acted as though they were the bosses of the project, without really understanding all that it takes to run it. As she describes it, *"c'est un peu (…) le boss un peu là-dedans qui est comme "non vous allez faire ça!" mais ça ne marche pas vraiment comme ça, parce qu'ils sont une organisation citoyenne qui ne sont pas nécessairement au fait des contraintes qui pèsent - des contraintes administratives, financières (…) qui pèsent sur le Village"* (PDC5Rania 2018). This sentiment was echoed by another interviewee who maintained that La Pépinière worked to support their suggestions, but that they themselves did little in the way of actual work and were quite negative (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). She went on to describe how *les AmiEs du Courant "étaient souvent*

sur le site pour observer ce que si ce passait, pour faire des commentaires, souvent négatifs" (PDC2AnneSophie 2018).

Other interviewees from local organisations in Sainte-Marie also commented on the challenges of working with the AmiEs du Courant. For example, two recalled being active in supporting the organisation when it was first formed as they were a volunteer group with little experience (QSTM3Laura 2018 ; QSTM4Mark 2018). The participation of other organisations in supporting the AmiEs then dwindled down gradually, as one interviewee explained, "we were doing almost everything for that committee for the first few years but then it was just too much work, and then you get a couple of people that become quite obsessive, there's a whole issue" (QSTM4Mark 2018).

This fractured partnership was brought up by interviewees from les AmiEs du Courant as well. Specifically, one interviewee expressed that he felt that his organisation was still at the centre of the Village au Pied-du-Courant but that they were being excluded. He explains that *"nous autres on se voit, si tu vas sur notre site, on se voit comme les intervenants principaux pour ces questions-là [d'accès au fleuve]"* (PDC3Robert 2018). He goes on to remark on the decline in the communications and quality of the partnership with La Pépinière, noting *"avec le projet pour le site c'est de pire en pire parce qu'on n'est pas au courant, on ne sait pas ce qui se passe on n'est pas consultés (...) je ne sais pas s'ils réalisent "*(PDC3Robert 2018). He explains that this leads them to feel *"vraiment exclus et ça c'est un gros gros gros problème"*, sharing that his group is trying to think of a strategy to manage this broken partnership (PDC3Robert 2018).

Other organisations who had partnered in the various editions of the Village au Pied-du-Courant criticized La Pépinière for failing to properly integrate people from the community and to develop a site that responded to local needs. One noted that the first edition, which was by definition ephemeral, raised the profile of the neighbourhood and brought some much-needed attention to it, particularly as it related to access to the waterfront. She critized that with the subsequent editions, *"c'est vite devenu quelque chose d'un peu démesuré (…) à l'interne aussi au niveau de La Pépinière"* (QSTM3Laura 2018). Another interviewee explains how the focus on events *"sans intégrer le quartier"* actually inspired her to work to create alternative projects with her own organisation that would allow her to engage and integrate the local community of Sainte-Marie in ways that the Village was not doing (PDC4Stephanie 2018). This failure to properly anchor in and connect with the local community as part of the Village au Pied-du-Courant is something that La Pépinière recognizes, "*le lien avec (…) Sainte Marie est pas full bon*" (PDC1Fabrice 2018). He

went on to state that the failure to properly anchor in the local community was an important lesson for La Pépinière, *"après ça on a essayé de faire des lieux comme ça qui sont plus proches des cœurs de quartier"* with their other placemaking projects (PDC1Fabrice 2018)*.*

4.3.1.1 Placemaking leaders

We were curious to know more about the profile of the people involved in the lead organisations involved in developing the Village au Pied-du-Courant. Les AmiEs du Courant were a group of volunteers composed of local residents who were active in advocating for access to the waterfront (PDC3Robert 2018). While they started with a group of about twelve members, by the time of the interviewees there were two very active older middle-aged men who were leading the organisation, as their third more active member, a middle-aged woman, had recently quit the organisation to put her efforts into a new group, the "fricheuses" (PDC6Charles 2018).

ADUQ is a volunteer-based organisation, largely composed of young urban designers (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). Many of these young designers went on to be hired by La Pépinière. By 2017, our year of study, the Village was in its third year of operation at the Pied-du-Courant site, and some still criticized the homogenous makeup of the team, *"c'est un projet mené beaucoup par des jeunes cool"* (PDC5Rania 2018)*.* It was suggested that the homogenous composition of the lead team led to unconscious gaps in planning the site. The founders of La Pépinière, along with *"une communauté de gens qui sont pas mal tous les gens le même âge que nous"* were the instigators of the Village au Pied-du-Courant and did not consider that the space may be interesting for people with different profiles, such as families, so the first editions were not planned for them (PDC1Fabrice 2018). This realisation sparked La Pépinière to start thinking about a social mission to be more inclusive of diverse people (PDC1Fabrice 2018).

Interviewees from La Pépinière noted that while the organisation was founded and led by two men, most of the other people working for them were women (PDC1Fabrice 2018 ; PDC2AnneSophie 2018). Women were hired for important positions within the organisation, including as Director of the Village au Pied-du-Courant and as the lead person who oversaw all site construction (PDC1Fabrice 2018). This was echoed by another interviewee who noted, "*il y a quand même beaucoup de femmes qui travaillent au Village dans les postes de responsabilités* (PDC5Rania 2018). PDC1Fabrice (2018) estimates that about two thirds of the people employed by La Pépinière are women. In fact, he shared that to ensure a gender balance, *"le plus d'effort*

qu'on a à faire c'est trouver les gars dans l'équipe parce qu'on a vraiment moins de gars, peut-être par rapport au profil qu'on recherche on a plus de difficulté à trouver des gars" (PDC1Fabrice 2018). Another interviewee described it as *"très féminin comme organisation"* (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). She goes on to explain the positive things she sees from more women participating in placemaking:

> *"j'entends parler à plus finir de à quel point les femmes sont importantes justement dans les enjeux environnementaux qu'on vit en ce moment (…) donc en fait pour moi le placemaking est le fait des femmes. (…) ça démontre de l'entrepreneurship des femmes de plus en plus puis ça contribue à leur empowerment puis à leur épanouissement vraiment. Je pense (…) que ça peut être une super de belle façon pour les femmes de faire valoir leur compétences puis leur capacités"* (PDC2AnneSophie 2018).

Another interviewee reflected on the reasons why more women may be drawn to placemaking organisations than men. He reflected, *"sans faire de stéréotypes, les femmes ont des qualités les hommes en ont d'autres mais (…) ça demande beaucoup d'empathie là et je pense des fois les femmes en ont plus que les gars, je pense que les gars en ont mais on dit souvent qu'avoir des émotions pour un gars ce n'est pas valorisé"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018). He concluded by stating that placemaking projects, *"c'est des projets très humanistes, les femmes sont-elles plus humanistes? Je ne sais pas, j'ai aucune idée!"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018). Another interviewee felt that the Village was itself an example of gender inclusive urban development, *"à ce niveau-là le Village je pense c'est un super exemple",* reflecting on all of the women who were actively involved, herself included (PDC2AnneSophie 2018).

4.3.1.2 Diversity of participants

La Pépinière maintains that the 2017 edition of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, as with its predecessors, was co-created with diverse partners including urban designers, local community organisations and numerous volunteers (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e). During our interviews, however, as the process to develop the site and build the programming became more apparent, so did the lack of links with the community, and consequently the lack of opportunities for people to participate. One member of La Pépinière wondered, *"est-ce qu'on est des citoyens de la place? Peut-être. Je ne sais pas"* (PDC5Rania 2018).

As were explored earlier, for some, the AmiEs du Courant were the community representatives involved in the placemaking project, the Village au Pied-du-Courant (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). A member of the AmiEs du Courant continues to feel that this is the role for their group, *"des groupes communautaires aussi ce ne sont pas des gens qui vont nécessairement participer à ce genre de consultations, fait que c'est ça que nous autres on se voit comme un peu on est un peu comme l'oreille de de la communauté"* (PDC3Robert 2018). Further, in spite of their limited active members (currently two older middle-aged white men), he believed that they could represent different community groups" He explains that he thinks of diverse people when he thinks of 'community', including older people or people with children, but "*pas les gens qui viennent de l'extérieur"* (PDC3Robert 2018). This sentiment was not shared by all. In fact, one person spoke strongly against this, contending *"oui, c'est les personnes du quartier, mais ils représentent fuck all toute les personnes du quartier, c'est comme une petite frange du quartier qui est comme super comme revendicatrice revancharde puis négative fait que tu ne peux pas dire que les citoyens ont parlé parce que les AmiEs ont parlé, mais non"* (PDC5Rania 2018).

When asked about one recommendation to improve the Village au Pied-du-Courant, one interviewee simply said, "*ça serait de vraiment créer un lien avec la communauté locale, pas juste les designers, pas juste les gens les jeunes qui vient d'un peu partout, ça serait vraiment de remettre le citoyen au cœur de ce projet-là, mais tous les citoyens. Mais tous les citoyens… on ne peut pas mettre tous les citoyens… mais tu sais un profil varié de citoyens"* (PDC5Rania 2018).

4.3.1.3 Education: background in urban planning, design, architecture

As we noted earlier, ADUQ was a volunteer-based organisation, largely composed of young urban designers (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). One interviewee described them as *"un gang de jeunes qui ont du fun, qui ont une idéologie puis qui veulent faire bouger des choses, (…) on avait des grandes orientations de faire valoir le design urbain"* (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). She goes on to add that is it a very specific group of people, a mix of young professionals and students, many of whom have studied or are studying architecture or landscape architecture. In fact, as she explained it, around 2011-2012 a group of people came together after having studied urban design at the University of Montréal under one particular professor, Christian Thiffault to develop and launch ADUQ. Their professor also continued to support and mentor the members of ADUQ after the organisation was formed (PDC2AnneSophie 2018).

While La Pépinière went on to hire a number of people from ADUQ for the Village au Pied-du-Courant, they eventually sought more diversity in the team composition, *"on a mis en place une équipe super pluridisciplinaire qui est capable d'adresser toutes les différentes choses qui pourrait y avoir dans un espace public, que ce soit de l'opération du lieu, la programmation, la vente d'alcool, la concession alimentaire, (…) plein de micro disciplines qui sont là-dedans et qu'on a mis ensemble"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018)*.* Others in the team, however, maintain that it is still dominated by a more homogenous profile of people, *"c'est un trip vraiment de designers d'amis"* (PDC5Rania 2018).

Finally, the AmiEs du Courant are not themselves designers, planners or architects, so they have to work to gain the knowledge and vocabulary to participate in the partnership. One interviewee explained how he did this, *"je consulte régulièrement (…) les ordres du jour de l'arrondissement et au fur et à mesure, j'ai commencé à apprendre un peu les termes d'urbanisme "*(PDC3Robert 2018). Finally, one interviewee from a local organisation highlighted the importance of the expertise acquired through lived experience, *"les véritables experts sont les personnes qui vivent la situation. Je veux dire l'expert où est-ce qu'il habite? Est-ce qu'il habite le quartier? Ça fait combien de temps? C'est les personnes qui habitent le quartier [qui sont] les premiers experts de leur quartier"* (QSTM1Simone 2018).

4.3.2 Roles for Participants

Often, local lived experience and expertise is acquired through opportunities for people to participate. La Pépinière also supports this, noting, *"nos projets font la vie en communauté, ils sont super pertinents à l'échelle très très locale, il y en a certains qui sont à une échelle plus grosse comme le Village, et en même temps l'implication collective... nos projets sont des projets qui sont faits par l'implication de plein de gens"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018). According to a blog post by La Pépinière, it was in 2015 when the organisation fully assumed all responsibilities for developing and operating the Village au Pied-du-Courant, was when the participatory element was firmly cemented (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017b). As the article affirms, *"l'approche consultative est désormais intégrée à toutes les démarches précédant le lancement du projet. Ces différentes concertations de groupes citoyens et communautaires permettent de définir un programme fonctionnel et harmonieux avec la communauté et le quartier"* (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017b).

Not all interviewees felt that La Pépinière succeeded in integrating this participatory element. One interviewee felt that La Pépinière should make a greater effort to *"renforcer les liens avec les organismes communautaires et de vraiment travailler en concertation"* (PDC5Rania 2018). She goes on concede that "*il y a ce désir-là (…) mais il faut que les bottines suivent les babines un peu*", explaining that they believe in citizen participation and it is not that they are not for it, rather it is simply that they are not doing it (PDC5Rania 2018). Another interviewee felt that the problem with the lack of participation was the fault of the people, not La Pépinière, *"y'a pas d'implication volontaire des gens [du quartier] ils sont là pour en profiter mais ils ne sont pas là pour mettre la main à la pâte"* (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). While another interviewee from one of the original partners leading the project expressed feeling excluded from being able to participate, recalling, *"chaque fois qu'on voulait nous impliquer on avait un petit peu la réponse 'ben nous rencontrons tous les groupes' comme je ne sais pas c'est qui tous les autres groupes. Nous autres on a de la misère à rencontrer des autres groupes, ils ne sont pas là, ils viennent pas, ils ne participent pas à cette chose-là"* (PDC3Robert 2018).

Another interviewee shared that when ADUQ proposed to do a Village éphémère at the foot of the Jacques Cartier bridge, Conscience Urbaine enthusiastically supported the project and offered to support local mobilization efforts and to build an installation (PDC4Stephanie 2018). As PDC4Stephanie (2018) explained, "nous on voulait vraiment qu'il y a une place pour que les enfants du quartier puissent aller jouer, donc on a fait un banc d'images". She goes on to explain that she was disappointed with the lack of community mobilization and reach. She went so far as to visit the borough and the Pépinière offices to insist that should the Village éphémère come back to Sainte Marie, it must not be about designers, but about local people (PDC4Stephanie 2018). Conscience urbaine went on to conduct their own research to understand why people did or did not go to the Village au Pied-du-Courant by engaging people both in the Village au Pied-du-Courant as well as other people throughout the neighbourhood, culminating in a photo exhibit. The key finding from this research, conducted in 2015, was the need for increased programming in order to draw local people to go to the site (PDC4Stephanie 2018).

Finally, the person charged with community mobilisation for La Pépinière and the Village au Pied-du-Courant more specifically recalled how her role was challenging, as it was not always clear how the community could participate. As she tells it : *"je leur disais (…) cet espace il appartient à tout le monde, [mais] je ne pouvais pas leur dire (…) vous pouvez faire ce que vous voulez parce que ce n'est pas vrai". On disait aux gens "vous pouvez vous approprier la programmation! Vous pouvez vous approprier le site!" Mais finalement non. Finalement, tout était aménagé par les*

designers, la programmation est déjà toute pensée parce qu'on doit faire des gros évènements parce qu'on doit des rendements" (PDC5Rania 2018). She offers an example of when this challenge played out, sharing how she went to visit the *Table de concertation 0-5 ans du Faubourgs* to encourage them to come to the Village au Pied-du-Courant, where she was confronted with the fact that the hours and the site design did not correspond to the needs of families, as they opened too late and did not provide enough shade, leading them to be excluded. In order to be truly inclusive, *"il faut que tu prennes en compte certains facteurs, certaines réalités qui font que les gens vont pouvoir venir" (PDC5Rania 2018).* She goes on to posit that perhaps "*il n'y a pas une assez bonne consultation en amont avec ces gens-là pour que dès le début quand on pense aux aménagements qu'il faut avoir",* adding that they were able to open early every second Sunday as a way of accomodating the schedule of families who may want to go to the Village au Pied-du-Courant (PDC5Rania 2018).

A number of interviewees commented on the challenges of citizen participation, from mobilizing participants to having participation be impactful (PDC5Rania 2018 ; QSTM3Laura 2018). One interviewee highlights that the process is the most important of placemaking, remarking *"c'est pas tellement le but qui est important, mais c'est toute la démarche"* (PDC6Charles 2018). Others cautioned that for the process to be successful, the way people participate had to be considered. For example, one criticized *"des fois on réduit la participation citoyenne à la participation à des activités mais ce n'est tellement pas ça, c'est tellement plus que ça (…) il faut avoir le sentiment que le projet va mener quelque chose et que eux ils vont amener quelque chose au projet, qu'ils sont valorisés et que ça devienne aussi leur projet et qu'ils se l'approprient... c'est tellement une chose délicate à créer"* (PDC5Rania 2018). La Pépinière's approach to local participation in Sainte Marie was criticized by another interviewee from a local organisation who pronounced, *"ce n'est pas que tu viens une fois puis après ça tu n'as plus besoin de revenir (…) on n'est pas dans le lien de confiance en fait. Je pense que les efforts nécessaires ne sont mis pour bâtir des liens de confiance (...) Pépinière à plusieurs projets partout à Montréal. Fait que tu ne peux pas espérer avoir un ancrage dans la population aussi important"* (QSTM3Laura 2018). Finally, one interviewee summarized the key elements that have to be put into place to make citizen participation meaningful, *"c'est des rapports humains, c'est comment tu vas faire pour que l'autre se sente bien dans l'espace ou dans la structure que t'as créée, justement qu'il se sente à la fois qu'il contribue, sente à la fois qu'il est nourri, sente qu'il ait un pouvoir d'agir - que ce n'est pas juste que tu lui imposes des trucs puis... Puisqu'il se sent valorisé, qui se sente à la fois apprendre puis faire"* (PDC5Rania 2018).

4.3.2.1 Leadership, decision-making and control over resources

Since the recent editions of the Village au Pied-du-Courant have been led exclusively by La Pépinière, *"ce n'est pas genre un projet collectif en concertation avec d'autres organismes, non"*, the primary leader and decision-making roles, including resource mobilisation and management, also lie with La Pépinière (PDC5Rania 2018). The consequential role of other organisations is thus negligible. ADUQ lacks capacity to be involved (PDC2AnneSophie 2018), and les AmiEs want to be more fully involved but expressed their frustration with a lack of openness of La Pépinière to give them space to participate meaningfully. One interviewee from les AmiEs du Courant expressed his irritation with this, saying, *"on est juste frustrés (…) on a vraiment l'impression maintenant que qu'on a perdu notre rôle dans tous les terrains"* (PDC3Robert 2018). Another laments that his organisation is only consulted on the project, where they can share their opinions, but he explains, "*ce n'est pas un droit de vote, ou de donner l'accord sur les projets*", which limits the impact his group has on the overall project as they have no decision-making power (PDC6Charles 2018).

One of the important roles that is fulfilled by La Pépinière is resource mobilization for the Village au Pied-du-Courant. For the 2017 edition, La Pépinière received grants from the Québec government, the borough of Ville-Marie and the Port of Montréal, as its main funders, with additional support the Ministre de Transports du Québec, la Serre - arts vivants, and the Société des Ponts Jacques Cartier et Champlain (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e). For some, this appears to be a lot, but one interviewee broke down what that actually represents for La Pépinière to run the Village au Pied-du-Courant: *"c'est juste 10 % là, ville plus gouvernement du Québec puis plus des petites miettes c'est même 9 %, tu as un 12 % si tu comptes les subventions salariales avec le gouvernement du Canada et tout, c'est ridicule. Ça veut dire que 85 % c'est la vente de bouffe et alcool, le reste la location du site un peu ici là"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018).

The lack of adequate funding and the challenges related to resource mobilization are *"nos plus gros défis "*(PDC1Fabrice 2018). The challenge of resource mobilisation is shared by other partners who work on similar issues. For example, one interviewee commented that there is an increase in the tendency to see placemaking and temporary urban places in Montréal, and notes that this increase is positively correlated with an increase in young people to work in this field,

sharing how she receives an enormous amount of CVs, but since this increased tendency and interest has not come with an increase in funding to support the work, she is unable to hire any new staff (PDC4Stephanie 2018). One representative from La Pépinière summarizes what a project like the Village au Pied-du-Courant represents in the current funding structure, "*pour nous aujourd'hui ces projets-là ne sont plus rentables, c'est pour ça qu'on les appelle les laboratoires*" (PDC1Fabrice 2018).

The two interviewees from the AmiEs du Courant expressed their doubts that there are funding challenges for La Pépinière to put on the Village au Pied-du-Courant. One said, *"on a des questions sur leur financement parce que chaque fois qu'on propose quelque chose c'est une question d'argent et moi là je ne suis pas né hier. Mais il y a du monde et c'est cash donc ça ne prend pas un comptable pour montrer que ça marche"* (PDC3Robert 2018). The other argued that La Pépinière was driven by money, constrasting it with how his organisation worked, *"on ne fait pas ça pour l'argent, on fait ça pour la communauté, puis on fait ça à long-terme"* (PDC3Robert 2018). At the end of the day, however, the poor communication between the two organisations sparked allegations of lack of transparency and feelings of exclusion, "*il y avait des choses qui se sont produites qui sont majeures… et il manquait de transparence, normalement nous les AmiEs on devrait être inclus, mais on a été exclus, on n'avait pas accès aux documents, au financement… c'était un peu la guerre parce qu'on avait des questions et il n'y avait pas de transparence"* (PDC6Charles 2018).

4.3.2.2 Conceptualisation, design and implementation: opportunities for participation in the various phases of the placemaking process

La Pépinière promote the co-design process as central to their approach, *"depuis la première édition, le codesign fait partie intégrante du processus d'édification du Village" sur le site"* (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017a, 8)*. They go on to offer a description of what the co-design process looks like for them, "*cette méthode de création vise à s'appuyer sur la contribution de plusieurs personnes, toutes impliquées à des degrés divers dans le processus de conception : experts, ingénieur, citoyens, équipe de production, etc."* (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017a, 8). However, an interviewee who worked for La Pépinière also shared her skepticism about how inclusive the process was for local people. She argued, *"le principe même du village c'est qu'il est construit avec les gens en amont, (...) il y a des exercices de co-création qui sont fait avec les*

gens, mais là, est-ce que les gens du quartier c'est ceux qui y vont? Ça c'est une autre question" (PDC5Rania 2018).

The interviewees from les AmiEs du Courant were also critical of La Pépinière's approach to the conceptualisation and consultative process, noting, *"y'a consulter et y'a écouter"* (PDC3Robert 2018). Another added that he felt that "*ils perdent de vue que ce terrain-là ne leur appartient pas, il ne m'appartient pas non plus, il appartient à la communauté" (PDC6Charles 2018)*. They believe that all people are able to participate in the conceptualisation phase, suggesting, *"architecture c'est un autre chose, mais urbaniste - on est tous des urbanistes"* (PDC3Robert 2018). One interviewee noted that they are now working to build bridges with the local community, remarking *"ils essaient d'être plus ancrés dans la population (…) ils sont dans ce constat-là présentement (…) c'est devenu un peu inconciliable"* (QSTM3Laura 2018). She goes on to add that *"j'ai certaines critiques par rapport à la façon de faire de La Pépinière au niveau de leur approche qui est un peu par en haut, quand ils sont venus ici c'était comme ok ben nous on va faire ça là on veut que les gens ils viennent ok mais (…) ce n'est pas une baguette magique "*(QSTM3Laura 2018).

In spite of these criticisms, there were some additional features introduced to the Village au Pied-du-Courant in response to suggestions from people who visit the site. These include the addition of a cantine offering local food on site (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e), additional family-friendly features on the site and in the programming, and earlier opening hours every second Sunday (PDC5Rania 2018). It is not always easy or possible to implement suggestions from the community.

One interviewee shared how difficult it was for designers to work with citizens during the conceptualisation phase, as designers often have a clear vision for a space that may not be the same as what citizens want, and this can be hard on their egos (PDC4Stephanie 2018). She explains how this caused her to withdraw from the Board of Directors of the *Architecte paysagiste du Québec*, because *"ils se disent tous travailler pour des citoyens parce qu'ils font des espaces publics mais ils en font dans le bureau, ils ne vont même pas voir les lieux"* (PDC4Stephanie 2018). Another interviewee, himself an architect involved in the Sainte-Marie neighbourhood also spoke to the tension between citizens' ideas and architects' vision, stating, "architects want hard surfaces and people want green spaces" (QSTM4Mark 2018). This point was also acknowledged by an interviewee from La Pépinière who shared *"on cherche aussi des personnes qui n'ont pas trop d'égo parce que les projets qu'on fait il ne faut pas avoir trop d'égo, peut-être que des fois les gars ont trop d'égo"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018).

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As we noted earlier, 56 different people collaborated on the design conceptualisation for the 2017 edition of the Village au Pied-du-Courant including designers, architects and artists. Table 4.1 below points to the gender of the 45[13] women and men who were part of the design teams involved in building the 2017 edition of the Village au Pied-du-Courant. In total, we note that there were slightly more women (25) when compared with man (20). One group simply included the name of the collective, and not the individuals who contributed to the project, so we were unable to determine a number of contributors nor their gender for one of the projects. We note that two of the projects were realised by one individual, both of these were women working alone. There was only one group composed of only men, while we note four groups composed of more than one woman. The majority of groups, however, were mixed, with ten groups featuring at least one man and one woman.

Table 4.1: Gender of people in design teams whose work was featured in the 2017 edition of the Village au Pied-du-Courant[14]

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	TOTAL
Men	-	4	2	1	1	2	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	5	?	**20**
Women	5	-	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	?	**25**

Source: K. Travers

One interviewee remarked on how a number of different designers had submitted proposals for multiple editions of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, due to the high visibility they gained from being selected as one of the designers (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). In 2017, La Pépinière added a new step to their co-design process, inviting the designers who were selected to build their projects at the Village au Pied-du-Courant to participate in a collective brainstorming session over a few weekends with the other designers and La Pépinière in order to ensure that the process culminated in *"un espèce d'arrimage de tous les projets"* (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). To elaborate further, La Pépinière maintains that *"la valeur collective est au cœur de ce processus et sert à développer une vision d'ensemble, du contexte et des usages pour anticiper au mieux l'intégration du projet sur le site."* (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017a, 8).

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[13] This excludes the additional 11 people who collaborated in the conceptualisation of the site but who were not part of a design team.

[14] The gender was presumed based on the typical gender associated with a given name for each group member named in (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017c), coupled with an internet search to further verify identity via group and individual social media accounts, many of which are hyperlinked via the pied-du-courant website.

Considerations on how to ensure that the site is cohesive, properly laid out and planned occur before the design and conceptualisation phase. In fact, these are presented in the guide for designers looking to submit their proposals so that they can respond to a specific call, as seen in Figure 12 below.

Figure 12: Plans for the different spaces in the Village au Pied-du-Courant
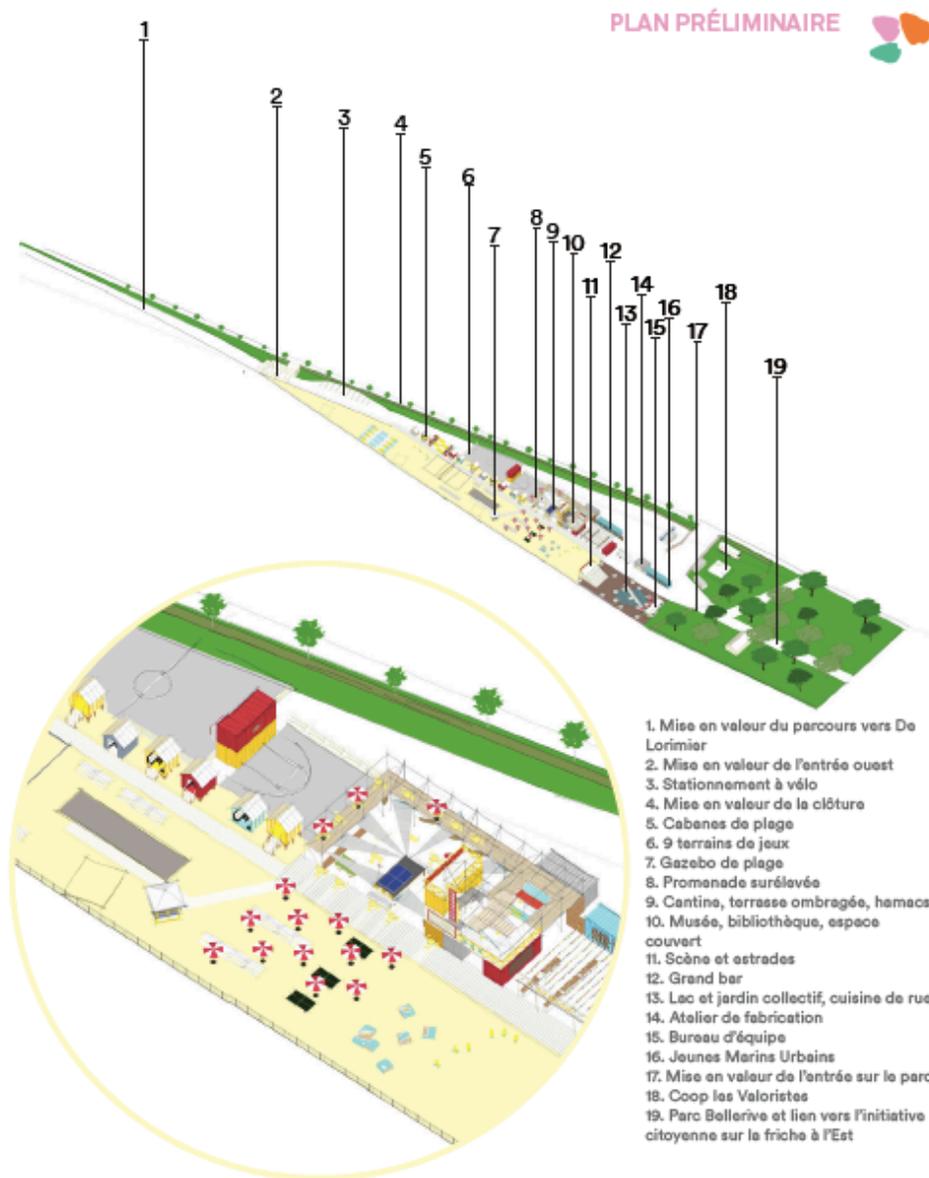
Image source: Reproduced with permission from : La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017a, 7

As Figure 12 demonstrates, much of the site plan is already determined before the call for designs goes out (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017a). In that sense, while there is a call for design

proposals, it is always the founder of La Pépinière who is *"le grand Design master (…), lui il proposait l'aménagement principal"* (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). These design decisions, taken before the co-design phase, before the call for proposals, and before the collective brainstorm also include an aesthetic that is predetermined. Even the color palette for the season is decided upon and shared with designers who wish to submit their proposals so that they can be directly incorporated into their plans, but this is a decision taken by La Pépinière itself (see Figure 13 below).

Figure 13: 2017 Colour palette for the Village au Pied-du-Courant[15]
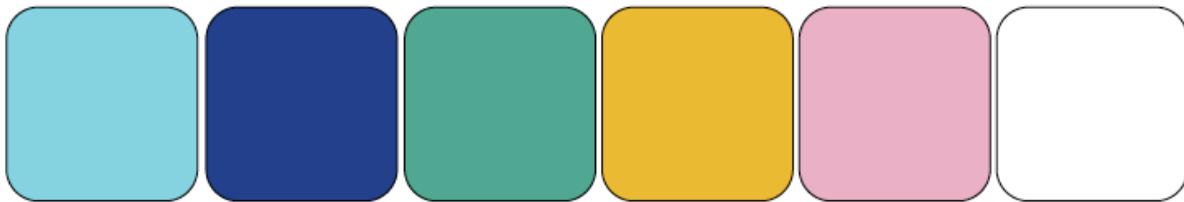
Image source : K. Travers

Decision-making aside, all designers work with La Pépinière team to assemble the Village au Pied-du-Courant in a short and intense time. One interviewee, charged with overseeing the site construction shared fond memories of this time, *"c'était tellement des beaux moments, des semaines intenses mais tout le monde était là de 6h le matin à 11h le soir, toute la nuit les derniers bits, et ça fait chier mais c'est le fun. Tu sais, on est là puis on a du fun puis on boit de la bière puis c'est cool"* (PDC2AnneSophie 2018).

4.3.2.3 Opportunities to participate in programming: validation, animation, leading an activity

In addition to reinventing the physical site of the Village au Pied-du-Courant each year, the programming also changes and people and local organisations are offered opportunities to participate in shaping the programming on in hosting a one-off activity on the site. This is an important element of the Village that one interviewee expressed appreciation for, noting, *"on croit à la programmation aussi pas juste dans le design"* (PDC4Stephanie 2018). The importance of

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[15] The color pallet, found at: (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017a, 6) was analysed using the web-based software imagecolorpicker.com and reproduced here by the researcher.

programming the site properly was in fact a finding and recommendation from a study her organisation conducted in 2015 about who uses the Village au Pied-du-Courant and what local residents want to see on the site (PDC4Stephanie 2018).

One interviewee explains that La Pépinière makes an effort to consult people before their programming is set, unlike the urban design phase where the public is not consulted, adding "*je n'avais pas de levier sur l'aménagement du tout*" (PDC5Rania 2018). She describes the kinds of issues people are consulted on, "*dans le fond on a dit - qu'est-ce que vous auriez envie vous de faire au Village avec cet espace-là? Quel type d'activité? Qu'est-ce qui ferez que vous vous sentirez bien dans cet espace?*" (PDC5Rania 2018). An interviewee from a local organisation expressed her appreciation to La Pépinière, noting, *"ils prennent toujours la peine de nous transmettre leur programmation, venir nous voir, nous demander qu'est-ce que vous aimeriez qu'il y ait dans la programmation, ça c'est un bel exemple de... vraiment là c'est de créer des liens … c'est pas juste de dire je m'implante là puis je ne parle à personne, je crée des liens avec le milieu dans lequel je m'installe"* (QSTM1Simone 2018).

An interviewee from La Pépinière describes their community mobilisation strategy, *"dans tous nos projets on a des coordonnateurs communautaires dans les petits projets ces gens-là sont la base du projet, et même la base de la programmation"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018). The person charged with this role for the 2017 season explained how she went out to meet different groups, people working with seniors, groups working with young children, and others. She explained that her intention for these meetings was "*de pas juste de leur parler de nous, mais essayer de créer ensemble quelque chose, une activité avec leur groupe*" (PDC5Rania 2018). She went on to explain that this strategy not only alimented their summer programming, but also tapped into a potentially new clientele of people who frequented these different groups who could discover the Village au Pied-du-Courant when they came for the activity that the group was hosting (PDC5Rania 2018). One person who works for a community organisation in Sainte Marie explained that sometimes the women who frequent the centre ask for activities that they are unable to provide, laughing yoga for example, so that shared those suggestions with La Pépinière when they were asked about what kind of programming they wanted to see on the site (QSTM1Simone 2018).

For La Pépinière, the programming is crucial, and they explain that for 2017, "*la programmation et l'offre du site sont élargies de manière à rejoindre une diversité d'usagers et des alliances avec des organismes du quartier permettent de mieux cibler les besoins de ces visiteurs*" (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017b). One interviewee explained that one of the innovations that she

introduced for the 2017 season of the Village au Pied-du-Courant when she was working for La Pépinière was 'le Garage', *"un aménagement qui a été pensé pour faire genre des ateliers, des petites conférences, des choses comme ça"* (PDC5Rania 2018). This was a site where local organisations could come to host workshops, talks, or other activities. "*Par exemple l'écoquartier est venu donner un atelier, on a fait des trucs avec des artistes aussi avec la co-op du milieu, (...) avec un peu toute sorte de monde des ateliers DIY, des trucs plus conférences, puis ça a vraiment bien marché*" (PDC5Rania 2018).

In order to respond to diverse needs, efforts are made to "*offrir une programmation intéressante pour notre public overall, avec une programmation citoyenne fait que ça c'était parfois avec des organismes du quartier*" (PDC5Rania 2018). Not all interviewees agree that the programming responds to the needs of local residents. For example, one person said *"ce n'est pas vrai que c'est la programmation (…) que les activités qui sont offertes sont adaptées aux citoyens. Beaucoup de citoyens sentent que ça existe mais ce n'est pas pour eux (…) donc ils ne se sentent pas que ça répond nécessairement à leurs besoins, ils ne se sentent pas... pas nécessairement les bienvenus"* (QSTM3Laura 2018). It is not always easy to balance the wishes of the community with the financial reality of operating the Village, which relies largely on money generated through consumption of food and alcohol (85% of its funds come from consumption sales), so the big events-based programming is still essential for La Pépinière (PDC1Fabrice 2018). Another interviewee from La Pépinière felt that too much energy was put towards big events, so when she arrived in 2017 she affirmed her position that this be balanced by greater involvement of the community "*à tous les étapes, en amont dans l'idéation du projet, (…) autant dans la co-création des aménagements que dans la programmation*" (PDC5Rania 2018). One interviewee defended this, arguing that Montréal was losing many of its small venues that were closing down, *"le Village en tant que tel évènementiel garde sa pertinence (…) comme lieu d'expression pour la communauté locale* at large *Montréalaise parce qu'on perd nos Divans oranges on perd des lieux comme ça là donc ça reste des lieux un peu de ce type les plateformes pour les petits shows"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018).

For the 2017 season, 170 different artists and animators contributed to the ongoing programming and activities at the Village au Pied-du-Courant (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e). These contributors included various artists, DJs, dancers, theatre groups, and yoga teachers, among others (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017a). In addition, they incubate a few entrepreneurs, leading La Pépinière promotes the Village as a strategic site for launching new entrepreneurial ventures. As they describe it, the Village offers them visibility, a place to conduct their activities,

and connects them with the public (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017a). The summer 2017 programming consisted of a variety of events, including DJs, dance performances, movie screenings, yoga classes, workshops and cultural days.

In addition, 24 invited chefs came to prepare food during the summer, several of whom were invited to feature particular food during the cultural days of the Village (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e). One interviewee spoke about the positive and negative elements of the cultural days, noting that those days managed to mobilised different people to come to the Village au Pied-du-Courant. She shared, "*ça c'est sûr qu'ils étaient super présents ces moments-là, les communautés qui étaient célébrées (...) c'est super cool de faire des évènements comme ça, mais moi personnellement, je ne pense pas que c'est, c'est suffisant dans le sens que ça reste des trucs très folkloriques genre ok on célèbre votre bouffe! On célèbre votre culture, mais l'inclusion ce n'est pas juste ça. C'est pas juste comme célébrer les éléments funky fun qu'on peut consommer*" (PDC5Rania 2018).

For the 2017 season, La Pépinière introduced *"des projets ponctuels",* where local organisations could offer an activity, such as a workshop or talk with an invited speaker, as a single event (PDC1Fabrice 2018). Other groups had a more regular participation in programming the site, or in offering their own regular activities on the site. For example, "*un camp de jour pour les jeunes aux jardins botaniques venaient une fois par semaine (…) cultiver le jardin*" (PDC5Rania 2018). An important partnership was with Sentiers urbains who took care of all of the green space and gardens on the site, in an approach that they term "*le verdissement social - donc ils utilisent l'agriculture urbaine comme (...) véhicule disons pour faire l'insertion sociale pour les gens qui sont éloignés du marché de travail ou marché d'emplois*" (PDC5Rania 2018). One interviewee from a community organisation stated that her organisation is involved in the programming each year, but that they keep their involvement limited. *"À chaque année on va recevoir une demande pour aller faire des animations, donc on va y aller un peu, on va répondre dans la mesure du possible, mais nous notre objectif premier c'est de rejoindre la clientèle du quartier et on sait très bien que là-bas on ne va pas rejoindre énormément de clientèle du quartier donc (…) on va essayer de collaborer un peu mais on n'est pas un partenaire principal."* (QSTM3Laura 2018)*.

Finally, it is without a doubt that the biggest consistent draw to the site year after year is the fireworks, which bring not only regular clients of the Village au Pied-du-Courant but also local residents to the foot of the bridge to view the fireworks. One interviewee commented how there is an apparent division, however, with the space just outside the perimeter of the Village au Pied-

du-Courant full of people who do not go into the Village, but stay just to the side of it, noting, *"il y a du travail à faire pour les intégrer* (PDC3Robert 2018). This separation was observed by another interviewee who said that his group, les AmiEs du Courant had offered a number of suggestions to invite these people to come into the Village for the fireworks, such as offering discounted prices on beer, which he believes is a big barrier to their integration currently (PDC6Charles 2018). Another interviewee shared his ideas for better integrating different people, like opening earlier for older residents, or opening during lunch hours for local workers, essentially he summmarised that "*la musique puis tout ça c'est un gros problème pour beaucoup de gens qui voudrait aller la jaser, (...) donc voilà une façon de ne pas cohabiter mais de trouver un autre moment, d'autres journées pour attirer un autre clientèle. Si on veut vraiment l'ouvrir à la communauté parce qu'il y a ce qu'on dit et ce qu'on fait "*(PDC3Robert 2018).

4.3.2.4 Governance and operations: site management and maintenance

The management and maintenance of the site are the sole responsibility of La Pépinière. Due to its size, it is not possible to share this responsibility with other partners, according to one interviewee who rationalised, *"le village c'est juste que c'est trop gros (…) si on voulait que les AmiEs du courant Sainte-Marie s'implique plus dans la gestion, impossible. Tu ne peux pas faire ça bénévolement c'est une trop grosse machine"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018). In 2016, La Pépinière hired someone to run the Village au Pied-du-Courant, which meant that *"il y avait pour la première fois quelqu'un qui avait le titre de (…) directeur du Pied-du-Courant"* (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). The director was a young woman who returned again for the 2017 season of the Village au Pied-du-Courant. The director of the site was described by one interviewee as *"la maitre d'orchestre du Village",* charged with putting together and overseeing the programming and daily operations (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). She also convened a monthly meeting where the people who managed the Village au Pied-du-Courant would meet, and where other partners, including les AmiEs du Courant were invited to participate (PDC3Robert 2018). One interviewee, who expressed his fondness for the Director, said that he felt during these meetings, *"on ne pouvait rien dire là, eux autres ils nous trouvaient négatifs, parce que je sais eux autres ils travaillent fort, et je pense peut-être y'a pas d'heures peut-être ne sont pas assez payés puis tout ça puis je pense qu'ils ne voulaient pas écouter rien de ça la"* (PDC3Robert 2018).

One interviewee shared that the lack of meaningful participation of citizens in projects like the Village au Pied-du-Courant prompted her to reflect and develop her own methodology to ensure

that was much more participatory than what she observed with the Village au Pied-du-Courant (PDC4Stephanie 2018). She explains that she was frustrated with the number of projects who claimed to be "citoyen" simply because they were completed quickly and erected in public space and therefore deemed to be *"pour le citoyen"*. These approaches are not the same as her approach which is more much *"travailler avec le citoyen pour construire ces espaces"*, there are not many examples of these kinds of citizen projects, but as she learned through her practice of more participatory citizen-led practices, she understands who there are few - *"c'est très exigeant"* (PDC4Stephanie 2018). She goes on to share how she recommended that La Pépinière create a position within their organisations *"qui est payé dans leur organisation pour aller rencontrer des organismes communautaire",* which, as we noted earlier, they did in 2016, a position which was continued for the 2017 season (PDC4Stephanie 2018). The title for this role is *"coordonnateur communautaire"* whose job it is to reach out to and mobilise local people to come to the Village more (PDC1Fabrice 2018). Concretely, it seems that this has had little impact, with one interviewee from La Pépinière giving an example of a group of elderly people who come once a week, but for other groups, he added *"mais c'est ponctuel"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018). Another interviewee from a local organisation stated, *"à chaque année ils ont des gens qui travaillent au niveau de la mobilisation puis moi ces personnes-là, je ne les vois pas vraiment"* (QSTM3Laura 2018). Finally, the person who held that position for the 2017 season explained that she had a dual role, *"je suis du [milieu de communications] mais j'ai beaucoup d'intérieurs dans le développement communautaire c'est qui m'ont fait un espèce de mix and match. J'étais (...) chargée de mobilisation et des relations de presse"* (PDC5Rania 2018).

4.3.3 Communications

4.3.3.1 Representation: who can be the voice of the place

Again, with their role as the sole lead organisation to develop and manage the Village au Pied-du-Courant, the communications around the Village also lie with La Pépinière. One of the founders explained that he was asked too often to act as the spokesperson for the organisation, or in doing media outreach that finally he decided, *"je n'ai pas le temps"* so they are recruiting a person charged with communications for the 2018 season, a task that was previously a part time responsibility of the community outreach staff person (PDC1Fabrice 2018). The 2017 community outreach job belonged to a young racialized woman who explained the logic behind her dual role

with La Pépinière, *"on se dit que (…) c'est important que le message qu'on donne aux médias quand on parle du Village soit le même qu'on donne aux citoyens, donc ce n'était pas si fou que ce soit la même personne qui s'en occupe. Mais c'était quand même fou parce que la mobilisation ça devrait être un poste à temps plein si tu veux réussir"* (PDC5Rania 2018).

In addition to the visibility of designers and architects, La Pépinière describes itself as a *"plateforme de diffusion culturelle bien implantée dans le milieu du design et des arts à l'échelle de la ville"* (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017a, 4). The visibility around the Village au Pied-du-Courant and the multiple installations on its site each year is seen to be a big attraction for local designers and architects seeking to make a name for themselves, resulting in several putting in design proposals year after year (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). In its 2017 guide for people and groups wishing to submit their designs for consideration, this aspect is highlighted, boasting that a number of installations have been features in publications and digital platforms with both local and international audiences, further specifying that more than 100 such articles had already been catalogued by La Pépinière (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017a). La Pépinière was able to trace a total of 55 media articles about the Village au Pied-du-Courant for the 2017 season (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e).

4.3.3.2 Recruitment: methods and conditions for participation

The woman hired to do community outreach explained that she replaced another person who held the position the year prior. Her predecessor, another young woman, made an effort to reach as many groups as possible, *"elle est allée rencontrer cinquante organismes"* (PDC5Rania 2018). Unfortunately, in her opinion these efforts produced no results except for increasing some awareness of the project among local community organisations (PDC5Rania 2018). She went on to explain that she believed that the implication of the local community had to be increased, more meaningful, and more representative of the diversity of the community than just les AmiEs du Courant. This prompted her to reach out to specific groups, explaining *"on a approché le CRIC, le Carrefour de ressources interculturelle centre-sud, (...) on a essayer d'organiser un évènement avec eux puis ça tombé à l'eau"* (PDC5Rania 2018). She explains that *"si on veut aller rejoindre les autres personnes il faut qu'on envoie le message aussi que c'est un espace pour tous"* which would require a shift in how people see the Village au Pied-du-Courant, from *"juste un autre lieux cool événementiel à Montréal",* to something more interesting and inclusive because the city already has plenty of nightlife places (PDC5Rania 2018). Finally, she shared her reflections about

how women could be better reached and involved, stating to reach diverse women, you have to go to them where they are and tell them "*on veut que vous soyez là (…), qu'est-ce que ça va prendre pour que vous embarquiez*" (PDC5Rania 2018). Furthermore, she offers a reflection of different groups of women who should be specifically considered, including women's groups, associations of women in design, women's centres, associations of women from the LGBTQI+ community, racialized women, etc. who should be specifically involved in the placemaking process for the Village au Pied-du-Courant (PDC5Rania 2018).

Finally, the young woman charged with communications and community outreach shared some ideas about how community members could participate more fully in future editions of the Village au Pied-du-Courant. Specifically, she suggested that a citizens committee be convened that could operate throughout the entire year, because as soon as one season ends, you have to start planning for the next. In this way, the participants could become *"des agents multiplicateurs"* (PDC5Rania 2018). She suggested that there be working groups with local residents, and *"des séances de travail conjointe entre la population et les designers (…) d'écouter plus les gens ce qu'ils veulent, de leur donner plus de marge de manœuvre, mais il y a plein de contraintes aussi"* (PDC5Rania 2018).

4.3.3.3 Dissemination: methods to inform, invite and mobilise

An important part of the work of the Village au Pied-du-Courant is making sure that people know about the site, the activities and the offerings. It is not an area where people are used to going, making it somewhat of a destination for people, meaning that the likelihood of people spontaneously discovering it is not high. La Pépinière uses different strategies to disseminate information about the site, including social media and community outreach.

Social media seems to be the primary means of disseminating information about the Village and its activities, *"on était super actifs dans les réseaux sociaux, il y avait une communauté qui nous suivait"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018). This means that the information reaches a group of people who are already interested and engaged in similar issues, *"au départ on allait vraiment rejoindre les membres de l'ADUQ puis (…) ça a vraiment été le point de départ"* (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). It was not just Facebook, rather a combination of social media driven dissemination strategies were used, specifically *"infolettre, Facebook, Twitter, (...) c'est vraiment les réseaux sociaux "*(PDC2AnneSophie 2018). The focus on social media was criticized by some, *"y'a Facebook qui*

peut fonctionner mais il y a plein de gens que tu ne rejoins pas avec Facebook" (QSTM1Simone 2018). Another interviewee, shared her impression of this, noting, "*c'est un projet mené beaucoup par des jeunes, cool, tu comprends? Donc si on veut attirer toutes sortes de gens, ce n'est pas tout le monde qui est sur Facebook, ce n'est pas tout le monde qui est sur Instagram",* highlighting the need for new media and dissemination strategies (PDC5Rania 2018). The person charged with public relations and community outreach for La Pépinière proudly shared that the 2017 season was the first year that *"on a réussi à avoir plus d'articles sur la démarche et le projet, versus le 5 à 7 et le nightlife "*(PDC5Rania 2018).

This combined strategy, of social media and targeted outreach is something that appears to have been done, *"c'est beaucoup de se promener aussi dans le quartier, de parler aux gens "hé! - est-ce que vous connaissez le village?" Je me suis rendu compte les gens ne le connaissait pas, ou ils pensaient que ce n'était pas pour eux"* (PDC5Rania 2018). For example, one interviewee from a local organisation shared that La Pépinière reaches out to her organisation directly each year, to share the programme and invite their members to attend (QSTM1Simone 2018). The person charged with community outreached explained that part of her strategy was to try to reach different groups who are not likely to get the information via social media. For example, they wanted to reach families, elderly people, and people from diverse ethnocultural backgrounds, so she visited groups working with these populations in Sainte Marie. This even resulted in a group of elderly Latino women coming to organise a discussion group a couple of times at the Village au Pied-du-Courant (PDC5Rania 2018). Another interviewee described how he came across immigrants from the Latino community who seemed lost and explained that they heard about the site in the Latino paper, as a way of illustrating diversity of the users and the diverse ways people hear about the Village (PDC3Robert 2018). Finally, one interviewee offered some suggestions for diversifying their dissemination strategies, *"diversifier les moyens de communiquer - on a fait des affiches, comme La Pépinière est très réseaux sociaux (…) c'est de sortir un peu de ça"* concluding that a big part of it is simply to go out and meet people and to have informal conversations with them about the Village au Pied-du-Courant (PDC5Rania 2018).

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Concluding thoughts

The Village au Pied-du-Courant, now a recurring seasonal public place at the foot of the Jacques Cartier bridge in the Sainte-Marie neighbourhood has made an imprint on the neighbourhood,

attracting 120,000 people during the 2017 season, approximately 80% of whom came from outside the local neighbourhood. In spite of this, in its report of the 2017 season, the organisation described the Village au Pied-du-Courant as "*un site qui évolue constamment selon les désirs et les besoins de la communauté locale*" (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e, 3). This season saw the lead organisation, La Pépinière espaces collectifs, reflect much more on the social mission of the Village au Pied-du-Courant as well as on itself as an organisation. They hired a community outreach worker to build local ties, though by their own admission, much work remains to be done (PDC1Fabrice 2018 ; PDC5Rania 2018). Building trust with local community groups and local community members is long and takes time (PDC4Stephanie 2018 ; QSTM3Laura 2018). But as another interviewee points out, the very notion of inclusion, nevermind it's operationalisation is complicated, "*inclusif, tout le monde dit ça, genre on est inclusif mais qu'est-ce que tu fais pour être inclusif?*" (PDC5Rania 2018).

In terms of gender inclusion in the process of placemaking, we gained some important insights that suggest that women participate actively. Specifically, we learned that the person charged with both community outreach and communications is a young racialized woman. She is given the space and power to speak on behalf of the project. We observed many other women in positions of influence and power, including being in charge of site development and tear down and being the on-site manager also responsible for the programming of the site. There were also slightly more women than men architects and designers who developed the site. In addition, in spite of the perceived power given to these women listed above, we also learned that much of the site, from the location of the different structures to the color pallet is decided by one of the men who founded La Pépinière, who remains the "master designer". He is also the person who received the most media requests for interviews.

We have hints that women are use the site, with almost 70% of respondents to La Pépinière's online survey self-identifying as female. However, it was noted that in spite of strong partipation and presence of women, they lacked diversity in their composition. Efforts to reach out to different groups resulted in only some successful mobilisation, such as the group la Latino women who organised a few activities at the Village. It appears to continue to be a challenge to mobilize local groups to come, in spite of apparent efforts to invite them.

The location of the Village au Pied-du-Courant makes it a destination and access can be difficult (QSTM1Simone 2018). This means that the site needs to be programmed to attract people to come to the site, and efforts have been made to diversify the programming in an effort to bring

diverse people as well. All of this is a challenge, however. As one person rightly noted, *"les habitudes ça ne changent pas du jour au lendemain, fait que dire je viens imposer quelque chose dans le paysage comme ça parce que ce n'est pas subtil, physiquement c'est magnifique le Village mais justement c'est imposant, y'a d'la musique, puis y'a une crowd"* (PDC4Stephanie 2018).

The design and the space itself are striking, having even been described as "*magique*" (PDC3Robert 2018). An article published shortly after the close of the 2017 season described the Village au Pied-du-Courant as "an amalgam of micro-architecture all on one site, it exuded everything that one hoped for in an ephemeral urban space" (Godin 2017). It successfully demonstrates the potential of an underused urban space to be transformed and to be used and appreciated, which, as one interviewee said *"ça c'est extraordinaire"* (PDC3Robert 2018). Ironically, the fact that the design is aestically pleasing, contemporary and themed can arguably encourage self-exclusion from the site. PDC5Rania (2018) explained this, "*il y a aussi cette idée que ces trucs de design il y a beaucoup de gens qui ne se retrouvent pas parce que c'est trop beau... ce n'est pas pour moi, on s'est fait dire ça "c'est trop beau ce n'est pas pour moi". Ça c'est un autre affaire aussi c'est un autre truc à déconstruire".* This can lead to the Village au Pied-du-Courant being branded as something that is not for the local community, but for other people, and can itself be a symbol of change in the neighbourhood.

As we explored earlier, Sainte-Marie is a neighbourhood undergoing a lot of real and proposed change. These changes have produced mixed feelings, with some feeling that a certain degree of gentrification is positive (PDC6Charles 2018), while others are completely against it (QSTM1Simone 2018). PDC6Charles (2018) explains that he believes that, "*les gens ont un peu peur mais on se dit, si on veut avoir des fruits et légumes frais, si on veut avoir des services, une quincaillerie, on veut avoir des choses de proximité, il faut amener des gens de différentes classes qui ont de l'argent aussi, ça va profiter à tout le monde.*"He explains that selling some higher valued properties allows for subsidized properties and helps to maintain a balance; he himself is a local condo owner and the building where he lives resulted in investments to a subsidized units next door (PDC6Charles 2018). Several people noted the high rates of condo development, increasing prices and increasing rents which have already driven some people out of the neighbourhood (QSTM5Jean 2018 ; QSTM2Ginette 2018 ; QSTM1Simone 2018). Finally, it has been argued that the potential of the development of the waterfront has potential positive benefits for the whole city, including for the international reputation of the city, with corresponding local economic development (PDC6Charles 2018).

Sainte-Marie is home to numerous community groups who are and have been actively engaged in public consultations and discussions about said changes to the neighbourhood. For example, we introduced the Centre d'éducation et d'action des femmes (CÉAF) who have been working for women's rights, safety and inclusion in Sainte-Marie for decades. We also introduced the Groupe d'intervention Sainte Marie which remains a group that is led by and for local citizens, itself the result of the first RUI in Sainte-Marie (QSTM4Mark 2018). These groups and others have demonstrated their willingness and commitment to being involved, and most of all, their dedication to Sainte-Marie and to its residents, as they strive to ensure that the people who have lived in the neighbourhood for years will continue to have a place in the future Sainte-Marie as well.

CHAPTER 5 - PLACEMAKING A PUBLIC PLACE

In this chapter we will present the findings from the observations, which included photography, and the 65 microsurveys that were conducted *in situ* at the Village au Pied-du-Courant during the Summer of 2017. More specifically, the observations provided key insights into how the space is designed and programmed, as well as how it is used and by whom. Our study seeks to understand whether the Village au Pied-du-Courant is inclusive of women, with additional consideration, when possible, of intersecting identities including age, ethnocultural background, etc. and these methodologies provided us with responses to those inquiries. Further, we were interested in knowing whether the users of the place were from the local community it is intended to serve or whether it serves people from other areas of the city of Montréal or even from outside of the city. The microsurveys allowed us to paint a small portrait of the users of the space. Importantly, the surveys were the opportunity to understand how people experienced the space - the impressions, what they liked, who they felt the space was developed for, what could be changed to improve it and so on. These were particularly important for gathering the views of women who use the site, so there were slightly more women respondents than men. These user-based experiences of this public place are presented here, complementing the data gathered by the research team during the observation sessions.

Understanding the public place is our second big research dimension, after participation in developing the place via placemaking. Understanding the public place, who uses it, how, and what their experience is, will help us to respond to the latter part of the research question - In what ways is placemaking an inclusive process of producing and using urban public space, especially for women? In our study and analysis of the public place, we further refined our research to a few key dimensions to explore: the design and programming of the space, the social use of the space, and the spatial dimensions related to the geography of use.

5.1 Design and Programming

To critically assess the public place in terms of its design and programming, three key elements were explored: accessibility, comfort and programming. Since the space is a temporary annual public place that is created each year, there are no perennial elements, meaning that every year is an opportunity to remake the place in terms of its physical design, within certain limitations, as

well as its programming. This flexibility creates the potential for the place to become more deliberately inclusive, should it so wish.

5.1.1 Accessibility

The first dimension explored as part of the research into understanding how inclusive the public place is was the question of accessibility - physical, economic, social and experiential. Understanding how accessible the site is would allow us to identify barriers to access that could create exclusion for some groups.

As the Village au Pied-du-Courant is located on an unused space that is only occupied in the winter to dump snow, it is not a public space that is already activated, and where people habitually go. This means that the public place must itself draw people in to use it, inviting them to create new uses and patterns of use. Unfortunately, there is no observable signage at the street entrance, and no hours of operation are posted (see Figure 14 and Figure 15). This was commented on by one female survey respondent who suggested that the place could be improved if there was a big sign from the main intersection at the corner of Notre Dame and de Lorimier streets to show people where to go.

The Village au Pied-du-Courant is located at the southern tip of the Sainte-Marie borough at the foot of the Jacques Cartier bridge. While there is a park bordering the site to the East, there are no businesses such as cafés, banks or markets that border it, nor are there residences facing the site. This has the consequence of making the site a destination. In fact, when users of the space indicated how they heard about the Village au Pied-du-Courant in the microsurvey, only two people, both women indicated that they stumbled upon the place without prior intent of going there, one while biking and the other while walking. Furthermore, the site has specific opening hours, further requiring people to plan their visits to the site ahead of time.

Figure 14: Image of the entrance to the Village au Pied-du-Courant (before security)

Image source: K. Travers

Figure 15: Image of the entrance to the Village au Pied-du-Courant (right after security)

Image source: K. Travers

One can access the site on foot or using a bicycle. There is parking available for people who take their bikes to visit the Village au Pied-du-Courant (see Figure 16). There is no car parking on site. There are two entrances to the site, one to the west by the foot of the bridge and the second to the east where the site meets the Parc Bellerive. The area is otherwise fenced in, thereby channeling visitors through these two entrances, as a form of control (see Figure 17). Once visitors arrive, they are met by a security guard who checks their belongings before admitting them onto the site. Security officers were notably looking for glass items, as they are prohibited on the site. Through the site observations, it was noted that people overwhelming arrive by foot using the western access point closest to the bridge.

Figure 16: Image of bike parking

Image source: K. Travers

Figure 17: Image of perimeter fence on the North side

Image source: K. Travers

As Table 5.1 demonstrates, people used different travel modalities to access the site. The majority of respondents, nine women and nine men, reported walking to the site. This was consistent with the site observations. In order to walk here from the north (the primary route), people have to cross three pedestrian crossing lights that are not in synch, thus requiring several minutes to cross the street to access the site itself. The only exception to this is that the neighbouring streets are closed to traffic on nights where La Ronde has their fireworks show on some Wednesdays and Saturdays. The street closures increase the ease of pedestrian access to the site. When people were asked during the microsurveys what ideas they had to improve the space, one person suggested building a pedestrian ramp to facilitate access to the site.

Table 5.1: Survey responses to the question "How did you get here today?"
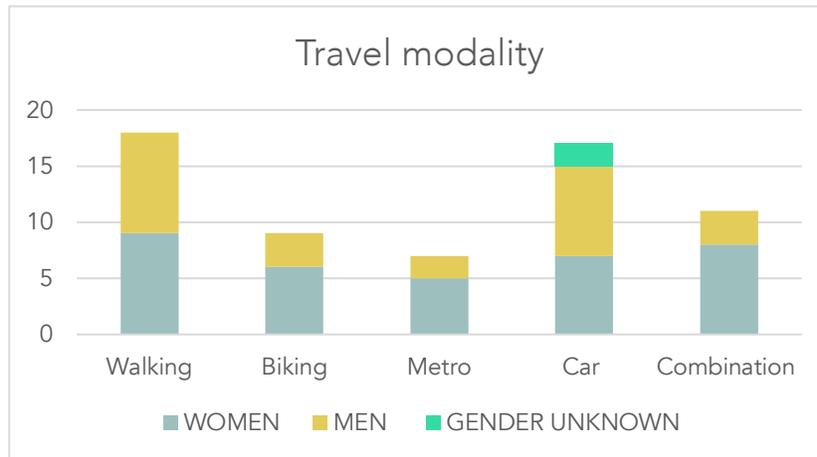
Sixteen people reported using a car[16] (7 women, 8 men, and 1 person who did not disclose their gender identity). As there is no parking on site, several people mentioned having to walk a distance from their cars to the site, even if they only noted that they drove in the survey. Making car parking available on site or close by was suggested as an idea for improving the place by one woman in her survey response. Finally, 11 people mentioned using a variety of travel modalities to access the site, including eight women, with one reporting using three methods - car, metro and walking. The number of people who used active transportation in the forms of walking and biking to access the site (27 people) is slightly lower than the number of people who depending on another form of transportation - car or metro - or a combination of different forms that included at least one portion of the trip being in a car or metro, 33 people.

Once inside, we considered whether the design itself was physically accessible for all. The site itself contains a number of small designed spaces for sitting, including small cabanas and picnic tables, or for browsing. In addition, the space is principally split into a paved area and a sandy area, with a wooden boardwalk along the area where the two meet (see Figure 18). Several of these spaces are not accessible for people using wheelchairs or with strollers, including the cabanas, lookout points, and picnic tables located in the risers, as stairs are a barrier to entry. We did, however, note that there is one accessible public toilet available for people who use wheelchairs. During the observations, we did note two different men in wheelchairs on different days, and one woman who uses the support of a cane. While the sand makes accessibility a challenge, they appeared to be enjoying the site as they laughed and watched people dancing or conversed with friends and were able to move through the site by staying on the wooden

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[16] One person reported using a moto to go to the site, this was included in the category 'car' in Table 5.1 above.

boardwalk (see Figure 19). We also noted the presence of a number of strollers during each of the observation sessions, with the sand appearing not to pose a barrier to access (see Figure 20). The only negatives we witnessed were from two women overhead complaining that they were ruining their shoes and could not go on the sand.

Figure 18: Aerial view of people sitting in different spaces

Image source: K. Travers

Figure 19: Image of a person in wheelchair at the Village au Pied-du-Courant

Image source: K. Travers

Figure 20: Images of strollers at the Village au Pied-du-Courant

Image source: K. Travers

A potential barrier to access is economic. With the Village au Pied-du-Courant, while there is no cost to enter the site, visitors typically purchase food and drinks once they are on site, though they have the option of bringing their own, as long as there are no glass containers. There are two bars, and a canteen that are permanently on the site. In addition, there are the occasional food trucks on site, though this was not consistent. The food trucks were often there during busier days, such as nights with fireworks. During one observation session, the researcher purchased three tacos and a salad from a food truck and it cost $40, which could be potentially prohibitive (see Figure 21). Additionally, our site observations were conducted during two ethnic themed days - one for Mexico (5 August 2017) and one for Haiti (19 August 2017). Each of these days also featured different local food offerings for purchase, and in the case of the Haitian day, a pop-up bar featuring a local Haitian cocktail. An ATM is made available for people to use the cash bar to make their purchases, requiring a withdrawal fee of $2.50 per transaction (see Figure 22).

Figure 21: Food trucks at the Village au Pied-du-Courant

Image source: K. Travers

Figure 22: ATM on site at the Village au Pied-du-Courant

Image source: K. Travers

Each drink - alcoholic and non-alcoholic - is served in a custom cup that is made of plastic and bears the logo of the site. A $2 deposit is required for each cup, which is then returned when the cup is returned. No free water is available on site, and the non-alcoholic option, kombucha, sells for $5 + $2 deposit + a discretionary tip. As each of the staff members are themselves volunteers, including the bartenders, knowing that they work for tips can increase the expectation of a

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generous tip. Furthermore, there is a sign near the main bar that invites additional donations and explains that food and alcohol sales are the main source of revenue to support the project, thus encouraging consumption (see Figure 23). People also appear to consume quite a bit of alcohol. The night of the observations of the fireworks (Wednesday 26 July 2017), the bars were advertising that they ran out of wine by about 21h, before the fireworks had even started. There were notably more security guards on site and some people appeared to be quite inebriated.

Figure 23: Bar Donation Sign at the Village au Pied-du-Courant

Image source: K. Travers

Finally, it was very interesting to observe that on the night of the fireworks there was an observable difference in the access and appropriation of public space. The entrance way that leads to the

Village au Pied-du-Courant but is not the site itself, is extremely busy. People begin putting their chairs down long before the site is even open, to secure their place to watch the fireworks. They generally came in rather large groups (5+ people) and occupied the public space. The observable demographic was also different, with the average age of people in the space appearing to be quite a bit older than the patrons of the Village au Pied-du-Courant. These people brought their own coolers and food and sat beside - but not inside - the Village au Pied-du-Courant. This is certainly a more economical way of enjoying the fireworks, but we cannot speculate the reason for this. People going into the Village au Pied-du-Courant walked behind these groups to access the site, but it was not itself a barrier to access.

Aside from this different use of space during the fireworks, survey respondents overwhelmingly recommended increased access to the Village au Pied-du-Courant as a way of improving the place (see Table 5.2 below). A total of 33 people, including 20 self-identified women, recommended that the site be accessible year-round, and 12 people wanted to see it open during different hours. As one woman between 26-35 years wrote in her survey response, "Amazing place leave it open all year!"

Table 5.2: Survey respondents' ideas for improving the place
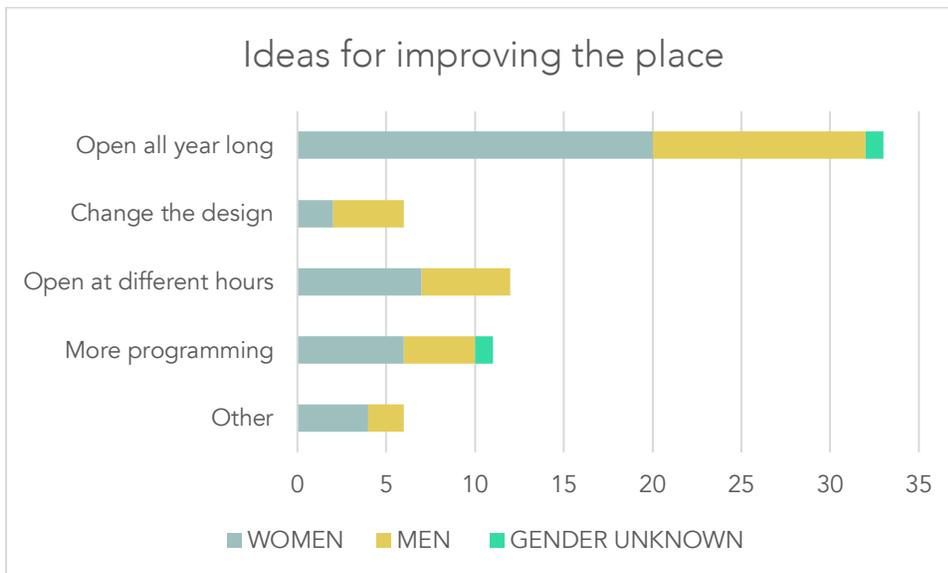
Source: K. Travers

5.1.2 Comfort

After assessing the accessibility of the place, the next dimension explored was that of comfort. The Village au Pied-du-Courant, as a temporary place, does not have permanent infrastructure and is exposed to the elements. Given this, comfort is very much determined by the weather, as there is little protection from the sun, wind or rain. This meant that in the Summer of 2017, when our data collection took place, an unusually rainy season, particularly in the first weeks of the summer, resulted in the Village au Pied-du-Courant being closed quite frequently. While much of the site is open and exposed, there are a few cabanas and tables under umbrellas that offer some protection (see Figures 24 and 25). There is also seating on a platform of scaffolding that is netted, thereby offering some shade. For the most part, however, patrons to the site have few options.

Figures 24 and 25: Cabanas at the Village au Pied-du-Courant offer shelter from sun and rain
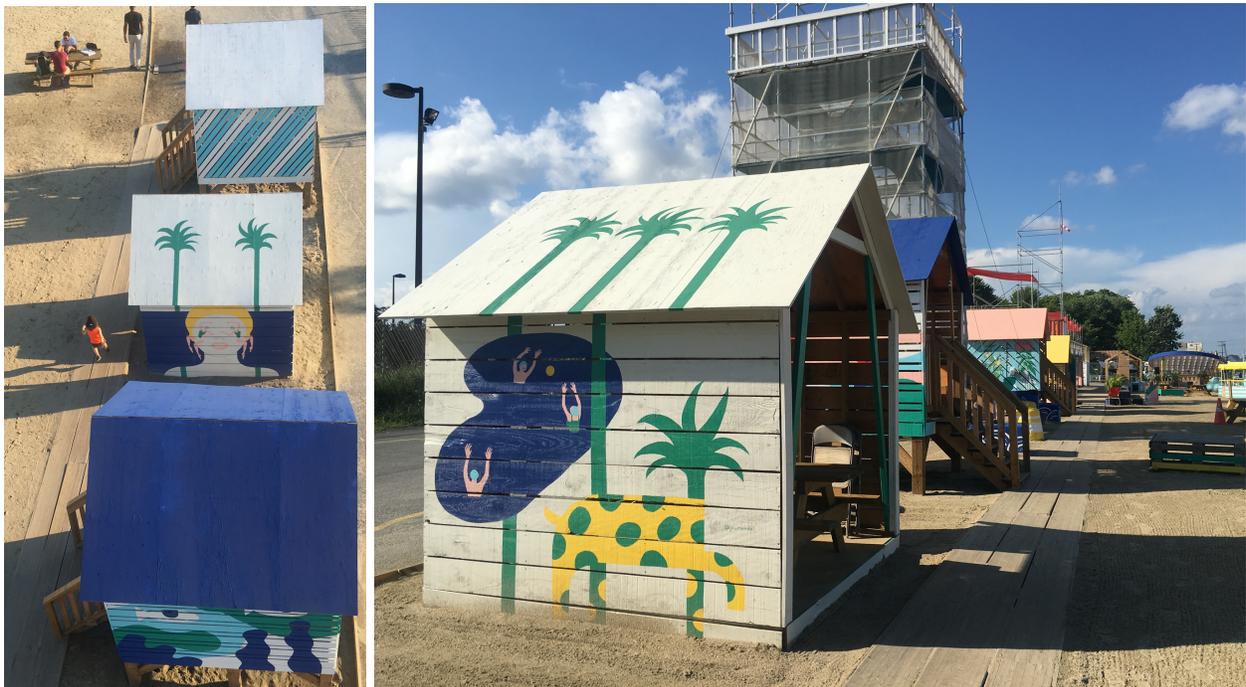
Image source: K. Travers

Similarly, as the space is used only to dump snow in the winter months, there is no natural greenery on the site that can provide natural shade or absorb some of the heat from the sun as it heats the pavement. The positioning of the Village au Pied-du-Courant just beyond Notre Dame street and bordering the water means that there are no tall structures that cast shade on the area. While this may result in increased heat and lack of protection from the sun, it does improve the

aesthetic quality of the place. As one man aged 26 to 35 who noted having been to the Village au Pied-du-Courant more than ten times that summer shared that he likes the design, activities, atmosphere and the view of the horizon.

The Village au Pied-du-Courant, as described earlier, features different installations and furniture that are designed and produced by design teams that have been selected through an application process. This means that the aesthetic quality of the place, important to the notion of comfort, is positive. The use of bright paint colors and quirky, fun and interactive installations all add to the appeal of the site. In fact, when asked what they liked about the place in the microsurvey, 45 people, including 28 women mentioned the design (see Table 5.3 below). This was second only to the atmosphere, which was expressly appreciated by 55 people, including 32 of the 36 self-identified women who responded to the survey. In general, people expressed much appreciation for the site, with 29 respondents offering three or more responses to describe what they liked, and one woman aged 18-25 adding "*super endroit!*" in her survey response.

Table 5.3: Survey respondents' share what they like about the place
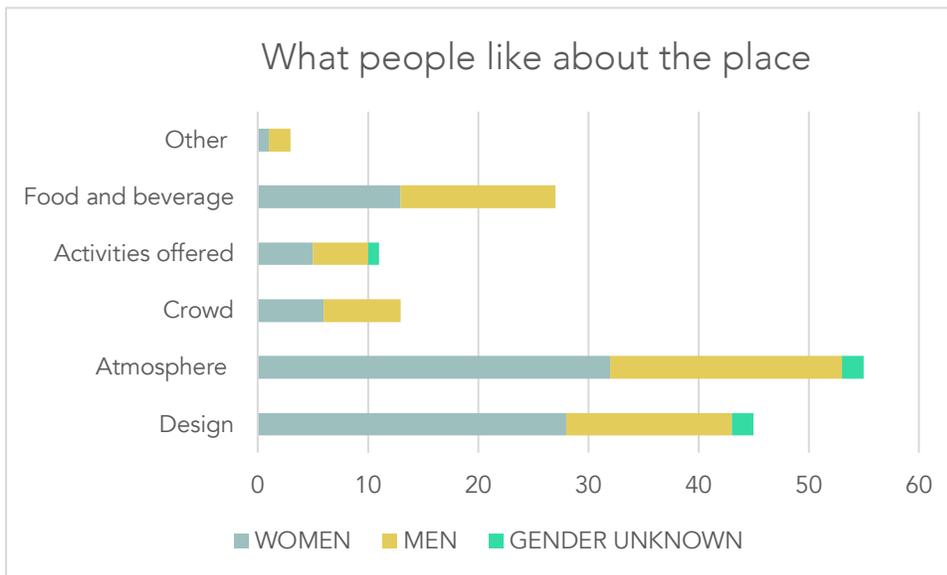
Source: K. Travers

One of the strong positive elements of the Village au Pied-du-Courant is the variety of spaces and seating options that it offers. This allows people the choice of where to sit, depending on exposure to elements, proximity to different activities, or size of the group they are with (see Figures 26 and 27). A variety of seating options can increase the level of comfort people feel in the place, though one woman, aged 26-35, did suggest to "open up the area". The level of comfort is strengthened

by the feeling that the place is cared for, evidenced through the cleanliness and quality of the maintenance of the place. The fact that the glasses are made of reusable plastic and require a $2 deposit that you get back when you return the cup really limits the disposable waste that could otherwise quickly cause a lot of litter to fill the place. To illustrate the attention to maintenance, each day, the sand is freshly raked, allowing staff to pick up any garbage and ensure that it is evenly distributed. As no glass is permitted on site, this also allows people to walk barefoot in the sand, which many patrons do. Children bring buckets and sand toys as well, making the sand itself an interactive design feature and a feature that is appreciated. As one woman, aged 18-25 remarked in her survey "I love the sand".

Figure 26: Quiet hammock seating

Image source: K. Travers

Figure 27: People lying on bean bags near the urban agriculture site

Image source: K. Travers

As noted earlier, the site lacks permanent infrastructure, including its own water and sanitation services. While there are porta-potties available on-site, including one that adheres to accessibility standards for people who use wheelchairs, better bathrooms were mentioned by one woman, aged 36-45, in her survey response as a way to improve the site. Another woman, aged 55+ complained that the music was too loud. In spite of these recommendations, people generally expressed appreciation with the designed and naturally occurring aesthetic qualities of the Village au Pied-du-Courant. Two patrons wished it could be even closer to the water.

5.1.3 Programming

The Village au Pied-du-Courant has a regular weekly programming, with some modifications. The programming is offered in addition to the ongoing access to the different spaces and games, such as the pétanque court, library or exhibition space. Some programming has only slight changes

from one week to the next. For example, Thursdays is branded "5 à sable", a regular occurring event, but the DJ and the food trucks change from one week to the next. Other activities do change drastically from one week to the next. For example, during the days we were on-site for the observations, one day was celebrating Haitian culture and another was celebrating Mexican culture. The programming was all catered to these events, from the specialty drinks, to the food, arts and crafts activities and music (see Figure 28). There were people selling traditional food and drink from Mexico and Haiti respectively as well, with related activities such as piñata making for kids on Mexico Day, or a Haitian dance troop performance turned dance party for all. On another occasion, there was a pop-up market for the weekend, where artisans displayed and sold their products to patrons. Nights of the international fireworks competition at La Ronde, a large amusement park located on an island across the water from the Village au Pied-du-Courant, the site is open, including on Wednesdays which is outside of the regular operating hours of the place. The location of the place offers an exceptional viewing of the fireworks, and draws a huge crowd.

Figure 28: Pop-up Bar Ti Ponche for Haiti Day at the Village au Pied-du-Courant

Image source: K. Travers

There are also regularly occurring activities (see Figure 29). For example, on Sunday afternoons workshops are organised for children. Each of these has its own theme and the children take part in arts and crafts activities. Sunday evenings from 6-7pm there is a yoga class offered on the sand as part of a partnership with Lululemon. In spite of this, when asked about ideas for making

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improvements to the Village au Pied-du-Courant, six women, four men and one person who did not share their gender identity recommended adding programming. Some had specific ideas of what programming they wanted to see. Specifically, one woman aged 26-35 suggested *"organisez des soirées danse avec dj"*, while one man aged 26-35 offered the specific recommendation of "*aménager un espace workout et promouvoir la cuisine israelienne*".

Figure 29: Weekly programming at the Village au Pied-du-Courant

Image source: K. Travers

5.2 Social Use of Space

In addition to exploring the design and programming of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, our study explored the social use of space. Specifically, the dimensions included the profile of people in the space, the usage and sociability of the place, and temporal patterns. The social use of space provides key insight into the potential of the place to be inclusive. The surveys and observations provided us with essential information to understand who is using the place, when and for what purpose.

5.2.1 Profile of people in the space

The first thing to note about the social use of space is who the users of the space are. Through our observations, we noted the consistent presence of both men and women in the space. Interestingly, the survey allowed people to self-identify the gender that they identified with, which prompted two male respondents to firmly assert their gender, one writing "alpha male" as the survey response and another affirming his sexual orientation along with his gender by writing "heterosexual male". In terms of the age distribution, most users appeared to be in their 20s and 30s, results which are also reflected in the profile of the people who responded to our micro-surveys (see Table 5.4 below). Children were consistently observed on site, particularly young children. There were few teenagers throughout our observation sessions, with the exception of the Wednesday night fireworks where we noted an increase in teenagers, though they were still few. While there were some older people, they were few and during the surveys some commented about feeling obviously older than the average user of the space. As for observable ethno-cultural identity markers, during the days with cultural programming, we noted that there were a number of larger groups that appeared to be families, with grandparents, parents, children and grandchildren all belonging to that cultural group, specifically either Mexican or Haitian, on the respective days that their cultures were being celebrated as part of the summer programming at the Village au Pied-du-Courant. In addition to skin color, this was observable by clothing choice, with a few people opting for traditional dress, language spoken (Spanish and Creole). Overwhelmingly though, 71% of survey respondents noted that French was their first language, although English was frequently heard during the observations, as were accents from other countries, particularly France, the UK and Australia.

Table 5.4: Profile of survey respondents by age and gender
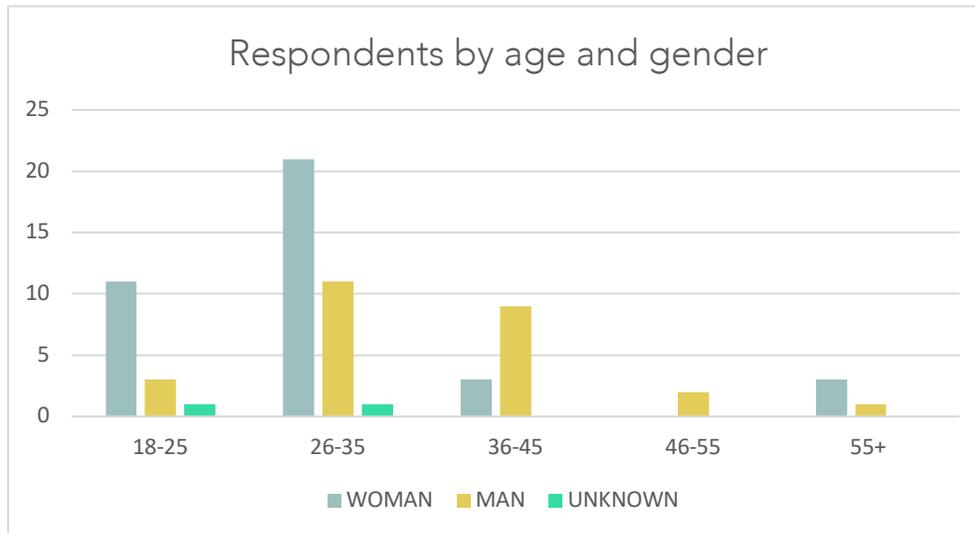
Source: K. Travers

Outside of the days celebrating a particular culture, there was noticeably less cultural diversity on the site. This means that while there was some observable cultural diversity, including people of different descents and ages. In fact, on the Haitian Day where the Haitian community and perhaps the broader Black community came out in large numbers to take part in the festivities.

On the observations on Thursday and Friday, it appeared that a number of people came from work, with some appearing to be work colleagues, all arriving and sitting together. These people wore clothing that was different from the weekend users of the place or the people who arrived later. Their clothing including high heels, pencil skirts, blouses, blazers and ties, one man even carried a briefcase. Those arriving later or on weekends had hairstyles and wore clothing that could be characterized as 'hipster', with brand name jeans and shoes in similar styles, graphic t-shirts and designer sunglasses. Finally, while the site is located just South of Montréal's gay village, there were only a few observable same-sex couples seen on the site. On Saturday August 19th, 2017, our observations were during the Pride celebrations in Montréal, and we noted that several people had come to the Village au Pied-du-Courant after, still wearing their stickers, temporary tattoos, arm bands, decorated sunglasses and other signs of having taken part in the celebrations (see Figure 30 below).

Figure 30 - Person wearing a pride sticker

Image source: K. Travers

We asked survey respondents to answer the question "Who is this place for?" offering the possiblity to name several groups of people. The response most frequently named by women was 'everyone', while men named 'families' in the greatest number. These were closely followed by people in their 20s and 30s by both men and women. Finally, other users of the space not captured by the surveys were animals. While we observed the presence of weasels one day, it was primarily dogs who came to the Village au Pied-du-Courant - even chihuahuas during the Mexican day! This was appreciated by the users of the space, with one male aged 26-35 who added a comment to his survey response that read "*merci d'accueillir les animaux de compagnie",* and another two people wrote "dogs" in response to the survey question 'who is this place for?'.

Another interesting characteristic that emerged through the surveys was the high levels of education attained or in progress, particularly among women. The lowest levels were high school, completed by three men, followed by one woman and six men who had completed their CEGEP degree. The remaining 53 respondents were pursuing or had completed university degrees, including one doctoral candidate. It was interesting to note that more women than men had completed their Bachelor's degree (19 vs. 11) and their Master's degree (8 vs. 4) (see Table 5.5).

Table 5.5: Highest level of education completed by gender
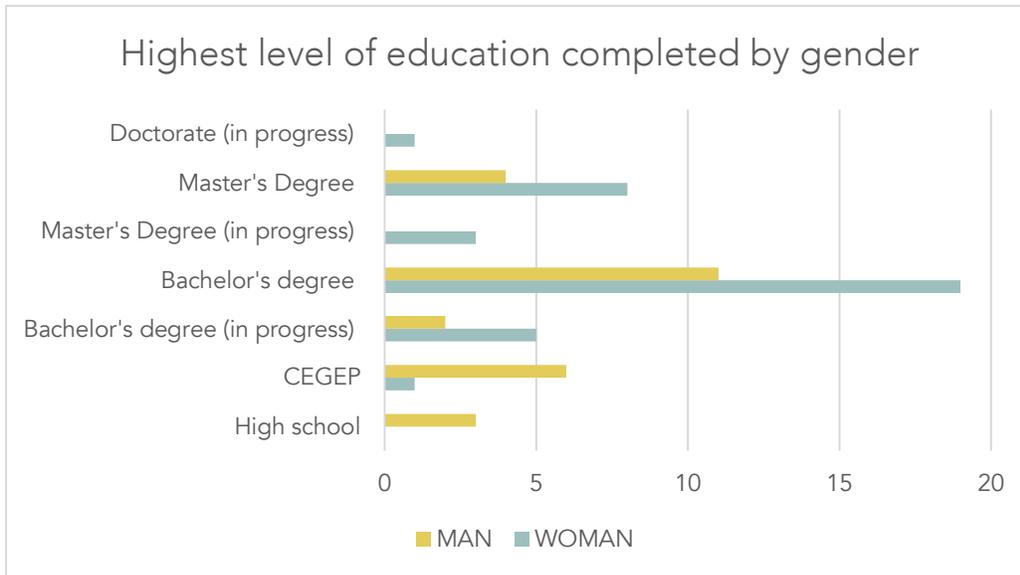
Source: K. Travers

One of the survey questions asked people to share their postal codes. This allowed us to generate a map noting the geographic distribution of users of the space who live in the Montréal area, based on postal code mapping of survey respondents. In addition, two Americans and two people visiting from France also completed the survey while visiting the Village au Pied-du-Courant as part of their tourist activities in Montréal. This provided important insight into whether people are indeed from the surrounding area or whether the place is a destination that people travel to. The results clearly demonstrate that users come from different neighbourhoods throughout Montréal, with a high concentration of people travelling from the Plateau Mont Royal borough (see Figures 31 and 32 below). During one observation session, we overheard a man describing how he had come from Laval, 45 minutes by train and 35 minutes by metro to get to the site (18 August 2017). There are few people living within 1km of the Village au Pied-du-Courant who visit the site, illustrated in Figure 31 (single red symbols correspond to single respondents, where there are more in a geographic area, circles with the number of respondents are used instead). It is also interesting

to note that people appeared to be quite transient, with 17 users having lived at their current address for less than one year, and 13 between one and two years. As one man, aged 55+ who lives in the area explained: *there are more people this year, people in their 20-30s use the space, but almost 90% come from other neighbourhoods, it is more locally known, but not much yet.*[17]

Figure 31: Geographic distribution of the residences of users of the space
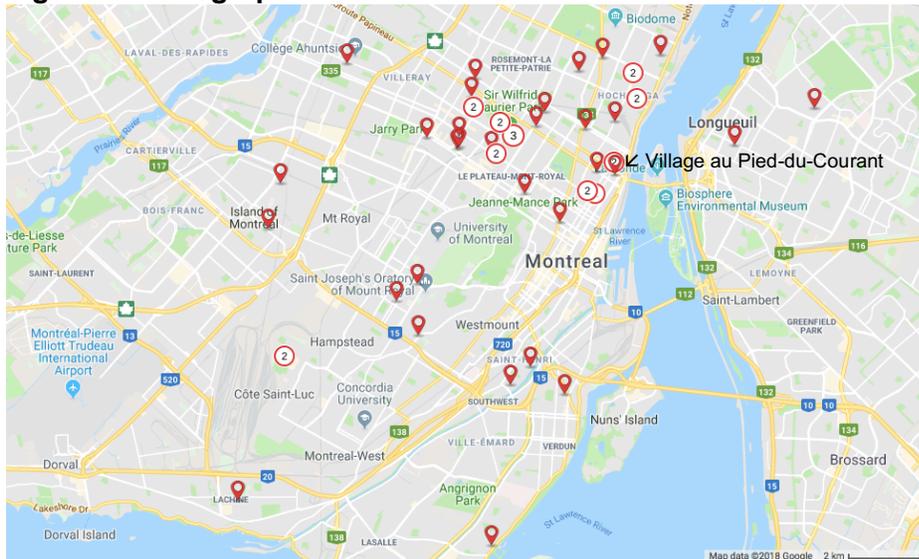
Source: K. Travers, modified from Google Maps

Figure 32: Geographic distribution of users of the space living within 1km of the place
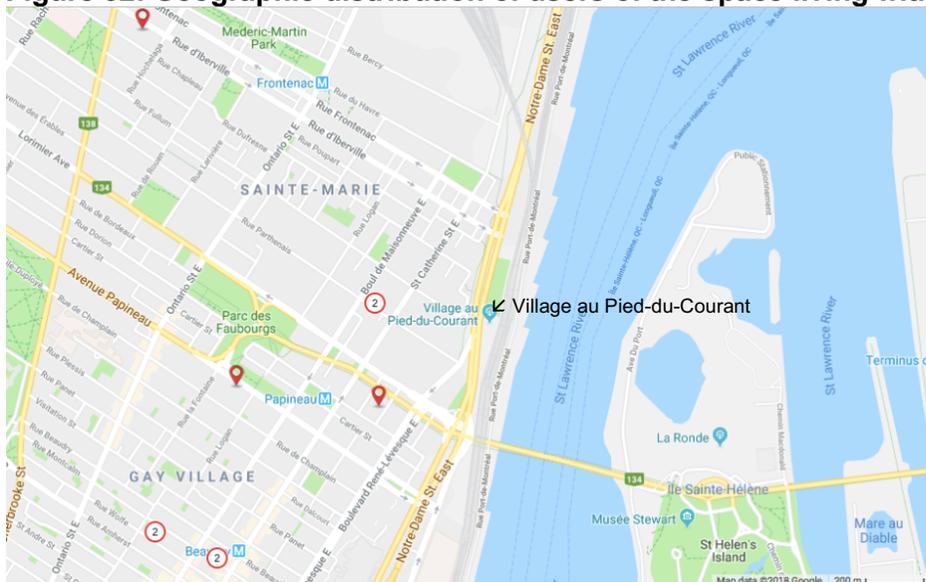
Source: K. Travers, modified from Google Maps

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[17] Citation edited for legibility, original text reads: More ppl this year, people 20-30 use, almost 90% from other neighbourhoods. More locally known, but not much yet.

5.2.2 Usage and Sociability

Now that we understand who is using the public place, the Village au Pied-du-Courant, we are interested in understanding how they are using it. We wanted to understand the sociability of the space, through interactions between different people, noting whether people are engaged in individual activities, such as reading or looking at their phones, or whether they were engaged with other people, talking, playing or dancing, for example. Since the place offers programming that varies slightly from one week to the next, we were curious about whether people participated in the programmed activities or whether they engaged with the continuous offerings of the place. To do this, we asked users how they heard about the Village au Pied-du-Courant in the first place and what motivated them to go, in the micro-surveys. We also observed what people were doing in the place on different days and at different times of day.

We asked users of the place how they heard about it during the micro-surveys, and the most frequently cited response, affirmed by 14 men, 16 women and 1 person who did not disclose their gender, was that their friends told them about it (see Table 5.6 below). Social media posts came up next (6 men and 13 women), with promotions for a specific event (1 man, 1 woman) and the internet more generally (1 woman) mentioned as well. It is interesting to note that a number of people suggested that their discovery of the Village au Pied-du-Courant was spontaneous, due to their walking (1 woman) or biking by (1 woman), or, as one man said, he first heard about the place "a few minutes ago". Seven people mentioned living in the neighbourhood (3 men, 3 women, and 1 person who did not disclose their gender). One man, 55+ who participated in the placemaking process noted that the public place "now (has a) great positive reputation".

Table 5.6: How people heard about the Village au Pied-du-Courant
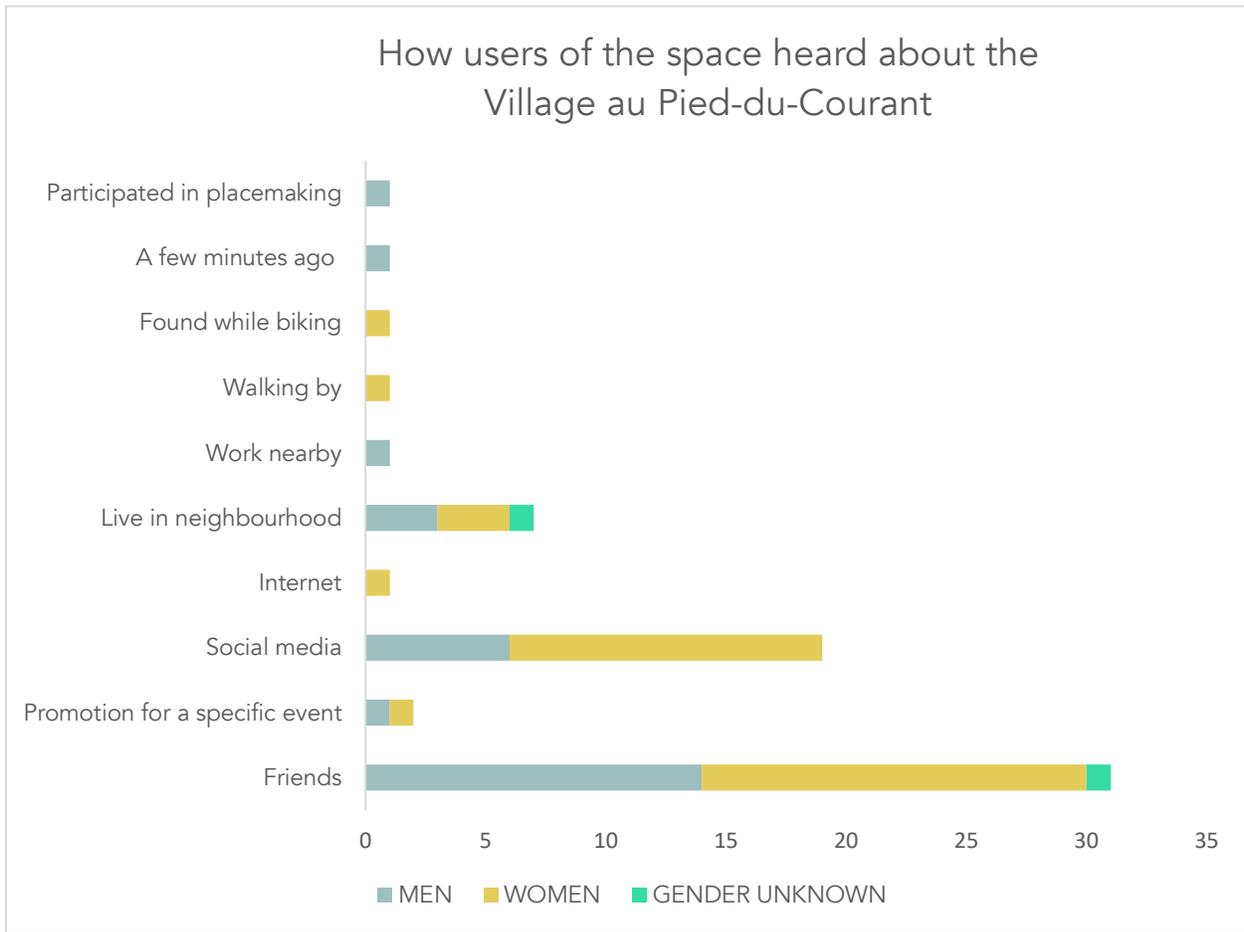
Source: K. Travers

With an understanding of how people heard about the Village au Pied-du-Courant, we sought to understand their motivation, or reason for going to the place. The survey question asked them to respond, thinking of the present day, not the first time they went, and allowed for multiple responses for each respondent. In total, survey respondents provided 125 reasons for going to the Village au Pied-du-Courant that day (see Table 5.7 below). For 25 people, one of the reasons for going was to check it out for the first time. Several mentioned going for social reasons, including meeting friends (16 people) or to hang out, loiter, which was the most cited reason, named twice as much by women (20) as men (10). Other popular responses referred to the inherent properties of the place, namely being close to the water (9 women, 8 men, and 1 person whose gender is unknown), and a further 10 women, 8 men and 2 people whose gender is unknown were motivated to go to the place to enjoy the view. Finally, more than twice the number of women (8) than men (3), and one person who did not disclose their gender, stated that they were motivated to

participate in an activity, including one man who wrote in a more specific answer, to "play pétanque". It is interesting to note that there was a concentration of people (6) who said that they were motivated to go to the place to participate in an activity on September 9th 2017. This was a themed day celebrating Latino culture, featuring music, dance and food. The facebook posting to advertise the event on the Village au Pied-du-Courant's page read "*C'est aujourd'hui ! Venez faire la fiesta tropicale avec nous -on a des sandwichs cubano, de la poutine Inca et du cachapa pour vous réchauffer le cœur et l'estomac, un cours de danse colombienne + de la musique offerte par Ramon Chicharron et Tumbao pour vous faire danser toute la soirée!*"[18]

Table 5.7: Reasons for going to the Village au Pied-du-Courant today
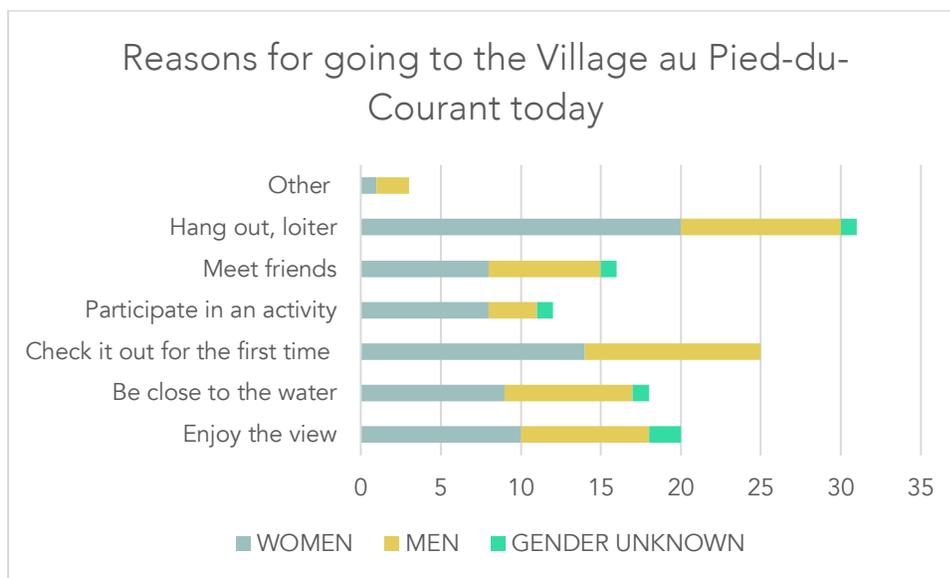
Source: K. Travers

Our observations support the responses given during the surveys. During each observation session we noted people hanging out, not seeming to be particularly engaged in one activity, nor in a rush. People were consistently sitting or standing in small groups or with their romantic partners, making conversation, sharing laughs. They were mostly just hanging out. There were almost always people in the pétanque area as well, playing with their groups of friends, some even bringing their own equipment (see Figure 33). There were a few people who were hanging out by themselves, and a few bigger groups of five to ten people, including large families during the cultural days, but more often than not, people were in small groups of two to three. We also noticed that the DJs frequently had a few friends with them who would be hanging out together in the

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[18] Featured on the official Facebook page of the Village au Pied-du-Courant on 9 September 2017, see: https://fr-ca.facebook.com/PiedDuCourant/, accessed on 18 December 2018.

space behind the DJ booth that was reserved - this was the case in both the daytime and evening time events.

Figure 33 : Pétanque courts at the Village au Pied-du-Courant

Image source: K. Travers

People waiting in the lines for food or at the bar also regularly chatted with the other people in line as they waited. Parents with children playing in the kids' area were also seen chatting with one another as their kids befriended each other and shared toys. On Sunday evening (13 August 2017), a train drove by on the tracks parallel to the site and blew its horn. This startled the crowd at the Village au Pied-du-Courant, prompting people to exchange looks with one another and laugh at this shared experience. People were consistently seen engaging in solitary activities as well, such as playing on their phones, taking photographs including selfies or reading books. There were more solitary activities observed earlier in the day than at night. There are some spaces that are conducive to solitary activities, such as the library room or the exhibit space (see Figure 34). During one Thursday observation session, a man was urged to keep moving through the site by

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his young son when he was spending too much time immersed in an architecture magazine in the library space. On a Saturday, one man lay down and placed his hat over his face to take a nap. Another man sat at a table by himself with a book and a pack of cigarettes, not appearing to be waiting for anyone nor to be in a rush. While we did note two women who were lying down with their eyes closed and sun in their face, but they were speaking together often, meaning that the activity was not in fact, solitary. Overall, however, it was observed that with few exceptions such as those mentioned above - none of them women - people who were alone were overwhelmingly on their phones (see Figure 35).

Figure 34: Free use Library at the Village au Pied-du-Courant

Image source: K. Travers

Children on the site are quick to find a place for them, with the younger children staying closer to the 'adventure zone', (see Figure 36) and the older ones closer to the stage on the big blue balls. On the weekend observation sessions on Saturday and Sunday, there were specific activities organised for children, specifically flag making and piñata making workshops. The children, both girls and boys, but majority girls, participating in the workshops were older than the children in the adventure zone area, appearing to be between 6-10 years old, in spite of the activities being open to all children. On one Saturday afternoon, a group of between four to six children appearing to be between 5-9 years old, mostly boys, were running around together all over the basketball court which was otherwise unoccupied. With the number of people who visit the Village au Pied-du-Courant on a given day, this is one of the few areas that is sparsely occupied when people are not playing basketball, making it open for free play and use by children.

Figure 35: People on their phones

Image source: K. Travers

Figure 36 : Adventure zone for children at the Village au Pied-du-Courant

Image source: K. Travers

During the Wednesday night fireworks (26 July 2017), we noted that people were quick to claim a place to sit, as many people arrived hours before the fireworks but stayed through the fireworks. This meant that strangers gradually began asking one another to share tables, which often evolved

into shared laughs. The researcher was also brought into such spontaneous exchanges with strangers. On Wednesday night, every sitting space was occupied. During the Haitian celebration, a dance troop came out to perform. People lined the upstairs area to look down and observe, and the space around the DJ booth and front sandy areas was packed with onlookers. Many people in the crowd sang the words to the popular Haitian music and once the performance was finished, the crowd did not hesitate to join the dancers on the makeshift sandy dancefloor into what impulsively became a big dance party. People were seen making eye contact with people in other groups to smile, sing and dance together, appearing to be reveling in the shared knowledge and love of the music and culture. People who did not seem to know the words or the moves were welcomed into this space as well, while others' wave to people they know across the dancefloor. This feeling carried on outside of the Village au Pied-du-Courant. As the researcher walked to the metro with people leaving the site, they would laugh and start dancing as they waiting for the light to change, inviting the researcher and everyone else stopped at the same place to join in.

In spite of the variety of programmed and free activities, the main activity consistently seen throughout the observations at the Village au Pied-du-Courant is drinking alcoholic beverages. This is done while participating in the programmed activities and while just hanging out. While we did not see may people who appeared to be overly intoxicated, with few exceptions particularly on the night of the fireworks, there was a regular stream of people going to the bar to buy drinks. This was true for parents with small children as well.

5.2.3 Temporal Patterns

Now that we understand who uses the site and how, we were curious to explore the temporal dimension. That is, when do people go to the Village au Pied-du-Courant, and does the profile of people change from one day or time of day to the next. We also wanted to know how often people went, long people spent on site, what times people went, and how the usage or profile of people may change in relation to the day and time of day.

During the microsurvey, we asked users of the site how often they went to the Village au Pied-du-Courant. We were surprised to find that for the majority of respondents, it was their first visit to the place (21 women, 15 men). Only one man reported having gone more than 10 times in the current season, with the majority indicating going once or a few times a year, with the more regular frequency being monthly (8 women, 6 men, 1 gender unknown) (see Table 5.8 below).

Table 5.8: Frequency that people visit the Village au Pied-du-Courant
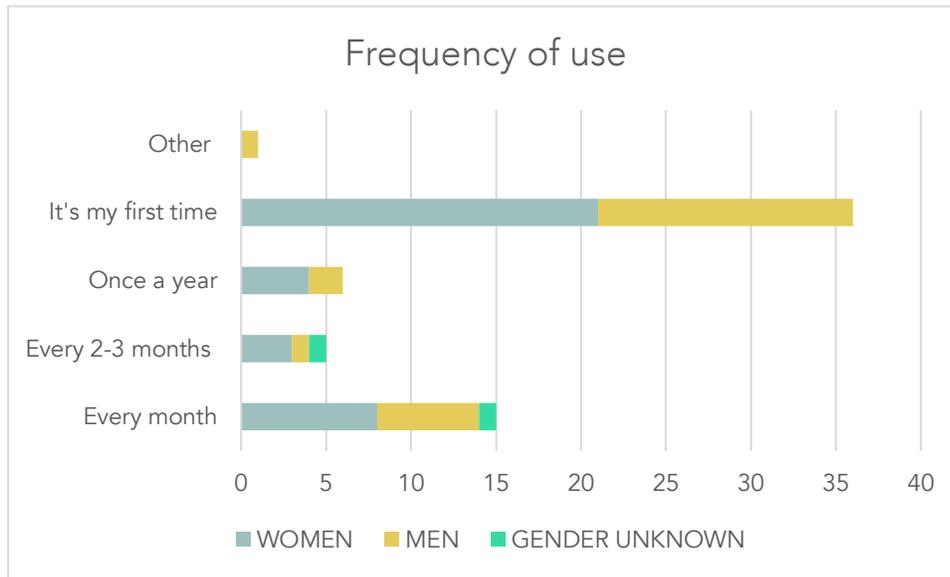
Source: K. Travers

As our observations took place over different days of the week and at different times, for up to a few hours at a time, we noted some patterns of use. The Village au Pied-du-Courant is not open on all days and at all times. It opens exceptionally on Wednesdays as of 5pm when there are fireworks across the water at LaRonde, Thursdays and Fridays as of 5pm, and Saturday and Sunday as of 3pm. On Thursday and Sunday, it closes at 11pm, and Friday and Saturday it closes at midnight. Since the site only opens at 5pm on weekdays, when many people finish work, it is logical that our observations showed that there were few people on the site right at 5pm, with numbers gradually increasing until about 8pm, when there was more off an ebb and flow of people moving in and moving out.

The exception to this pattern is Wednesday nights, when people came with the intention of staying for the fireworks show. Only parents with children left before the end of the fireworks show. The remaining crowds filed out quickly as the fireworks finished, while a few people walked through the site picking up remaining plastic cups and claiming the refunds on the deposits left on the cups. People leaving the site join the crowds of people who had set up their own spaces outside of the Village au Pied-du-Courant to watch the fireworks. The weekly event draws such a crowd that all adjacent streets are closed to traffic for the duration of the fireworks. We observed some people expressing their frustration with not being able to drive home afterwards as a result.

We observed that when the space was open during the day, there were always children on site as well, including into the early evening hours. On the night of the fireworks, the younger children left before the fireworks, while some older children and teenagers stayed to watch.

The busiest day of the week appeared to be Saturday, particularly when cultural programming attracted people to the place. Sundays were much quieter, with a constant presence of people on the site, but less programming, quieter music and less crowds, when compared to the Saturday. On both weekend days, parents with young children came early on, parking their strollers near picnic tables by the sandy area where the children play, casually claiming their space for the next few hours. They often brought out snacks and juice boxes for the children and stayed for a few hours. We even saw parents holding the flags their kids had made during the mid-afternoon programmed activity in the evening hours, thus revealing how long they had stayed on site.

During the observations on Saturday August 5th, 2017 we observed a pattern of people passing through the space much more quickly than other days. People would arrive, walk through the space, maybe stop and sit to have a drink and take some photographs before leaving. Others still would enter, walk through the space while taking photographs of interesting elements or sights, before exiting and continuing on with their day. This transient behaviour, making the during of their time on site approximately 30-45 minutes, was not observed as much on any other day. For the most part, people who went to the Village au Pied-du-Courant stopped and stayed for over an hour at least, with most staying closer to two to three hours. While we did note that people would also come and check out the site on Sundays without staying too long, their patterns were slower, as they took in the different spaces, programmed activities and sights. These people took their time, averaging one to one and a half hours to make their way through the place. The other difference between Saturday and Sundays was the time that people left. As described earlier, the place becomes an outdoor party, with music and dancing. The crowd on Saturday stays into the evening to enjoy these activities, while the Sunday crowd is much quieter, allowing there to be yoga on the beach in the early evening, and many visitors otherwise leaving by about 6:30-7:00pm.

5.3 Spatial Dimensions

As we recorded our observations described earlier, many people stay on site for at least one hour, often claiming a spot as their own for a period of time. We are interested in documenting the

geography of usage of the Village au Pied-du-Courant. Specifically, we were curious about the patterns of the flow and the spatial occupation of the site. Through our observations, we recorded what areas were appropriated first and by whom. We observed patterns of use of different spaces by different groups of people, and we also noticed a pattern of what spaces fill up first, second, and so on until people are sharing tables and standing to fill in additional space.

5.3.1 The Geography of Usage

The Village au Pied-du-Courant is located at the southern tip of the Sainte-Marie borough at the foot of the Jacques Cartier bridge. While there is a park bordering the site to the East, there are no businesses such as cafés, banks or markets that border it, nor are there residences facing the site. This has the consequence of making the site a destination. The primary entrance to the place is from the intersection at de Lorimier and Notre Dame Est streets. The vast majority of people both arrive and leave from this entrance. It is possible to exit the place from the back, where bike parking is made available on site. The back exit opens into the Parc Bellerive, a public park that appears to be lacking in amenities and where people are seldom observed hanging out (see Figure 37).

Figure 37: Sortie sign and bike parking at eastern exit of the Village au Pied-du-Courant

Image source: K. Travers

Throughout the observations, we noticed a frequent pattern emerge - people would arrive on the site in small groups and walk throughout the site, stopping to take in the view and snap a few photographs. Once they had completed their self-directed site tour, they would find a place to sit and grab a drink or play a game.

The top floor spaces, namely the lookout space and the upstairs seating area, were largely transient on non-firework days. That is, while some people sat to spend some time, typically in groups of three to four, especially on Saturday and Sunday, most people went up, walked around, took some photos and moved on. The vantage points from the elevated spaces made for great and interesting people watching, so it was common for people to linger for a few additional moments, leaning side-by-side on the railings, silently watching the ebb and flow of people below. For example, the space was filled with onlookers during the Haitian dance show.

A longer observation session on Friday evening (5:15 - 8:00pm) allowed us to note a pattern of spatial appropriation of seating areas. Consistent with our observations on the weekends, parents and their children take the picnic tables near the sandy area. People without children are first drawn to the three covered seats on the beach near the bars and across from the DJ area. The next area that fills up, particularly for couples, is the hammock area in the back, which is more private and feel less on display than many of the other seating areas. The cabanas fill up with friends, usually at least three people, but some couples or groups of two are also seen. The remaining tables on the ground floor then fill up, with people sharing tables with people they do not know. Once these seats fill up, the tables on the second level overlooking the sandy area begin to be occupied, sparsely at first and then filling in more densely, following a pattern similar to how elevators fill up. People then begin to stand in groups and fill in the sandy areas in front of the DJ booth. People also line the fenced area closest to the water, stopping to chat and look out at the water for several minutes, some staying in that space as long as an hour.

Figure 38: Panoramic view of the Village au Pied-du-Courant
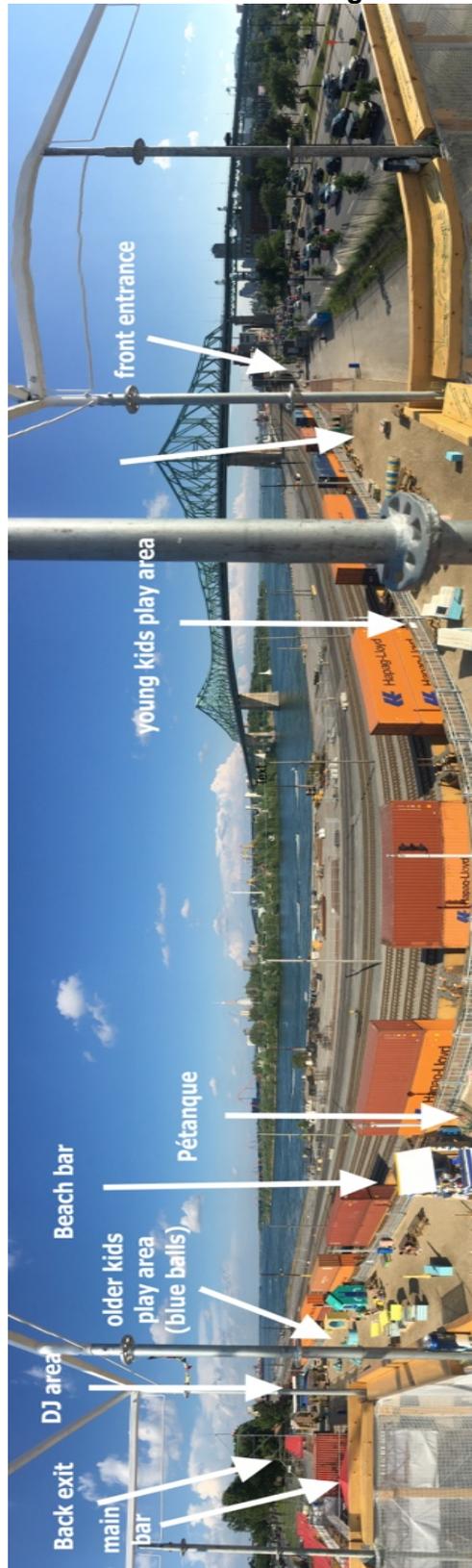
Image source: K. Travers

It was fascinating to observe a difference in group composition in the different areas of the site. Smaller groups occupied the cabana seating first, while larger groups went right to the beach area. Younger children, appearing to be under the age of five, stayed in the 'adventure area' near the entrance, while older children, appearing to be between six and twelve years old, clustered closer to the front sandy area where they could easily play on the big blue balls in sand closer to the stage. This meant that the picnic table area was mostly used by families, due presumably to their location on the sandy beach area destined for young children, which was consistent across the different days of our observations. Romantic couples sought out the more intimate spaces, namely the hammocks, swings, and bean bags chairs, where they could cuddle and kiss without being on display. Some areas remain underused, such as the space in the front between the entrance and the younger kids' play area, and the basketball court, where we saw a group of teens playing basketball one Saturday and a group of young kids running through it another day, but it remained otherwise empty.

Lastly, it was interesting to note that a number of people brought their own things to appropriate their space. For example, people brought lawn chairs or blankets and set them up on the beach. Parents brought buckets and sand toys for their children. People brought their own pétanque sets to play on the field. On the other end of the sandy area, larger groups bring tables together to accommodate their group size, with some people standing around the tables and others' sitting down. The largest groups size we observed were about 12 people.

A final note on the observed geography of usage that is important to mention was seen on the night of the fireworks. As we approached the Village au Pied-du-Courant, we noted that the length of the sidewalk on the south border of Notre Dame Est was full of lawn chairs, coolers, and small tables and wagons that people had placed to claim their spots for the fireworks. These were up to the entrance of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, making a marked distinction between the public space outside of the Village and the public place inside the perimeter. There was an observable difference in the profile of the people on the outside perimeter as well. They were much older, in their 40s-50s, dressed differently from the people in the site, in more casual t-shirts and jeans or shorts, and brought their own food and drink. They also do not appear to be as welcoming. Several have cordoned off their own areas, and more than one had a sign warning people to stay away and stay out. They did not turn to make eye contact or smile at the people entering the Village au Pied-du-Courant, but rather stuck to themselves and their own groups. It was a stark contrast from the typical experience of going to the place on any other day, and would be interesting to investigate further.

Concluding thoughts

The public place, the Village au Pied-du-Courant, sits at the foot of the Jacques Cartier bridge in the Sainte Marie neighbourhood of Montréal. Our observations relied on photography to supplement our notes, and microsurverys allowed us to capture the experience of the use of the public place by the people who frequented it.

We noted that the site, itself quite photogenic and ludic, is well-used most days, with a gender balance consistently observed. In terms of gender inclusion, we observed and heard much positive feedback from women, noting that they liked the atmosphere and design of the space. More women than men also said that they went to the Village au Pied-du-Courant for a particular activity, which highlights the importance of programming the site as well as design. Women expressed the desire to see the site open more often, with increased access at off-hours or all year round. We did note that there was a relative lack of diversity of users. For example, most people across genders appeared to be in their 20s and 30s. The women who responded to our survey were particularly educated as well, with most having at least a bachelor's and a number also having a masters degree, much more than their male counterparts. Finally, we noted that few people from the neighbouring Sainte-Marie community seem to come to the Village. In fact, many come just shy of crossing the boundary to the site on fireworks nights, preferring to stay just outside the perimeter.

There have been efforts to address some of these diversity gaps to make the site inclusive of different people, including different age groups, by developing an adventure zone for children or building a wooden boardwalk that allows people with limited mobility and wheelchair users to access the site. The many different seating options offer the possibility of comfort for different users seeking different things, be it solitude, time with a lover, a game of pétanque with a group of friends or a view of the fireworks. Unfortunately, the site is limited in terms of its ability to offer comfort against the elements, with little shelter from the rain, wind or sun. While there are also diverse activities offered on site at different times of day, which also strive to cater to different audiences, it is the music and the bar that continues to be the consistent main feature of the site.

Finally, the limited hours of the site, largely centred on weekend and nights where people are likely to consume music and drinks, limits the potential access to the site for some.

In general, the users of the site appreciated it, noting the positive appreciation of the atmosphere and design elements more specifically. People felt that the site served diverse people and expressed their wish for it to be open longer and year-round. People often heard about it through friends, and went to simply hang out on site. Our surveys revealed, however, that those who go to and frequent the site often come from other areas of the city or even from further away, and are not the residents living adjacent to the site itself. Relatedly, the majority of the people surveys shared that it was their first time visiting the site. In spite of this, there is a consistent observable geography of the use of the site, and patterns of site use, indicating that the site itself is intuitively legible. In all, the use of bright colors, different spaces, interactive modules and music creates a fun atmosphere that stands out as the key positive feature of the site.

CHAPTER 6 - THE VILLAGE AU PIED-DU-COURANT AN EXAMPLE OF GENDER INCLUSIVE PLACEMAKING

This research sought to explore an understudied topic - the inclusion, or lack thereof, of women in placemaking processes and the places they produce. The nature of the study itself was exploratory, seeking to gain insight into a topic that has not been studied extensively. To this end, we drew from a variety of different methods to generate data on the topic, anchoring the research in a case study of a placemaking site in Montréal, the Village au Pied-du-Courant. A number of research tools were used, including key informant interviews, documentary analysis, site observations, semi-directive interviews, photography and micro surveys to generate the data necessary to begin to explore to this complex urban phenomenon.

Specifically, the research was composed of two segments, the first being key informant interviews with international placemaking experts and practitioners and documentary analysis of existing work on related issues to gain broader insight into the topics as they are understood and practiced in cities around the world. The second segment, data collection from the field, involved semi-directive interviews with representatives from the organisations directly involved in the development of the Village au Pied-du-Courant (*Pépinière espace collectif, AmiEs du Courant* and *Association du design urbain du Québec,* along with *Conscience Urbaine* who participated in the earlier editions and in transforming the neighbouring space), site observations were supplemented with photography to note social use of space, micro surveys with users of the space, and semi-directive interviews with representatives of community organisations working in the neighbourhood, particularly those working with diverse populations (ex. youth, women). The information was then compiled and analysed against a predetermined set of dimensions that served to provide key insight into how factors of inclusion and exclusion, particularly as they relate to gender, were evident during the placemaking process itself and in the subsequent use of the place that was developed.

The research findings were presented in three distinct chapters, each containing distinctive but complementary information required to respond to our research question. More specifically, in Chapter 3, we drew from the key informant interviews to better understand how placemaking thinkers and practitioners define, understand and practice placemaking in cities around the world. We asked them to consider how, in their experience, placemaking could be considered to be gender inclusive and responsive in its processes and places, if applicable. This was done to fill a

current knowledge gap around gender and placemaking and about a practice that otherwise lacks uniformity and a shared understanding of what it implies. In Chapter 4, we relied on interviews with representatives of local organisations based in Sainte-Marie, the neighbourhood where our case study was based. Sainte-Marie is an historically vulnerable neighbourhood that has been the subject to many consultations in recent years, as it is seen as a strategic site for real estate development. The neighbourhood is also host to a number of active and activist citizen groups, representing diverse people in the community. From these interviews we gained insight into how local people view and experience the changes to their neighbourhood, particularly as they relate to the many consultations and other opportunities for citizen participation, and about how they use public spaces. The second part of Chapter 4 presented the results from the interviews with people directly involved in conceiving of, developing, and managing the Village au Pied-du-Courant placemaking project. These interviews provided us with information about opportunities for participating in the various phases of the placemaking process, about how local residents are considered and included and about gender considerations. In addition, documentary analysis supported these interviewees and helped to paint a more complete picture of the history of the evolution of the Village au Pied-du-Courant and the way the information about the site is communicated. Finally, in Chapter 5, we shared our research findings from the microsurveys and site observations to describe the structure, organisation and design of the site itself. In addition, we shared information about the social use of space, noting who was on site, during what hours, and what were they doing.

Finally, in this chapter the information gathered from the review of the literature as well as from the various data collection tools will be brought together to offer a response to our research question, "In what ways is placemaking an inclusive process of producing and using urban public space, especially for women?". As some time had passed between the development of the literature review and the completion of the data collection and analysis, we consulted additional and new literature to support our conclusions. We will begin with an exploration of gender dynamics of placemaking. We will offer our reflections on what we have learned about women in public space in this case study. We will also expose some important elements related to gender inclusion and exclusion as they are present in the placemaking of the Village au Pied-du-Ccourant and more broadly in urban planning and in society. We will move on to offer our reflections on one of the central components of our research question, placemaking. This elusive term appears to lack consensus in both the literature and in practice in Montréal but also around the world. With diverse and divergent catch-all definitions, one can conclude that a broad spectrum of urban

interventions are in fact placemaking, if we concede that the value-based language used in more rhetoric than fact, and that "community" is also a flexible definition that can mean, as if does with the Village, a community of young designers, rather than the surrounding residents. In spite of these contradictions, placemaking is an increasing trend with its own challenges, including around community mobilization and how to be meaningfully inclusive of different groups of people. Finally, we argue that placemaking produces a new kind of public place, with its own distinctions. The process transforms a space into a place that is recognizable and, in the case of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, could even be described as emblematic. The Village is a place for young creative types to gather, where they feel they are considered and reflected in the design and programming of the site, and where attachment can be formed. Finally, to conclude the chapter we offer some reflections on the future of placemaking, the Sainte-Marie neighbourhood, and the Village au Pied-du-Courant more specifically.

6.1 Women and Power Dynamics in Placemaking

Returning now to a central element of our research question, we will present our findings about the elements of inclusion and exclusion in the placemaking process, particularly as they relate to gender. To begin, let us recall that there was an apparent consensus among our key informants that placemaking has the potential to overcome the gender gaps in traditional urban planning. Some argued that this was particularly true when it came to the participatory processes associated with placemaking (KII1AU 2017 ; KII3BR 2017). However, as we found in the review of the literature, while there is a big emphasis on the process of placemaking (Cities for People 2016 ; Zimmermann 2016), there was a lack of available research on the process itself, with almost nothing that critically assessed the process from a diversity and inclusion perspective (Zimmermann 2016).

It does appear that there is increasing interest in the topic of gender and placemaking. For example, during the inaugural European Placemaking Conference in 2018, the theme of gender inclusion in placemaking was addressed. Participants highlighted the importance of working to address the gender gap in perception of safety through their work and to ensure that processes were participatory and that intersectionality was used to leave no one behind (Kneeshaw 2019). During the week, a Swedish based architecture firm shared that working with girls on public space design influenced their practice, teaching them to "work collaboratively, not competitively", and

creating an environment where "the teenage girls become the experts, the professionals had their assumptions challenged and the co-design methods were improved as a result" (Kneeshaw 2019).

La Pépinière boasts that "*le Village au Pied-du-Courant est un projet collaboratif né du désir citoyen de s'approprier un site sous-utilisé*" (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e, 3). When we dig a bit more, however, we see that the people who were involved in this change process were rather homogenous in their composition, and that when La Pépinière speaks of 'community', is it referring to a community of creatives, designers, architects and young people "*comme nous*" (PDC1Fabrice 2018). The meaning that is instilled in the site by these people, helps to communicate who the place is for (users) what people can do there (uses). In this way, the place can communicate a shared identity (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014) (Breux et Bedard 2013), which is particularly strong among people who are active in developing it (Silva 2016). Intentionally or not, the meaning instilled reflects those who instill it, and this can be a cause of exclusion.

6.1.1 Women and Public Space

The homogenous creative class was indeed the community of people involved in creating the Village au Pied-du-Courant. Let us consider the ways that the Village, the public place produced, is inclusive or exclusive, thinking not only in terms of gender but also other factors, including age, ability, race and class. When we consider gender by itself, it appears that the gender gap was not an issue, as we noted high levels of participation of women in the design, programming and management of the site. In addition, we observed a gender balance on the site during our observations, and more of our survey respondents identified as women than men (36 women, 27 men, and one person who not disclose their gender).

We did note, during our observations, that the site itself was favourable in terms of the security and comfort provided, elements which are essential to how women use and feel in urban public space. A research study in China which compared different back alleys to assess gender differences in perceived sense of safety found that alleys where vegetation was introduced and which were transformed into activated public spaces which invited users to the place, termed 'Urban Function & Vegetation intervention scenes' by the researchers. The study found that "both men and women reported positive levels of perceived safety for the majority of scenes, ranging from slightly positive to highly positive" and that there was no significant gender gap in perceived safety for these types of urban environments (Jiang et al. 2017, 126).

The presence of a security guard at the entrance of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, the availability of different seating options and activities, and even the fact that the sand is raked daily show that the space is invested in and well-maintained, elements that are associated with sense of safety (Whitzman et al. 2013). We noted a consistent presence of women on the site, and noted small behaviours, such as sitting or lying down with their eyes closed, that we believe indicate a level of sense of safety and comfort in the site, which necessarily includes comfort with the other users of the site. In fact, while the events-based programming creates an environment favorable to alcohol consumption, we witnessed very few cases of public inebriation.

One interviewee noted her preference for working with women landscape architects, arguing that their insights from their daily lived experiences were translated into inclusive design elements. For example, they may be more aware about how to design people with strollers, if they have experienced frustration in pushing a stroller in poorly designed spaces. They consider elements like dark corners which are often used by men to urinate but which communicate fear to women. They consider the quality of lighting, noting their past experiences of feeling unsafe in dark areas. With the sum of these experiences in mind, having women in a design team and consulting women as part of the conceptualisation is key, "*ça aide beaucoup*" (PDC4Stephanie 2018).

When we consider the physical accessibility of the site, as we noted in Chapter 5, our observations saw that the site was largely accessible to people who use wheelchairs to move through the city, and we did observe wheelchair users on the site. In fact, one interviewee shared how *" un groupe de concertation en accessibilité universelle nous avait salué l'an passé"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018). The sand itself is not accessible, but the wooden boardwalk that runs from one end of the site to the next allows people who use wheelchairs to move through the site and makes it easier for people with strollers as well. In fact, in spite of the apparent lack of consideration of the needs of families, as expressed to the person charged with community mobilization (PDC5Rania 2018), children were consistently observed on the site. Additionally, men who responded to the micro survey named 'families' the most in response to the question 'who is this place for', while the answer given by most women was 'everyone'.

Not everyone felt that the site was for everyone. In fact, the inclusivity professed by La Pépinière about the Village au Pied-du-Courant triggered some frustrations among interviewees, " *ça m'a écœuré parce que je pense que ce n'est pas ma définition d'un projet inclusif*" (PDC4Stephanie 2018). When we consider other factors, such as age, race and ethnocultural background, and class, we see more exclusions than with gender alone. The idea that the village by largely for

young people emerged regularly in the interviews (PDC5Rania 2018 ; PDC4Stephanie 2018 ; PDC6Charles 2018 ; QSTM2Ginette 2018). An older woman who was interviewed and another woman over 55 who responded to the survey shared that they felt that the site was not for them due to their age (QSTM2Ginette 2018). This was echoed by another interviewee, himself an older man, who said that it was a place for young people, and that this became more apparent the later it got (PDC6Charles 2018). In terms of race and ethnocultural background, we are not able to ascertain the specific identity groups of the users of the place, however one person working at the Village noted that the people who visit the site were largely white (PDC5Rania 2018). Further, our observations noted a lack of observable diversity on the site, with marked exceptions on the cultural days celebrating Mexican culture and Haitian culture, where we observed different languages spoken (Spanish and Haitian), people wearing traditional dress, and people knowing the words and dance moves to accompany the music of the day. One interviewee pushed back on the cultural days, arguing that they were being fetishized and reduced to consumerism, selling food and drink from the culture as though that were all there was (PDC5Rania 2018). Finally, we already noted the class exclusion on the site. Even though entrance is free, it is expensive to consume food and drink on site, even considering non-alcoholic options. There are therefore a number of forms of exclusion that are manifest at the Village au Pied-du-Courant, and, and a few people noted, the inequality and exclusion experienced outside of the Village is rooted in social inequality that is then brought into the site of the Village too.

Let us recall the notions that when people transform a space, they transform the meaning of that space (Breux et Bedard 2013), and that the people who use the space also produce the meaning of the space (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014). With this in mind, it stands that a diverse and inclusive space should be diverse and inclusive in terms of who participates in giving it meaning, both by participating in its transformation, but also in the spatial use and appropriation. When people are not meaningfully included, they can experience exclusion. This has been the case for women with much urban planning and development over the years (Sassen 2015), with women and people from minority groups notably underrepresented in producing public spaces (Leslie et Catungal 2012). This results in gender gaps in public spaces, and, as Leslie et Catungal (2012) note, these exclusions are reproduced by the participation of the creative class in developing public space, as they tend to be homogenous, which reproduces gender, racial and class inequalities.

6.1.2 Gender Exclusion and Inclusion

Our interviews with the Montréal-based organisations involved in placemaking the Village au Pied-du-Courant supported what the key informants suggested - that placemaking process could potentially overcome the gender gap in planning (PDC2AnneSophie 2018 ; PDC3Robert 2018), with one person noting, "*le placemaking est le fait des femmes*" (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). So when we consider the leadership of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, we do note that the two founders are men, but the majority of the staff members are women, and as one interviewee noted, it was difficult to recruit men (PDC1Fabrice 2018). Further, when we think of the Director of the site, the person in charge of public relations and community mobilization, and the person in charge of the building and tear down of the site, all of the positions of authority were occupied by young women (PDC2AnneSophie 2018 ; PDC1Fabrice 2018 ; PDC5Rania 2018). As one person exclaimed regarding gender inclusion, "*pour moi, le Village est un superbe exemple*!" (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). Additionally, it appears that the majority of the designers whose work was featured in the 2017 edition of the Village au Pied-du-Courant were women (25 vs 20) (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017c).

So while it appears that unlike the typical profile of a traditional urban planner, "the young, professional, white, male" (Gardner et Begault 2019, n.p.), which resulted in creating what Sassen (2015) refers to as the "urban planning gender gap", placemaking has managed to draw a majority of women, in many cases, to build and develop public spaces in cities around the world (KII1AU 2017 ; KII4NL 2018 ; KII2CA 2017). However, if we consider an intersectional lens about the process of placemaking the Village au Pied-du-Courant, we note that while women are active, present, and in positions of power and influence, they are not representative of the broader diversity of the neighbourhood they are in, as they are by and large, young, relatively well-off, education (often with a background in design, architecture and planning) (PDC2AnneSophie 2018), and white (PDC5Rania 2018).

In short, our placemaking leaders and decision-makers are male at the top, with a high number of women in consequent positions, but the homogeneity in terms of a rather uniform profile of participants of similar age, backgrounds, education profile and socioeconomic backgrounds fails to accurately represent the diversity of the Sainte Marie neighbourhood. What is does reflect, however, is the profile of designers. Thus, if we consider that this is a project by and for designers, and many interviewees mentioned (PDC3Robert 2018 ; PDC5Rania 2018 ; PDC2AnneSophie 2018 ; PDC4Stephanie 2018), then we can consider that the project is indeed by and for a community that resembles it. In fact, that social media continues to dominate as the method of communication about possibilities of participation and about the programming and events on site

at the Village au Pied-du-Courant (PDC1Fabrice 2018), supports an insular community of people who know about and engage with both the process and the site itself, a challenge that was also noted in the literature (Douay et Prévot 2016). Finally, the fact that the social media following stemmed from the existing members and followers of the ADUQ ensured that the information reached the group of designers and architects in that network first, consequently supporting that the place was developed by and for designers and the creative community (PDC1Fabrice 2018).

Finally, when we consider that gender gaps in planning have typically resulted from a lack of women working as architects, engineers and designers, then we should explore further whether there is an exponential increase in the number of women working in these areas, or whether the kind of work associated with the process of placemaking is what explains that the apparent gender gap is not a problem for placemaking, and in fact that a reverse gender gap, with less men and more women participating, may be the case, as was suggested during the data collection (PDC1Fabrice 2018 ; KII1AU 2017).

Even if we consider that there is a gender balance, or even a higher number of women participating in placemaking initiatives - including the Village au Pied-du-Courant - it does not mean that they have the knowledge and skills to consciously address the gender gap in their designs or the places they produce, never mind the ability to address the underlying root causes that create and maintain gender inequality. In fact, it has been argued that "[gender] inequality is spatially reinforced by design, from our systems all the way down to individual public spaces" (Gardner et Begault 2019, n.p.). This is captured by one author who maintains that "designers' work is based on intuition and practical experience, not on criminology theory or literature on gender and safety" (Jiang et al. 2017, 118). This reflection was also shared by an interviewee who noted, *"je ne pense pas que c'est instinctif qu'on va parler du sentiment de sécurité, de l'accessibilité, (...) quand on parle de design, il y a encore énormément à faire sur l'inclusion d'une femme puis l'accessibilité universelle"* (PDC4Stephanie 2018). She goes on to suggest a few reasons why we continue to build exclusion into our public spaces, pointing to the high costs of making spaces universally accessible and suggesting that including inclusive came as the cost of the beauty esthetic of the project or of the creativity of the designer, remarking that in doing so, *"tu m'enlèves la jouissance comme designer"* (PDC4Stephanie 2018).

Either way, social norms related to gender shape who public space is designed for and how it is used, and permeates even seemingly progressive sites, including the Village au Pied-du-Courant. One author asserts that "urban spaces are gendered (…) [and] the built environment is structured

according to gendered understandings of space, particularly in relation to "public" and "private" spheres" (Jiang et al. 2017, 118). For one interviewee this meant that women's relation to public space was impacted by her identity as a woman, and by the social norms associated with her gender, including parenting. She shared that while she and her partner consider themselves to be progressive and are both professionals, the default is that she is the one to assume the majority of the burden of care for the children, which includes bringing them to parks and other public spaces (PDC4Stephanie 2018). As she explains it, "*j'essaye de défaire les stéréotypes mais on a nos habitudes, c'est ancré et ce n'est pas juste du mal*" *(PDC4Stephanie 2018)*. It is not stereotyping alone that causes exclusion, rather it is the lack of an intersectional perspective that considers the lifecycle throughout the lifecycle of a project that can cause exclusion. For example, the interviewee also highlighted how the opening hours of the Village do not correspond to the hours where women take their children to the park, which are often weekdays and often mornings (PDC4Stephanie 2018), which echo feedback from other families living nearby (PDC5Rania 2018). These realities stand in contrast to the decisions of La Pépinière regarding the design and programming choices which were strategic to maximize bar sales (which largely subsidize the project itself), and have the consequence of causing exclusion.

Indeed, these social inequalities are social characteristics in a patriarchal society and do not stop at the entrance to the Village au Pied-du-Courant where a feminist utopia awaits. As one interviewee argued, " *il y a des dynamiques de pouvoir qui se reproduisent dans absolument tous les espaces, même dans des espaces progressifs. Le Village n'est pas une bulle à l'extérieur de notre société, fait que c'est que comme partout ailleurs - les gars prennent plus de place, ils parlent plus fort, puis non je ne pense pas que c'est à l'abri de ça"* (PDC5Rania 2018). This was supported by Gardner et Begault (2019) who argue that experiences in using urban planning and design for gender equality through the creation of smaller spaces within wider public spaces, where we find the addition of street furniture or the introduction of new activities and programming have increased the number of women and girls in public spaces, but has failed to address the underlying root causes, "the unequal gender power dynamics between boys and girls" (n.p.). One key informant also expressed his doubt about the potential of design to transform gender relations, arguing that education and social norms change was needed to achieve that (KIIBR).

Indeed, a truly gender inclusive and responsive public space would embody inclusive design elements but also inclusive social norms change. This was captured by one interviewee who described her vision for a feminist public space, *"un endroit où (…) il n'y a pas d'harcèlement sexiste évidement, ou plus aucune forme d'harcèlement d'ailleurs, un lieu où on va sentir que c'est*

beau, que c'est propre, que c'est que c'est lumineux, que c'est accessible à pied même en marchette et proche d'un centre communautaire idéalement" (QSTM1Simone 2018).

Design choices can thus be used to maintain harmful gender norms which serve to maintain gender inequality, or to begin to reverse them. Should we want real transformative impacts in terms of women's empowerment and gender equality, however, we must necessarily go beyond design choices to include a number of complementary efforts to deconstruct the systems that maintain and promote inequality and discrimination to allow us to understand how to reconstruct our social norms and systems - beyond our public spaces to effect real change.

6.2 Placemaking: a Malleable Process that is Consistently Inconsistent

When asked to define placemaking, one key informant exclaimed "that's the million dollar question!" (KII1AU 2017). Since placemaking was at the core of our research question, the lack of a clear definition was a big challenge. Beyond lacking its own definition, there is no consensus on the definitions of other terms associated with participatory urbanism either, and confusion and confluence between different terms, including placemaking, DIY urbanism or tactical urbanism abound. This confusion quickly manifest itself in our research results. To illustrate, one placemaking leader in Montréal said, with regards to the difference between placemaking and tactical urbanism, "*pour moi ça pourrait être deux synonymes*" (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). Additionally, a key informant argued, "you can talk about placemaking, but you can also talk about all the other words, tactical urbanism, …cities for people, happy cities (…) you have so many similar concepts that are also thinking about the human scale of things, about sense of place" (KII4NL 2018). This confusion and confluence echoes our findings from the literature as well, where we event noted confusion in the use of the terms placemaking and tactical urbanism was to describe a visual illustration, where an image of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, an example of placemaking, was used to illustrate an example of tactical urbanism (Éthier 2017). This same confusion emerged from our research with regarding to our case study, the Village au Pied-du-Courant. Specifically, while one of the leaders from La Pépinière claims that the Village au Pied-du-Courant is "*le projet pionnier de ce mouvement de placemaking*" in Montréal, he goes on to add, *"pour nous ce n'est pas du tout le plus respectueux du placemaking"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018), a clear indication that there is perhaps it is not clear whether the Village au Pied-du-Courant is in fact an example of placemaking.

6.2.1 A Lack of Consensus Among Practitioners and Thinkers Alike

The data we collected through the key informant interviews and interviews with placemaking leaders in Montréal reveals that there are inconsistencies in how placemaking is described. For some it remains temporary (PDC4Stephanie 2018), small scale (KII3BR 2017), collaborative (PDC2AnneSophie 2018), while others contend that it can be long term (KII4NL 2018), metropolitan scale (PDC1Fabrice 2018) and top-down (KII1AU 2017). Examples such as these quickly made it clear that even for people considered to be experts in the field of placemaking, being able to offer a simple, clearly defined definition of what it is remained a challenge. It was also quickly apparent that many contradictions or overly flexible definitions and parameters present in our interviews with key informants and with local placemaking practitioners who were involved in developing the Village au Pied-du-Courant pointed to a lack of shared understanding about the process of placemaking and its intended results. Our conclusion that there is a lack of clear definition about placemaking is supported in the literature as well. Specifically, Cilliers et Timmermans (2014) support our conclusion that there is a lack of consensus around what placemaking means, noting that "while there is no agreed definition of placemaking, it is generally understood as a process that is part of urban design that makes places liveable and meaningful" (414), itself an exceedingly vague definition.

Given the lack of apparent consensus, we decided to recreate the participatory urbanism table that was presented in Chapter 1 as part of the review of the literature in order to see how our interviewees' perceptions and ideas compared to what we found in the literature (see Table 6.1 below).

Table 6.1: Placemaking and participatory urbanism: views from practitioners

Placemaking and Participatory Urbanism	
Values and objectives	**Strengthening sense of belonging:** *l'amélioration du sentiment d'appartenance des locaux*; *sentiment d'appartenance collective* (PDC1Fabrice 2018 ; KII3BR 2017); giving this place a sense of belonging (KII3BR 2017); a place where they would feel connected to their neighbourhood (KII1AU 2017); **well-being:** *avoir un impact concret sur le bien-être de la vie des gens locaux* (PDC1Fabrice 2018); **inclusive:** an inclusive approach (PDC1Fabrice 2018 ; KII2CA 2017); **bringing people together:** *rassembleur; fédérer des acteurs dans l'action* (PDC1Fabrice 2018); **Human scale:** the human scale of things (KII4NL 2018)
Cost	**Not profitable; lose money:** *ces projets-là ne sont plus rentables* (PDC1Fabrice 2018); **lack of available funding** (PDC4Stephanie 2018); **biggest challenge or risk is financial:** *il y a des énormes enjeux financiers* (PDC1Fabrice 2018 ; PDC5Rania 2018 ; PDC2AnneSophie 2018); *des contraintes financières* (PDC5Rania 2018)
Scale	**Small scale** (KII3BR 2017); **neighbourhood scale** (KII4NL 2018); **metropolitan** (PDC1Fabrice 2018); **variable - can be small scale and bigger;** varies from street corner to street (KII1AU 2017) *"très très locale"* et *" plus grosse échelle"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018)
Temporality	**Temporary:** *éphémère* (PDC1Fabrice 2018 ; PDC2AnneSophie 2018); *éphémère ponctuel* (PDC4Stephanie 2018); seasonal (KII2CA 2017); **long-term** : decades (KII4NL 2018); **temporary then become permanent** (KII1AU 2017)
Who initiates and leads	**Bottom up:** Bottom up (PDC2AnneSophie 2018 ; KII1AU 2017 ; KII3BR 2017) *"par des citoyens"* (PDC4Stephanie 2018) *pour et par la population locale* (PDC2AnneSophie 2018); **top down:** government-led (KII1AU 2017); **collaborative** (KII1AU 2017 ; KII2CA 2017) **: "faire avec la communauté"** (PDC1Fabrice 2018); *quand quelque chose est vraiment fait par les gens du quartier puis que ça fait partie de leur backyard* (PDC2AnneSophie 2018); existing users of the space (KII2CA 2017)
Profile of participants	**Young:** *une communauté de gens qui sont pas mal tous les gens le même âge que nous* (PDC1Fabrice 2018); *très blanc, 20-35 ans, assez aisé* (PDC5Rania 2018); **hipster** (QSTM3Laura 2018)**; designers** (PDC2AnneSophie 2018)**; women** (KII2CA 2017 ; KII4NL 2018), women-led (KII1AU 2017)
Interventions	**Instinctively; organically** (PDC2AnneSophie 2018); **City as a lab:** *les laboratoires; on teste des choses, et quand on teste des choses qui qui qui font évolué les pratiques* (PDC1Fabrice 2018); interim solutions or test cases (KII1AU 2017) ; **Events-based :** *un peu plus évènementielle* (PDC1Fabrice 2018); beaucoup d'énergie et qui était mis sur le côté évènementiel (PDC5Rania 2018); *ça reste de l'évènementielle* (PDC2AnneSophie 2018 ; PDC5Rania 2018); **Space activation** (KII1AU 2017)
Degree of formality	**Informal:** *we started as activists and we never asked for permission* (KII3BR 2017); **Formal** (KII1AU 2017), with permits (PDC1Fabrice 2018 ; KII1AU 2017); every single project had a permit (KII1AU 2017); *on a eu l'autorisation* (PDC2AnneSophie 2018)

Source: K. Travers

Values and objectives

To begin, placemaking practitioners appear to be guided by normative objectives and values. This value-driven placemaking is used to justify place-based interventions that have broader social impact objectives. For example, one key informant states that placemaking is a way to "give place back to the people" (KII3BR 2017). This phrase denotes an assumption that public spaces inherently belong to people but have been taken away from them, hence the altruistic motive of 'giving them back'. The notion of 'human scale' emerged only once during the interviews by a key informant, (KII4NL 2018), a clear contrast to the literature. It is worth noting that this practitioner and the organisation he leads have published numerous articles and books on the subject of public spaces which encourage city development at the eye level, or at the human scale.

Respondents highlighted the idea of using place to strengthen people's sense of belonging, and used to bring different people together (PDC1Fabrice 2018). The notion of placemaking being inclusive emerged during the interviews (PDC1Fabrice 2018), with a broader goals of having a positive "*impact concret sur le bien-être de la vie des gens locaux*" (PDC1Fabrice 2018). The value-driven definitions, objectives and emphasis that emerged in the interviews with placemaking practitioners arguably reflect their own objectives for the placemaking projects that they lead. There is an implicit assumption that people's daily lives can be improved by placemaking. Value-driven statements such as these are present in the literature as well. For example, it is argued that sense of belonging can result from participatory urbanism which can in turn strengthen social cohesion and place attachment (Lydon et al. 2011).

However, some interviewees were critical of the value-driven objectives as stated by La Pépinière with regards to the Village au Pied-du-Courant, noting that there is a disconnect between what the Village has to offer and what the local needs are (PDC5Rania 2018 ; PDC2AnneSophie 2018 ; QSTM3Laura 2018). One went on to argue that the Village is not contributing to confronting or overcoming any current urban challenges, such as lack of local healthy produce or green space for urban agriculture (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). This assertion echoes an observation in the literature that there was an increasing disconnect between local issues and the places resulting from participatory urbanism (Douay et Prévot 2016). We support these assertions as well. Where placemakers promote the work they are doing by pointing to their value-driven normative goals, this does not automatically mean that those goals are realized or achieved via the places that are produced.

Cost

Several interviewees highlighted that the placemaking project the Village au Pied-du-Courant, was expensive, underfunded and that the lack of adequate and consistent funding represented the single greatest threat to the viability of the project (PDC1Fabrice 2018 ; PDC5Rania 2018 ; PDC2AnneSophie 2018). This is due not only to the lack of funding each year, and to the necessity of relying on bar sales to finance the site, but also because La Pépinière is forced to renegotiate its financing each year with each donor, which carries a high administrative weight for the organisation, leaving it to burden the financial risk each year, sometimes until only a few days before the site is due to open (PDC1Fabrice 2018). One of the leaders of La Pépinière said that his organisation stood to lose money as a result of spearheading the Village au Pied-du-Courant (PDC1Fabrice 2018). Another partner organisation involved in developing the Village au Pied-du-Courant and whose organisation also leads other placemaking initiatives in and around Montréal noted that there was a lack of funding to support this kind of work, particularly if one wished to meaningfully involve the community in the development, programming and governance of the site, which required much great investment (PDC4Stephanie 2018). In addition, one interviewee suggested that the public sector had simply not caught up to make funds available to specifically support projects, such as the Village au Pied-du-Courant (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). The limited public sector financial investment can be contrasted with the Australian experience, where the government frequently funds and manages the resources related to placemaking, and where the private sector is increasingly also allocating resources (KII1AU 2017). In addition, numerous Canadian cities are setting up funds to support local placemaking efforts (Cities for People 2016), and foundations are playing an important role of funding placemaking in Canada, including in Montréal (KII2CA 2017).

These results, which highlight the precarity of placemaking projects due to cost prohibitions and lack of available funding contrast much of the literature which placed a great deal of emphasis on the low-cost of placemaking (Finn 2014a ; Ferraris 2016) and other initiatives produced via participatory urbanism. Finally, our interviews with global placemaking leaders supported the assertions of the Montréal practitioners, that placemaking processes do require funding to be successful, and that these costs can be quite high, as is the case with the Village au Pied-du-Courant. The cost is also linked to the scale and temporality of the project.

Scale

From the interviews, we were able to determine that the scale of placemaking initiatives can vary widely. Specifically, they have a vague general range of "*très très locale*" to "*plus grosse échelle*" (PDC1Fabrice 2018), and everything in between. This was echoed by a key informant who noted that interventions vary from a single street corner to compete downtown street (KII1AU 2017). The key informant noted that his organisation takes a longer term, more involved approach that occurs at a neighbourhood scale, where everyone is expected to contribute to positive neighbourhood transformation (KII4NL 2018). Finally, when thinking about the Village au Pied-du-Courant, one interviewee reflected how it was a project of metropolitan impact and significance, reaching far beyond the confines of the local neighbourhood where it is located (PDC1Fabrice 2018). These variances were also present in the literature, though to a much lesser degree, as a large emphasis was placed on community-level small scale initiatives (Finn 2014a ; Iveson 2013). The scale is thus another example of a consistent inconsistency in understanding placemaking.

Temporality

The temporality of placemaking initiatives also emerged as yet another fluid parameter of placemaking. While many speak about short term interventions, "*l'éphémère ponctuel*" (PDC4Stephanie 2018), others note that some initiatives, including the Village au Pied-du-Courant was intended to be temporary, but this has since changed (PDC1Fabrice 2018 ; PDC2AnneSophie 2018). It can also be seasonal, for example, one key informant noted the challenge of making public space interventions last in a climate like Montréal's, where winter has a big impact on determining the possible uses of a space (KII2CA 2017). This seasonal challenge causes greater ambiguity in defining the temporality of placemaking initiatives. Specifically, with the case of the Village au Pied-du-Courant and other placemaking initiatives that return each year at the same time, even if they are designed somewhat differently, can we truly say that they are temporary? At what point do they become permanent?

In general, some interviewee seemed to support that these interventions can be temporary, but that the intended change should be more permanent, even if it is not the same as the intervention itself (KII1AU 2017 ; PDC1Fabrice 2018), which is supported by the literature as well (Lydon et al. 2012 ; Silva 2016). This transformation from temporary to permanent does not just mean making the specific intervention more permanent in terms of materials used, for example, rather the temporary can serve as a testing ground, where designers and governments can see how community members respond to changes in public spaces, allowing the flexibility to modify public

spaces to increase their likelihood of being successful (KII1AU 2017 ; Lydon et al. 2011 ; Talen 2015 ; Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Thorpe 2018 ; PDC1Fabrice 2018). For the Village au Pied-du-Courant, a more permanent transformation may not be to make the site of the Village open year-round or to introduce more permanent structures; rather it can be making access to the waterfront more permanent by rethinking how the space is used. It can mean investing in the adjacent park, to upgrade it to be a park that community members want to go to, under the governance of the city and open year-round and every day, unlike the Village. These possibilities will be further explored later in this chapter.

Profile of participants

Interviews with key informants and Montréal placemaking professionals highlighted the importance of community involvement in placemaking. Specifically, they argued that the practice meant collaborating with the community (PDC1Fabrice 2018), and several noted that it was a bottom-up practice (PDC2AnneSophie 2018 ; KII1AU 2017 ; KII3BR 2017). A number of interviewees alluded to the active and meaningful participation of community members, noting that the process should be community driven, something which is also echoed in the literature (PDC2AnneSophie 2018 ; Kent 2019b). Others specified that it should be "*par des citoyens*" (PDC4Stephanie 2018) or even "*pour et par la population locale*" (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). It is interesting to note that for some authors, this element of active community involvement is central to placemaking and participatory urbanism processes (Wyckoff 2014 ; Kent 2019b), while some interviewees readily accept that it can be top-down and government-led while remaining placemaking (KII1AU 2017). These fluid parameters in both the literature and the interviews, only serves to highlight the inconsistency in parameters and principles of the practice.

When we consider the profile of the people who are typically engaged in these processes, similarities emerge between our research results in Montréal and the information found in the literature. For example, one interviewee described the typical profile of people as between 20 and 35 years old, cool, white and relatively well-off (PDC5Rania 2018), which mirrors Thorpe (2018) who described people involved in placemaking as white, millennials who are educated young professionals ad relatively well-off. This group, often composed of designers (Thorpe 2018 ; PDC2AnneSophie 2018), or collectively described as hipsters (QSTM3Laura 2018 ; Thorpe 2018) are a relatively homogenous group. When we consider that many of these urban interventions, including the Village au Pied-du-Courant, are located in neighbourhoods that are poorer, we can point to a divergence between the local residents and those involved in the placemaking project.

Where such a gap exists, the potential for the local community to feel excluded is higher. Specifically, when the people transforming and subsequently using these spaces are not representative or reflective of the local residents, then messages of exclusion can be conveyed via a space that communicates to people that it is not for them, thus risking the reproduction of social exclusion (Éthier 2017 ; Douay et Prévot 2016).

Finally, our interviewees pointed to the high numbers of women who participate in these kinds of initiatives (KII2CA 2017 ; KII4NL 2018). In fact, one key informant shared that every community placemaking process that she had been involved in was women-led (KII1AU 2017). The observations about the number of women participating was surely due to the fact that we asked about this specifically, but we were surprised by the consistent response affirming the high numbers of women participants, including in decision-making and leadership roles. As this reflection on gender inclusion was completely absent from the literature, as have no basis of comparison, but our results - both in Montréal and from the interviews with the international experts - suggest that the placemaking process mobilized and engages a number of women.

Interventions

As for the description of the interventions, there was also a range of responses. While one person felt that these should be done instinctively or organically (PDC2AnneSophie 2018), no one else suggested that this be the case. In fact, the notion of the city as a laboratory emerged, with placemaking seen as a way of testing out new ideas (PDC1Fabrice 2018 ; KII1AU 2017), as it did in the literature (ex. (Thorpe 2018 ; Lydon et al. 2011 ; Douay et Prévot 2016). This implies a certain degree of forethought and preparation to plan and design places, urban furniture and activities to try out new ideas in a particular place. Finally, that placemaking and participatory urbanism are event-based also emerged in the interviews (PDC2AnneSophie 2018 ; PDC5Rania 2018 ; KII3BR 2017). These were specifically brought up as criticisms to the Village au Pied-du-Courant, where these interviewees, themselves members of La Pépinière's team, argued that the primary function of the Village was indeed events, thus contradicting what the organisation puts out in its external communications (PDC5Rania 2018). In addition, there is no blank slate at the Village au Pied-du-Courant, as the site design, colors and type of spaces are predetermined by La Pépinière in its call for submissions. This limits the freedom and creativity of potential contributors to shaping the site as they see fit.

Our research results demonstrate that placemaking projects are overwhelmingly formal, done with the approval and often funding support from government. In fact, one key informant pointed out that all of the interventions in her country, Australia, are permitted, approved and often led by the government itself (KII1AU 2017). In fact, there appeared to be a lack of reflection about how such initiatives could be informal. For example, none of the Montréal-based interviewees who participated in developing the Village au Pied-du-Courant made any mention or reflection about whether placemaking could be informal. They shared frustrations and recollections of permits being delivered at the last minute (PDC2AnneSophie 2018) or local council approvals coming at the last minute (PDC1Fabrice 2018) but all seemed to take for granted that the projects could be informal. The scale of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, as one interviewee argued (PDC1Fabrice 2018), goes beyond the local community so it is difficult to compare it to the small-scale informal interventions such as guerilla gardening that we saw in the literature, as a project of this size and scale would be impossible without formal approvals.

The idea that placemaking could be informal emerged only once is a key informant interview. Specifically, this person noted that his organisation were founded by activists who rarely asked for permission, leading some of its members to want to hide their involvement with the group (KII3BR 2017). He did, however, go on to describe how his organisation is increasingly solicited by government or architect firms to assist with community participation, and how they are now also responding to formal bids to develop public space, such as a playground at a school (KII3BR 2017). This indicated a gradual shift towards more formal, sanctioned, and even state-sponsored placemaking and participatory urbanism.

Our results therefore point to a clear formalisation, institutionalisation and sanctioning of placemaking and participatory urbanism in our cities. In the literature, some authors alluded to such a future with a grave sentiment of foreboding (Mould 2014). So while the idea that participatory urbanism was informal came out through the literature (Ferraris 2016), it did not come out through the interviews with placemaking professionals we interviewed, and there appears to be a shift away from the informal towards the formal, at least in some Australian, European, and Canadian cities, including Montréal.

Given the lack of consensus about what placemaking is, we proposed an operationalised definition of placemaking to guide our research, first presented in Chapter 2. Our definition is: *Placemaking is the process of physically redesigning an urban public space with the intended involvement of*

the community, as co-creators and users of the place. The community is often accompanied by a professional organisation, and the purpose of the intervention is to transform the space into a place that the community can use, develop an attachment to, and can see itself in, through design-based interventions and programming intended to activate the place.

Given the ambiguity in the definitions, parameters and understanding of placemaking and participatory urbanism demonstrated above, we feel that it is important to consider whether our research results demonstrate that the Village au Pied-du-Courant is in fact an example of placemaking. To summarize, the Village au Pied-du-Courant, the first project that was led by La Pépinière, itself described as "*un organisme en placemaking*" (PDC5Rania 2018), is recognized as being an example of placemaking in Montréal and is the most well-known project of the organisation (PDC1Fabrice 2018). It transforms an unused space into a public place that brought approximately 120,000 people to the site in 2017 (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e). In that sense, it succeeds in making a space a place, which is at the core of placemaking. The use of upcycled materials (Hartley et al. 2014 ; Éthier 2017), bright colors (Éthier 2017 ; Douay et Prévot 2016) and programming to draw users to the place also fit with many other examples of participatory urbanism (Éthier 2017). Even the fact that the profile of people leading the placemaking of the Village au Pied-du-Courant is relatively homogenous, namely "*des jeunes cool*" (PDC5Rania 2018), many of whom have backgrounds in design and architecture (PDC2AnneSophie 2018) and who are all in a similar age group (PDC1Fabrice 2018), fits with what our key informants (KII3BR 2017) and other authors have noted (Thorpe 2018 ; Douay et Prévot 2016). With these various elements in mind, from design and programming to transforming a space into a place, to the subsequent attachment to that place, it is our conclusion that the Village au Pied-du-Courant corresponds with our definition of placemaking and is, in fact, an example of placemaking in Montréal.

Placemaking is an increasing trend at risk of being coopted?

One thing that the key informants, and local placemaking leaders involved with leading the development of the Village au Pied-du-Courant do agree on is that placemaking is increasing in cities around the world and here in Montréal (KII1AU 2017 ; KII3BR 2017 ; KII2CA 2017 ; PDC1Fabrice 2018 ; PDC4Stephanie 2018). One key informant suggested that there is a positive correlation with an increase in awareness about the importance of great public spaces among

local people but also among politicians and economists, which increases the investment and opportunity for placemaking activities (KII4NL 2018).

These issues are touched upon in the literature as well, and both interviewees and authors address the rise in popularity of placemaking and participatory urbanism with words of caution. Specifically, in a neoliberal context of urban development the objectives are economic, not value-based. When this happens, placemaking can become co-opted by the private sector, something we are starting to see in Montréal with Aire Commune which was funded by Sunlife Financial, WeWork and Ubisoft, as one key informant pointed out (PDC1Fabrice 2018). When this happens, the community-centric approach can be lost, and the community is no longer necessarily local residents, but employees, as with Aire Commune. One interviewee cautions that everything is wrong with the this kind of placemaking that he argues is used to make *"un lieu cool pour attirer de résidents dans un endroit où tu veux faire des (…) condos dans un modèle capitaliste"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018). Some authors agree that once there is an economic drive to develop public places through placemaking, the motivation for the place can shift from the value-based objectives such as quality of life (Douay et Prévot 2016), people-first (Douay et Prévot 2016), or social inclusion (Talen 2015 ; Lydon et al. 2011 ; Éthier 2017). This shift is something that Long (2013) refers to as "watered down interpretations of the right to the city", signaling their assimilation into neoliberal urban development approaches, far from the activist roots of the past (54).

This shift from community-driven public space development to economic-driven public space development is something that authors had warned about as placemaking becomes increasingly professionalised and politicized (Silva 2016 ; Mould 2014), which, as we noted above, our results indicate we may now be witnessing. In fact, all of the groups we interviewed in Montréal and internationally are registered entities, have a governance structure, can apply for funds, and many also publish reports and manuals for others to use. In fact, as we learned from the Australian key informant, all placemaking and tactical urbanism examples in Australia are either government-led or at minimum, approved by the government who has granted a permit for the place and often funds to support the initiative (KII1AU 2017). La Pépinière appears to be aware of this threat and takes a stand against it for the Village au Pied-du-Courant. Specifically, in an interview, the Director of the Village during our season in question, 2017, was quoted as saying "*Le Village au Pied-du-Courant préserve sa vocation citoyenne avec des espaces dépouillés de grandes bannières publicitaires. Les évènements culturels sur la place publique sont souvent associés à des grandes commandites. On comprend les raisons financières d'un tel affichage, mais ça équivaut à vendre l'espace public et ça dénature l'expérience du placemaking*" (Mercille 2018,

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n.p.). In that sense, La Pépinière works to maintain the integrity of the Village au Pied-du-Courant as a placemaking project, while at the same time respecting local regulations, applying for permits, gaining city approval and being funded by government and others.

6.2.2 Challenges of Mobilisation and Exclusion

An important element to consider when thinking about participation in the placemaking process, is the notion of intended community involvement, captured by our operationalised definition. It is precisely this point where La Pépinière may be questioned about its legitimacy as a placemaking initiative is in its effort to make community participation central and meaningful in the design, programming and governance of the site. One key informant argued that current users of the space should be the ones to transform it in a placemaking process (KII2CA 2017).

For the Village au Pied-du-Courant, this presents a unique challenge as there are no current users of the space without the Village itself, as the site is not otherwise accessible. If we disregard the need to engage with current users, as they do not exist, there is the surrounding community to consider. Even people who work for La Pépinière are critical of the organisation's lack of connection with the local community with its Village au Pied-du-Courant project (PDC5Rania 2018 ; PDC1Fabrice 2018), as were partners in the development of the Village (PDC4Stephanie 2018 ; QSTM3Laura 2018). One interviewee contrasted this with how the organisation strives to work, noting that La Pépinière focuses typically *" beaucoup plus dans le développement des capacités des communautés locales"* adding that when you consider the Village with this in mind, *" on peut se questionner sur sa pertinence"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018).

The strategy for maintaining community ties and for articulating community links and involvement has been said to be via the AmiEs du Courant. As one article notes, *" Les AmiEs demeurent néanmoins l'oreille citoyenne pour tout ce qui se passe dans le quartier; de l'avenir du secteur immobilier aux détails abordés par les conseils de l'arrondissement"* (Mercille 2018, n.p.). The AmiEs du Courant also see themselves in this role - representing the local community in the Village au Pied-du-Courant project (PDC3Robert 2018). As we saw in Chapter 4, however, not everyone felt that they accurately represented the community (PDC5Rania 2018). In particular, two interviewees working in the neighbourhood criticized how the group has been effectively reduced to two active members (QSTM3Laura 2018 ; QSTM4Mark 2018), both of whom are older middle aged white men, themselves not at all representative of the diversity of the community of Sainte-

Marie. In spite of this apparent failure to mobilize the participation of diverse local community residents, and in fact being a project by a for designers, the external portrayal of the process continues to be one of inclusion and participation. For example, Ferraris (2016) argues that in spite of them being an organised group, La Pépinière stayed true to their bottom-up ethos in developing the Village au Pied-du-Courant. We therefore argue that the assertion that the local community must be active for placemaking to be legitimate can be arguably vague and idealistic if it fails to account for the diversity of the community. Without explicit consideration of the different needs of men and women, or of children and older people, for example, the process and results risk creating spaces for a single profile of a community member, rather than for all. This was the case with the Village au Pied-du-Courant.

For the Village au Pied-du-Courant, the very definition of community takes a different shape, manifesting not as the local residents or current users of the site, as there are none, but rather as a community of young hip people who resemble those who designed and developed the place itself. So, while inclusive of a community that resembles itself, it excludes those who do not resemble them, intentionally or not. In fact, the rather homogenous profile of the people involved in developing the public place led to unintentional exclusions on the site. For example, that young professionals, many of whom were recent graduates, developed the site meant that there was no consideration of the needs of families (PDC1Fabrice 2018). When the person charged with community mobilization tried to encourage families with young children to come to the site, she was told that the hours of operation and the physical design of the site, which lacked protection from the elements (ex. shade) made it very difficult for families to come (PDC5Rania 2018). One interviewee made that point that should these mothers and fathers been consulted ahead of time, perhaps adaptations to the site to make it family-inclusive could have been introduced earlier (PDC5Rania 2018). The mobilization was not done in a way to include them in this way, however.

Community mobilization can be very difficult, even in communities such as Sainte-Marie where there are many organised groups who have been actively working on behalf of diverse community members for many years. If we concede to the argument that one interviewee made that "the vast majority of people are really part of the civil society, everyone looks for the pure residents who are unattached to anything but there aren't very many of them, well there are a lot of them, but they don't come out" (QSTM4Mark 2018), then we argue that the responsibility for reaching out to diverse community groups, representing community diversity, should be a pillar of inclusive placemaking. While La Pépinière did create a position within the team for a person who was responsible for community mobilization, this was done to attract people to the site, to use the site

and to consume the programming and products offered. This means that the community mobilization was not for the community to take part in the design, programming or governance of the site, but rather as passive consumers of the site. Their ability to have an impact was limited, as they were only contacted after the design and programming were decided, something the community mobilization person was quite critical of (PDC5Rania 2018). In that sense, the local community, including any potential representation of the community via the AmiEs du Courant, is not actively engaged in the design and programming of the site, and are certainly not co-creating it. In fact, the AmiEs argued that their suggestions to democratize the Village au Pied-du-Courant for local residents, by opening during lunch hours or by offering discount prices on drinks on the night of the fireworks were ignored by La Pépinière who are seen to make all of the decisions (PDC3Robert 2018).

We thus conclude that the Village au Pied-du-Courant is weak is in terms of involving the wider community as co-creators in the process. In spite of the lack of inclusive participation, there is a need for large numbers of people to come to the site as intended users and consumers of the site offerings, something the lead organisation, La Pépinière, depends on to financially support the development and running of the public place each year. According to one interviewee, the exclusion of the local residents from the process was a structural problem, maintained by lack of financing made available to support organisations to work with non-expert community members (PDC4Stephanie 2018). The Village au Pied-du-Courant, as we noted earlier, is located in the Sainte Marie neighbourhood, which is home to many activist and community organisations who participate actively in community consultations and ideation exercises for the future of their neighborhood (PDC3Robert 2018 ; QSTM2Ginette 2018 ; QSTM4Mark 2018). It is a shame that they have not been given the appropriate opportunities to engage in developing the Village, by La Pépinière's own admission (PDC1Fabrice 2018). As one community organisation representative who works with women in the local community remarked, *"les femmes attendent juste (…) d'être sollicitées, d'être consultées, elles ont des choses à dire, elles ont des opinions sur leur quartier "* (QSTM1Simone 2018). Thus, while the community organisations, including the group of women, are very active in other opportunities for citizen participation in Sainte-Marie, they have not been given the opportunity to engage substantively with the placemaking process.

The centrality of community participation in the process is something that was strongly highlighted in the literature, and while present in our research results, takes a different shape. Specifically, in the literature we find that the emphasis on process and community empowerment and engagement as part of the process is one of the elements that distinguishes placemaking from

other forms of participatory urbanism (Zimmermann 2016). In that sense, "the placemaking approach is closely linked to the bottom-up planning approach, favouring the site scale and people scale of planning" (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014, 414). With the Village au Pied-du-Courant, the community does make and shape and use the space, but it is a homogenous community of hipsters and designers, not the local community who live nearby. In the literature, it was highlighted that placemaking processes involve planners and designers working with local residents to get their input and collaborate with the users of the space to transform the place into a place (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014), which again, was not the case for the residents of Sainte-Marie. We noted how this risked producing exclusions, and it also limits the potential for inclusion, appropriation and ownership of the place by local residents. In that sense, the placemaking approach taken by the Village au Pied-du-Courant contradicts some of the placemaking literature which highlights the importance of local community involvement in placemaking processes (Wyckoff 2014 ; Cilliers et Timmermans 2014). To illustrate, in a recent article about the future of placemaking, this was articulated as "the planning of public spaces is not just about doing something *for* the people who will use it, but *with, or by,* those people. The primary principle involved is that 'The Community is the Expert' on places in their own backyards" (Kent 2019a). The users of the Village au Pied-du-Courant are not living in its backyard, rather they travel to the site using various means of transportation from many other boroughs throughout the city of Montréal and beyond. In that sense, when we consider the framing (Arnstein 1969) give us about the degree of citizen participation, we conclude that the degree of citizen participation in the Village au Pied-du-Courant project remains tokenism, as La Pépinière informs residents about the site, consults certain groups about the project, and placates them by inviting feedback without really sharing any decision-making power with them.

6.3 An Alternative Definition of Public Space

6.3.1 From a Space to a Place

Placemaking processes transform the social and physical nature of a space. The Village au Pied-du-Courant, which sits in the Sainte-Marie neighbourhood at the foot of the Jacques Cartier bridge, was solely used as a snow dumping ground in the winter and remained inaccessible to the public during the summer months, prior to the arrival of the Village au Pied-du-Courant in 2015. There is also clear process of developing and activating the Village au Pied-du-Courant each year. To

recapitulate, La Pépinière, the sole lead organisation in recent years, issues a call for designers to submit proposals to participate in the site development each year, the co-design (PDC1Fabrice 2018). Once they receive proposals, they are reviewed and the winners selected. The winners are then invited to a meeting with the team at La Pépinière and with all of the designers to come together to ensure that there is a cohesive vision for the site. The designers who are selected in the annual contest then construct the features in the place, including seating, cabanas, a children's adventure zone, a stage, and a lookout tower, among others, all of which are then used by the people who frequent the place (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017a).

Having had the chance to revisit our definition of placemaking and conclude that the Village au Pied-du-Courant is indeed an example of placemaking in Montréal, let us revisit the site itself. It has been noted that La Pépinière strives to make the Village au Pied-du-Courant " *un lieu encore plus inclusif, accueillant et accessible"* year after year (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e, 4). The fact that the site is redeveloped and reprogrammed from one year to the next allows for opportunities to modify the configuration and offering of the site to achieve these results.

The placemaking process transforms an otherwise unused urban public space into a public place where tens of thousands of people go each summer. The physical redesign of the space is done with the participation of a number of local designers, and an open call for proposals invites people to submit their ideas for the design of the space. In this sense, there is a process for engaging the community and for giving them space to participate in shaping the site and the programming. The caveat to this, however, is that the community who is invited to participate in limited to designers, landscape architects and some artists, not the community at large and not the residents who live near the site. The site appropriation thus reflects the people involved in the process, it is consequently a place for some, while being purportedly for all. In spite of this consequential exclusion, we maintain that the space has successfully been transformed to a place year after year.

Parallel to the physical design process is a process of developing a summer programme. The programming works to activate the public place and draw users to it. This is particularly important for the Village au Pied-du-Courant as it is a destination for all users, and not a space that is otherwise accessible to the public and used regularly. For this, the team considers which days to open, what themes they will have, and the regularly and sporadic activities that will be on the site, including DJ sets, film screenings, yoga or cultural days. There is also an opportunity to propose programming on the site (PDC1Fabrice 2018). Further, efforts are made to reach out to local

organisations to invite them to participate in programming the site. The combination of design-based interventions and programming is intended to invite people to the place each summer, and serve to activate the space. In addition, local organisations are invited to host activities on the site as a way of animating the space, and some, like Sentier Urbain, are more consistently involved throughout the summer. Combined, the design and programming invite people to come to the place during the summer months when it is open.

We already affirmed our belief that the site is indeed an example of placemaking in Montréal, given our operationalised definition presented earlier. With this in mind, we affirm that the process successfully transforms the site of the snow dumping ground from a non-place to a place via placemaking - essentially making it a place. Even subtle things, such as branding the site by giving it its name, the Village au Pied-du-Courant, supports the place having its own brand identity. When a space becomes a place it gains meaning (Kelker et Spinelli 2016). The meaning of a place give it a sense of place can encourage the development of an attachment to the place (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014). As the results demonstrate, the meaning of the place, from the design, the opening hours, and the programming, communicates who it is for, and we learned that it is not for everyone. Specifically, as we learned during the interviews, the site communicated to some that it was not for them (QSTM2Ginette 2018 ; PDC3Robert 2018). For example, elements such as loud music and numerous bars convey that it is more of a party atmosphere, leading people to believe that it is for young people (PDC3Robert 2018 ; QSTM2Ginette 2018). One interviewee from La Pépinière shared his fears that what the site communicated could be inconsistent with the mission of the organisation:

> *"si tu ne connais pas bien la mission de La Pépinière derrière, tu peux avoir peur que le Village devienne un Picnik électronik. Qui soit juste une bibitte qui grossisse avec aucun rapport dans le quartier, puis ça ne mobilise pas le quartier que ce soit juste un lieu cool, (…) qui commence à faire une gentrification dans le quartier ou un changement dans le quartier pour les mauvaises choses" (PDC1Fabrice 2018).*

As we conclude through the research, which is supported by the literature, those who participate in creating the Village, help to give it meaning through the design and programming of the site, and this meaning communicates that the site is for other people like them. This is supported by the literature which maintains that when a space has meaning, it can become a place with meaning (Cilliers et Timmermans 2014). Once a place has meaning, it has a *raison d'être*, and the sense or meaning of the place is conveyed to users and passerbys via the symbolic dimension of the

place (Breux et Bedard 2013). This allows other people to understand who the place is for and its acceptable social uses, which, in the case of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, is for designers, young people, and hipsters, just like those who are leading the design, development, activation and management of the place.

The Village au Pied-du-Courant faces an additional challenge related to the temporality of the site as it relates to site appropriation: winter. Specifically, one interviewee spoke to this, noting that the fact that "*ce n'était pas un projet permanent*" prevents people from developing a sense of belonging (PDC5Rania 2018). Furthermore, unlike public parks, the Village is only open during specific times, particularly evenings from Thursday through Sunday, and weekend days. Additionally, the site opens on Wednesday on the nights where there are fireworks. These limited hours limit the potential for regular use of the place. Further, the fact that the site is a destination, further limits the everyday spatial use and appropriation. There are other barriers to access as well. Importantly, there is an economic barrier to access. While it is free to enter the site itself, the activities on site are largely centred on consumption, and specifically consumption of alcohol. The price for food or even non-alcoholic beverages can be prohibitive, particularly considering that there are still about a third of the households in the Sainte-Marie neighbourhood that are below the poverty line ((SDE) 2018). There are also food trucks who sometimes park on site at the Village au Pied-du-Courant, which are also typically highly priced. This is something the key informant from the Netherlands remarked on, observing that food trucks are typically for higher income people, and therefore their presence on a site communicates that the site is also for higher income people, which creates a form of exclusion (KII4NL 2018). To address these income gaps, one interviewee suggested to La Pépinière that local residents be offered a neighbourhood price on beer, at least during the fireworks (PDC6Charles 2018). It is during the evenings of the fireworks where the schism between the profile of the residents who go watch the fireworks and the patrons of the Village au Pied-du-Courant who go watch fireworks is the most apparent. The local people who have been going to the foot of the Jacques Cartier bridge for years before the Village was even an idea set up their chairs and coolers outside the perimeter of the Village, but do not go into the Village itself, thereby clearly not appropriating the place as theirs. This schism was also observed by one interviewee from a community organisation, who, when reflecting on the profile of people who live in the neighbourhood versus the people who go to the Village au Pied-du-Courant, said "*il y a vraiment un clash au niveau de la clientele*" (QSTM3Laura 2018). In spite of this clash, more then 120,000 people found their way to the site during the 2017 season (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e) from all over Montréal and beyond.

6.3.2 Territory, Community and Identity

The project is so successful that La Pépinière affirms that it positions the Village au Pied-du-Courant as " *chef de file des nouvelles pratiques internationales d'appropriation des lieux publics par la communauté"* (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e). Let us consider this notion of appropriation. That the place has meaning which is communicated outwards, allowing users and potential users to understand who the space is for and what it is for supports site appropriation. Specifically, the Village au Pied-du-Courant is legible, which is reflected in the spatial appropriation of the site. To illustrate, as we noted in our observations, a large number of people entered the site and walked the length of it before decided which space to claim. The discovery of the site via the walking allowed users to take in the different spaces, seating options, activities and other comfort elements prior to settling in. The legibility of the site allowed users to understand which space best suited their needs. Our observations demonstrated that this legibility was evident even to the children who came to the site, as they quickly identified the areas that were for them, with younger children claiming the sandy area near the adventure zone towards the entrance of the place, and the older children gravitating to the big blue balls set up on the sand closer to the stage further in the site. Site appropriation can be witnessed through small things such as people claiming seats and arranging them to suit their needs. Bags being set down at picnic table to communication that they had been claimed, or select toys being placed in the sand. All of these are examples of appropriation by users, and for the people who brought things from home, such as sand toys or blankets to lay on the sand, may also be indicative of familiarity with the site, indicating that they had been there before. This is important, as often, the more time people spend in a site, the greater the sense of attachment to the place.

Our definition of placemaking does explicitly mention the importance of developing a place where attachment bonds can be formed, however it also mentions that it should be a place where the community can see itself, in other words, it should reflect the community. Our interviewees with people who work in Sainte-Marie highlight that this was not achieved stating that it is not people from Sainte-Marie who go to the Village (QSTM3Laura 2018). While others noted that the site itself, either from its music being too loud or from how it was designed communicated that the place was not for them (QSTM2Ginette 2018 ; PDC3Robert 2018). If, however, we consider that the users of the place are their own community, rather homogenous and composed of young cool people (PDC5Rania 2018), designers (PDC2AnneSophie 2018), hipsters (QSTM3Laura 2018), who are mostly white and relatively well-off (PDC5Rania 2018), then we can argue that this

community has been more involved in developing the site, in frequenting the site, and in potentially developing a place attachment it. As one of the leaders in developing the Village au Pied-du-Courant unapologetically stated, "*le village est pertinent pour une communauté qui est créative*" (PDC1Fabrice 2018). This has a broader impact on the identity of the place and the people involved in the process. As we learned in the literature, the involvement of the community in the transformation of a public space into a place encourages attachment to that place (Silva 2016) and can promote and sense of collective or shared identity (Douay et Prévot 2016). In this case then, those who form attachments and a shared identity are the same homogenous group of people involved in developing the place who later become the users of the place.

Our operationalised definition of placemaking does acknowledge that the process typically involves a professional accompaniment by a lead organisation to support the involvement of the community. In this case, however, the community is not the local community, nor local organisations. As one of the project leaders stated "*ce n'est pas vraiment un projet qui s'est bâti avec le quartier*" (PDC1Fabrice 2018). In that sense, the Village au Pied-du-Courant is for another kind of community. One interviewee articulates this, "*je pense que pour La Pépinière (…) communauté ça peut prendre différents sens - ça prend le sens qu'on veut lui donner, puis eux quand ils parlent de communauté, c'est la communauté designer, la communauté du genre placemaking*" (PDC5Rania 2018).

Rather than bringing together residents of the surrounding area, the process for developing the Village au Pied-du-Courant involves "bringing together architects, emerging and established, designers, graphic designers, and painters for an inter-disciplinary experience" (Godin 2017, n.p.). It is this collection of people who are working to contribute to the conceptualisation of each season's edition of the Village au Pied-du-Courant, but they are accompanied and led by La Pépinière, as we saw in Chapter 4. One interviewee, himself an architect expressed his belief that "the pencil is guided by the discussion around the table, but you never give, you keep the pencil (…) and it's the influence of all of that" (QSTM4Mark 2018). That the organisation, in this case La Pépinière, which bears the responsibility for the project maintains the responsibility for ensuing that it is likely to succeed, while respecting safety regulations and ensuring that the site is both legible and cohesive, appears to us as being logical as well, and is a role that the Australian placemaking organisation has also had to play (KII1AU 2017). In that sense, La Pépinière offers a professional accompaniment to a community of designers and architects to build a seasonal Village where they can showcase their work and where they can go with their peers as consumers and users of the place.

Thus, if you consider that the definition of community may be larger than the residents in the immediate vicinity, as we explored earlier, then you can make the argument that this criterion is indeed fulfilled. The definition of community emerged a number of times in the study, with alternative definitions offered, beyond residents of proximity. Finally, it was argued that the place has gained significance for all of Montréal's metropolitan community and even larger at the international level (PDC1Fabrice 2018). With this in mind, the tourists who flock to the site and the large portion of people who travel from other areas in the metropolitan area are consistent with the objectives of the Village, which seek to have a wider impact than the immediate geography of the neighbouring community.

As we recalled prior, the Village au Pied-du-Courant project is led by La Pépinière and the co-design elements are limited to the involvement of architects and designers, there is still an objective of successfully anchoring the place in the community, inviting them to come to the place and to develop an attachment to it, which is an important element of our placemaking definition. This can be expressly found in documentation produced by La Pépinière, " *le Village au Pied-du-Courant s'inscrit dans une volonté de revitaliser des sites urbains sous-exploités tout en permettant aux citoyen.nes de se les réapproprier"* (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e, 3). Further, in an article about the Vilage au Pied-du-Courant, the author argues that the site itself is intent on breaking social isolation and that " *La Pépinière tient à rétablir le lien de confiance qui existait autrefois entre voisins*" (Mercille 2018). This vision of place appropriation of the Village au Pied-du-Courant by local communities where social cohesion can be developed and social isolation broken is utopic, particularly considering the lack of meaningful engagement of the local community in the process itself.

Indeed, the site communicated to some that it was not for them. For example, families in the neighbourhood receive the message that it is not for them, as the site lacks basic consideration for the needs of young children, reflected in their opening hours and the urban furniture on site which fails to offer protection from the elements (ex. shade) (PDC5Rania 2018). Finally, the fact that there is no signage and that the hours of operation are not posted, as one woman noted via her survey, means that potential users must find this information elsewhere. As explored earlier, social media is a primary form of communication for the Village au Pied-du-Courant, meaning that information shared via its social media only reach people who are already subscribed to follow it, which fails to reach new people. This is true also for last minute changes and cancellations. For example, we subscribed to social media updates as part of the research and were alerted to

cancellations and closings due to bad weather via the Instagram and Facebook pages of the Village au Pied-du-Courant.

The collaborative elements of placemaking the Village au Pied-du-Courant are reserved for designers, architects and artists, not lay people. Consequently, by and large, the surrounding community - people who are living in close proximity to the site – are not the ones who are involved in its development and are not the people who are present on the site. Interestingly, while it was acknowledged that this project was largely by and for a community of designers (PDC2AnneSophie 2018 ; PDC3Robert 2018 ; PDC5Rania 2018), there is still an objective that the site also be used and appropriated by the local residents. To illustrate, in its 2017 handbook for the Village au Pied-du-Courant's, La Pépinière claims that *" la revitalisation de nos espaces publics passe par la communauté, les gens qui y habitent"* (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017d). This demonstrates that in their outward facing messaging, la Pépinière continues to maintain that it is a project for the community as we often presume it to be defined - local residents - not by what they further qualified it as during the interviews - the creative community.

With the knowledge that the people residing nearby were largely not involved in the site revitalisation, we question whether the needs of local residents were considered in the design and programming of the space. According to one interviewee working in Sainte Marie, they were not, *"tu dis ok c'est, ça c'est le fun, c'est un peu industriel, on va prendre un verre sur une musique électro",* but she goes on to explain that it does not respond to the needs and desires of the local residents living in Sainte Marie (QSTM3Laura 2018). Another interviewee who worked for La Pépinière at Le Village au Pied-du-Courant reflected that you can be so caught up in your vision for a great project that you overlook the fact that it may not respond to local needs, or even be what local people want (PDC5Rania 2018). For local needs to be better reflected, there is a need for greater local community involvement. One person suggested that a local committee composed of people residing near the Village be constituted so that they could participate in the full project cycle each year, advocating for the needs and wishes of local residents (PDC5Rania 2018). As it stands now, there is no continuous involvement, consequently, *" c'est comme si t'as à recommencer chaque fois"* (PDC5Rania 2018). Finally, one interviewee summarized the important challenge of local anchoring and the participation of local residents: *"la confiance c'est difficile à bâtir avec les citoyens surtout quand c'est genre un groupe de jeunes vraiment cool qui arrive, tsé surtout dans un quartier comme le Centre-Sud là, qui est un quartier quand même assez pauvre à Montréal"* (PDC5Rania 2018).

We argue that the real inclusion of the local community could help achieve the goal of La Pépinière, that local residents appropriate the Village au Pied-du-Courant. It has been argued that people's shared identity is reflected in places that they help to create (Thorpe 2018), and that "community-driven interventions that promote place attachment (…) show great potential to improve both individual and community well-being" (Negami et al. 2018, 114). For this to happen, however, people must be given consequent opportunities to participate, and their lived experience must be acknowledged as a form of expertise. As one interviewee who works in Sainte Marie noted, expertise must be shared and processes must be transparent to enable full participation, because *" c'est eux qui vont habiter après la place"* (QSTM1Simone 2018).

With regards to the objective increasing the sense of belonging among local residents and the participation of local residents in the Village au Pied-du-Courant project, some concede that it has not been achieved (PDC1Fabrice 2018). Another argues that some have appropriated the project too much, pointing to the two people active in les AmiEs du Courant who, in her opinion, act as through the site belongs to them while failing to lift a finger themselves (PDC2AnneSophie 2018). Finally, one interviewee adds that the space is flexible enough for everyone to find that they belong, *" tu vas pouvoir trouver ta place mais tu vas devoir être capable de le communiquer"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018).

Other groups working on placemaking or in Sainte Marie commented on the lack of community integration and participation, comparing the approach of La Pépinière with their own. One attributed the lack of local residents participating to lack of resources allocated to participatory community projects (PDC4Stephanie 2018). Another stated how her organisation always works to develop projects with local citizens specifically because this creates a sense of ownership by them over the project (QSTM3Laura 2018). Her organisations' years of working in this collaborative way means that they have developed what she describes as "*une espèce de sixième sens (…) puis de voir des opportunités de projets qui risque de bien s'arrimer*" (QSTM3Laura 2018). Another simply reaffirmed that the women who frequent her women's centre have been actively involved in neighbourhood activism for years and they are just waiting to be invited to participate (QSTM1Simone 2018).

The Future of Placemaking, Sainte-Marie and the Village au Pied-du-Courant

Our research focused on one season of one placemaking project in Montréal, the Village au Pied-du-Courant. However, as we noted in the literature and through our interviews, the placemaking trend is increasing in cities around the world, including here in Montréal. As we have revealed through our research, these sites are typically built to embody a number of values and principles, such as connection, inclusion and sense of belonging. They are not, however, typically conceived, developed or programmed from an intersectional perspective that could shed light on different needs in terms of design and programming, but also different opportunities for participation. Let us consider the future of the movement, including the placemaking group La Pépinière, the public place - the Village au Pied-du-Courant, the Sainte-Marie neighbourhood, and placemaking more generally.

La Pépinière

Following the Village au Pied-du-Courant, La Pépinière went on to open a number of small spaces around Montréal and beyond, seeking to develop public spaces that could be anchored in a neighbourhood and which in turn served as anchors for a community. These ties between space and community are argued to be much stronger with the other public places than the Village au Pied-du-Courant (PDC1Fabrice 2018).

Our interviewee with one of the founders of La Pépinière revealed how the experience of running the Village au Pied-du-Courant led the team to reflect on the mission of their organisation to encompass a social dimension (PDC1Fabrice 2018). He shared that this new mission is "*pour la vie en communauté et puis l'implication collective*" (PDC1Fabrice 2018). Essentially, La Pépinière developed a social mission, involuntarily or by happenstance to bring people closer to the spaces in their communities. With this new mission in mind, the organisation is seeking to acquire a charity number as part of its organisational restructuring, and is thinking through a theory of social change model to guide its work (PDC1Fabrice 2018). He explains it as a tool, " *un schéma qui explique pour qui on fait les choses, quels sont nos outils, puis quels sont les impacts qu'ils aillent, moyen-court- et long-terme*" (PDC1Fabrice 2018). Further, with the integration of these new social objectives, La Pépinière reached out to its community to organise public consultations and

exercises where others were invited to join the collective reflection of the values and mission of the organisation (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017b).

As part of this shift, La Pépinière has affirmed its commitment to sharing knowledge and supporting others to lead their own placemaking projects. It launched the Pép Académie in August 2017, with support from Desjardins. The objective was to raise enough funds to support the realisation of four of the projects that would be developed during the Académie, as early as 2018. He described these projects, "*quatre projets qui éventuellement deviennent des entreprises sociales ou des projets citoyens autogérés dans les quartiers où on aide la première année mais après ça on n'est plus là ça devient leur propre projet*" (PDC1Fabrice 2018). In that sense, the organisation strives to have a catalytic effect on placemaking initiatives in Montréal and beyond, having expanded its reach outside of the city centre in 2018, reaching suburbs and going as far as Québec City.

The Village au Pied-du-Courant and Neighbouring Territories

As for its most visible project, La Pépinière conceded as early as 2016 that " Le Village au Pied-du-Courant n'est définitivement plus un projet pilote, mais bien un espace qui vit pour et par sa communauté (collaborateurs, bâtisseurs, bénévoles, citoyens, organismes)" (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017b, n.p.). It is a site that is rebuilt and reprogrammed each year, with new potential for participation and inclusion. Unfortunately, the lack of sustainable funding to support the initiative limit its potential impact and reach, particularly with the local residents, as the emphasis is placed on events and alcohol sales not just by design, but by necessity to subsidize the project itself (PDC1Fabrice 2018 ; PDC5Rania 2018). Thus while it purports to be " *un site qui évolue constamment selon les désirs et les besoins de la communauté locale*" (La Pépinière espaces collectifs 2017e, 3), this has not been put into practice for the 2017 edition, which was the focus of our research.

In reaction to this, one interviewee claimed that *"on est beaucoup plus dans le processus cette année [2018] que dans le contrôle des choses… nouveaux processus pour l'aménagement, nouveaux processus pour la programmation, tandis qu'avant c'était plus top-down, fait que ça va être super intéressant ça va être un laboratoire fait qu'on peut tester des choses pour nos autres projets"* (PDC1Fabrice 2018). The reflective stance that the organisation has taken, to integrate a social mission and to invest in developing a theory of change to achieve its new mission, appear

to be already having an influence on its practices, or at least how they are communicating about them. Other community organisations in Sainte Marie also spoke to this shift, noting, "*ils souhaitent arriver avec une formule qui est différente cette année [2018], puis je trouve ça vraiment le fun puis avoir (…) une section qui serait vraiment au niveau du parc Bellerive puis qui serait moins animée, (...) mais là je pense que la ça peut répondre peut-être davantage aux besoins de la population*" (QSTM3Laura 2018).

Indeed, there is a growing conversation about how the land in Sainte Marie and at the foot of the Jacques Cartier bridge can be used. As early as 2017, the group Les Fricheuses worked to invest in cleaning up and using the space to the east of Parc Bellerive (itself east of the Village au Pied-du-Courant), referred to as "la friche" (PDC4Stephanie 2018 ; PDC3Robert 2018). A greater conversation began with different groups about how the Parc Bellerive should be revitalised to serve the community without the constraints of the Village, with its limited hours, need for security guards, and events-based programming. In fact, in 2018, the name of the Parc Bellerive, which had a bad reputation as a dangerous park where sex work took place and few people went, was rebranded to the Parc au Pied-du-Courant, giving it the potential for a new life (PDC4Stephanie 2018). It is in this spirit that, in spite of the events-based programming at the Village au Pied-du-Courant, and the lack of local involvement in its creation, one interviewee argued that it should be seen as complementary to other, more local efforts to reclaim and appropriate the neighbouring park and vacant lots to the east of the Village (PDC1Fabrice 2018). The groups mobilizing to activate all three sites worked together in 2018 to each invest in their respective sites while supporting each other as well (PDC4Stephanie 2018). They also all agreed to support revitalisation efforts in the park itself, bringing in some light design, a pop-up café and toy bins for kids (PDC4Stephanie 2018 ; PDC1Fabrice 2018). The city also agreed to support investment in the park, agreeing to add lighting and running water (PDC4Stephanie 2018). In this sense, the Village au Pied-du-Courant, as with many temporary urban interventions, did succeed in revealing the potential of an otherwise unused urban space, and sparked the interest of a community to consider how to attract more permanent investment in the space.

A series of public consultations were held in the early months of 2019 about the redevelopment of the Secteur des Faubourgs, which includes the territory where the Village au Pied-du-Courant, the Parc Bellerive and la Friche are located. One interviewee shared his belief that developing the area could bring tourists to the site and create an important revenue stream for the neighbourhood and for the city more broadly (PDC6Charles 2018). One idea that came out quite often during both the interviews and the consultations was the idea of a promenade that would link the Village au

Pied-du-Courant, the Parc au Pied-du-Courant and the Friche. One interviewee from a community organisation in Sainte Marie described this vision as, *" l'idée d'avoir une continuité, d'avoir une promenade mais d'avoir des espaces qui ont chacun une vocation, qui ont chacun un intérêt (…) de respecter les particularités de chacun des espaces (…) ils ont chacun leurs dynamiques puis ensemble c'est complémentaire"* (QSTM3Laura 2018).

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Concluding Thoughts and Future Orientations

The Village au Pied-du-Courant, near the *fleuve Saint-Laurent* represents an example of an investment in temporarily activating an otherwise unused urban space. Located in a poor neighbourhood in Montréal, the site features temporary urban furniture, programming and a few of the water. Though, as Éthier (2017) observes, there is a conflict in terms of who uses and appropriates that space, particularly during the fireworks where the local community appropriates the areas all around the site without actually going into the Village au Pied-du-Courant, since the space itself conveys a message that it is exclusive (Éthier 2017).

The Village au Pied-du-Courant is an important example of placemaking in Montréal that has gained international visibility. While the project consistently maintained that it was an initiative by and for the community, our research uncovered that the definition of community is limited to architects and designers and other members of the creative community. This limited vision causes unintended exclusions among others who perceived that the project was not for them. Our research sought to consider the specific elements of inclusion and exclusion, both in the process and in the resulting public place, particularly as they relate to gender but from an intersectional approach, whenever possible, to consider other identity markers as well.

We conclude that the placemaking project, like many other placemaking projects around the world, appeared to attract the participation of a number of women, who often outnumbered men in this regard. In that sense, we support the affirmations of a number of interviewees that placemaking has the potential to overcome a number of the gender gaps in traditional planning. However, when we considered the diversity of people represented in the processes and the public place, we identified numerous exclusions. These findings were shared by interviewees from La Pépinière who shared that the organisation is developing a more socially-oriented framework to guide its operations.

Particular efforts will need to be made to achieve this, however. One interviewee shared her thoughts on this, *"je pense que si tu veux une plus grande diversité il faut que tu ailles parler directement pour les séduire"* going on to recommend that to achieve greater diversity and inclusion of women, there should be *"une attention particulière d'aller vers des groupes de femmes, (…) des associations de femmes en design (…), ou aller vers des centres de femmes, ou des associations de femmes LGBTQ+ ou de femmes racisées»* (PDC5Rania 2018). La Pépinière affirms its commitment to modifying its practices as of the 2018 season, to be more proactive in its efforts to mobilize, inform and partner (PDC1Fabrice 2018).

In fact, while the Village au Pied-du-Courant is its most well-known project, it is not the project that best represents the vision that they have that are much more inclusive and anchored in the local community living near the public places. This was described by one interviewee as a paradox, noting that the challenge was to get these people who only know about the Village to learn about the real principles of placemaking, which are not reflected in that site but rather in the smaller, less known projects of the organisation (PDC1Fabrice 2018).

More generally, the trend appears to be increasing. One leader in the placemaking movement argued that 2018 was a tipping point, marked by an increase in self-organising and networking at different levels, from local to global (Kent 2019a). New studies are emerging to assess the benefits of such urban interventions. For example, a recently study showed that *"spaces with greenery and spaces with a colorful, community-driven urban intervention were associated with higher levels of happiness, trust, stewardship and attraction to the sites than their more standard comparison sites (…) [demonstrating] that simple urban design interventions can increase subjective well-being and sociability among city residents"* (Negami et al. 2018, 106). Others have argued that placemaking and participatory urbanism intends to transform the physical space in order to have a positive impact on the social use of the space (Talen 2015 ; LaFrombois 2017), which mirrors much of what the women's safety movement has argued. It has also been argued that using urban planning and public-space design as solutions for gender equity "has long responded to existing uses, rather than creating opportunities for entirely new behaviors" (Gardner et Begault 2019, n.p.). Since new public places like the Village au Pied-du-Courant are increasing in our cities, would they not be great sites for introducing design elements that favor women's and girls' use and appropriation of the space, but that also challenge the unequal gender dynamics? We wonder then, can placemaking then be used to transform social use *and norms* – thus overcoming gender gaps and addressing root causes of inequality? Do we need to develop a tool, such as an 'inclusion lens', as one key informant suggested (KII1AU 2017) to ensure that these new public places

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promote inclusion, not just in rhetoric but in reality? With the increase in practice of placemaking and other forms of participatory urbanism, there must be a corresponding increase to the attention paid to the impact of such processes and projects on different groups, including women, and from an intersectional perspective to consider how these change across the lifecycle, and as it interacts with other factors including race, class, sexual identity, and ability. Inclusion should not be a goal or a value, it should be a minimum standard that we are accountable to.

CONCLUSION

The principal research question that this study sought to answer is "In what ways is placemaking an inclusive process of producing and using urban public space, especially for women?". In an effort to gain a nuanced understanding of the processes of inclusion and exclusion as they relate to placemaking, the research considered two dimensions: 1) the process of placemaking and 2) the public place created by the placemaking process. To further concretise our research, we opted for to conduct a case study of a placemaking project in Montréal, the Village au Pied-du-Courant, and relied on a variety of research methods to respond to the question, including key informant interviews, documentary analysis, site observations, semi-directive interviews, and micro surveys to generate the data necessary to begin to explore to this complex urban phenomenon. Let us thus respond to our research question. To start, our research indicates that placemaking processes and the places they produce are gender inclusive and attract high numbers of women to participate actively, including in leadership positions. We did, however, find that these processes do produce exclusions, though not along gender lines. Let us summarize the key findings from our research to offer responses to the potential for gender inclusion according to the following key elements: citizen participation and public space as they related to the placemaking of the Village au Pied-du-Courant.

One of the core dimensions of our research was around citizen participation. Specifically, we wanted to know how meaningful citizen participation, especially for women, was is in participatory urbanism interventions. Placemaking places much emphasis on process and the communications surrounding the initiatives are very value-laden. Values such as inclusion, collaboration and belonging are central and recurring in the rhetoric around placemaking, with a key element that it is by and for the community. Our research revealed, however, that participation was limited in placemaking the Village au Pied-du-Courant. Many of the decisions were taken prior to the call for participation being launched, right down to the color choice for the design of the site. The layout for the site is also already determined, so the potential for people to submit their ideas and to see them realised on the site is also limited and set within the parameters of the vision of the lead person - a man - at the lead organisation, who one interviewee referred to as the master designer. Finally, when it comes to programming, which is also intended to be flexible for people to be able to shape and to express themselves through, we note important limitations that are set by the lead organisation, including hours where access to the site is possible.

In spite of these limitations, there is room for participation within these parameters. For example, there is an annual design competition in which individuals and groups can submit their design ideas. A jury then decides which proposals are retained. We found that for the 2017 season, there were slightly more women whose designs were retained then men. In addition, the young woman hired in the role of community mobilisation and public relations reached out to local groups to try to invite them to participate and to share their ideas for programming the site. A local feminist organisation affirmed this, commenting on how La Pépinière reaches out to them every year to inform them of the opening dates and the programming. It appeared that with some exceptions, such as the group of Latino women who made use of the site, the outreach efforts to involve local groups, including women's groups, in programming the site were limited.

In addition to considering the impact of people's participation, we also considered who could participate. What we found was that while the project, as with many placemaking initiatives, purports to be by and for the community, it was important to unpack what is meant by community. Here we found a divergence between the communications material around the site and the reality. So, while in the promotional material it is highlighted that it is for local residents and the community, the reality is that it is for a community that very much resembles those who are from the lead organisations. Essentially, it is a community of designers, architects and urban planners. When we considered the gender dimensions, we do note that there is a relative balance here, including among those retained to contribute to developing the site. We noted women in roles of power, decision-making and responsibility as well. However, when we considered other identity markers, we note that it is not a diverse community of designers. Specifically, those who participate in developing the site are young, white, educated, and relatively well-off and have been described as hipsters. Our research revealed that this mirrors the crowd of people who frequent and appropriate the site itself.

As we noted through our research and in the literature, spaces communicate who the intended users of the space are, what the intended uses of the space are and how people should behave to conform to these often-unwritten rules while in the space itself. The Village au Pied-du-Courant communicates that the space is for people who resemble those who were involved in developing it. The lack of a lifecycle consideration in the project meant that young children, parents with young children, and older people were among those who specifically said that the site was not for them. The emphasis on the bar sales and drinking as a core activity served to dictate the opening hours, the type and volume of the music and the potential for other activities to be held on site. In spite of this, we did note many children on the site during the daytime hours, and even into the evening

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hours. We also noted a relative gender balance in terms of the users of the space, so again, the big gap in terms of exclusion of certain groups does not appear to be gendered, but rather along other lines.

We note an important gap in the people who use the space – they are not from the surrounding community. In fact, the results from our in-situ surveys demonstrate that the vast majority of users of the space come from other neighbourhoods, including from the North and South shores, and even tourists. This division was most striking on the evenings where the fireworks from the amusement park, La Ronde, across the water are on display where local people set up their chairs and coolers and sit to appreciate the fireworks right up to the perimeter of the Village au Pied-du-Courant without going in. The typology of the space can potentially shed some light on this. Specifically, the site is unused and inaccessible year-round, as it serves as a snow dumping ground in the winter. This means that the community does not have a habit of using the space. Further, the Village is located across a boulevard with a very challenging configuration for pedestrians to access it, and with no parking on site. These elements combined make the site a destination that people choose to go spend time in.

The neighbourhood where the project is located has been subject to many consultations and plans over the years, intended to transform it. It is a neighbourhood that has greater poverty levels than the city average, so features such as $8 kombucha and $13 food truck tacos are not accessible for many people in the neighbourhood. This creates a barrier to entry as well as exclusions along class lines. Further, we suggest that the emphasis on bar activities, a necessary revenue stream to finance the Village au Pied-du-Courant, can also impose an implicit financial exclusion for some people. This could potentially explain why local residents prefer to set up their chairs just outside the perimeter rather than going in on fireworks nights. We recall how one community organisation suggested a discount on drinks for local residents, though this was never implemented.

The neighbourhood is home to many organised and active community groups who have been fighting for the residents of the neighbourhood to be able to stay there and to see themselves in the proposed changes. The Village au Pied-du-Courant has informed many of these groups about its summer programming, but has not managed to mobilize and attract them to come and appropriate the site for themselves. Even the lead organisation accepts that this is a failure of their organisation, in spite of the apparent success of the project.

In that sense, it appears as though placemaking has the potential to be gender inclusive in both its process and resulting public space, but that much more work is needed to be inclusive of

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diverse women, or even diverse men and children. Furthermore, as some interviewees highlighted, just because women are involved does not mean that they have the tools, knowledge or capacity to explicitly design and develop sites with women's needs in mind. One interviewee suggested developing a gender inclusion checklist that could be applied to future placemaking projects, which would be interesting to develop and study in future research. Finally, as we noted in our research, harmful gender norms, stereotypes and behaviours do not magically stop at the perimeter of placemaking projects like the Village au Pied-du-Courant. This means that more work is needed both on-site and in society more generally to dismantle these systems that perpetuate and maintain inequality and to learn and rebuild positive and inclusive gender norms that have transformative impacts. While this is a huge task and undertaking, it would be interesting to apply an intersectional gender responsive and inclusive approach to developing a public place through placemaking. Such an approach would require accompanying capacity building of those leading the project to apply such a perspective to the process itself and to the built public place and its related programming to note the impact and different in terms of experience, appreciation and use of the place by different people.

In addition, the process itself appears to be less citizen-driven and more driven by professionals with limited space for citizen participation. This is something that has been speculated in the literature and merits further investigation to understand whether this is an erosion of the ideals of participatory urbanism or whether it is an evolution that demonstrates that the original intentions, which included demonstrating that there are new, faster and cheaper ways to develop public spaces that cities can use to respond more quickly to the demands for quality public spaces in cities.

It is clear, from both the literature and from our research that the trend of placemaking and participatory urbanism are growing in cities around the world. Much of the literature around these initiatives is overly positive, echoing the value-laden narrative of practitioners. Our study is a contribution to the field as it is one of the first to critically assess both the process and public space produced for its potential to be inclusive, especially for women. Our study supports the need to develop a body of literature around these issues and to be critical about the long-term impacts that they can have on neighbourhoods. It is essential to move beyond how instagrammable they may be to understand what they are communicating – who is the space for? What can you do in this place? Are you welcome here? In that sense, a longer-term study on participation, people and place from an intersectional perspective should be considered. Finally, many authors have pointed to the important gender gaps in our cities and public spaces over the past decades. Since our

study indicates that placemaking appears to overcome the gender gap by having more women participate, have women in decision-making positions, and attracting women as users of the site, it would be extremely important to understand why this is so and what lessons can be applied to more formal city-building contexts to also overcome the gender gap. We are still a long way to gender equality, but initiatives such as these give us hope that there is potential for innovation and transformation towards a more inclusive city, one placemaking project at a time.

SYNTHÈSE EN FRANÇAIS

De plus en plus, nos villes se transforment avec la création de nouvelles places publiques, souvent temporaires ou transitoires. Ces initiatives – liées à l'urbanisme participatif et connues sous différents noms (le « Do-It-Yourself urbanism », l'urbanisme tactique ou le placemaking) – mettent au cœur de leurs réflexions la notion d'inclusion, tant au sein de la place publique créée que dans la conception de celle-ci. La présente recherche s'intéresse à cette notion d'inclusion et vise à comprendre de quelles façons le placemaking peut être une approche inclusive de production et d'appropriation d'une place publique, notamment pour les femmes. Nous avons donc privilégié une étude de cas d'une place publique produite par le processus de placemaking à Montréal : le Village au Pied-du-Courant.

Le site du Village au Pied-du-Courant est un lieu de dépôt de neige, utilisé uniquement l'hiver. C'est donc un terrain sous-utilisé à Montréal, à proximité du centre-ville. Depuis 2014, ce terrain est transformé en village éphémère pour la saison estivale par un processus de placemaking. Différentes organisations chapeautent cette initiative qui se redéfinit chaque année afin de valoriser l'espace public en le transformant en une place publique. Une programmation est aussi développée afin d'encourager les personnes à venir fréquenter le lieu. Notre recherche se base sur la saison 2017 et vise à explorer les différentes façons dont le placemaking, une forme particulière d'urbanisme participatif, pourrait être une approche inclusive de production et d'appropriation de l'espace public, particulièrement pour les femmes.

Les écrits : état des connaissances, limites et lacunes (chapitre 1)

Nous avons noté l'importance accordée à la participation citoyenne dans les écrits en études urbaines. Plusieurs auteurs, dont Arnstein (1969) et Fung (2006) ont développé des modèles qui visent à évaluer le degré de participation citoyenne. Ces auteurs reconnaissent que le fait d'offrir l'occasion aux citoyen.ne.s de participer ne veut pas dire qu'il y a automatiquement un partage de pouvoir et la participation citoyenne peut simplement être symbolique. L'urbanisme participatif accorde toutefois une place importante à la participation des citoyen.ne.s.

Le placemaking a émergé au sein des villes canadiennes et américaines dans les années 1970 avant de s'étendre dans des villes à travers le monde (Zetlaoui-Léger 2016 ; Westfield 2017 ; Project for Public Spaces n.d.-a ; Wyckoff 2014). Le placemaking demande aux citadin.e.s,

souvent riverain.e.s, de réinventer les espaces publics sous-utilisés afin de les transformer en places publiques. D'autres formes d'urbanisme participatif sont aussi apparues dans les années 1960 et 1970 (Finn 2014a, 386). Les écrits montrent que les définitions et paramètres de ces diverses formes d'urbanisme participatif sont très flous. Des auteurs utilisent les mêmes paramètres de façons différentes pour proposer leurs interprétations du phénomène, souvent contradictoires (voir le tableau 1.1).

Tableau 2.1: Les diverses formes d'urbanisme participatif

Les diverses formes d'urbanisme participatif	
Échelle	**Petite échelle** (Iveson 2013 ; Finn 2014a ; Talen 2015); local (Ferraris 2016 ; de la Llata 2016) **Différentes échelles** (Silva 2016);
Coût	**Bas coût** : (Finn 2014a ; Ferraris 2016 ; de la Llata 2016 ; Talen 2015 ; Éthier 2017); *lighter, quicker, cheaper* (Project for Public Spaces n.d.-a ; Lydon et al. 2011) ; **Coût élevé** (Finn 2014a ; Lang et Rothenberg 2017)
Degré de formalité	**Informel** (Ferraris 2016) **Formel et informel:** *"self-organised processes can be somewhere between formal and informal spheres"* (Silva 2016, 1041); entre le formel et l'informel (Éthier 2017)**;** **Formel:** les gouvernements doivent trouver l'équilibre entre la réglementation et la déréglementation (United Cities and Local Governments 2016, 10)
Interventions	**La ville comme laboratoire:** des façons d'essayer des nouvelles idées (Lydon et al. 2011 ; Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Talen 2015 ; Thorpe 2018 ; Ferraris 2016 ; Silva 2016 ; Éthier 2017 ; Banville 2016) **Événementiel** (Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Éthier 2017): fermeture des rues pour l'art public et pour des festivals (Hartley et al. 2014) **Interventions à microéchelle :** *guerilla gardening* (Lydon et al. 2012); boutiques éphémères (Éthier 2017) placottoirs (Mould 2014)
Temporalité	**Temporalité:** *temporaire* (Talen 2015 ; Finn 2014a): court-terme (Lydon et al. 2011 ; de la Llata 2016); "plus ou moins temporaire" (Douay et Prévot 2016, 2); *allégé* (Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Project for Public Spaces n.d.-a ; Banville 2016 ; Silva 2016) ; **Temporaire ou permanent:** conçus comme temporaire, mais devient permanent (Lydon et al. 2011 ; Silva 2016) **Degré de prévoyance:** *spontanée* (Finn 2014a ; Ferraris 2016 ; Éthier 2017); imprévu (Silva 2016) *Planifié***:** plus complexe ; des efforts concertés (Ferraris 2016)
Qui initie et qui mène l'initiative	**De bas en haut** (Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Ferraris 2016 ; Silva 2016) **;** mené par des militantes (Silva 2016 ; Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Mould 2014 ; Talen 2015 ; Hartley et al. 2014 ; Lydon et al. 2011) *grassroots urban activists* (Talen 2015); *"vigilante urbanism"* (Finn 2014a, 382) **;** mené par des citoyen.ne.s (Éthier 2017); mené par des resident.es (Talen 2015) **De bas en haut ou de haut en bas** (Hartley et al. 2014*)* **De haut en bas:** de plus en plus professionnalisé et politisé (Silva 2016 ; Mould 2014) ; mené par la ville (Hartley et al. 2014 ; Lydon et al. 2011) mené par des collectifs de design urbain **(**Éthier 2017)
Profil des participant.e.s	**Citoyen.ne.s** (Silva 2016 ; Ferraris 2016): par des résident.es (Talen 2015); les citoyen.nes sont impliqués.e dans l'effort collectif de développement de l'espace (Douay et Prévot 2016); the citizen designer (Finn 2014a)**;** jeunes professionnel.le.s éduqué.es, blanc.hes, millénaires, locataires (Thorpe 2018) **Citoyen.ne.s ou professionnel.le.s:** (Éthier 2017) **Professionnel.le.s :** la communauté de design (Finn 2014a)
Valeurs et objectifs	**L'importance de l'expérience vécue** (Finn 2014a ; Talen 2015); qualité de vie (Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Lydon et al. 2011 ; Lydon et al. 2012); plus flexible (Hartley et al. 2014); **Centré sur l'humain:** l'humain en premier (Douay et Prévot 2016) piétons (Douay et Prévot 2016 ; Éthier 2017); connexion, inclusion sociospatiale (Éthier 2017); urbanisme social (Douay et Prévot 2016) inclusion sociale (Talen 2015 ; Lydon et al. 2011). **Modèle alternatif,** plus vite et moins cher (Lydon et al. 2012 ; Silva 2016 ; Iveson 2013 ; Hartley et al. 2014).

Source: K. Travers

Le processus de placemaking se veut inclusif avec un processus allant du bas vers le haut. Il est souvent guidé par des organisations professionnelles ayant une expertise en architecture ou en design. Il y a cependant peu d'informations sur le profil des personnes qui participent et qui bénéficient de ces processus, encore moins sur la participation des femmes. En fait, les écrits sur le placemaking n'abordent pas – à notre connaissance -- la question de la diversité, mettant plutôt l'emphase sur l'importance d'être inclusif dans le sens général du terme. Ceci est une lacune importante des écrits actuels. De plus, les écrits sur le placemaking et sur l'urbanisme participatif sont souvent positifs et n'explorent pas les possibilités de reproduction des exclusions et oppressions liées au genre, à la classe sociale ou à la diversité éventuellement engendrées par le placemaking. Cependant, nous savons que lorsque la participation citoyenne présente des limites dans la production d'espace public, les exclusions sociales et spatiales se reproduisent (Nez 2001). Nous savons aussi que nos villes ont largement été développées par et pour des hommes, ce qui a produit de façon inconsciente des lacunes de genre (Sassen 2015). Quand les femmes ne sont pas impliquées dans la conception et le développement des villes et des espaces publics, leurs besoins et souhaits sont ignorés (Greed 2005 ; Mozingo 1989 ; Whitzman et al. 2013 ; Women in Cities International 2013). L'importance, donc, d'inclure les voix des femmes dans la production de places publiques est aussi pertinente pour l'urbanisme participatif. En fait, certaines analyses affirment que la participation de diverses femmes - surtout celles qui sont les plus marginalisées - dans les processus de prise de décision peut avoir des impacts sur la transformation des normes et des stéréotypes sexistes (Unterhalter et al. 2014).

Au-delà du processus de développer les places publiques, c'est aussi important de considérer l'usage, l'appréciation et l'appropriation de la place publique, surtout par des femmes. Les écrits soulignent que les femmes vivent la ville et ses espaces publics de façon distincte et différente des hommes (Mosconi, Paoletti et Raibaud 2015 ; Peake 2017). En fait, on note que les espaces publics sont traditionnellement considérés comme étant masculins, versus les espaces privés (le domicile) qui seraient féminins (Lahad et May 2017). En réfléchissant à la question d'exclusion et d'oppression, c'est essentiel de se souvenir que les femmes ne constituent pas un groupe homogène, mais que l'expérience de chaque femme est liée à l'ensemble de ses caractéristiques telle que son âge, son statut socioéconomique et son appartenance à la diversité etc. Dans ce sens, pour que les villes deviennent réellement inclusives de la diversité des femmes et des filles, « un changement social de grande ampleur, intersectionnel et intersectoriel est nécessaire » (Lelièvre 2017, 6).

Notre recherche vise donc à contribuer aux connaissances sur le placemaking en apportant un regard critique sur la question de l'inclusion, surtout pour les femmes, dans le processus de développement, de prise de décision et de gestion de l'espace, ainsi que dans l'usage et l'appropriation de la place publique. Notre recherche vise ainsi à répondre à la question suivante : de quelle façon le placemaking peut-il être un processus inclusif de la production et de l''usage de places publiques, particulièrement pour les femmes ?

Méthodologie (chapitre 2)

Notre étude a privilégié une approche qualitative et exploratoire pour répondre à notre question de recherche. Dans un premier temps, pour notre cas d'étude du Village au Pied-du-Courant à Montréal, nous avons exploré la façon dont la participation au sein d'un processus de placemaking se réalisait (opportunités de participation, profil et rôle des participant.e.s, mécanismes de communication autour d'une initiative de placemaking). Deuxièmement, nous avons exploré l'espace public issu de ce processus (design, programmation du site, l'usage social de cet espace et son appropriation). À cette fin, plusieurs outils de collecte de l'information ont été mobilisés pour explorer l'inclusion de genre dans le processus et les résultats du placemaking du Village au Pied-du-Courant.

Premièrement, nous avons effectué une analyse documentaire de diverses sources, surtout les sources des organisations qui font du placemaking à Montréal, les documents produits par la Ville de Montréal, ainsi que ceux réalisés par des organismes qui travaillent dans le quartier Sainte-Marie, où le projet du Village au Pied-du-Courant se situe.

Ensuite, nous avons effectué des entretiens semi-dirigés avec quatre expert.e.s et des practicien.ne.s internationaux afin de démystifier le placemaking. Les experts ont été choisis en fonction de leur réputation internationale et des références à leurs œuvres dans les écrits. Vu que notre étude de cas était basée à Montréal, on a choisi les expert.e.s et praticien.ne.s d'autres pays occidentaux : l'Australie, la Belgique, le Canada et les Pays-Bas. Avec l'exception d'un entretien qui a été fait en présentiel, les entretiens se sont faits en mode virtuel en utilisant le logiciel Skype et avec l'application Callnote qui permet d'enregistrer la conversation.

Nous avons aussi réalisé des entretiens semi-dirigés avec des personnes qui sont plus directement impliquées ou touchées par le projet du Village au Pied-du-Courant. Précisément,

nous avons mené six entretiens avec des représentants des organisations qui chapeautent cette initiative de placemaking. De plus, nous avons mené cinq entretiens avec des personnes qui représentent différentes organisations locales afin de mieux comprendre comment le projet est perçu par la communauté riveraine.

Finalement, pour mieux comprendre l'usage, l'appréciation et l'appropriation du site, nous avons effectué six séances d'observation – d'une durée moyenne de 2,5 heures – sur le site. Ces séances d'observation ont été réalisées avec l'appui d'une grille d'observation. Nous avons aussi pris des photos lors de chaque séance d'observation pour avoir un appui visuel qui sera un complément à nos observations et perceptions de l'espace. De plus, nous avons réalisé 65 micros-enquêtes auprès des usagers pour que les usagers du site puissent s'exprimer directement. Notre enquête permettait aux participant.e.s de s'autoidentifier au regard de leur genre. Au total, 36 femmes, 27 hommes et 2 personnes qui n'ont pas partagé leur identité de genre ont répondu à notre enquête sur le site du Village au Pied-du-Courant. L'enquête s'est faite sur un iPad avec l'aide du logiciel QuickTap Survey.

Les résultats de la recherche (chapitres 3, 4 et 5)

Nos entretiens avec les informateurs clés attestent du fait que la compréhension de ce qu'est le placemaking n'est pas uniforme. En fait, les informateurs ont partagé leurs expériences avec le placemaking et on constate que les expériences ne se ressemblent pas. Par exemple, en Australie toutes les interventions se sont faites avec l'accord de la ville, tandis que les interventions en Belgique ont souvent été une expression de militantisme non sanctionné. À l'instar des écrits recensés, nous avons observé plusieurs contradictions lors des entretiens, au niveau de l'échelle de l'intervention ou au regard de la durée des initiatives. Les informateurs clés étaient d'accord sur trois points : (1) le fait que le placemaking s'étend dans différentes villes (2) l'importance des valeurs associées au placemaking et (3) le potentiel de l'approche inclusive, notamment pour les femmes etc. Les valeurs étaient associées au processus (inclusion, équité, confiance) comme à la place publique elle-même (accessibilité, attachement, valeurs partagées). Finalement, chaque informateur a affirmé que le placemaking attire la participation des femmes qui sont souvent plus nombreuses que les hommes à manifester leur intérêt et qui se présentent pour participer.

Notre prochaine section a servi à localiser le site du Village au Pied-du-Courant dans le quartier Sainte-Marie. Les résultats de notre analyse documentaire et les entretiens avec cinq personnes qui travaillent pour des organisations communautaires nous ont permis de dresser le portrait d'un quartier qui se transforme et des résident.e.s qui se mobilisent, s'organisent et manifestent leur fidélité à leur quartier. Les entretiens ont souligné le fait que les dernières années ont vu plusieurs consultations publiques organisées dans un contexte de volonté de la ville de faire valoir le territoire, et l'intérêt des promoteurs à le développer davantage. Plusieurs personnes ont partagé leur crainte pour le futur de leur quartier, où l'offre locataire est moins présente et de plus en plus chère, et où l'offre de condos à vendre est en pleine expansion. De plus, les entretiens avec six personnes directement impliquées dans le Village au Pied-du-Courant nous ont aussi permis de tracer l'évolution de l'idée d'un Village éphémère à une place publique récurrente et des possibilités de participer aux diverses phases du projet (conception, design, programmation). On note que plusieurs femmes sont impliquées dans le projet avec des rôles importants - de la supervision de l'aménagement du site, aux relations avec la presse, à la mobilisation communautaire, au gestionnaire du site et à la programmation du site. L'ensemble des onze entretiens dévoilent un contexte difficile dans lequel les partenariats entre les différentes organisations sont parfois tendus et la confiance entre les différents groupes est limitée. En fait, certaines personnes ont partagé leurs craintes que le Village ne soit pas un bon exemple du placemaking, car la mobilisation et l'implication des riverains sont très limitées, et ceci malgré le fait qu'il y ait une personne responsable de la mobilisation communautaire. Finalement, on note que le profil des personnes impliquées dans le développement du site est relativement homogène : jeune, designer, éduqué, aisé, laissant penser que la communauté du Village n'est pas la communauté locale, mais plutôt une communauté de designers.

Notre deuxième dimension de recherche était la place publique. Nous avons utilisé la photographie, des observations et les résultats de 65 microenquêtes in situ afin de comprendre l'espace, le profil des usagers et ses usages. Nous avons surtout été intéressés par la qualité de la place publique pour comprendre son potentiel d'inclusion pour des femmes. La qualité esthétique du site est appréciée par les usagers et on a observé la présence d'une parité en termes de femmes et hommes qui fréquentent le lieu. Cependant, nous avons observé un manque de diversité des usagers du site, avec une majorité des personnes dans la vingtaine ou trentaine, et plutôt éduquée - surtout les femmes qui ont répondu à notre enquête. Les femmes qui ont participé à notre enquête ont exprimé leurs appréciations sur le site, le design et l'ambiance. On a également constaté que plus de femmes que d'hommes sont allées au Village

au Pied-du-Courant pour une activité en particulier, ce qui montre l'importance de la programmation du site. Ceci est encore plus important pour un site comme le Village qui est une destination plutôt qu'un espace déjà activé au long de l'année. En fait, notre enquête montre que la majorité des personnes qui fréquentent le lieu ne vit pas dans le quartier, mais provient de différents arrondissements de Montréal. Cette fracture est plus visible le soir des feux d'artifice où les personnes du quartier amènent leurs chaises et glacières, mais restent en dehors du site du Village sans entrer à l'intérieur. C'est important de noter qu'une des activités importante pour le Village est l'offre de service de bar et les coûts sont prohibitifs pour plusieurs personnes, ce qui crée une exclusion financière. La musique très forte et les heures d'ouverture, les soirs et fins de semaine mettent en évidence que c'est un lieu où on peut aller fêter, ce qui a pour conséquence que certaines personnes pensent que ce site n'est pas pour elles.

Conclusions

Notre recherche visait ainsi à explorer les différentes façons dont le placemaking, une forme particulière d'urbanisme participatif, pourrait être une approche inclusive de production et d'appropriation de l'espace public, particulièrement pour les femmes. Nous avons considéré deux dimensions : le processus de placemaking et la place publique produite par ce processus.

Notre recherche montre que les processus de placemaking, contrairement à d'autres formes de participation citoyenne, semblent surmonter la barrière de la participation des femmes : beaucoup de femmes sont mobilisées et motivées à participer et à fréquenter le site. Malgré cet élément d'inclusion, le profil des personnes qui participent dans le processus de placemaking et qui fréquentent la place produite est plutôt homogène et ne reflètent pas la diversité des résident.e.s locales ni de la population montréalaise plus largement. Néanmoins, dans la communication autour des initiatives de placemaking, tout comme d'autres formes d'urbanisme participatif, les valeurs d'inclusion, de collaboration et d'appartenance priment. Un des éléments centraux est que ces projets sont par et pour la communauté, mais notre recherche montre que ce n'est pas le cas pour le Village au Pied-du-Courant.

De plus, notre recherche montre que l'impact de la participation dans le projet de placemaking du Village au Pied-du-Courant est limité, car plusieurs décisions sont prises en amont par La Pépinière, l'organisation qui mène le projet et la gestion du site et plus précisément par un des fondateurs de l'organisation, un homme qui a été qualifié de master designer. On note la volonté

de l'organisation de rejoindre les organisations locales et de les inviter à participer. Mais une grande partie de la programmation est déjà établie par La Pépinière et les heures d'ouverture du site sont surtout déterminées en fonction de la possibilité de vendre de l'alcool. Les efforts en termes de mobilisation communautaire et de participation de la communauté riveraine dans la programmation sont ainsi restreints.

En plus des heures d'ouverture, le site est développé pour et par la communauté de designers et le site transmet cette information de manière subtile. Le Village au Pied-du-Courant ressemble donc aux personnes qui l'ont développé. Les besoins et intérêts des autres personnes sont donc ignorés. Par exemple, bien que les enfants aient souvent été observés sur le site, le manque de protection contre les éléments et les heures d'ouverture ne favorisent pas leur présence sur le site. D'un autre côté, quelques personnes plus âgées ont exprimé qu'elles savaient que le site n'était pas pour elles en raison du volume de la musique et du genre de musique diffusé. Par ailleurs, le coût de des boissons ou de la nourriture est très élevé sur le site, ce qui fait en sorte que les personnes moins aisées ne peuvent pas bénéficier de cette offre. Dans ce sens, on affirme que bien que la parité des genres soit visible sur le site, d'autres groupes semblent exclus.

Nous concluons donc qu'au regard du genre, le processus de placemaking semble avoir le potentiel d'être inclusif tant dans le processus de développement d'une place publique que dans son usage et dans son appropriation. Cependant, notre recherche démontre qu'il reste un effort à fournir pour rendre le processus et la place inclusive de la diversité des femmes et des filles, des hommes et des garçons. Il semble nécessaire de poursuivre le travail de réflexion afin de mieux comprendre l'impact de ces initiatives et de réfléchir à la façon de les rendre réellement inclusives pour la diversité des femmes notamment.

ANNEX 1: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Key informant interviews

Summary and overview of confidentiality

Thank you for accepting to meet with me today. My name is Kathryn Travers and I am currently a Master's student at *INRS- Centre Urbanisation, Culture, Société*. As you know, we are conducting interviews with placemaking experts as part of a research study. Today, I will be asking you about your experience with developing and implementing placemaking initiatives. Specifically, our research is interested in exploring the placemaking processes, to better understand who participates and how. The interview is expected to last 45 to 60 minutes and will be recorded to be transcribed later. Please note that your responses will be kept confidential, meaning that any information gathered here today will only be used for related research purposes and your name will not appear in any resulting reports. You have the right to refuse to answer any question and can withdraw from the interview at any moment.

The interview will be audio recorded, but your name will be replaced with a pseudonym during the transcription to minimize the risks of identification.

Do you have any questions about what I just explained?

Do you accept to participate in this research?

(sign all related forms)

Signature:

Date:

DRAFT KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introductory questions - placemaking

1. To begin, can you please define placemaking in your own words?
2. How did you first hear about placemaking?
3. Please tell me about how you have been involved in placemaking?
4. Placemaking is becoming increasingly popular in cities around the world in recent years – why do you think this is?
5. What are some placemaking best practices?

Community involvement in placemaking

6. Please describe the different people involved in a placemaking process (facilitator, local residents, NGOs, etc.). Please describe the different roles played by each
    a. Who has a leadership role?
    b. Who has a decision-making role?
    c. Who manages the resources?
    d. Who speaks on behalf of the community?
    e. Who speaks on behalf of the placemaking collective?
7. Please describe how decisions are made in placemaking processes (design, colors, materials, location, maintenance, etc.)
    a. How are residents engaged in designing the space? How are professionals involved?
    b. How are people involved in creating the space?
    c. What roles are available for implementation?
    d. How is the design validated by the community?
8. It can be very difficult to mobilize communities to become involved in changing their cities. What strategies can be used to encourage citizen participation in placemaking? What communication tools do you use to reach the community?
    a. How is information shared about the process?
    b. How are people invited to participate? Is there a minimum commitment?

c. Where are meetings held? At what time? Are children welcome? What is the duration of the meetings?

d. Is knowledge of technical terms necessary to enable participation?

e. How accessible is the meeting place (transit options, physical accessibility)? Can people participate without physically going to a meeting?

f. What strategies are used to reach a diversity of residents (by age, gender, cultural background, etc.)?

Placemaking– how to ensure inclusion for all

1. What do you do if you notice one group of people (ex. elderly man, children, young mother) are not involved in the process? How can you ensure that the final place is inclusive of all?

2. What strategies have you used to ensure that a diversity of people are participating? Which ones are most effective?

3. How is sustainability built into the design plans? Into implementation? What plans for maintaining the site?

4. How do you evaluate the results of the placemaking process?

5. Can you think of an example where the result of a placemaking initiative resulted in a great place, but was not used by a diversity of people? How can you remedy this?

6. How do you deal with the challenge of seeing a plan proposed by the community that you, as a professional, know will be problematic (ex. will create exclusion)? How can you guide the community to a better place while still ensuring that the process is community-led?

Gender inclusion in placemaking

7. It is relatively well-documented that women and girls have been excluded from traditional top-down urban planning. Do you believe that placemaking has been successful in overcoming this gender gap? If so, how? Please explain. If not, please explain. How could it be more gender inclusive?

8. How do you ensure that placemaking processes are gender inclusive? Please provide specific examples. How can you promote inclusion in the resulting places?

9. What ideas do you have for overcoming gender exclusions in placemaking processes? In placemaking results – i.e. the resulting places?

10. Do you have any final comments or things you would like to share?

Thank you so much for your time and for agreeing to participate in this research!

ANNEX 2: MICROSURVEY

MICRO SURVEY

Request to participate

Hello,

I am currently a Master's student at *INRS- Centre Urbanisation, Culture, Société*. We are contacting you today because we are doing a research study about people's impressions of the Village au Pied-du-Courant.

We would like to understand and document the impressions of the users of this space, the Village au Pied-du-Courant.

If you are interested and available, we would like to invite you to participate in a short 5-minute survey about your impressions of the Village au Pied-du-Courant.

Your participation will remain anonymous: your name will not figure in any of the research reports or publications that will come out of this research. You can refuse to answer a question at any point, and can stop the survey at any moment.

Funding for this research is provided by a scholarship from the INRS as well as by the Canada Graduate Scholarships-Master's Program.

To participate, you have to be 18 years or older, do you accept to participate in this research?

- Yes
- No

QUICK TAP

1. Now, how did you first hear about this place, the Village au Pied-du-Courant?
    a. Participated in placemaking
    b. Social media
    c. Friends
    d. Promotion for specific event
    e. Live in neighbourhood
    f. Other (specify)
    g. Prefer not to answer

2. Why did you come here today?
    a. Be close to the water
    b. Enjoy the view
    c. Meet friends
    d. Participate in activity
    e. Hang out
    f. Check it out for the first time
    g. Other (specify)
    h. Prefer not to answer

3. How often do you come here?
    a. Every day
    b. Every week
    c. Every month
    d. Every 2-3 months
    e. It's my first time
    f. Other (specify)
    g. Prefer not to answer

4. How did you travel here today?
    a. Walking
    b. Bicycle
    c. Metro
    d. Car
    e. Other (specify)
    f. Prefer not to answer

5. What do you like about this place? Select all that apply.
    a. Design
    b. Atmosphere
    c. Crowd
    d. Activities offered
    e. Food and beverage
    f. Other (specify)
    g. Prefer not to answer

6. If you could change one thing to make the space better, what would it be?
    a. Add more programming
    b. Open at different hours
    c. Change part of the design
    d. Open all year long
    e. Other (specify)
    f. Prefer not to answer

7. Who is the Village au Pied-du-Courant made for? Select all that apply
    a. Families
    b. Girls
    c. Boys
    d. Teenagers
    e. All adult women
    f. All adult men
    g. People in 20s
    h. People in 30s
    i. Elderly people
    j. Local people
    k. Tourists
    l. Everyone
    m. Other (specify)
    n. Prefer not to answer

Finally, I have a few demographic questions for classification purposes only:

8. Postal code?
    a. Specify
    b. Prefer not to answer

9. How long have you lived at your current address?
    a. Less than 1 year
    b. 1-2 years
    c. 2-3 years
    d. 3-5 years
    e. 5 years or more
    f. Other (specify)
    g. Prefer not to answer

10. How old are you?
    c. 18-25
    d. 26-35
    e. 36-45
    f. 45-55
    g. 55 +
    h. Prefer not to answer

11. Gender?

        i.   Female
        j.   Male
        k.   Other (specify)
        l.   Prefer not to answer

12. First language
        m. French
        n. English
        o. Bilingual (French and English)
        p. Other (specify)
        q. Prefer not to answer

13. Any final comments or things you would like to share?
        a. Specify

Thank you so much for your time!

MICRO ENQUÊTE

Invitation à participer

Bonjour,

Je suis étudiante à la maîtrise en études urbaines à l'INRS- Centre Urbanisation, Culture, Société. Nous vous contactons aujourd'hui car nous effectuons un projet de recherche sur le Village au Pied-du-Courant et nous aimerions connaitre vos impressions.

Plus précisément, nous désirons comprendre et documenter les réflexions des usagers du site, c'est-à-dire, le Village au Pied-du-Courant.

Si vous êtes intéressé-e et disponible, nous vous invitons à participer à un micro-entretien de pas plus de 5 minutes pour documenter vos impressions du Village au Pied-du-Courant.

Votre participation sera anonyme : votre nom ne figurera pas dans les rapports de la recherche ni dans les publications connexes. Vous pouvez refuser de répondre à une question en tout moment et vous pouvez également mettre fin à l'entretien en tout moment.

La recherche est financée par une bourse de l'INRS ainsi que par le Programme de bourses d'études supérieures du Canada au niveau de la maîtrise.

Pour pouvoir participer, vous devez avoir 18 ans ou plus, acceptez-vous de participer à cette recherche?

- Oui
- Non

QUICK TAP

1. Quand avez-vous entendu parler du Village au Pied-du-Courant pour la première fois?
   a. J'ai participé au développement du site (placemaking)
   b. Réseaux sociaux
   c. Ami.e.s
   d. Promotion d'un évènement particulier
   e. J'habite dans le quartier
   f. Autre (précisez)
   g. Je préfère ne pas répondre

2. Pourquoi êtes-vous venu-e-s ici aujourd'hui?
   a. Être près de l'eau
   b. Apprécier la vue
   c. Rencontrer des ami.e.s
   d. Participer à une activité
   e. Traîner avec des ami.e.s
   f. Jeter un coup d'œil pour la première fois
   g. Autre (précisez)
   h. Je préfère ne pas répondre

3. Avec quelle fréquence venez-vous au Village au Pied-du-Courant
   a. Tous les jours quand c'est ouvert
   b. Chaque semaine
   c. Chaque mois
   d. Tous les 2-3 mois
   e. C'est ma première fois
   f. Autre (précisez)
   g. Je préfère ne pas répondre

4. Comment vous êtes-vous rendu ici aujourd'hui?
   a. À pied
   b. Bicyclette
   c. Métro
   d. Auto
   e. Autre (précisez)
   f. Je préfère ne pas répondre

5. Qu'aimez-vous de cette place? Sélectionnez tous qui correspondent.
   a. L'aménagement
   b. L'atmosphère, l'ambiance
   c. Le public qui y va
   d. Les activités offertes
   e. La nourriture, les boissons
   f. Autre (précisez)
   g. Je préfère ne pas répondre

6. Si vous pouviez changer une chose pour améliorer davantage le Village au Pied-du-Coutant, que changeriez-vous?
   a. Ajouter de la programmation
   b. Changer les heures d'ouvertures
   c. L'aménagement du site
   d. Garder l'espace accessible public au long de l'année (pas juste estivale)
   e. Autre (précisez)
   f. Je préfère ne pas répondre

7. Le Village au Pied-du-Courant est construit pour quel public selon vous (sélectionnez tous qui s'appliquent)
   a. Les familles
   b. Filles
   c. Garçons
   d. Adolescent.e.s
   e. Toutes les femmes (adultes)
   f. Tous les hommes (adultes)
   g. Des personnes dans leur vingtaine
   h. Des personnes dans leur trentaine
   i. Des aîné.e.s
   j. Des touristes
   k. Tout le monde!
   l. Autre (précisez)
   m. Je préfère ne pas répondre

Finalement, j'ai quelques dernières petites questions démographiques à vous poser afin de classifier les données :

8. Quel est votre code postal ?
   a. Précisez
   b. Je préfère ne pas répondre

9. Depuis quand demeurez-vous à cette adresse ?
   a. Moins d'un an
   b. 1-2 ans
   c. 2-3 ans
   d. 3-5 ans
   e. 5 ans ou plus
   f. Autre (précisez)
   g. Je préfère ne pas répondre

10. Quel est votre tranche d'âge ?
    a. 18-25
    b. 26-35
    c. 36-45
    d. 45-55
    e. 55 +

       a. Je préfère ne pas répondre

11. Genre
       a. Femme
       b. Homme
       c. Autre (précisez)
       d. Je préfère ne pas répondre

12. Langue maternelle
       a. Français
       b. Anglais
       c. Bilingue (français et anglais)
       d. Autre (précisez)
       e. Je préfère ne pas répondre

13. Autres commentaires ou choses à partager ?
       a. Précisez

Merci beaucoup d'avoir pris le temps de participer à cette recherche !

ANNEX 3: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL LEAD ORGANISATIONS

PROTOCOLE D'ENTRETIEN

Organisations chargées du placemaking du Village au Pied-du-Courant

Résumé

Merci d'avoir accepté de me rencontrer aujourd'hui. Je m'appelle Kathryn Travers et je suis étudiante à la maîtrise à l'INRS- Centre Urbanisation, Culture, Société. Comme vous le savez déjà, nous menons des entretiens avec des représentants des organisations qui ont participé au développement du Village au Pied-du-Courant dans le quartier Sainte Marie à Montréal dans le cadre d'un projet de recherche. Aujourd'hui, je vais vous poser des questions portant sur votre expérience avec l'organisation et la mise œuvre de cette initiative de placemaking. Nous estimons que l'entretien prendra de 45 à 60 minutes à compléter. L'entretien sera enregistré et retranscrit ultérieurement. Veuillez noter que vos réponses demeureront confidentielles, c'est-à-dire, toute information recueillie ici aujourd'hui sera utilisée seulement à des fins de recherche et votre nom n'apparaitra pas dans les rapports produits. S'il y a des questions auxquelles vous ne pouvez pas ou préférez ne pas répondre, vous êtes tout à fait libre de choisir de ne pas répondre sans avoir à fournir de raisons et sans inconvénient ou conséquences négatives. Sachez par ailleurs qu'à titre de participant volontaire à cette étude, vous avez la possibilité de vous en retirer à tout moment.

Bien que l'entretien soit enregistré, votre nom sera remplacé par un pseudonyme lors de la transcription afin de respecter votre anonymat.

Avez-vous des questions sur ce que je viens d'expliquer ?

Acceptez-vous de participer à cette recherche ?

(Signer tous les formulaires)

Signature :

Date :

PROTOCOLE D'ENTRETIEN

Organisations chargées du placemaking du Village au Pied-du-Courant

1. Pour commencer, pouvez-vous me décrire l'organisation pour laquelle vous travaillez (mission, objectifs, etc.) ?
2. Quel est votre rôle au sein de l'organisation (durée de l'engagement, responsabilités, etc.) ? Depuis quand travaillez-vous avec l'organisation ?

Les prochaines questions chercheront à mieux comprendre le processus de placemaking du Village au Pied-du-Courant.

3. Le Village au Pied-du-Courant est un exemple d'une 'place' issue d'un processus de placemaking. Quelle était l'implication de votre organisation dans ce processus ?
4. Quelle était votre implication personnelle dans ce processus ?
5. Le développement du Village au Pied-du-Courant était initié par quelques organisations partenaires, pouvez-vous me décrire les rôles des différentes organisations ?
   a. Qui était le leader ?
   b. Qui avait le pouvoir décisionnel ?
   c. Qui s'occupait du budget ?
   d. Qui agissait comme porte-parole du projet de placemaking du Village au Pied-du-Courant ?
   e. Qui agissait comme porte-parole de la communauté ?
   f. Aujourd'hui, qui assure la programmation, l'entretien, la gestion du site ? Est-ce que les mêmes partenaires sont toujours impliqués ? Est-ce qu'il y a des nouveaux partenaires ?
6. Quels autres groupes ou individus ont participé à ce processus (phase conceptuelle, design, validation du design, mise en œuvre, programmation) ? Quels rôles ont joué ces acteurs ?
7. Un des principes du placemaking est l'inclusion et la participation, mais on sait qu'il peut être très difficile de mobiliser des citoyens de s'impliquer à changer leur ville. Quelles stratégies ont été utilisées par les différentes organisations impliquées dans l'organisation

du placemaking du Village au Pied-du-Courant afin d'encourager la participation citoyenne ?

    a. Quels outils de communication ont été utilisés pour rejoindre la communauté ?

    b. Quel était le succès de ces efforts de mobilisation des citoyen.ne.s à l'échelle locale ?

8. Un autre obstacle est la mobilisation d'une diversité de personnes de la communauté (ex. aîné.e.s, femmes, jeunes, les plus pauvres, vivant avec des handicapes, monoparentale). En réfléchissant sur la diversité des personnes qui ont participé au processus de développement du Village au Pied-du-Courant, est-ce qu'il y avait des personnes qui n'ont pas participé dans ce processus ?

    a. Si oui, qui sont-ils et pourquoi pensez-vous qu'ils n'ont pas participé ?

    b. Est-ce qu'il y avait des efforts spécifiques réalisés pour les inciter à participer ? Si oui, pouvez-vous me les décrire ?

Dans la prochaine section nous allons discuter des résultats des processus de placemaking, c'est-à-dire, le Village au Pied-du-Courant.

9. Pour commencer, pouvez-vous décrire le Village au Pied-du-Courant (design, fonctions, programmation) ? Comment le Village a-t-il évolué d'une année à l'autre ?

10. Qui fréquente le Village au Pied-du-Courant (profil des personnes qui utilisent le site) ? Sur place, que font-ils ? Comment l'utilisation de l'espace a-t-elle évolué depuis son ouverture (profil des personnes qui y vont, design, programmation et activités offertes) ?

11. Est-ce qu'il y a des personnes qui n'y vont pas ? Qui ? Pourquoi ? Quels efforts sont entrepris pour encourager une diversité de personnes à se rendre au Village au Pied-du-Courant ?

12. Le Village au Pied-du-Courant en est à sa troisième édition. Un des objectifs pour cette année est d'encourager plus de personnes à utiliser l'espace et à l'utiliser à différents moments, mais le site est très programmé. Quelles idées avez-vous pour surmonter ces défis pour le rendre plus accessible à toutes et tous en tout temps ?

13. Quels sont les plus grands défis pour le Village au Pied-du-Courant (pérennité, gestion, coûts, animation, achalandage) ?

Les dernières questions cherchent à mieux comprendre l'engagement de différentes femmes et de filles dans le processus. De plus, on cherche à comprendre comment elles utilisent le site (le Village au Pied-du-Courant).

14. On sait que les femmes et les filles ont des expériences urbaines qui diffèrent de celles des hommes et des garçons. Elles sont par ailleurs parfois exclues des processus d'aménagement traditionnel. Selon vous, est-ce que le placemaking réussit à surmonter ces lacunes ? Si oui, expliquez comment. Si non, pourquoi.

15. Partagez vos idées pour surmonter l'exclusion de femmes et de filles dans les processus de placemaking (vos idées pour assurer l'inclusion de femmes et de filles).

16. Croyez-vous que l'expérience de placemaking du Village au Pied-du-Courant a réussi à surmonter le défi d'inclusion de femmes et de filles ? Veuillez expliquer.
    a. Comment ce processus aurait-il pu être plus inclusif à l'égard des femmes et des filles (emphase sur le processus, pas la place) ?

17. Croyez-vous que le Village au Pied-du-Courant est un exemple d'un espace inclusif pour la diversité des femmes et des filles ? Expliquez.
    a. Comment le Village au Pied-du-Courant pourrait-il être encore plus inclusif à l'égard des femmes et des filles ?

18. Avez-vous des commentaires ou des choses que vous aimeriez partager ?

Merci beaucoup d'avoir pris de temps de participer à cette recherche !

ANNEX 4: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL SAINTE MARIE ORGANISATIONS

PROTOCOLE D'ENTRETIEN

Organisations locales basées à Sainte-Marie, Montréal

Résumé

Merci d'avoir accepté de me rencontrer aujourd'hui. Je m'appelle Kathryn Travers et je suis étudiante à la maîtrise à l'INRS- Centre Urbanisation, Culture, Société. Comme vous le savez déjà, nous menons des entretiens avec des représentatives des organisations locales basées dans le quartier Sainte Marie à Montréal et travaillant auprès différents groupes de personnes dans le cadre d'un projet de recherche. Plus précisément, nous sommes intéressés à explorer la façon dont les résidents voient les changements dans leur quartier. Nous estimons que l'entretien prendra de 45 à 60 minutes à compléter. L'entretien sera enregistré et retranscrit ultérieurement. Veuillez noter que vos réponses demeureront confidentielles, c'est-à-dire, toute information recueillie ici aujourd'hui sera utilisée seulement à des fins de recherche et votre nom n'apparaitra pas dans les rapports produits. S'il y a des questions auxquelles vous ne pouvez pas ou préférez ne pas répondre, vous êtes tout à fait libre de choisir de ne pas répondre sans avoir à fournir de raisons et sans inconvénient ou conséquences négatives. Sachez par ailleurs qu'à titre de participant volontaire à cette étude, vous avez la possibilité de vous en retirer à tout moment.

Bien que l'entretien soit enregistré, votre nom sera remplacé par un pseudonyme lors de la transcription afin de respecter votre anonymat.

Avez-vous des questions sur ce que je viens d'expliquer ?

Acceptez-vous de participer à cette recherche ?

(Signer tous les formulaires)

Signature :

Date :

PROTOCOLE D'ENTRETIEN

Organisations locales basées à Sainte-Marie, Montréal

À propos de l'organisation, votre rôle

1. Pour commencer, pouvez-vous me parler de votre organisation, de sa mission, et ce que vous faites ici à Sainte-Marie (services offerts, activités) ? Qui utilise vos services / fréquente votre organisation ?
2. Quel est votre rôle au sein de l'organisation ? Depuis quand occupez-vous ce poste ?

Changements dans le quartier Sainte-Marie

3. Depuis l'introduction du Programme particulier d'urbanisme (PPU) en 2011 à Sainte-Marie, plusieurs changements ont été réalisés dans le quartier. Pouvez-vous décrire en quelques mots, les changements que vous avez pu observer (métro Frontenac, introduction d'espaces verts, etc.).
4. Est-ce que votre organisation prend une position officielle envers les changements du quartier ? Si oui, laquelle ?
5. Est-ce que votre organisation a été impliquée dans ces différents changements ? Comment ?
6. De quelle manière les personnes qui fréquentent votre organisation et celles qui utilisent vos services réagissent-elles à ces changements ? Est-ce qu'elles (ou ils) estiment que le quartier Sainte-Marie change pour le mieux ?

La participation citoyenne – inclusion ou exclusion ?

7. Est-ce que les personnes qui fréquentent votre organisation et utilisent vos services ont joué un rôle actif dans la transformation du quartier ? Comment et pourquoi ?
8. Les changements dans un quartier devraient -- pour certains-- être réalisés pour et par les résidents. D'après ce que vous avez pu comprendre de la part des personnes qui fréquentent votre organisation et utilisent vos services, quel est le degré de succès de la

mobilisation de la participation citoyenne dans les transformations du quartier Sainte-Marie ? Quels groupes y participent ? Qui ne participe pas ?

9. Il peut être difficile de mobiliser des résidents pour qu'ils s'impliquent d'une manière active à changer leurs communautés. Comment, selon vous, peut-on promouvoir une participation plus active des résidents de Sainte-Marie dans la transformation de leur quartier, notamment si vous pensez aux personnes qui fréquentent votre organisation et utilisent vos services ?

10. Pensez-vous que les changements dans le quartier Sainte-Marie promeuvent l'inclusion de tout.e.s ou est-ce que certains groupes peuvent être exclus ? Lesquels ? Pourquoi selon vous ?

11. Quels espaces publics (ex. parcs, marchés, rues, ruelles) sont utilisés par la communauté ? Comment pourrait-on selon vous améliorer les espaces publics pour les rendre plus inclusifs ?

12. Que faudrait-il faire pour transformer Sainte-Marie en un quartier inclusif de tout.e.s (jeunes, enfants, femmes, minorités visible, communauté LGBT, personnes vivant avec des handicapes, les plus pauvres, etc.) ?
    a. En termes de participation citoyenne
    b. En termes d'espaces publics

Village au Pied-du-Courant

13. Un des endroits dans le quartier qui a été redéveloppé pour devenir un lieu ouvert au public est le Village au Pied-du-Courant. Connaissez-vous ce lieu (description du site, programmation) ?

14. Est-ce que votre organisation a participé au développement du site du Village au Pied-du-Courant,?
    a. Si oui, décrivez sa participation
    b. Si non, est-ce que votre organisation s'est positionnée pour ou contre le développement du site ?

15. Que disent les personnes qui fréquentent votre organisation ou utilisent vos services à propos du Village au Pied-du-Courant ?
    a. Est-ce qu'elles (ou ils) y vont ? Si non, est-ce qu'elles (ou ils) veulent y aller ?
    b. Est-ce qu'elles (ou ils) apprécient ce lieu ?

c. Est-ce qu'elles (ou ils) ont participé au développement du Village au Pied-du-Courant ?

d. Semblent-elles (ou ils) vouloir plus de ce genre de lieu public à Sainte-Marie ?

16. Depuis que le Village au Pied-du-Courant a été développé, il y a un concours chaque année où d'autres organisations, groupes et individuels sont invités à soumettre des propositions pour l'aménagement et la programmation du lieu. Est-ce que votre organisation a participé à ce concours?

17. Quels changements pourraient-ils être possible d'apporter au Village au Pied-du-Courant pour que les personnes qui fréquentent votre organisation et utilisent vos services soient en mesure d'y aller ou d'en profiter pleinement ?

18. Quel serait l'espace public idéal pour les personnes qui fréquentent votre organisation et utilisent vos services (ex. parc, rue, ruelle, marché).

19. Avez-vous des commentaires ou des choses que vous aimeriez partager ?

Merci beaucoup d'avoir pris de temps de participer à cette recherche !

ANNEX 5: INFORMATION LETTER KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW

INRS
UNIVERSITÉ DE RECHERCHE

Letter of information about the research

The potential of community-led placemaking to create inclusive public spaces in Montreal

Key informant interviews - Placemaking

Research conducted by Kathryn Travers, Masters candidate in Urban Studies at the *Centre Urbanisation, Culture, Société* of the *Institut national de recherche scientifique -* INRS. Funding for this research is provided by a scholarship from the INRS as well as by the Canada Graduate Scholarships-Master's Program.

We are seeking your participation in a research project. Before accepting to take part, please take the time to read, understand, and carefully consider the following. We invite you to ask any questions that you deem relevant and to request additional explanation for any word or information that is unclear.

Should you accept to take part in this research project, someone will meet with you to ask you questions for a duration of about 45 to 60 minutes. The interviews will take place over Skype at a time that is convenient for you. We will invite you to speak to us about the following things: placemaking, citizen participation and public spaces.

Your participation in this study will not expose you to any risks different from those that you face in your daily life. Rather, the primary inconvenience is the time required to participation in the study – approximately 45 to 60 minutes.

Throughout your participation in this project, the researcher will collect and save all related information in a research folder. Only information deemed necessary to respond to the scientific objectives of this research will be collected.

All information collected is strictly confidential, as per the limits outlines in the law. Interviews will be audio recorded and your name will be replaced with a pseudonym during the transcription phase in an effort to maintain your anonymity. In spite of efforts to maintain anonymity, the risk of indirect identification is always present.

The coded key linking your name to your file will only be accessible to the researcher. All personal information related to your participation in this project, in addition to the information that will be gathered through the interview will be saved in a secure location, with access to the data limited to authorized persons for a duration of two years (audio) and five years (transcriptions) following the completion of the study.

The data collected may be published in specialized journals, be part of scientific discussions or be combined with data from other projects for research purposes.

Kathryn Travers

████████████████████████████████

Cell: ████████████

Skype : ██████████

Email: ██████████████████

Under the direction of

Sandra Breux

██████████████████████████

Telephone: ████████████

Email: ████████████████

Resource person external to the research team

Monsieur Gilles Sénécal

President of the Ethics committee for research with humans

INRS

████████████████

Telephone : ████████████

Email: ████████████████

ANNEX 6: LETTER OF INVITATION KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW

INRS
UNIVERSITÉ DE RECHERCHE

The potential of community-led placemaking to create inclusive public spaces in Montreal

Letter of invitation to participate in a key informant interview

Hello,

I am currently a Master's student at *INRS- Centre Urbanisation, Culture, Société*. We are contacting you today because we are looking for placemaking experts to participate in a research study.

We would like to understand and document how placemaking processes and results imply participation of diverse community members.

If you are interested and available, we would like to organize a skype interview for a duration of approximately one hour about your experiences of carrying out placemaking initiatives.

The interview will be audio recorded, but your participation will remain anonymous: your name will not figure in any of the research reports or publications that will come out of this research. Pseudonyms will be used during the subsequent transcription phase as a means of preserving anonymity, but the risk of indirect identification remains possible. Funding for this research is provided by a scholarship from the INRS as well as by the Canada Graduate Scholarships-Master's Program.

I hope that our research project interests you and that you accept to participate!

Thank you in advance for your generous consideration of our request,

Kathryn Travers

Cell:
Skype :
Email:

ANNEX 7: CONSENT FORM KII

Consent form
The potential of community-led Placemaking to create inclusive public spaces in Montreal

I have been informed about this research through the letter of information.

I have been informed, both orally and in writing, about the research objectives, data collection methods, and the modalities of my participation in the project.

I have also been informed about:

a) how the researcher will ensure my confidentiality and protect the information I share;

b) my right to end the interview or the recording of the interview if I wish, and to refuse to answer certain questions;

c) my right, as a voluntary participant to this research, to withdraw my participation at any moment without reprisal;

d) my right to communication with the researcher, Kathryn Travers (███████████████ ████████████████ , should I have any questions about the project.

I understood that I have the possibility of withdrawing from the research at any time or to refuse to answer certain questions without having to provide an explanation and without consequence.

I authorize the audio recording of the interview. I have been assured that the information gathered throughout this interview will be stored in such as manner as to assure confidentiality and anonymity. However, I am aware that in spite of these precautions, it is possible that I be identified indirectly.

I authorize the principal researcher, named below, to cite certain excerpts from the interview, exclusively for research purposes.

I hereby accept to participate in the research according to the modalities described in the letter of information about the project, provided here in annex.

I sign two copies of this form and retain one for my records.

_____   _____
Signature of the participant   Date

Kathryn Travers
████████████████████████████
Cell: ████████████
Skype : ██████
Email : ████████████████

This project has been approved by the *Comité d'éthique en recherche avec des êtres humains de l'INRS*: June 22, 2017

ANNEX 8: LETTER OF INVITATION LEAD ORGANISATIONS

![INRS UNIVERSITÉ DE RECHERCHE]

Lettre d'information sur la recherche

« Des espaces publics pour toutes et tous ? Analyse du potentiel d'un processus de participation citoyenne à Montréal : le placemaking »

Entretiens organisations chargées du développement du Village au Pied-du-Courant

Recherche menée par Kathryn Travers, étudiante à la maîtrise en études urbaines au Centre Urbanisation, Culture, Société de l'INRS. Cette recherche est financée par une bourse du Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada.

Nous sollicitons votre participation à un projet de recherche. Cependant, avant d'accepter de participer à ce projet, veuillez prendre le temps de lire, de comprendre et de considérer attentivement les renseignements qui suivent. Nous vous invitons à poser toutes les questions que vous jugerez utiles et à demander qu'on vous explique tout mot ou renseignement qui n'est pas clair.

Si vous acceptez de participer à ce projet de recherche, une personne vous rencontrera pour vous poser des questions pendant environ 45 à 60 minutes. Les entrevues auront lieu en face à face, et ce sont les interviewers qui se déplaceront dans un lieu et à un moment de la journée qui vous conviendront. Vous serez invité-e à nous parler des éléments suivants : la création du Village au Pied-du-Courant, le placemaking, la participation citoyenne, les espaces publics.

Votre participation à cette étude ne vous expose pas à des risques différents que ceux auxquels vous vous exposez dans votre vie de tous les jours. Le principal inconvénient est le temps que vous passerez à participer à l'étude soit de 45 à 60 minutes.

Durant votre participation à ce projet, la chercheuse recueillera et consignera dans un dossier de recherche les renseignements vous concernant. Seuls les renseignements nécessaires pour répondre aux objectifs scientifiques de ce projet seront recueillis.

Tous les renseignements recueillis demeureront strictement confidentiels dans les limites prévues par la loi. Les entrevues seront enregistrées et les noms des personnes seront remplacés par un pseudonyme au moment de la transcription afin de préserver votre anonymat. Malgré toutes les précautions prises à cet effet, il demeure possible que vous soyez identifié-e de manière indirecte.

La clé du code reliant votre nom à votre dossier de recherche ne sera accessible qu'à la chercheuse devant communiquer avec les participants. Les renseignements personnels concernant votre participation à ce projet ainsi que les données résultant des entretiens seront conservés en lieu sûr, avec accès restreint aux personnes autorisées pour une période de deux ans (audio) et cinq ans (transcriptions) après la fin de l'étude.

Les données pourront être publiées dans des revues spécialisées, faire l'objet de discussions scientifiques ou être combinées aux données provenant d'autres projets à des fins de recherche.

Kathryn Travers

Cell: ████████
Skype : ████████
Courriel: ████████

Sous la direction de
Sandra Breux
████████████████
Téléphone: ████████
Courriel: ████████

Personne ressource extérieure à l'équipe de recherche :
Monsieur Gilles Sénécal
Président du Comité d'éthique en recherche avec des êtres humains
INRS
████████████
Téléphone : ████████
Courriel: ████████

ANNEX 9: LETTER OF INVITATION LEAD ORGANISATIONS

INRS
UNIVERSITÉ DE RECHERCHE

« Des espaces publics pour toutes et tous ? Analyse du potentiel d'un processus de participation citoyenne à Montréal : le placemaking »

Lettre d'invitation à participer à un entretien adressée aux responsables des organisations chargées du développement du Village au Pied-du-Courant

Bonjour,

Je suis étudiante à la maîtrise en études urbaines à l'INRS- Centre Urbanisation, Culture, Société. Nous vous contactons aujourd'hui parce que nous cherchons des experts ayant participé au développement du site Village au Pied-du-Courant pour participer à une recherche.

Nous désirons comprendre et documenter le processus et les résultats d'une initiative de placemaking à Montréal ayant une participation citoyenne.

Si vous êtes intéressé-e et disponible, nous voudrions organiser une rencontre pour réaliser un entretien d'environ une heure portant sur vos expériences de la mise en œuvre de cette initiative de placemaking.

L'entretien sera enregistré, mais votre participation restera anonyme : votre nom ne figurera dans aucun des rapports de recherche et des publications issus de cette recherche. Des pseudonymes seront utilisés lors de la transcription de l'entretien afin de préserver l'anonymat, mais la possibilité d'être indirectement identifié est toujours possible. La recherche est financée par une bourse de l'INRS ainsi que par le Programme de bourses d'études supérieures du Canada au niveau de la maîtrise.

J'espère que notre projet vous intéressera et que vous accepterez d'y participer!

En vous remerciant d'avance,

Kathryn Travers

Cell:
Skype :
Courriel:

ANNEX 10: CONSENT FORM LEAD ORGANISATIONS

Formulaire de consentement

« Des espaces publics pour toutes et tous ? Analyse du potentiel d'un processus de participation citoyenne à Montréal : le placemaking »

J'ai pris connaissance de la recherche décrite dans la lettre d'information.

J'ai été informé(e), oralement et par écrit, des objectifs de la recherche, de ses méthodes de cueillette des données et des modalités de ma participation au projet.

J'ai également été informé(e) :

a) de la façon selon laquelle les chercheurs assureront la confidentialité des données et protégeront les renseignements recueillis ;

b) de mon droit de mettre fin à l'entrevue ou à son enregistrement, si je le désire, ou de ne pas répondre à certaines questions ;

c) de mon droit, à titre de participant volontaire à cette étude, de me retirer à tout moment sans conséquence négative ;

d) de mon droit de communiquer, si j'ai des questions sur le projet, avec le responsable du projet Kathryn Travers (Kathryn Travers (███ ,

J'ai compris que j'ai la possibilité de me retirer de la recherche en tout temps ou de ne pas répondre à certaines questions, sans avoir à fournir d'explications et sans subir d'inconvénients.

J'autorise l'enregistrement audio de l'entretien par le chercheur principal. J'ai l'assurance que les propos recueillis au cours de cet entretien seront conservés de façon confidentielle et traités de façon anonyme. Cependant, je suis conscient que malgré toutes les précautions prises à cet effet, il demeure possible que je sois identifié-e de manière indirecte.

J'autorise le chercheur principal, désigné ci-dessous, à citer certains extraits de l'entretien, et ce, exclusivement à des fins de recherche.

J'accepte, par la présente, de participer à la recherche selon les modalités décrites dans la lettre d'information sur le projet, ci-annexée.

Je signe ce formulaire en deux exemplaires et j'en conserve une copie.

_____   _____

Signature du participant   Date

Kathryn Travers

Cell: █████████
Skype : █████████
Courriel: █████████

Ce projet a été approuvé par le Comité d'éthique en recherche avec des êtres humains de l'INRS : le 22 juin 2017

ANNEX 11: INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN MICROSURVEY

INRS
UNIVERSITÉ DE RECHERCHE

« Des espaces publics pour toutes et tous ? Analyse du potentiel d'un processus de participation citoyenne à Montréal : le placemaking »

Lettre d'invitation à participer à un micro enquête *en situ*

Bonjour,

Je suis étudiante à la maîtrise en études urbaines à l'INRS- Centre Urbanisation, Culture, Société. Nous vous contactons aujourd'hui parce que nous effectuons une recherche sur les impressions du site Village au Pied-du-Courant.

Nous désirons comprendre et documenter les impressions des usagers de l'espace, le Village au Pied-du-Courant.

Si vous êtes intéressé-e et disponible, nous voudrions vous inviter à participer à une micro enquête de 5 minutes portant sur vos impressions sur le Village au Pied-du-Courant.

Votre participation restera anonyme : votre nom ne figurera dans aucun des rapports de recherche et des publications issus de cette recherche. Un numéro sera assigné à votre enquête afin de préserver votre anonymat. La recherche est financée par une bourse de l'INRS ainsi que par le Programme de bourses d'études supérieures du Canada au niveau de la maîtrise.

J'espère que notre projet vous intéressera et que vous accepterez d'y participer!

En vous remerciant d'avance,

Kathryn Travers

Cell:
Skype :
Courriel:

ANNEX 12: LETTER OF INVITATION SAINTE MARIE ORGANISATION

INRS
UNIVERSITÉ DE RECHERCHE

« Des espaces publics pour toutes et tous ? Analyse du potentiel d'un processus de participation citoyenne à Montréal : le placemaking »

Lettre d'invitation à participer à un entretien adressée aux responsables des organisations communautaires à Sainte-Marie, Montréal

Bonjour,

Je suis étudiante à la maîtrise en études urbaines à l'INRS- Centre Urbanisation, Culture, Société. Nous vous contactons aujourd'hui parce que nous cherchons des représentants des organisations communautaires du quartier Sainte Marie pour participer à une recherche.

Nous désirons comprendre et documenter les impressions de divers membres de la communauté sur les changements du quartier, surtout les espaces publics.

Si vous êtes intéressé-e et disponible, nous voudrions organiser une rencontre pour un entretien d'environ une heure portant sur vos expériences avec la population locale pour mieux comprendre leur appréciation ou non de ces espaces.

L'entretien sera enregistré, mais votre participation restera anonyme : votre nom ne figurera dans aucun des rapports de recherche et des publications issus de cette recherche. Des pseudonymes seront utilisés lors de la transcription de l'entretien afin de préserver l'anonymat, mais la possibilité d'être indirectement identifié est toujours possible. La recherche est financée par une bourse de l'INRS ainsi que par le Programme de bourses d'études supérieures du Canada au niveau de la maîtrise.

J'espère que notre projet vous intéressera et que vous accepterez d'y participer!

En vous remerciant d'avance,

Kathryn Travers

Cell:
Skype :
Courriel:

ANNEX 13: CONSENT FORM SAINTE MARIE ORGANISATIONS

Formulaire de consentement

« Des espaces publics pour toutes et tous ? Analyse du potentiel d'un processus de participation citoyenne à Montréal : le placemaking »

J'ai pris connaissance de la recherche décrite dans la lettre d'information.

J'ai été informé(e), oralement et par écrit, des objectifs de la recherche, de ses méthodes de cueillette des données et des modalités de ma participation au projet.

J'ai également été informé(e) :

a) de la façon selon laquelle les chercheurs assureront la confidentialité des données et protégeront les renseignements recueillis ;

b) de mon droit de mettre fin à l'entrevue ou à son enregistrement, si je le désire, ou de ne pas répondre à certaines questions ;

c) de mon droit, à titre de participant volontaire à cette étude, de me retirer à tout moment sans conséquence négative ;

d) de mon droit de communiquer, si j'ai des questions sur le projet, avec le responsable du projet Kathryn Travers (Kathryn Travers (███,

J'ai compris que j'ai la possibilité de me retirer de la recherche en tout temps ou de ne pas répondre à certaines questions, sans avoir à fournir d'explications et sans subir d'inconvénients.

J'autorise l'enregistrement audio de l'entretien par le chercheur principal. J'ai l'assurance que les propos recueillis au cours de cet entretien seront conservés de façon confidentielle et traités de façon anonyme. Cependant, je suis conscient que malgré toutes les précautions prises à cet effet, il demeure possible que je sois identifié-e de manière indirecte.

J'autorise le chercheur principal, désigné ci-dessous, à citer certains extraits de l'entretien, et ce, exclusivement à des fins de recherche.

J'accepte, par la présente, de participer à la recherche selon les modalités décrites dans la lettre d'information sur le projet, ci-annexée.

Je signe ce formulaire en deux exemplaires et j'en conserve une copie.

_____   _____
Signature du participant   Date

Kathryn Travers

Cell: ████████████
Skype : ████████
Courriel: ████████████████

Ce projet a été approuvé par le Comité d'éthique en recherche avec des êtres humains de l'INRS : le 22 juin 2017

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