

CITY PLANNING, DESIGN, AND PROGRAMMING FOR INDIGENOUS URBANISM AND
ETHNOCULTURAL DIVERSITY IN WINNIPEG

A Thesis Submitted to the College of
Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
In the Department of Geography and Planning
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon

By

SAREM MM NEJAD

Permission to Use

In presenting this thesis/dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Postgraduate degree from the University of Saskatchewan, I agree that the Libraries of this University may make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for copying of this thesis/dissertation in any manner, in whole or in part, for scholarly purposes may be granted by the professor or professors who supervised my thesis/dissertation work or, in their absence, by the Head of the Department or the Dean of the College in which my thesis work was done. It is understood that any copying or publication or use of this thesis/dissertation or parts thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the University of Saskatchewan in any scholarly use which may be made of any material in my thesis/dissertation.

Requests for permission to copy or to make other uses of materials in this thesis/dissertation in whole or part should be addressed to:

Head of the Department of Geography and Planning
Kirk Hall Building
117 Science Place
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, S7N 5C8
Canada

OR

Dean
College of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
University of Saskatchewan
116 Thorvaldson Building, 110 Science Place
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, S7N 5C9
Canada

Abstract

The production and programming of urban space and place have long been applied to eliminate Indigenous peoples from urban areas and minimise their cultural influence. This thesis investigates Indigenous inclusion in planning processes and placemaking practices in Winnipeg. In this regard, the thesis sought to address critical gaps in the academic literature on Indigenous urbanism and urban planning. Through the analysis of the perspectives gathered from participants, each principal chapter explores a primary objective of the thesis. First, the thesis illustrates that Indigenous inhabitants of Winnipeg feel high levels of social and spatial injustice and invisibility. While Indigenous communities are seeking to participate in urban life, the mechanisms that the municipal administration applies to engage with them are not transformative and reconciliatory. Second, the thesis examines how the design and programming of the built environment of settler cities have played a significant role in the dispossession of Indigenous urban inhabitants and how urban design could function as an empowerment practice. Third, the thesis problematises multiculturalism policies and the ways urban planning approaches ethnocultural diversity and difference. Findings of the study reveal that the fulfilment of the Indigenous right to urbanism would consist of the transformation of existing decision-making and planning processes and procedures on the basis of the recognition of original occupancy and the right to self-determination. Situating Indigenous planning methods as well as resurgent acts of planning and placemaking into pre-existing structures will help Indigenous communities to re-territorialise urban space and advance Indigenous urbanism. Additionally, placemaking has the transformative capacity of reversing the negative symbolic capital associated with Indigenous peoples. To transcend beyond tokenism, Indigenous cultural representation in the built form should not be bound to Eurocentric frameworks and subordinated by the settler mainstream narratives. Furthermore, findings illustrate that Indigenous and ethnocultural diversity groups have started their coexistence in Winnipeg. Foregrounding the broad discourse of diversity and difference helps to demonstrate how urban planning and design is lagging behind the emergent hyper-diversity in Canadian cities. Through increasing the level of literacy and competency in coping with ethnocultural diversity, Indigeneity, and difference, planners and municipal officials could play a better role in enhancing interculturalism.

Acknowledgements

I sincerely thank my supervisor, Professor Ryan Walker, for his continuous support and encouragement throughout this research journey. I am hugely privileged to have had Dr. Walker as my supervisor. I cannot imagine accomplishing my PhD thesis without his exceptional knowledge, leadership, and flexibility in accommodating my approach to research design and the choice of research topics. I am also grateful for the financial assistance I received through Dr. Walker's grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

I would like to extend thanks to the members of my PhD advisory committee at the University of Saskatchewan for their tremendous help and devotion of time to reading and evaluating my work: Joe Garcea, Xulin Guo, Paul Hackett, and Bob Patrick. I would also like to thank Dr. Leela Viswanathan for serving as my external examiner. I appreciate her time and interest in my research. She offered a wonderful critical perspective and insightful comments and questions during the defence session. I also thank Phyllis Baynes and other staff at the Department of Geography and Planning.

I also acknowledge the interview participants in Winnipeg who shared their perspectives on the urban issues discussed in this research. I appreciate their insights and they were fundamental in elaborating concepts and discussions throughout this thesis. The fieldwork was undertaken with the help of Maeengan Linklater, the research facilitator in Winnipeg. I acknowledge his collaboration.

I owe an enormous debt of gratitude to my wonderful family for their kindness and inspiration, above all my mother, Azar, my father, Hooshang, and my sister, Sara. Your inspiration and encouragement empowered me to live and study this far from you.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my wonderful wife, Narges, for her unconditional love, patience, and support. I am truly grateful for having you in my life.

Table of Contents

Permission to Use	i
Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Dedication	iv
Table of Contents	v
List of Tables	viii
List of Figures.....	ix
Chapter One Introduction	1
1.1 Purpose and Objectives	4
1.2 Research Methods	9
1.2.1 Research Limitations.....	14
1.3 Study Context: Indigeneity, Settlement, and Immigration Processes in Winnipeg	16
1.3.1 Indigenous Peoples in Winnipeg.....	16
1.3.2 Métis Nation and its Role in the Evolution of Winnipeg	21
1.3.3 The Forks: Placemaking in Winnipeg’s Signature Downtown Public Space	23
1.3.4 Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity in Winnipeg.....	30
1.4 Organisation of Thesis	33
Chapter Two Urban Planning and Indigenous Urbanism in Winnipeg.....	36
2.1 Introduction	36
2.2 Conceptualising Spatial Production, City Planning, and the Indigenous Right to Urbanism	39
2.2.1 The Production of Urban Space, the Right to the City, and the Indigenous Right to Difference	40
2.2.2 Urban Planning Paradigms and Creating Capacities for Coexistence	45
2.2.3 Indigenous Resurgence, Indigenous Planning	50
2.2.4 Conclusion to the Conceptual Framework: The Indigenous Right to Urbanism	54

2.3	Urban planning and Indigenous Communities in Winnipeg.....	56
2.3.1	The Lived Experience, Engagement Mechanisms and Inhibiting Indigenous Urban Rights	56
2.3.2	Towards Spatial Equity: Fulfilling the Indigenous Right to Urbanism	67
2.4	Conclusion	73
	Chapter Three Urban design, Programming, and Indigenous Peoples in Winnipeg.....	76
3.1	Introduction.....	76
3.2	Conceptual Framework: The Built Environment, Placemaking, and Indigenous Oppression or Empowerment.....	78
3.2.1	Place, Placemaking, and Placelessness	79
3.2.1.1	The Sense of Place	81
3.2.1.2	Placelessness	83
3.2.2	Contemporary Placemaking and Urban Indigenous Communities	85
3.2.3	The Built Environment: Oppression, Empowerment, and Symbolic Capital	90
3.2.4	Public Space Design, Programming, and Indigenous Peoples.....	97
3.2.4.1	Architecture.....	101
3.2.4.2	Public Art	102
3.2.4.3	Place Naming	104
3.2.5	Conclusion to the Conceptual Framework	105
3.3	Indigenous Peoples, Urban Design, and Public Space Programming in Winnipeg.....	106
3.3.1	Indigenous Perspectives Toward the Built Environment.....	107
3.3.2	Indigenous-Inclusive Placemaking as a Means of Decolonising the City	115
3.4	Conclusion	121
	Chapter Four Ethnocultural Diversity, Indigeneity, and Planning for Difference in Canadian Cities	124
4.1	Introduction.....	124
4.2	Multiculturalism, Post-Multiculturalism, and Interculturalism	125

4.3 Indigenous-Immigrant Relations: Layers of Separation or the Potential for Coexistence?.....	136
4.4 (Ethnocultural) Diversity: The New Tenet of Urban Planning.....	140
4.5 Urban Planning and Design Approaches to Diversity and Multiculturalism.....	146
4.5.1 Accommodating Diversity in Neighbourhood Design.....	146
4.5.2 Sites of Religious or Spiritual Significance	149
4.5.3 Commodifying Places: Planning Tourist Precincts.....	151
4.5.4 Engaging Ethnocultural Diversity Groups in Decision-Making Processes.....	154
4.5.5 Social Mingling Through Public Space Design and Programming	155
4.6 Integration, Assimilation, and Coexistence: Ethnocultural Perspectives from Winnipeg.....	158
4.6.1 “Everybody Except Aboriginals are Migrants.” Perspectives toward Canadian Multiculturalism	159
4.6.2 Layers of Separation or Positive Coexistence? Indigenous-Immigrant Relations	163
4.7 City Planning and Accommodation of Diversity and Difference	171
4.7.1 “They’ll Accept Them as Documents, but They won’t Approve Them.” Municipal Governance and Accommodating Ethnocultural Diversity in Planning.....	172
4.7.2 “If You Want to Come, You’re Welcome to Canada. It’s a Free Country.” Advancing Interculturalism through Incorporating Ethnocultural Diversity in Urban Planning, Design, and Programming	176
4.8 Conclusion	181
Chapter Five Conclusion.....	186
References.....	196
Appendix A: Recruitment Posters.....	211
Appendix B: Consent Forms.....	213
Appendix C: Permission to Use Material in Thesis	219

List of Tables

Table 1-1: Summary of statistical information on Indigenous demographics in Canada and Winnipeg.....	19
Table 1-2: Summary of statistical information on immigration and ethnocultural diversity.....	33
Table 4-1: Multiculturalism and interculturalism characteristics.....	132

List of Figures

Figure 1-1: Winnipeg map	17
Figure 1-2: The Forks: View from top of the glass tower	25
Figure 1-3: Oodena Celebration Circle at the Forks	26
Figure 1-4: Canadian Museum for Human Rights	28
Figure 1-5: Monument honouring Manitoba's missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls	30

Chapter One

Introduction

More than half of the Indigenous¹ Canadian population including Métis, First Nation, and Inuit are living in cities. Whether born in the city or not, Indigenous peoples are the fastest growing segment of the Canadian population, particularly in Western provinces (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2016). The *Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study* conducted by Environics Institute (2010) demonstrates that Indigenous inhabitants consider cities as their ‘home’ and enjoy living an urban life. Urban Indigenous peoples are connected with their non-urban ancestral affiliations and are proud of their cultures and traditions (Wilson & Peters, 2005). They have developed a sense of place, belonging, and identity in cities and are claiming Canadian cities as Indigenous places located within traditional territories.

The way contemporary urbanism trends respond to Indigenous aspirations and claims in cities is the central concern of this thesis. This research addresses a problem captured succinctly in the following excerpt from the work of Onondaga scholar David Newhouse: “I am keenly aware of the absence of Aboriginality in the landscape of cities. Yet I believe that we must be here in a visible substantive sense; these are our cities as well” (Newhouse, 2011, p. 33). Although Indigenous peoples are working to increase their influence on the social and cultural life of Canadian cities, persistent discrimination and invisibility of their communities is a significant hindrance. In Winnipeg for example, the *Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study -Winnipeg* report- shows that Indigenous peoples believe that there is a broad range of negative stereotypes,

¹ Indigenous peoples (also referred to as Aboriginal peoples) is a collective name that refers to people and their descendants who are the original inhabitants of the land that is now Canada. The 1982 Constitution Act of Canada recognises Indigenous peoples as comprising First Nations, Métis, and Inuit. The Indian Act, which is the principal statute through which the federal government administers Indigenous affairs, further divides Indigenous individuals into two categories: Status Indians and Non-Status Indians. Urban Indigenous peoples refers primarily to First Nation, Métis and Inuit people residing in cities (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2016). The focus of this thesis is on Indigenous urban inhabitants, regardless of their status. In this thesis, the terms Indigenous and Aboriginal are used interchangeably and are capitalised in the same manner as other generic words such as European and American are capitalised (Johnson, Cant, Howitt, & Peters, 2007).

invisibility, and discrimination against Indigenous peoples held by non-Indigenous citizens (Environics Institute, 2011). Indigenous marginalisation and invisibility are in a paradox with current and projected demographic realities in Canadian cities. It is predicted that in twenty years, the Indigenous population in Canada will surpass 2.5 million. In 2016, around 52% of Canadian Indigenous population lived in cities showing an increase of about 60% from 2006 (Statistics Canada, 2017a). Given the fact that the Indigenous population growth is about four times the rate of non-Indigenous population, Indigenous presence in urban space and place will be undeniable.

The non-Indigenous residents of Winnipeg and other Canadian cities consist of diverse populations. Immigrants and their descendants have been successively making the demographic and cultural composition of Canada further complex. Based on a survey and estimation conducted by Statistics Canada, in 2036 around 67% of the Canadian working-age population will belong to visible minority groups. Those people will not be settling solely in the largest cities like Toronto and Vancouver; rather they will be distributed across all regions of the country. In Winnipeg, for example, this proportion of the working age population is estimated to be 52%, compared to 20% in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2017b). In parallel to an increasing Indigenous population, international immigration is increasingly diversifying urban space in prairie regions. Canadian multiculturalism has long tried to accommodate ethnocultural diversity into nation-building discourses. The central problematic with multiculturalism policies regarding Indigenous peoples is that the recognition of their prior occupancy, sovereignty rights, and nationhood are ignored, and they are not engaged in multiculturalism discourse. In the face of contemporary reconciliation debates, municipal governments are trying to engage Indigenous citizens in urban planning processes in the same framework that they use to reach out to immigrants. Nevertheless, the settler-colonial configuration of Canadian cities normalises, and hence downgrades Indigenous inhabitants to an ethnocultural minority group and circumscribes their specific rights-claims to a tight framework of the right to 'be' in the city instead of the right to 'participate' in spatial production and placemaking.

This thesis conceptualises urbanism and distinguishes it from the concept of urbanisation. Urbanism tends to be a nebulous concept. Whereas urbanisation is about the processes of people

either moving from non-urban areas to reside in pre-existing cities, or the transformation of a rural area into an urban area, urbanism is a set of ideas or multiple sets of ideas that some social scientists have referred to as public philosophies. Unlike ideologies, which are essentially theories regarding power and authority in political, economic and social systems (e.g., communism, capitalism, etc.), public philosophies are a set of ideas or principles espoused by diverse publics drawn different ideologies or theories that provides particular perspectives on the purpose, design and implementation of public policies and programs.² In the urban planning context, public philosophies consist of sets of core ideas espoused by diverse publics with diverse perspectives, aspirations, and approaches to planning and development, among other things.

Public philosophies encompassed within the scope of the broad concept of urbanism in Canadian cities are influenced considerably by, among other things, ideas rooted in Indigeneity, on the one hand, and ethnocultural diversity on the other. Public philosophies are the basis of debates regarding various aspects of planning in urban areas, including spatial production, placemaking, and programming. Such debates are affected by a myriad of factors rooted in, among other things, ideas regarding diverse rights, needs, and aspirations of all urban inhabitants including Indigenous peoples, ethnocultural diversity populations, and the settler mainstream community. Public philosophies regarding urbanism are transformative, enabling urban inhabitants to be critical commentators, and inspiring them to propose alternative scenarios for urban development based on their own ways of thinking, cultures, and values. In some cases, public philosophies engage planners and people in a dialogue with peoples in their struggle against various forms of injustice and oppression with the goal of establishing more just, egalitarian and cohesive communities. In summary, urbanism in this thesis is deemed to be a theoretical or philosophical orientation to thinking about urban spaces, dynamics and issues. It is not conceptualised as a singular, uniform theoretical or philosophical orientation. Instead, it is theorised as embodying the narratives or view of diverse populations in different contexts at various points in time regarding spatial production, placemaking, and programming in urban areas. In short, urbanism

² On the importance of public philosophies in policy making in Canada see Manzer (1985, p. 4), Tully (2008), and Meagher (2013). On the importance of ideas in policy making in Canada see Doern & Phidd (1983, pp. 51-61).

is the sum total of public discussions and deliberations on various aspects of urban planning and design, including those analysed in this thesis. Note that Chapter Four of this thesis discusses the concept of interculturalism from a public philosophy perspective as well. Contrary to multiculturalism which addresses the Canadian government's policy toward dealing with ethnocultural diversity, interculturalism includes diverse perspectives, aspirations, and approaches of urban inhabitants to diversity and difference in cities.

Relations of power, privilege, and coexistence materialise in the shared spaces of the built environment of cities. Any discussion of improving the social condition of Indigenous communities and other ethnocultural minority groups in cities is intertwined with discussions over design and programming of the built environment as well. This thesis scrutinises placemaking as a key process contributing to the oppression of Indigenous peoples living in cities and reflects upon how urban design could facilitate the empowerment of Indigenous communities emphasising their presence and participation in Canadian urban life. These arguments, along with the way urbanism engages with ethnocultural diversity and difference, comprise the main pillars of this thesis. In the next section, a description of research purpose and objectives is provided followed by the elaboration of the central argument of the thesis.

1.1 Purpose and Objectives

The main purpose of this thesis is to examine how rights, needs, and aspirations of urban Indigenous communities are negotiated in the settler-colonial spaces and places of contemporary Canadian cities. The point of departure is rejecting the colonial assumption that Indigenous cultures are inconsistent with urban living and challenge the notion that Indigeneity has no role in urbanism processes in Canada. Multicultural Canadian cities have been praised as being a microcosm of different cultures from all over the world. However, Indigenous communities have long been taken for granted in ethnocultural diversity and multiculturalism discourses in cities. Some of the intellectual scaffolding that underpins the research rationale and methodology includes that, first, there are Indigenous urban inhabitants' perspectives that demonstrate how Indigenous marginal status and invisibility have been entrenched in urban planning and design frameworks and processes in Canadian municipalities. Urban planners and municipal officials have long made decisions 'on behalf' of Indigenous communities on the grounds of "a short-

sighted interpretation of expediency and civic authority” (Belanger & Walker, 2009, p. 119). Having a myopic understanding of Indigenous cultures and their impact in cities, planning efforts have been mostly focused on urbanisation aspects such as service delivery, settlement, employment, etc. However, it is the lived experiences of urban inhabitants that shape urbanism and in the context of this thesis offer most of the key findings.

Second, to evaluate how much inclusive planning efforts have been meaningful in increasing Indigenous visibility and participation, social and spatial issues pertaining to planning discourses should be examined simultaneously. Discussions on improving the social conditions of Indigenous peoples cannot, therefore, be separated from considering how the built environment of cities is designed and programmed; that is, Indigenous presence and participation in both the ‘process’ and ‘outcome’ of planning processes are given equal emphasis. It will become clear later in the thesis that the design and programming of the built environment have been complicit in the oppression of Indigenous communities and associating a negative symbolic capital to their presence in cities (Bourdieu, 1986).

Third, despite the discursive separation between Indigeneity and immigration narratives in settler nations such as Canada, these discourses are connected in some important ways (Bauder, 2011). The inclusion of Indigenous communities in the discursive and material currents of contemporary urbanism does not happen in a vacuum. Canadian cities are becoming increasingly multicultural through international immigration. Data from the recent census shows that more

immigrant newcomers³ are settling in Canadian prairie cities; Winnipeg had the second-highest growth in the proportion of recent immigrant settlement in the past five years in Canada. This phenomenon, along with increasing Indigenous population growth which is more than four times

³ In this thesis, immigrant newcomers (or recent immigrants) refers to first generation ethnoculturally diverse migrants who are born outside Canada, English is not their first language, and immigrated to Canada in their adulthood. The sense of place, feelings of attachment, senses of belonging, and spatial imaginations begin to shape since infancy and are nurtured through childhood (Tuan, 1977). So, it is imperative that newcomer participants have not spent their childhood and school years in Canada. The official definition of immigrant newcomers consists of landed immigrants who came to Canada up to five years prior to a given census year (Statistics Canada, 2010).

the non-Indigenous rate, is evolving the character of Western Canadian cities. Winnipeg may become one of the earliest Canadian cities with a non-Caucasian population majority if current demographic trends persist. Indigeneity and its inclusion in urbanism are intimately linked to the broader context of ethnocultural diversity and the way planning systems conceptualise, manage, and accommodate diversity and difference in their efforts. Indigenous peoples have been left out of multiculturalism policies for a long time. However, the inclusion of Indigeneity in the framework of ethnocultural diversity in cities does not mean that its position is equal to other ethnocultural minority groups (e.g., immigrant newcomers). Unlike most immigrants who typically focus on assimilating into the existing social and cultural context, Indigenous peoples have long resisted assimilation into the settler colonial structures of Canadian society. However, as Walia (2013) argues, white supremacy, racism, anti-immigrant xenophobia, and settler colonialism are mutually reinforcing. Therefore, planning for cities wherein space and place are equitably shared between the settler mainstream society, Indigenous inhabitants, and ethnocultural diversity groups should address the discussion of urban diversity and difference.

The objectives of this research are to:

- 1) Elicit the perspectives of Indigenous inhabitants towards the ways Indigenous urbanism should be included in the planning of Winnipeg and the status of how the municipal government engages Indigeneity in urban planning;
- 2) Examine how Indigenous inhabitants perceive public space design and programming in Winnipeg and the ways they believe Indigenous cultures should materialise in the built environment of the city;
- 3) Explore how immigrant newcomers evaluate the ways multiculturalism policies are reflected in urban planning and how Indigenous and ethnoculturally diverse inhabitants negotiate their coexistence in Winnipeg; and,
- 4) Develop a framework of urban planning and design recommendations to improve the degree to which Indigeneity and intercultural relations are built into urbanism, based on the lived experiences of inhabitants of Winnipeg.

Every urban inhabitant has a right to the city which consists of the right to participate in spatial production and placemaking. This thesis argues that fulfilling this right for Indigenous peoples is

contingent upon re-politicising planning processes, re-territorialising urban space, de-colonising the built environment, and promoting intercultural understandings. In this conceptualisation, cities and their planning, design, and programming are considered as problematic and inconsistent, not their Indigenous inhabitants. Canadian cities are situated on Indigenous traditional lands. Winnipeg, for example, is located on the very site where Indigenous peoples settled, congregated, and traded prior to the arrival of non-Indigenous settlers. Indigenous presence in cities, with its ebbs and flows, has continued until present times and demographic trends reveal that Indigenous peoples will be increasingly urbanised. Planning for engaging with Indigenous peoples in urban life has been hitherto focused on their 'urbanisation', underpinned by a distributive approach. It means that the focus of planning for urban Indigeneity has been mostly focused on the recognition of Indigenous access to the city, living in the city, and being provided with appropriate civic services. Nevertheless, there is a qualitative aspect of urban Indigeneity, which has been ignored in both planning studies and practice, that concerns Indigenous 'urbanism'. This thesis argues that Indigenous urbanism is the potential that Indigenous peoples bring to the social and cultural life of cities and involves actualising self-determination and autonomy in spatial production and placemaking. Indigenous urbanism places a new onus upon planning frameworks and necessitates the transformation of the scope of conventional urban planning, design, and programming to better adapt to Indigeneity in cities.

Through the urbanisation lens, researchers focus on the adjustment of Indigenous people to the settler-colonial structure of the city. The lens of Indigenous urbanism focuses, however, on transforming the planning and design of the city to accommodate its Indigenous people. The built environment of cities is the medium through which relations of power and privilege are actualised in everyday life of Indigenous inhabitants. This thesis argues that public space design and programming have an important role to play in reversing Indigenous dispossession from the urban landscape and inserting Indigenous knowledge and cultural strength into the built environment and cultural capital of the city. Building principles from Indigenous knowledge into the sense of place by supporting and enabling Indigenous approaches in urban design can make a powerful contribution to creating decolonised cities. Placemaking in Winnipeg must be increasingly driven by the unmediated participation of Indigenous peoples in urban design processes according to their own knowledge, approaches, and methods.

Ethnocultural diversity in cities has been managed through the application of high-level multiculturalism policies at the municipal level. In the context of Indigenous recognition and inclusion, municipal governments have conceptualised Indigenous peoples and other minority groups in planning processes. This makes an analysis of multicultural policies and the way city planning manages diversity at the urban level imperative as Indigenous peoples distinguish themselves from immigrants on the grounds of prior occupancy, treaty relationships with the government, and constitutional rights. Through analysing multicultural policies and the way urban aspirations of ethnocultural diversity groups are fulfilled in Winnipeg, the thesis argues that the recognition of Indigenous participation in urbanism should be informed by examining the broader context of planning for diversity and difference; the ways difference and diversity are negotiated in urban space and place and the ways planning systems approach these issues in facilitating urban coexistence. Meaningful reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous urban inhabitants hinges on transforming the orthodoxies of urban planning, design, and programming. Truth and reconciliation efforts have been undertaken in Canada, advising societal commitments to the process of healing and redistribution between non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples. This thesis argues that truth-finding and reconciliation in cities is an outcome of intercultural understanding and transformative urban planning and design. Indigenous peoples, are proud of their Indigenous identities, and want to assert a more visible presence in the urban landscape. There is a significant role for urban planners and designers, most of whom are non-Indigenous, in the process of truth-finding and reconciliation to facilitate these aspirations.

The next section describes research methods. Note that this thesis follows a manuscript-style format. Each of the three principal chapters (Chapters Two to Four) has been written for submission to scholarly journals, although they are connected in content and argument. While journal submissions might have more than one author, Sarem Nejad is the sole author of this thesis. As the research methods are the same for all three manuscripts and they centre on the case of Winnipeg, the research methods and research context are presented only once in this first chapter. The case study description discusses a social history of Indigenous inhabitants of Winnipeg, the evolution of the city's built environment, and the history of immigration and

ethnocultural diversity of Winnipeg. Each of these three subtopics represents the main theme of one of the manuscripts.

1.2 Research Methods

This section presents the rationale, methodological assumptions, procedures in data gathering, management, and approach to analysis. It is fundamental to this research that the perceptions of Indigenous inhabitants of urban space, planning, and design be understood. The aim is not only examining abstract concepts about urban planning and programming, but learning what is important to those being studied (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). A literature review is conducted in each of Chapters Two to Four to shape the conceptual point of departure (Yin, 2016).

The qualitative empirical research centres on Winnipeg. The case study approach focuses on the multiple dimensions of a phenomenon, providing a useful methodological framework for multifaceted urban issues. It has specific utility to community-based research “focused on empowering residents to define the scope of challenges they face in their communities and the policy reforms needed to address them” (Silverman & Patterson, 2015, p. 10). The research has an inclusionary social reform scope aiming to engage Indigenous and ethnocultural communities in discussions that they might not have been engaged in before. Topics such as placemaking and urban design, for example, and their role in enhancing social life within urban Indigenous communities have not been an area of focus previously.

Winnipeg is an appropriate site for this research. It is home to the largest Indigenous population in Canada, it has a large number of diverse and progressive Aboriginal organisations, and it has a vibrant Indigenous civil society including social activists, artists, among others, who are striving to enhance Indigenous contributions to urban life. Furthermore, as the most recent census data indicate, Manitoba and especially Winnipeg are among the first places in Canada where the non-White population may become the majority if current demographic trends continue. This is due to the increase in the population of urban Indigenous peoples, as well as increasing immigrant population growth in Winnipeg.

Personal semi-structured interviews and a review of planning and policy documents published by the city of Winnipeg are the two principal research methods. In-depth interviewing provides an appropriate instrument for “understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience” (Seidman, 2006, p. 9). In semi-structured qualitative interviewing, the actual questions posed to the participant differ according to the context and conditions of each interview. This flexibility and open-endedness of interviews provide participants with the opportunity to engage in a two-way discussion rather than passively answering pre-determined questions (Yin, 2016). As an outsider to Indigenous communities, efforts were made to establish rapport with participants. A major goal of this research is contributing to social and spatial reform to benefit marginalised groups living in cities. Therefore, rapport building guaranteed the reflexive stance of the researcher, advocacy orientation, and empathy with participants (Silverman & Patterson, 2015).

Separate interview guides for Indigenous participants, immigrant interviewees, organisational, and municipal officials were prepared to manage the flow of conversations in semi-structured ways. Acting as a roadmap, interview guides safeguard the focus across interviews while permitting for flexibility in their administration. They facilitate the conversation between the participant and the researcher and provide a chance for better communication between both parties to the relationship (Silverman & Patterson, 2015). Interviews were conducted with five groups of participants: Indigenous inhabitants, Indigenous organisational officials, planners and municipal officials, immigrant newcomers, and immigrant organisational officials. All interviews were conducted in the period between September 2014 and February 2015. Interviews were digitally recorded to allow natural conversational flow. Notes were also taken afterwards as the recorder does not save non-verbal data, gestures, and body language (Hay, 2000; Seidman, 2006; Yin, 2016).

To study the lived experience of Indigenous peoples in Winnipeg, interviews were conducted with nineteen Indigenous inhabitants. Notices were posted in Indigenous organisations and service centres, and a local Indigenous research facilitator assisted with the recruitment process (Appendix A). A snowball or chain sampling technique was used to recruit more participants. To assure a diversity of participants with respect to Aboriginal ancestry, gender, and age, a pre-

screening was done before contacting the potential interviewees. Interviews with Indigenous participants were conducted at a place of their own choice and lasted from forty minutes to two hours. Participants were asked about their urban experience in Winnipeg, specifically how they perceive urban space and place, what challenges and opportunities they encounter in their day to day lives, the extent to which they believe their urban rights, needs, and aspirations are fulfilled, and how they assess the role of the municipal government and urban planning system in enhancing their quality of life. They were also asked to express their views on the role of the built environment and urban design in improving their quality of life, and share their perspectives on ethnocultural diversity and multicultural policies at the city level.

The second set of interviews was done with three Indigenous officials -acting in managerial positions- working at different Indigenous organisations. Questions probed the place and role of Indigenous organisations in urban planning and programming, in addition to their function in the provision of civic services for Indigenous communities. Participants shared their views on their level of collaboration in municipal governance regarding urban planning, programming, and urban design.

The third set of participants included officials working with the City of Winnipeg. Three interview sessions were conducted with six officials. An interview with one planner, another with two urban designers, and a session with three Aboriginal community outreach officials. The aim was to elicit how city officials perceive the needs and aspirations of Indigenous citizens and how they approach Indigeneity in their planning and programming efforts.

One of the main arguments of this thesis is that Indigenous-inclusive planning progresses when its relationship with the broader context of incorporating difference and diversity in urban planning is considered. Canadian cities embrace multiculturalism policies in formulating their approach to ethnocultural minority groups. Such policies mostly address international immigrants. They tend to bracket or ignore Indigenous urbanism. Immigrants and Indigenous inhabitants will play major roles in spatial production and placemaking of Canadian cities; hence, their mutual negotiations of urban space and place cannot be ignored in urban planning and design. Thus, another set of interviews conducted with immigrant newcomers in Winnipeg.

Eighteen participants from various countries including Philippines, India, China, Ghana, Nigeria, Iraq, Iran, Brazil, and Russia were interviewed. Choosing newcomer participants was not based on the rigid temporal definition of these populations (i.e., less than five years of landing in Canada). Such a definition is problematic in examining the sense of place, identity, and belonging in cities for immigrant inhabitants. As Tuan (1997) elaborates, senses of property, belonging, and attachment to places develop since infancy. It is imperative for this research that ethnocultural participants are ‘outsiders’ when they are asked about spatial production and placemaking in Canada. Two interviews were also conducted with immigrant organisational officials, and one with a manager of an inner city neighbourhood association.

Research integrity is of most importance in qualitative research as the frameworks and procedure for conducting the research are quite flexible. Measures must, therefore, be taken to guarantee the accuracy and fairness of the research. This protection has four major components: first a voluntary informed consent was obtained from participants; second, potential physical or psychological harm to the participants was prevented; third, interviewees were selected in an equitable way, with no one excluded as the result of the researcher’s personal bias; and fourth, the confidentiality of participants’ identities was guaranteed (Yin, 2016).

Interviews began only after getting written permission from participants (Appendix B). The research plan, interview guides, and conditions of the fieldwork were assessed and approved by the Behavioural Research Ethics Board of the University of Saskatchewan before the commencement of the field work. Interviews were transcribed and in order to ensure the confidentiality, narrative excerpts are labelled by the main category to which each participant belongs -Indigenous participant, immigrant participant, Indigenous organisational official, and so forth- followed by their gender and an interview number for individual participants. For interviewees affiliated with the municipal government, Indigenous or non-Indigenous ancestry was asked and mentioned as well.

The general approach in performing analysis on gathered data was thematic coding. Phases of conducting thematic coding include transcribing the data, generating initial codes, identifying themes, constructing thematic networks, and integration and interpretation (Robson, 2011). The

coding process permitted the management of data and led to the emergence of patterns, differences, and similarities in the context of research objectives (Tehmina, 2003). The coding process was conducted using NVivo10 qualitative analysis software. Initial codes, categories, themes and concepts emerged through coding and were compared across the three major participant groups. The main challenge facing a qualitative researcher in the coding process is that no universal formula or model can be applied. The software is helpful for managing a large amount of data, but at the core of the whole operation is the interpretation by the researcher.

A document analysis was also completed, supplementing the interview data. Municipalities in western Canada have a history of providing programs and services that target Indigenous peoples. Some of these programs specifically have been prepared for certain neighbourhoods in cities such as Winnipeg focusing mostly on areas such as employment, health, and youth programs (Hanselmann, 2001, 2002). Policy and planning document review helped to understand efforts made in practice in engaging Indigenous inhabitants in urban planning in Winnipeg and to bridge existing practical implications with themes and concepts in urban planning and design literature.

An important step in qualitative research is to make sure that the study is credible. A credible study is one that “provides assurance that you have properly collected and interpreted the data so that the findings and conclusions accurately reflect and represent the world that was studied” (Yin, 2016, p. 85). The validity of the research design and findings were assessed applying a triangulation process. Findings were triangulated through application of two methods. First, the choice of an array of diverse participants from Indigenous inhabitants to municipal officials and immigrant newcomers is a natural triangulation of multiple perspectives on research topics. In addition, different academic perspectives were engaged to confirm aspects of data collection and interpretation are valid. My academic advisory committee at the Department of Geography and Planning was involved in discussions on research inquiry, data interpretation and the discussion of preliminary findings. The research process and findings were discussed with the national project team consisting of the principal investigator (Ryan Walker, University of Saskatchewan), co-investigator (Yale Belanger, University of Lethbridge), and collaborators (David Newhouse, Trent University and Brenda Macdougall, University of Ottawa). The national project is called

Urban Planning and Indigeneity on the Prairies. Research design, field work, and findings were discussed and compared with study procedures and results in other cities. Winnipeg is one of the seven Prairie cities where the national research project is being conducted.

The quintessential component of the interview process is ‘listening’ which as John Forester puts it, is a “deeply political form of praxis” for planners in analysing complicated forms of socio-spatial injustices (Forester, 1989, p. 113). This research contends that Indigenous and non-Indigenous minorities are not the passive ‘objects’ of studies conducted by outsiders, mostly focused on problems and deficiencies (Wilson, 2008). Highlighting the importance of listening to stories about urban life goes in parallel with the increasing interest in applying alternative epistemologies in urban planning and also applying non-orthodox methodologies in urban research including Indigenous methodologies. Scholars have tried to expand ways of knowing about the city and its planning to learning from local knowledge, acknowledging experiential, intuitive, and somatic knowledge, and knowledge shared through listening, seeing, and artistic ways (Sandercock, 2003; Sandercock & Atttili, 2010). Participants’ stories and ideas were vital to constructing the findings and recommendations on Indigenous urbanism. Interview participants were asked about their lived experience and the space in which relations of discrimination, oppression, and opportunities are perceived. The perspectives of Indigenous inhabitants, Indigenous or Aboriginal organisational officials, and urban planners working with the City of Winnipeg are brought together in relation to the conceptual framework developed in each chapter (Chapters Two to Four). The aim is to examine how Indigeneity is recognised and how it impacts upon urban planning processes and outcomes, aimed at building a better coexistence between Indigenous and non-Indigenous inhabitants in Winnipeg. Coexistence is negotiated in an intercultural context. Discussions of multiculturalism and policies that intend to manage diversity and difference in urban areas, therefore, should not be ignored when building an understanding of Indigenous urbanism.

1.2.1 Research Limitations

Urban life is nuanced and urban development issues are complex and open-ended. A critical review of planning theories and practices demonstrate that it is problematic to prescribe a normative framework through which planning should engage with Indigenous and other minority

communities in urban areas. As will be discussed further in the remaining chapters, contemporary Western urban planning paradigms lack the capacity and comprehensiveness to accommodate Indigenous worldviews and values toward spatial production and placemaking. In fact, it is up to Indigenous communities to decide how to participate, what approaches to take in cultural representation, and how to exercise Indigenous planning methods. Accordingly, this research has limited its scope to a critique of mechanisms for Indigenous engagement applied by mainstream planning jurisdictions, and elicit recommendations by Indigenous urban inhabitants.

In social studies through which researchers engage with participant's viewpoints, it is imperative for the researcher to acknowledge and learn to work with his or her personal biases rather than simply try to appear neutral. Being viewed as an outsider researcher in relation with both Indigenous communities and the mainstream society was helpful for me in realising the potential for bias and strive towards maintaining an unbiased position throughout this work. As Rubin & Rubin (2005, pp. 87-88) assert, being considered as an outsider is not necessarily bad for the research because interviewing across cultures, classes, and races produces better results in some areas than where backgrounds are the same.

This thesis asserts that there exists a labyrinth of diversity in urban areas. This state of hyper-diversity in Canadian cities implies that every kind of study on diversity and difference must take, by some means, a reductionist approach to become feasible. Although a minority group might look uniform, there are inter-group power hierarchies, diversity, discrimination, and inter-group racism. It is preferable to elicit the perspectives of all inhabitants towards urban space and placemaking. However, it is impossible to interview all ethnocultural diversity groups and Indigenous communities in the city. Another study could focus on a single Indigenous group (e.g. a First Nation community).

Limitations in time and budget and the effort required to gather information including document analysis, interviews, and observations of the particular place bounds the physical boundaries of the study to a specific site. Every public space has their own identity, history, and characteristics that are not found elsewhere. The Forks is the signature public space of Winnipeg and an historical Indigenous 'place'. This thesis has brought focus to this important site.

1.3 Study Context: Indigeneity, Settlement, and Immigration Processes in Winnipeg

The focus of the study is on the case of Winnipeg (Figure 1-1). Winnipeg is home to the largest Indigenous population, in absolute numbers, among Canadian cities. In the next section, an historical review of the urban evolution of Winnipeg and a snapshot of its contemporary position in relation to Indigenous peoples and ethnocultural diversity groups is provided. Due to the distinct role of the Métis nation in the founding and development of Winnipeg, a separate subsection focuses on its role in the life of the city. Moreover, the formation, growth, and the status quo of public space design and programming is explained in detail focusing on the Forks, Winnipeg's signature historic and contemporary public space. Finally, the status of ethnocultural diversity and immigration trends in Winnipeg is presented.

1.3.1 Indigenous Peoples in Winnipeg

For millennia, the area surrounding the convergence of the Red and Assiniboine rivers -present-day Winnipeg- has been home to diverse Indigenous communities. The Red River was “a highway and a treasure house of resources” for surrounding Aboriginal encampments for thousands of years (Friesen, 1996, p. 3). The Forks area has had a significant historical role as an Aboriginal meeting point where economic, political, and military alliances were formed. It kept its role as a significant meeting place later for the Métis and non-Indigenous peoples as well as First Nation communities. The residents of the Red River area at first opposed integrating into Canada on the grounds that the settler state disregarded their land tenure and self-governance. But since the late 19th century, Manitoba became a part of Canada, largely by virtue of Métis leadership, and the region witnessed an influx of immigrants and Winnipeg became the ‘gateway’ to Western Canada. The character of the Forks area and the city surrounding it changed significantly after Treaty One was signed between the Canadian government and Cree and Ojibway communities living in the area. Indigenous communities were resettled onto reserves and immigrants displaced them from the Red River region (Belanger & Walker, 2009; St. John, 2003).

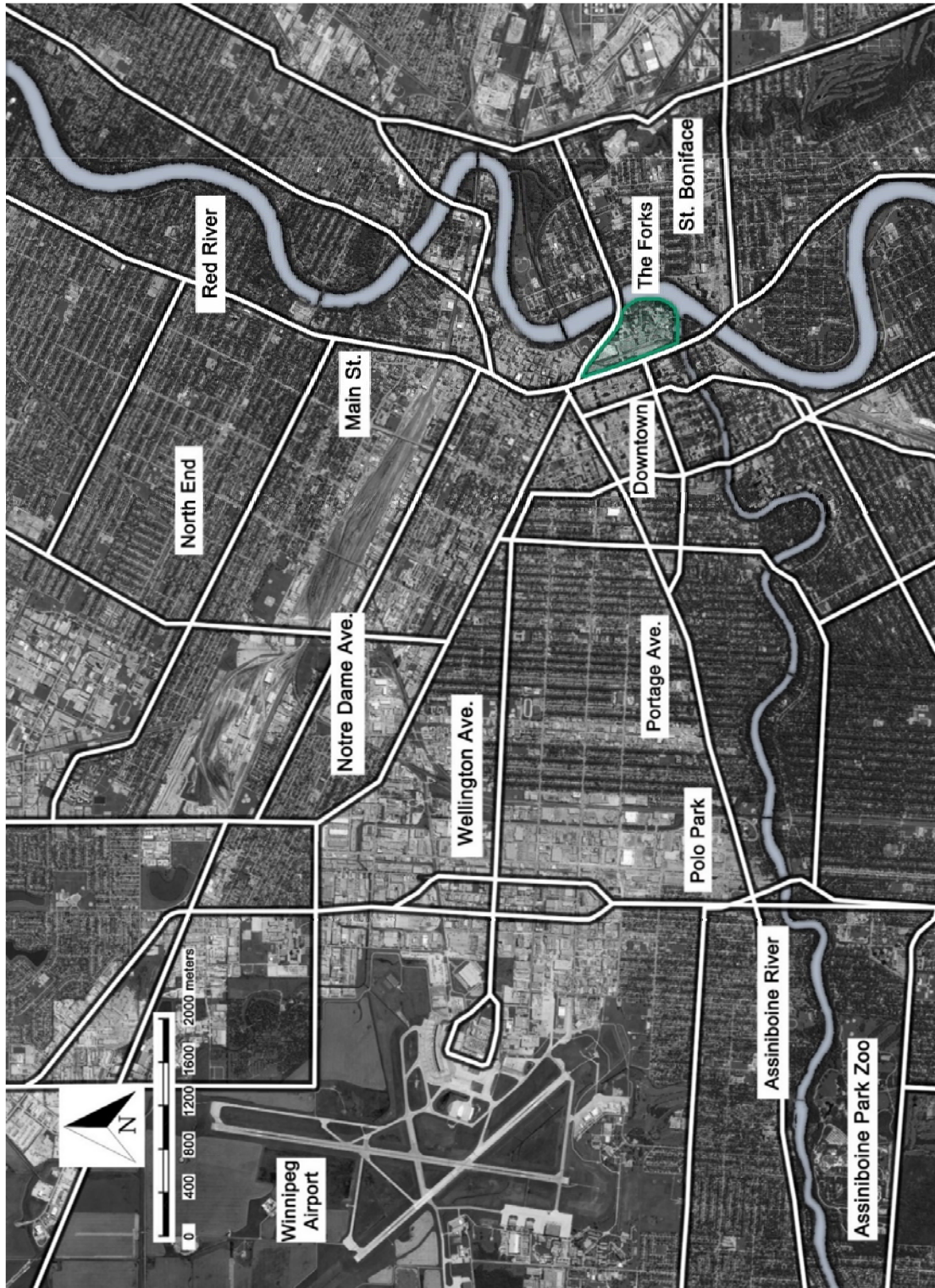


Figure 1-1: Winnipeg Map, Background image source: Google Earth

Unlike other Canadian cities, Winnipeg was in fact founded by Indigenous peoples since it was born out of the twenty-six original parishes (distinct communities) of the Métis whose population numbered 10,000 in 1870 when the Province of Manitoba joined Confederation. While many Métis left Winnipeg in the aftermath of the 1869-79 Resistance as a result of both the federal government's post 1870 'reign of terror' and subsequent efforts to displace the Métis from their land within the Province and city, many more remained or returned and have continued to have a vibrant presence in many of the city's neighbourhoods (which are named for those older parishes-places like St. Vital, St. Boniface, Fort Rouge, and Kildonan, among others) (Barkwell, 2008; Macdougall, 2016; Ouellette, 2014). For others, both Métis and First Nations, the move into the city began in the 1930s during the Great Depression and has continued throughout the twentieth and twenty-first century (Burley, 2013; Lagasse, 1959).

The representation of Indigenous peoples in the demographic structure of Canada has been expanding consistently. According to the 2016 National Household Survey, 4.9% (1,673,785) of the total Canadian population identified as Aboriginal, compared to 4.3% (1,400,685) in 2011, 3.8% in the 2006 and 2.8% in the 1996 censuses. Between 2006 and 2016 the Indigenous population increased by 42.5%. It is more than four times the growth rate of the non-Indigenous population over the same period. The First Nation population marked a 39.3% increase, the Métis population rose by 51.2%, and the Inuit population grew by 29.1% from 2006 to 2016. In the next two decades, it is predicted that the Indigenous population will surpass 2.5 million (Statistics Canada, 2017a). In 2016, around 51.8% of Indigenous peoples (867,415) lived in metropolitan areas with a total population of at least 30,000 showing an increase of about 60% from 2006. Edmonton, Vancouver, Toronto, and Calgary follow the metropolitan area of Winnipeg in having the largest urban Indigenous population (in absolute numbers) in Canada. In Winnipeg, about 12.2% (92,810) of the population identified as Aboriginal in 2016 which shows the second-highest percentage of the Indigenous population -after Thunder Bay (12.7%)- compared in proportional numbers to other major urban areas in Canada. The next largest proportional figure is Saskatoon (10.9%). While overall population growth in Winnipeg shows a 6.3% increase (from 670,025 to 711,925) between 2011 and 2016, Indigenous population growth marks a 13.6% rise (24,430 persons) during the same period. The Indigenous population in Winnipeg is younger than the non-Indigenous population. The average age of the Indigenous

population in Canada was 32.1 years in 2016, almost a decade younger than the non-Indigenous population. In addition to common demographic factors like fertility, mobility, and migration, another factor -ethnic mobility- is contributing to Indigenous population increase. Ethnic mobility is the tendency among Indigenous peoples to self-identify as Aboriginal in censuses. It is estimated that in 2020, over 100,000 Indigenous peoples will be residing in Winnipeg (Statistics Canada, 2017a). Table 1.1 provides a summary of statistical information regarding the status of Indigeneity in Canada and Winnipeg.

Table 1-1: Summary of statistical information on Indigenous demographics in Canada and Winnipeg

Description	Value
Canadian Indigenous population percentage of the total population, 2016	4.9% (1,673,785)
Canadian Indigenous population increase, 2006-2016	42.5%
First Nation population increase in Canada, 2006-2016	39.3%
Métis population increase in Canada, 2006-2016	51.2%
Inuit population increase in Canada, 2006-2016	29.1%
Canadian Indigenous population estimation for 2036	2.5 million
Percentage of Indigenous population living in urban areas (cities with the total population of at least 30,000) in 2016	52%
Metropolitan Indigenous population increase between 2006-2016	60%
Population percentage identified as Aboriginal in Winnipeg, 2016	12.2% (92,810)
Indigenous population increase in Winnipeg, 2011-2016	13.6%
Overall population increase in Winnipeg, 2011-2016	6.3%
The average age of the Indigenous population in Canada, 2016	32.1 years
The average age of the non-Indigenous population in Canada, 2016	40.9 years

Source: Adapted from Statistics Canada, 2017a

Spatial distribution of Indigenous peoples in Winnipeg indicates a disproportionate concentration in inner city areas and a high residential mobility rate. Research shows that Winnipeg is a divided city not only by stark differences in socio-economic status, housing affordability, and opportunities for families between different neighbourhoods, but also by racial and ethnic status as well (Distasio & Kaufman, 2015). Winnipeg's inner city has long been a transitional zone for Indigenous peoples and immigrants and has been characterised by urban decline indicators such as poverty and a lack of adequate housing and employment opportunities (Carter, 2009). Such spatial concentration of Indigenous Winnipeggers has contributed to social exclusion,

invisibility, and a low level of interaction with the non-Indigenous population. As Silver (2006) observes, the public spaces in Winnipeg show no evidence that the city is the home to the largest Indigenous population in Canada. Silver's study in the Spence neighbourhood concludes that even within inner city areas, Indigenous peoples are quite isolated. Although they think of themselves as a community in parallel with the non-Indigenous community, they are fragmented and atomised due to historical oppression and marginalisation of Indigenous cultures, both in urban and non-urban contexts. There has been a depopulation trend of the downtown and the population growth of non-inner city areas due to suburbanisation in the 1950s and 1960s. This growth shows a rate of less than 1% per year from 1986 to 2010 (Distasio & Kaufman, 2015). In the inner city, 25% of residents move within one year of residency, which is nearly double the rate of the rest of the city. In the city's vision, it is asserted that efforts will be needed to revitalise the inner city and create more vibrant downtown areas. It has been asserted that Aboriginal cultural presence in developments and revitalisation efforts should be promoted (City of Winnipeg, 2011b). Ghorayshi (2010) argues that in addition to problems of housing, adaptation, and employment in Winnipeg inner city areas, there exist 'layers of separation' between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples living in the vicinity of each other, characterised by misunderstanding, stereotyping, and lack of interconnectedness.

It is argued that Winnipeg is the pioneering Canadian city in the development of urban-based Indigenous organisations as a result of Indigenous community mobilisation (Peters, 2005, p. 390). Several programs, organisations, and partnerships have recently been fostered in this city for improving urban services and cross-cultural relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, especially immigrant newcomers (Gyepi-Garbrah, Walker, & Garcea, 2014; Silver, 2006). Inspired by the Friendship Centre movement, self-governing Indigenous organisations have played a significant role in pursuing Indigenous aspirations and resisting dominant structures of racism that excluded them from urban life and institutions. The Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study (UAPS) by Environics Institute (2011) shows that there is a high rate of reliance on Indigenous services and organisations in Winnipeg, mostly among First Nation communities.

1.3.2 Métis Nation and its Role in the Evolution of Winnipeg

Winnipeg and surrounding areas are home to Métis populations whom, according to the Constitution Act of Canada, are recognised as one of three main groups of Aboriginal communities. Métis communities have a mixed ancestry of First Nation and European peoples, and struggle to have their distinct political, geographic and cultural heritage recognised in regular operational ways.

“Definition of the term Métis is complicated. Though the label applied to children of mixed European and aboriginal parentage, even this generalisation is misleading. In the nineteenth century, a Métis might also be an individual who occupied a position as an economic or cultural intermediary between the two societies. Thus, mixed-race individuals who lived and hunted with Indians, or who accepted a plot of land in St. Peter’s Mission on the Red River, might well be seen as Indians, but, if they served as translators or freighters and lived in a farm-based parish nearer the Forks, they might be regarded as Métis” (Friesen, 1996, p. 66).

Métis ancestry is rooted in kinship and economic ties in the North American fur trade. These biracial and bicultural communities placed themselves in between tribal nations and French fur traders in the 18th century.

“It was in these interstitial spaces that unique Métis identities were forged. Being Métis had many advantages in these fur-trade worlds. It was an ethnic positioning that allowed individuals to cross boundaries separating Indigenous and European societies. It allowed for flexibility in self-definition whereby an individual could accentuate those personality and kinship aspects that would allow entrée into both worlds” (Ens & Sawchuk, 2016, p. 44).

The early 19th century marks the time when these so-called half-breed people began to claim political and social rights in the Red River region when Lord Selkirk was making efforts to build a European colony there. The Selkirk Colony was established in 1817 in a place where there were already a number of fur posts and an active population of hunters and traders. Métis occupied the nascent Red River settlement from their scattered fur-trade sites in the 1820s. The area had already accommodated Cree, Saulteaux (Ojibwe), and Assiniboine peoples. By the 1830s, Métis was accepted as a distinct ethnic group from First Nations by Europeans fur traders,

but their relationship with the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) was problematic. HBC regarded Métis people as British subjects, although they argued that due to their native-born ancestry they had special privileges over British subjects. Similarly, The Government of Canada recognised Métis peoples' rights in treaty negotiations only when they were categorised as Indian. Those Métis individuals and communities who asserted their distinct identities from Indigenous bands were treated as ordinary citizens with no special rights. In the late 19th century and in the aftermath of the Manitoba Act, entry into confederation negotiations, and Métis resistance led by Louis Riel, the Métis of the Red River and other Western Canadian areas gained legal recognition. Following the merger of the HBC and North West Company (NWC), the Red River region was already occupied by large Métis populations and was considered their homeland. However, the federal government never shared its authority over the land and its resources in the newly established province of Manitoba. After the rebellion of 1885, led again by Louis Riel, the Canadian government granted the Métis money scrip in the North-West Territories but eliminated their specific rights and status in return. The main goal of money scrip programs was to encourage Métis families to settle and work on farmlands. The land allocated to Métis families by the Manitoba Act did not constitute a treaty; it was more of a recognition of the Métis right to the land. The pace of environmental and economic transformations including rapid settlement, railway construction, and the disappearance of buffalo was too rapid for Métis communities to adapt from a position of strength (Bumsted, 2003; Ens & Sawchuk, 2016; Friesen, 1996; Pelletier, 1977).

Métis identities have been reconceptualised since the 1960s. With the growth of Métis political organisations, the 19th century Métis discourse shifted from a racial discourse to a 'nation' discourse in late 20th century. The Métis nation has been distinguishing itself from other Indigenous groups by asserting its presence in a Métis 'homeland' and applying specific historical figures and symbols: "a specific flag, the identification of important historic figures such as Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont, and cultural artefacts such as Métis sash, the Métis cart, and traditional music and dance" (Ens & Sawchuk, 2016, p. 362).

In a dialectical relationship with mainstream society and other Indigenous groups, Métis identities have always transformed to adapt to changing social, economic, and political

circumstances. Like other Indigenous groups, Métis communities and their representative organisations have been trying to improve the social and economic conditions of Métis communities in cities. Moreover, they also “embarked on a mission to clarify and assert their place in Canada as a distinct Aboriginal group-distinct from First Nations, Inuit, and particularly non-status Indians, with whom they were politically involved in earlier stages of the 1960s and the 1970s” (Ens & Sawchuk, 2016, p. 511).

Although this thesis conceptualises three overarching categories of urban inhabitants in Winnipeg as urban Indigenous communities, settler mainstream society, and international immigrants, one should not ignore the fact that within each of these general categories there is considerable diversity. Urban planning literature seldom engages with Indigenous communities and hardly ever distinguishes Métis from First Nations. One of the primary goals of this thesis is to highlight the complexity and the intricacy of incorporating diversity in urbanism discourse. All ethnic minority groups have distinct perspectives, claims, and aspirations over urban space and place which contributes to a labyrinth of diversity in contemporary cities through which planners and municipal officials must travel. Planners will need to increase their literacy and competency regarding ethnocultural diversity and Indigeneity in Canadian cities, a point returned to throughout the thesis.

1.3.3 The Forks: Placemaking in Winnipeg’s Signature Downtown Public Space⁴

The Forks at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine rivers is a Canadian national historic site and the signature public space of Winnipeg. According to archaeological evidence, human settlements at the Forks area date back to at least 6,000 years ago. The Forks is not only the nucleus of the city of Winnipeg; it is the site of the first permanent European settlement in

⁴ This section has been published as the part of following book chapter: Nejad, S. & Walker, R. (2018). Contemporary Urban Indigenous Placemaking in Canada. In Grant, E., Greenop, K., Refiti, A. & Glenn, D. (Eds), *The Handbook of Contemporary Indigenous Architecture*. New York: Springer. The contract with the book publisher containing the right to reproduce the contents is attached to the thesis (Appendix C).

Western Canada. During pre-contact times, the Forks area was an important meeting place for diverse Indigenous communities including Sioux (Dakota), Assiniboine (Nakota), Cree, and Anishinabe (Ojibway) due to its strategic location. The arrival of Europeans around 1734 changed the character and the role of the area. It became the major site for the fur trade industry. The business of fur trade and even the survival of Europeans was made possible only by collaboration with Indigenous peoples of the region. However, by the time Manitoba became a province of Canada in 1870, the original First Nation inhabitants of the area and the Métis - constituting the largest segment of the population in the area- were experiencing racism and marginalisation from settler newcomers. Later in the late 19th century, the Forks became the major site for railway development in Western Canada, turning Winnipeg into the administrative hub of agriculture and grain trade in the prairie region. Facilities and buildings were constructed to support the rail industry in the area, some of which still exists. Immigration into Manitoba prompted residential construction at and around the Forks area. All in all, the physical transformations at the Forks have reflected the social and cultural dynamics of the city ever since its inception (Artibise, 1977; Dafoe, 1998; Huck & Flynn, 2003; Parks Canada, 2009).

Around 1872 the Hudson's Bay Company prepared plans for shaping a town inspired by European-style lot divisions and boulevards. Artibise (1975) writes that before 1910 urban planning and design in the city was limited to allocating land for public parks, tree planting and the construction of boulevards. Influenced by the U.S. and European contexts, the official city planning movement began in 1911 with the establishment of Winnipeg's City Planning Commission aimed at improving social and health conditions through physical planning (Artibise, 1975).

Post-WWII suburban housing and commercial developments led to the economic and social decline of the inner city. The responsibility of the federal government for preserving historic transportation routes in Winnipeg, adapting them for recreational use under Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's jurisdiction, and the goal of provincial and municipal governments to develop public spaces for recreation converged and led to studies for creating a national heritage and all-season recreational site at the Forks. In the 1980s, the Core Area Initiative, a tri-level government agreement, was the main vehicle for revitalising Winnipeg's downtown. The Forks -

at that time a deserted railway yard absent from sight and the mental map of Winnipeg's citizens -was the convergence point of these tri-level government interests (Dafoe, 1998; Distasio & Kaufman, 2015; St. John, 2003).

The Forks Renewal Corporation prepared an initial plan. Phase I of the scheme was approved in 1987, and the site was opened to the public in 1989. Main site features included a plaza, boat basin, a glass tower, a lighthouse, river walk, and a children's museum. A market with restaurants, shops and offices became a financial 'success', creating economic sustainability at the Forks as a signature public space destination (Figure 1-2).



Figure 1-2: The Forks: View from top of the glass tower (August 8, 2015)

Construction at the site continued with a hotel, parking structure, and a pedestrian bridge to the historic St. Boniface neighbourhood. In 1993, The Heritage Interpretive Plan was prepared to identify key historical elements that should underpin the development of the site. The aim was showcasing the Forks as “Canada’s crossroads, a meeting place for old and new, the meeting of

diverse cultures, and a place for people to meet, work, and play” (St. John, 2003, p. 161). Commemorating Indigenous historical presence through placemaking at the site was planned through creating the Wall through Time and Oodena Celebration Circle. The Oodena Celebration Circle -named after the Ojibwa word meaning ‘heart of the city’ -was aimed at providing a ‘spiritual heart’ among the proliferating commercial and recreational developments (The Forks, 1993). In the design documents pertaining to the site, there was no specific indication of Aboriginal cultures and the emphasis was “to restore contact with the cultural history of the site and the dynamic forces of earth, water, and sky” (HTFC Planning and Design, 1993). The design firm Hilderman Thomas Frank Cramm’s mission was to create a mainly multicultural public space and the development documents do not indicate that the Oodena Celebration Circle included Indigenous peoples in the design process; instead, it appears that the cultural history of the site and the use of Indigenous motifs combined to generate a distinct sense of place for the area. The Oodena Circle has -through its regular use- served as a permanent stage for holding Indigenous events and celebrations at the Forks (Figure 1-3).



Figure 1-3: Oodena Celebration Circle at the Forks (September 4, 2014)

The redevelopment of the site as a public space has been inspired by the concept of reviving the Forks as the 'meeting place'. According to the area's developer, The Forks North Portage Partnership (2009), the Forks draws its character from Indigenous history and heritage and symbolises the relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities. However, the way Indigenous heritage commemoration has occurred in the development processes at the Forks follows a style of contemporary placemaking in settler nations which can be seen largely as the appropriation of Indigenous design motifs without deep engagement with Indigenous communities in the conceptualisation of the area or site overall, and the design and construction of specific installations, and developments on it. Creating places of consumption for the majority non-Indigenous public, without joint planning and design with Indigenous peoples of the territory further dispossesses Indigenous relationships with the land and sites of significance. The creation of sites of spectacle and consumption, large-scale developments, and heritage management through urban design can act in a way that disrupts the Indigenous sense of place, meanings, and histories associated with that location. The result has been the progressive commodification and packaging of Indigenous cultures for consumption in a gesture of inclusion by non-Indigenous authorities that is palatable to the general public and visitors (Dovey, 1999; McGaw, Pieris, & Potter, 2011).

The Forks was designed to celebrate Winnipeg's heritage and showcase its vision for a future urbanism which is heavily influenced by Indigenous presence and participation. However, as Cooper (2009) explains, the site redevelopment since the 1980s has been informed by colonial assumptions towards Indigenous cultures. First of all, the Forks is trying to represent itself as a safe, peaceful, and isolated alternative to the run-down, dangerous downtown core. The heritage which is being celebrated at the site has nothing to do with the continuous dispossession and loss of Indigenous cultures and peoples spread all over the rest of the city. The site's planning and development documents locate Indigenous history and heritage in the distant past and at the same time, ignore the colonial history of the site. In fact, the structure of decision-making and the elimination of Indigenous peoples and organisations from having meaningful participation in planning and programming of the site reinforce existing stereotypes and perpetuate the exclusion of Indigenous culture from placemaking in Winnipeg (Cooper, 2009). Preparing development plans for the site are premised on the concept of empty land; open areas are being taken over,

and structures built up. Indigenous meanings and memories associated with the open space is ignored so the seemingly ‘vacant land’ of the Forks can provide an unencumbered context for increasing commercialisation at the site. Building Connections 2010-2020, the plan guiding the development of the Forks has proposed further development -including a mixed-use project with residential and commercial functions -within and surrounding the site. The Canadian Museum for Human Rights -opened in 2014- is the most recent example (Figure 1-4). Inspired by the ‘flagship-museum’ paradigm in contemporary urban development, this museum with its distinct architecture and massive structure is aimed at attracting tourists and investors and sustaining the financial success of the area (Shoval & Strom, 2009).



Figure 1-4: Canadian Museum for Human Rights (September 4, 2014)

This development is politically aimed at characterising Winnipeg as a city for human rights, peace, reconciliation and co-existence. Ironically, however, the museum refused to create an exhibit depicting Canada’s treatment of Indigenous peoples was one of its international examples

of (cultural) genocide (see Alfred (2009) for a discussion of the depth and breadth of mental and physical health problems and economic damage attributable to the colonial practices of the Canadian state).

Despite the tendency in settler cities like Winnipeg to underperform in the realm of meaningful Indigenous engagement in official urban design discourse, the situated demographic and socio-cultural realities are transforming the production of urban space and place in contemporary times. With its large and growing young Indigenous population, Winnipeg is arguably a privileged city owing to its authentic place-history where thousands of Métis and First Nation peoples had already lived in the Red River region. Like other settler cities, the processes of urban development have been oriented toward displacing Indigenous communities from the urban landscape (Burley, 2013). However, despite emigration, marginalisation, and assimilation, the Indigenous presence has never been eliminated from Winnipeg's socio-cultural landscape, and Indigenous communities have always influenced the city's urban ethos (Ens, 1996; Peters, 2015).

A young, large Indigenous population along with the existence of urban-based Aboriginal organisations in Winnipeg has created rich cultural and social capital for Indigenous communities. Based on the concept of prior occupancy, Indigenous inhabitants are claiming the city as an Indigenous place and distinguish themselves from other minority groups. Placemaking is increasingly gaining importance for Indigenous citizens of Winnipeg to assert their presence and contribution to urban life. Indigenous peoples are claiming their place in the architecture, public art, toponymy, and other urban design mechanisms which reify Indigenous urban cultures in the urban landscape.

A recent instance is installing a monument at the Forks commemorating missing or murdered Aboriginal women in Manitoba. The monument is a joint project between the Ka Ni Kanichihk Aboriginal Cultural Centre and the Province of Manitoba (Figure 1-5). Although small-scale, such placemaking activities are of importance in decolonising the city and provide a stark contrast to the design for large-scale popular consumption that has driven the vast majority of work at the Forks, carried out mainly by non-Indigenous planners, designers, and business interests, even when they evoke a commemoration of Indigeneity at the site. The essence of this



Figure 1-5: Monument honouring Manitoba's missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls (August 8, 2015)

project for missing and murdered Indigenous women is a more incisive, authentic, and contemporary urban design installation, undertaken in collaboration between the Indigenous communities and mainstream public authorities. Not only does it honour and recognise missing and murdered Indigenous women, but it brings continuing awareness to a contemporary issue that is deeply afflicting Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations in communities across Canada.

1.3.4 Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity in Winnipeg

Canada is an ethnoculturally diverse country. Immigrants and their descendants have been making the ethnic and cultural composition of urban centres more complex. According to the 2016 census, more than one out of five people in Canada's population- excluding temporary residents- is foreign-born, representing 21.9% (7,540,830) of the total population. This proportion is close to the 22.3% recorded in 1921 Census, the highest level since Confederation.

Between 2006 and 2011, around 1,163,000 immigrants and between 2011 and 2016, 1,212,075 new immigrants made Canada their home. The total foreign-born population made up 3.5% of the total Canadian population in 2016. A considerable trend of immigration revealed by the 2016 Census is that census metropolitan areas in Prairie provinces are receiving a larger portion of recent immigrants than in the past. Over the past 15 years, the share of new immigrants within the total population in prairie cities has doubled. In Manitoba, the proportion rose from 1.8% to 5.2%. While 2.2% of Canada's total population lived in the Winnipeg Census Metropolitan Area in 2016, 4.3% of immigrant newcomers settled in this CMA (Statistics Canada, 2017c). The province of Manitoba accommodated 1,315,100 (around 3.7%) of the total Canadian population in 2016. According to 2016 census, the population of Winnipeg CMA and the city of Winnipeg were 811,900 and 735,600 respectively (City of Winnipeg, 2017). Michael Burayidi and Abby Wiles (2015) use the term 'majority-minority' to describe cities where 'Whites' are outnumbered by 'non-Whites' (Burayidi & Wiles, 2015). While it is predicted that Toronto and Vancouver will become majority-minority cities by 2031, Manitoba may become the first province in Canada with a non-White majority if the current demographic trends endure (Winnipeg Free Press, 2017).

A notable characteristic of recent immigration to Canada is the change in the pattern of immigration and composition of immigrants. In contrast to historical trends in which most immigrants came from Europe, newcomers from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East comprise the largest portion of contemporary immigrants. While around 78% of the immigrants who arrived in Canada before 1971 were of European descent, the percentage of immigrants from Europe fell to 16.1% in 2006 and to 11.6% in 2016. Between 2011 and 2016, 61.8% of immigrant newcomers came from Asia and the Middle East and about 13.4% from Africa. It is projected that the percentage of African immigrants will increase by around 12% by 2036 too. Such immigration trend has contributed to an increase in the visible minority population in Canada. In 2016, visible minority groups comprised 22.3% of Canada's population. Statistics Canada predicts that if current trends continue, the visible minority population will represent between 31.2% and 35.9% of the total Canadian population by 2036 (Statistics Canada, 2017c). The distribution of immigrants across Canadian cities is not even. Toronto, Vancouver, Montréal, and Calgary accounted for around 68% of the immigrant population in 2011, and there is a propensity among

newcomers to settle in the largest cities of the country (Statistics Canada, 2011). Toronto, Vancouver, Montréal were the destination for 56% of new immigrants between 2011 and 2016. The proportion of the immigrant population in Canada's population will continue to grow. Population projections reveal that by 2036, immigrants will make up between 24.5% and 30% of Canada's population -from around 21% in 2011. Second-generation individuals and immigrants together will represent nearly half of the country's population in 2036 -up from 38% in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2017b). Based on this projection, by 2036 around 67% of the working-age population would belong to visible minority groups. In Winnipeg, this proportion would be 52% -compared to 20% in 2011.

In the year 2014, more than 16,000 immigrants (6.2% of the total newcomer population in that year) chose Manitoba as their immigration destination. Manitoba witnessed the third highest increase in international immigration (around 24%) in Canada after Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick. In the same year, Winnipeg ranked sixth among the top ten Canadian cities accommodating newcomers. In total, around 59% of all immigrants to Manitoba came from the Philippines, India and China, and around 85% of them chose Winnipeg as their final destination (Government of Manitoba, 2014). Table 1.2 provides a summary of statistical information regarding immigration and ethnocultural diversity in Canada, Manitoba, and Winnipeg.

Despite issues of inequality, marginalisation, and segregation, international immigration deeply affects social processes and urban landscapes. The most apparent influence of immigration and its socio-cultural effects on the built form is visible through the proliferation of diverse service and commercial activities serving immigrant communities. In addition, emerging residential landscapes such as ethnoburbs are introducing new patterns of urban development that are exclusive to the diverse Canadian context. Contrary to traditional suburban developments, ethnoburbs accommodate diverse ethnocultural groups and are more heterogeneous compared to their traditional counterparts (Kobayashi & Preston, 2015; Li, 2009).

Table 1-2: Summary of statistical information on immigration and ethnocultural diversity

Description	Value
Foreign-born population percentage of Canada (excluding temporary residents), 2016	21.9% (7,540,830)
The number of newcomer immigrants, 2011-2016	1,212,075
The percentage of immigrants from Europe before 1971	78%
The percentage of immigrants from Europe in 2016	11.6%
The percentage of immigrants from Asia and Middle East of the total immigrant population in Canada, 2011-2016	61.8%
The percentage of immigrants from Africa of the total immigrant population in Canada, 2011-2016	13.4%
The share of new immigrants within the total population in Manitoba, 2017	5.2%
The share of visible minority population of the total population of Canada, 2016	22.3%
Projected immigrant population of the total population of Canada, 2036	24.5%-30%
Visible minority part of the Canadian working-age population, 2036 estimation	67%
Visible minority part of the working-age population in Winnipeg, 2036 estimation	52%
The number of immigrants who made Winnipeg their final destination, 2014	13,600

Source: Adapted from City of Winnipeg, 2017; Statistics Canada, 2017b; Statistics Canada, 2017c

The emergence of ethnoburbs and ethnocultural commercial and cultural landscapes is an outcome of market demand generated by immigration; however, as Qadeer argues: “it could not have happened without urban planning’s responsiveness in the form of revised economic and social policies, accommodation of cultural differences, and restructuring of zoning and design standards” (Qadeer, 2015, p. 69). The phenomenon of the ethnoburb is not still common in mid-sized Canadian cities such as Winnipeg; however, ethnic commercial and retail land uses are already changing the streetscape.

1.4 Organisation of Thesis

The second chapter engages with how Indigeneity is situated in urban planning processes and outcomes in Winnipeg. It critically engages with existing literature on Indigenous inclusive urban planning which is mostly focused on enhancing the provision and distribution of urban

services, basic needs, and the incorporation of Indigenous communities in pre-existing mainstream planning structures. It discusses spatial production in settler cities specifically in relation to the rights that Indigenous peoples possess in spatial production both as contemporary urban inhabitants and also as the original inhabitants of the territories which cities are located on. It is followed by a critical review of three prevailing contemporary urbanism paradigms to understand where Indigeneity is situated in their discourse. Besides, the chapter elaborates on the Indigenous right to urbanism which involves unsettling power relations and removing various forms of oppression and social injustice through spatial production. Spatial justice has been a concern for spatial theorists for some time (Harvey, 2008; Lefebvre, 1991; Pugalís & Giddings, 2011; Soja, 2010a), and could be elaborated in the context of Indigenous urbanism. The Indigenous right to urbanism adds another level of complexity to the existing debate on spatial justice, bringing in the Indigenous history of settlement, self-determination, treaty and constitutional rights in settler nations.

The third chapter of this thesis argues that the spatiality and sociality of urbanism processes cannot be separated. It delves into the perceptions of the built environment and its design by Indigenous inhabitants. The role of Indigenous communities in spatial production and placemaking in Canadian cities is taken for granted in urban planning and design literature. The right to urbanism is beyond providing citizens with adequate civic services and social benefits; it consists of a right to the built environment and creating the sense of identity, belonging, and participation for all inhabitants. At first glance, it might seem that benefiting from urban services and civic opportunities like employment, housing, and healthcare is the high-priority goal that Indigenous peoples in cities are pursuing. However, views from participants reveal that this is a reductionist and de-politicised outlook. Visibility in the social structure and also the built environment of Winnipeg are priorities for participants of this research. As the third chapter concludes, urban design and Indigenous placemaking are means of decolonising the city, the empowerment of Indigenous communities, and a mechanism for turning the negative symbolic capital associated with Indigenous peoples to a positive one.

The focus of the fourth chapter is on the diversity of inhabitants residing in Winnipeg's inner city. The goal is to elicit the standpoint of immigrant newcomers towards urban space, urban life,

and public places. The fourth chapter also examines the level of mutual understanding and coexistence between immigrant newcomers and Indigenous communities through juxtaposing their perspectives on urban spatiality and sociality. The chapter delves into the way they negotiate sharing urban space and place, and how they frame their relationship with the settler mainstream society and institutions. It also scrutinises the way the planning system and municipal governance responds to the needs and aspirations of diverse ethnocultural groups. Interviews with immigrant newcomers bring forth the voices from the lived experience of these inhabitants, and interviews with planners and municipal officials contribute to eliciting their outlook and approaches in engaging with difference and diversity in the city's planning, design, and programming efforts.

Excerpts from Chapter One and Chapter Three are published in the following book chapter: *Nejad, S. & Walker, R. (2018). Contemporary Urban Indigenous Placemaking in Canada. In Grant, E., Greenop, K., Refiti, A. & Glenn D. (Eds), The Handbook of Contemporary Indigenous Architecture, New York, Springer.* As the first author of this book chapter, my role was to conduct literature review on Indigenous engagement in placemaking in settler cities, and carry out a public space planning, design, and programming study in Winnipeg (with the focus on the case of the Forks).

In addition, sections from thesis Chapter Two are published in the following book chapter: *Walker, R. & Nejad, S. (2017). Urban Planning, Indigenous Peoples, and Settler States. In Bain, A. & Peake, L. (Eds), Urbanization in a Global Context: A Canadian Readers Guide. Don Mills, ON, Oxford University Press.* As the second author of this book chapter, I conducted the literature review on Indigenous urbanism and urban planning approaches to Indigenous inclusion in settler states. I also prepared the neighbourhood map drawings used in the book chapter.

Chapter Two

Urban Planning and Indigenous Urbanism in Winnipeg

2.1 Introduction

More than half of the Canadian Indigenous population is urbanised, and Indigenous peoples are the fastest growing segment of the Canadian-born population, especially in prairie provinces. Such demographic transformations do not only possess quantitative implications, they directly impact the characteristics of urban life and spatial circumstances in cities (FitzMaurice, 2012; Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2016). Studies show that Indigenous citizens consider cities as their ‘home’ and enjoy living an urban life (Environics Institute, 2010). Whether born in the city or not, Indigenous peoples are claiming cities as Indigenous ‘places’ because those cities are located in their traditional territories. At the same time, they are connected with their non-urban ancestral affiliations and most are proud of their cultures and traditions (Wilson & Peters, 2005). The Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study conducted by Environics Institute (2010) reports that Indigenous peoples are working to increase their influence on the social and cultural life of cities. However, persistent discrimination is reported to be a significant obstacle. In Winnipeg, for example, Indigenous peoples believe that there is a broad range of negative stereotypes of Indigenous peoples held by non-Indigenous citizens (Environics Institute, 2011). One might think that increasing Indigenous urban populations and the consequent rise of the interpersonal contacts between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples would naturally lead to a decline of racial discrimination in cities. However, as Lashta, Berdahl & Walker (2016) examine, growing urban Indigenous population in Canadian Western provinces and the increase in interpersonal contacts in prairie cities has not resulted in a decline of the existence of racial attitudes towards Indigenous peoples.

Persistent discrimination against Indigenous peoples in urban areas has an important but less studied spatial aspect, the way urban space perpetuates or eliminates the oppression. Indigenous peoples have specific rights, needs, and aspirations that should inform urban planning processes.

As the original inhabitants of territories before the establishment of Canada as a state, Indigenous peoples are entitled the right to self-determination, a fundamental (constitutional) right which distinguishes Indigenous communities from other minority groups (Belanger & Walker, 2009).

This chapter argues that Indigenous urban inhabitants not only have a right to reside in cities, but also, they have a right to spatial production based on their approaches towards planning and decision-making which emanates from their lived experience, worldviews, values, and methodologies. In addition, contrary to the myth that Indigenous cultures are incompatible with urban life, Indigeneity brings new opportunities for urbanism processes in cities. This chapter seeks to answer the question of whether conventional approaches to urban planning have been useful in achieving the Indigenous right to urbanism in Winnipeg. Acknowledging the participation of Indigenous inhabitants in the production and appropriation of urban space and place depends not only on accepting Indigenous urbanisation, but also Indigenous urbanism. Existing approaches to engaging Indigenous peoples in urban planning have not been influential in removing various forms of discrimination and fulfilling specific Indigenous rights and needs in cities. Indigenous communities have the capacity, knowledge, and methodology to introduce new epistemologies and approaches to urban planning, rooted in their lived experience which informs their mobilisation towards influencing urbanism processes. Such approaches could expand the existing frameworks in which planning professionals and decision-makers 'conceive' urban space (Lefebvre, 1991). A shift from focusing on problems and challenges should occur, moving toward recognising the capacities that Indigenous cultures hold for urban life. In cities where social, cultural, and physical space is shared between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, increasing Indigenous population and their diverse socio-cultural aspirations and needs create challenges to mainstream planning which has typically been applied as a tool to eliminate them from urban areas.

Planning and policy-making have the potential to be instruments for reclaiming Indigenous self-determination. However, they have long been used as colonial means of facilitating settler states' sovereignty in and over Indigenous territories. Planning has been used as an instrument of control over land use and exchange, fostering economic expansion, and as a tool for social engineering, all of which minimise the influence and expression of Indigenous cultures and

knowledge systems (Gulson & Parkes, 2010; Matunga, 2013; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Cities in settler nations have been conceptualised as the headquarters for producing and reproducing colonial relations (Jacobs, 1996; Porter, 2010; Shaw, 2007). The absence of a strong focus on the inclusion of non-dominant cultures, particularly Indigenous cultures, in planning processes has resulted in social, political, and spatial segregation of Indigenous communities and their disengagement from urbanism processes (Walker & Belanger, 2013). In Canadian cities, Indigenous peoples are highly dependent on non-Indigenous urban services for fulfilling their needs, although they have reasonable expectations to be supported in developing services, planning processes, and modes of governance based on their status, traditions, and values as original inhabitants of Canada (Alfred, 2009; DeVerteuil & Wilson, 2010; Peters, 2005, 2010). One of the main pitfalls of contemporary urban planning theory and practice is that Indigenous peoples are mainly acknowledged as another ethnocultural minority group or as another stakeholder group in planning processes. Indigenous-specific rights and claims such as the right to self-determination have not found a place in stakeholder engagement discourse (Fawcett, Walker, & Greene, 2015).

The aspirations, rights, and approaches of Indigenous people -as original inhabitants of Canada- in planning their communities in cities are unique and cannot be conflated with other minority groups interests. The way Indigenous-specific rights could be included in the mainstream practice of planning is a knowledge gap in the planning discourse of Canadian cities. This chapter engages with how Indigeneity is situated in urban planning processes and outcomes in Winnipeg. It critically engages with existing literature on Indigenous inclusive urban planning which is mostly focused on enhancing the provision and distribution of urban services, basic needs, and incorporation of Indigenous communities in pre-existing mainstream planning structures. The conceptual framework in the next section engages with spatial production in settler cities specifically in relation to the rights that Indigenous peoples possess in spatial production both as urban inhabitants and also as the original inhabitants of the territories which cities are located on. It is followed by a critical review of three prevailing contemporary urbanism paradigms to understand their capacity of situating Indigeneity into their discourse. The influential role of Indigeneity in urbanism processes, and namely, the concept of an Indigenous right to urbanism is elaborated. The right to urbanism involves unsettling power

relations and removing various forms of oppression and social injustice through spatial production (Harvey, 2008; Lefebvre, 1991; Pugalís & Giddings, 2011; Soja, 2010). The *Indigenous* right to urbanism adds another level of sophistication to the debate on spatial justice and concerns the principles of Indigenous history of settlement, self-determination, treaty and constitutional rights in settler states. With the aid of data gathered through interviews with Indigenous citizens, Indigenous organisational officials, and planners and municipal officials at the City of Winnipeg, the results section explores the challenges, aspirations, and priorities for urban Indigenous inhabitants in their urban lived experience. Winnipeg is an Indigenous ‘place’ for Aboriginal Winnipeggers; however, they ‘perceive’ the urban space in their city as void of Indigenous presence (Lefebvre, 1991). They expect that their original occupancy and the right to self-determination will be recognised by the municipal government and planning systems. The discussion in this chapter then explores how the planning system in Winnipeg engages with Indigenous communities in practice and how planners ‘conceive’ and incorporate Indigeneity in their efforts. The chapter concludes with the discussion of results in relation to the conceptual basis and the implications for Indigenous-inclusive urban planning in Canadian cities.

2.2 Conceptualising Spatial Production, City Planning, and the Indigenous Right to Urbanism⁵

Planning in settler cities has been used as the instrument of eradicating Indigenous presence (Denis, 1997; Jacobs, 1996; Porter, 2010; Shaw, 2007; Walker, Jojola, & Natcher, 2013). Rooted in Western cultural assumptions about space and place, property rights, and modes of governance, planning has long been applied to eliminate both the Indigenous ‘memory’ (existence, heritage, experience) and their ‘materiality’ (physical presence, structures, places) from urban areas in settler nations (Matunga, 2013, p. 8). Stanger-Ross (2008) explores the case of dispossessing Indigenous peoples from urban reserves in Vancouver in the 1930s to 1950s. He

⁵ This section has been published as the part of following book chapter: Walker, R. & Nejad, S. (2017). Urban Planning, Indigenous Peoples, and Settler States. In Bain, A. & Peake, L. (Eds), *Urbanization in a Global Context: A Canadian Readers Guide*. Don Mills, ON, Oxford University Press. The permission from the book publisher to reproduce the contents is attached to this thesis (Appendix C).

argues that city planning theories and methods were applied as instruments in the process he calls ‘municipal colonialism.’ Municipal colonialism asserts the role of cities as centres for colonial expansion, settlement, and ‘symbols of conquest’ that eliminate Indigenous communities and Indigenous places from urban areas (Stanger-Ross, 2008, p. 543). In another example, Burley (2013) argues that municipal colonialism has existed in Winnipeg since its formation. He examines the removal of Rooster Town -the last surviving Métis community since the 19th century in the Winnipeg area- during the post-war waves of suburban expansion of the city which resulted in disrupting Indigenous communities and pushing them away further to the fringes of town until no more space remained for them. Part of the discursive foundation for dispossessing community members of their lands at Rooster Town at the edge of a developing Winnipeg, in general, was through a stereotyping process. In the case of Rooster Town this process included stereotyping the Indigenous residents of the area as “indolent, immoral, and irresponsible” (Burley, 2013, p. 3). The following sections conceptualise urban Indigeneity in relation to the right to participate in the production and appropriation of urban space. A critical review is provided on three dominant contemporary urban planning paradigms, examining their capacity to incorporate Indigenous rights and claims into their discourse. The concept of the Indigenous right to urbanism, in which Indigenous resurgence mobilisations and an emergent Indigenous planning paradigm are embedded in urbanism processes, will be discussed.

2.2.1 The Production of Urban Space, the Right to the City, and the Indigenous Right to Difference

Analysing the way space and place are created in cities is inseparable from discussions on decolonisation and resituating Indigeneity in contemporary urbanism processes in Canadian cities. As Jacobs asserts, colonial relations do not only occur in space, but the production and programming of space and place are fundamental components of colonial politics of settlement: “The social construction of space is part of the very machinery of imperialism” (Jacobs, 1996, p. 158). The spatial repertoire of colonialism as Tuhiwai Smith (1999) puts it, consists of three elements: the line, the centre, and the outside. The line is used to determine the territories of colonial powers, drawing boundaries through surveys, and marking territories. Centres denote the configuration of power structures through institutions and creating an abstract connection between colonised lands and the mother nations at earlier times of settlement. Finally, the outside

conceptualises Indigenous territories as empty lands or *terra nullius*. The previous existence of settlements, communities, and institutions on these outside lands are not considered as legitimate in the eyes of the centre.

Relations of power, privilege, and the process of ‘othering’ have continuously reproduced themselves through urban development and are reified in urban areas through spatial instruments that urban planning and design mechanisms provide (Matunga, 2013). For example, Shaw (2007) and McGaw et al. (2011) focus on the dispossessing essence of the contemporary gentrification of inner city areas in Australia. In the case of Sydney, Shaw argues that urban transformations around ‘the Block’ included a racialisation process that manifested symbolic and material colonisation of Indigenous lands and protected the heritage of ‘Whiteness.’ The Block is a block of land in the inner suburb area of Redfern in Sydney. It was in this area where the Australian Aboriginal rights movement gained momentum in the 1960s and early 1970s. It has been a contested site for urban Indigenous peoples asserting their place at the heart of the largest city in Australia and the settler state trying to preserve its authority over planning and placemaking in this area of the city (Walker & Nejad, 2017). McGaw et al. (2011) argue that in settler cities of Australia, the existence of Indigenous places of significance is intolerable in the context of dominant placemaking cultures which do not recognise Indigenous claims to participate in the ownership, planning, and programming of urban space and place.

Soja (2010b) highlights the emerging importance of conceptualising space not only as a platform for social actions and relations, but as a determining force in shaping human life which is penetrating all social science disciplines including urban planning. Soja and other spatial thinkers such as Harvey and Lefebvre focus on the dialectic relationship between the spatial and the social -the spatial shapes the social and the spatial is socially transformed- and argue for taking a critical spatial perspective on discussions of removing various forms of oppression and injustice produced through planning theory and practice (Harvey, 1973; Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1989, 2009, 2010a). Soja elaborates the socio-spatial dialectic as follows: “Taking socio-spatial dialectic seriously means that we recognise that the geographies in which we live can have negative as well as positive consequences on practically everything we do” (Soja, 2009, p. 2).

Spatial production theory developed by Lefebvre has fundamentally influenced spatially-oriented scholarly work in discussions on fulfilling social and spatial justice in urban areas. This chapter draws upon Lefebvre's ideas on the production of space and contextualises his ensuing discussion of urban rights in relation to Indigenous communities living in cities. Lefebvre defines space as a social product and contributor to shaping social relations. Accordingly, spatial production can be exploited as a means of control and domination through imposing certain social orders. In his conceptualisation, Lefebvre focuses on the interconnectedness of physical, mental, and social aspects of space. The complex interaction of these aspects is defined as a triad consisting of three elements. First are the spatial practices, *perceived space*, which include mainly the material engagement with social life and the built environment. It includes the networks of interactions, communications, and routines of everyday life (Schmid, 2008). Second are the representations of space, *conceived space*, the abstract space of politicians, technocrats, and planners who are in the service of authorities in power. Third, there are spaces of representation, the *lived space*, which is related to non-hegemonic forms of spatial practices (Lefebvre, 1991). This dimension concerns the symbolic aspect of space, associating meanings to the material aspects of space. It represents the space as people experience it over the course of their everyday lives (Lefebvre, 1991; Schmid, 2008). Through the lived space, 'inhabitants' or 'users' (focusing on marginal and underprivileged groups) can engage and struggle for developing alternative forms of spatial organisation: "They are the sites of resistance and counter-discourse that have either escaped the purview of bureaucratic power or manifest a refusal to acknowledge its authority" (Butler, 2012, p. 41). Lefebvre points to the 'logic of visualisation' associated with the representations of space by planners and technocrats. In his critique, he asserts that this visual logic has dominated all aspects of interpreting the socio-spatial realities of the world. In the field of geography and planning, this visual logic has manifested itself clearly through cartography, mapping, and other spatial technologies enabling Western geographers and planners to analyse the urban scale from a bird's-eye view without analysing the specific social impacts of their decisions on the ground (Butler, 2012; Lefebvre, 1991, 2003; Westin, 2014).

Indigenous peoples in settler states like Canada have little influence on shaping urban space and place because urban planning systems have been developed based on limiting their power as

inhabitants. The ongoing processes of colonisation, as Porter (2010) formulates, consist of the imposition of the conceived space of mainstream power and privilege over the lived space of Indigenous peoples in settler societies.

For Lefebvre (1996), the social production of urban space is directly related to two major urban rights for inhabitants: *the right to the city* and *the right to difference*. A significant aspect of Lefebvre's right to the city is that it recognises a legitimate right to the city for 'everyone' who resides in the city and contributes to the production of urban lived space. Every resident qualifies for this right apart from their particular ethnicity, racial associations, and political membership (Brenner, Marcuse, & Mayer, 2012; Purcell, 2002). The right to the city seeks to enable communities to participate in urban affairs as more than just observers or stakeholders, but instead as active agents able to use their collective power to control the city and the regulation of urban space. It is an individual but also a collective right that can change the power dynamics in a way that transforms urban processes and resists hegemonic forces of the state and market (Harvey, 2008). The right to the city rejects discriminatory elimination of urban inhabitants from urban life. As Lefebvre states: "the right to the city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualisation in socialisation, to habitat and to inhabit" (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 173). Two subsequent rights are implied in the right to the city, namely, the right to 'participation' and the right to 'appropriation'. The first implies that the voice of citizens should not be directed through state institutions; it should entail direct engagement in decision -and policy-making regarding urban space. The second component includes unabridged accessibility to occupation, use and programming of actual spaces of the city over the course of everyday life. In short, increasing the use value of urban space for residents (enhancing the quality of urban life) is of higher priority than insisting on the exchange value interests (commodification and consumption of goods, places, signs, and meanings) of institutions, state, and market (Harvey & Potter, 2009; Lefebvre, 1996; Purcell, 2002).

Furthermore, the right to difference is the right to remove "systemic classification imposed by the homogeneity forces of abstraction" (Butler, 2012, p. 152). It pushes back against the systemic homogenisation of people and places, transforming the boundaries of traditional human rights to a "series of practical maxims with the capacity to alter everyday life" (Lefebvre, 2005, p. 110).

Lefebvre's discussion of rights transcends and completes conventional citizenship rights in liberal democratic states by including the right to participate fully in urban life.

“The right to the city, complemented by the right to difference and the right to information, should modify, concretize and make more practical the rights of the citizen as an urban citizen (citadin) and user of multiple services. It would affirm, on the one hand, the right of users to make known their ideas on the space and time of their activities in the urban area; it would also cover the right to the use of the center, a privileged place, instead of being dispersed and stuck in ghettos (for workers, immigrants, the ‘marginal’ and even for the ‘privileged’)” (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 34).

The right to the city and difference are complementary and inseparable. Without the right to difference, the right to the city, as Butler (2012) argues, would be de-radicalised and reduced to a positivist and institutionalised principle within a collection of human rights. De-radicalisation of the right to the city implies neglecting its transformative capacities for changing power relations and socio-spatial production in society. The fulfilment of the right to the city and the right to difference for Indigenous peoples involves the recognition of Indigenous self-determination, treaty rights, and collective claims emanating from these. A Lefebvrian discussion of urban rights sets up a point of departure for propelling Indigenous rights discourse beyond general ethnocultural minority group rights. It resonates with the ‘citizen plus’ approach in which Indigenous peoples not only possess common citizenship rights in cities, but also supplementary entitlements “some of which flowed from existing treaties, while others were to be worked out in the political processes of the future, which would identify the Indian peoples as deserving possessors of an additional category of rights based on historical priority” (Cairns, 2000, p. 12). However, to what extent are the right to difference and the right to the city recognised for Indigenous inhabitants in the Western liberal context of contemporary cities? In the search for an answer to this question, the following provides a critical reading of three prevalent urban planning theories and considers them in relation to how they incorporate Indigeneity into their repertoire, or could do so.

2.2.2 Urban Planning Paradigms and Creating Capacities for Coexistence

Although research on urban Indigenous communities is growing, the literature in the field of urban planning that addresses Indigenous urbanism and associated rights is limited (Newhouse & FitzMaurice, 2012). Research by Barry and Porter (2012) and Porter and Barry (2016) indicates that the focus on Indigenous-inclusive planning, both in theory and practice, typically has been limited to non-urban contexts focusing on issues of environmental and resource management. The application is limited because of the degree to which urban space is intensively used and shared between a societal mainstream, Indigenous peoples, and highly diverse ethnocultural groups. Consequently, discussions of fulfilling the right to self-determination and accommodating Indigenous ways of planning is complicated and challenging, as mainstream urban planning has long been imagined by its practitioners as culturally-neutral and value-free, tending to minimise the consideration of difference in cities (Sandercock, 1998, 2003). Indigenous peoples' mobilisation for justice and recognition has highlighted the importance of coexistence which implies the production and sharing of urban space in a more just and equitable way (Howitt & Lunkapis, 2010; Porter, 2013).

In settler cities, persistent colonial assumptions towards Indigenous peoples are still challenging the coexistence between Indigenous planning systems, claims, and modes of governance and the cultural practice of mainstream urban planning rooted in Western positivist assumptions towards urban space and its regulation. Scholars believe that contemporary urban planning lacks both theoretical and practical capacities to incorporate coexistence into its discourse (Porter, 2010, 2013). Porter and Barry (2015; 2016) demonstrate how postcolonial planning systems in Canada and Australia bound the 'contact zones' between Indigenous right claims and urban planning, even though collaboration between municipal governments and local Indigenous communities are in place (Porter & Barry, 2015, 2016). Fulfilling Indigenous-specific rights and the feasibility of situating Indigenous planning both as a new paradigm and methodological approach alongside mainstream planning (Jojola, 2008, 2013) is contingent on decolonising urban planning as the 'cultural artefact' of colonialism (Porter, 2010). Porter calls for a critical analysis of planning and a radical move towards "unlearning the colonial cultures of planning" through critiquing the structure of planning processes, renegotiating its values, knowledge systems, and power relations between planning and Indigenous communities (Porter, 2010, pp. 155-156). Decolonising urban

planning begins with rethinking its philosophies and epistemologies in relation to urban space, place, and the rights of diverse Indigenous communities. In the literature regarding ethnocultural diversity and urban planning, Indigenous peoples are mostly categorised as a minority group, if they are not neglected altogether in the literature regarding ethnocultural diversity in cities (Qadeer, 1997; Qadeer & Agrawal, 2011). As discussed thoroughly in Chapter Four, the literature on multicultural urban planning falls short in the context of settler cities where there is not only a highly heterogeneous public, but there also exists a significant number of Indigenous peoples with specific rights and aspirations. This thesis discusses how multiculturalism can be applied as a homogenising approach to ethnocultural diversity and difference. The result is a de-politicised and de-radicalised framework of rights that in settler cities falls short of fulfilling the right to urbanism for Indigenous inhabitants.

This section examines the capacity and sensitivity of prevailing contemporary urbanism paradigms for incorporating Indigeneity in their discourse. In post-modern planning theory, there have been efforts made to incorporate social perspectives into urban planning through addressing the nuanced social context wherein planning is done. Planning theorists have envisioned how inclusiveness could be incorporated into planning practices (Harvey & Potter, 2009; Sandercock, 2003). Contemporary urban planning is defined as a social project whose task is managing socially and culturally diverse contemporary cities in more just and equitable ways (Sandercock, 2004b). In this context, the planner's main role is the empowerment of those who are oppressed by structural inequalities of class, racial associations, sexuality, etc. (Forester, 1999; Friedmann, 1987). Nevertheless, planning practice and education are still inspired by Enlightenment perspectives of absolute, Cartesian space, a positivist approach seen as culturally-neutral, value-free, and in the service of dominant worldviews, values, and interests. Planners conceive urban space through a utopian, paternalistic, and technical lens. Sandercock argues that the persistent urban planning epistemological approach is exacerbating social and spatial inequalities in urban areas (Sandercock, 1998). Over the last two decades, there has been a number of paradigm shifts or turns in planning scholarship, inspired by increasingly critical discussions on modernistic planning epistemologies and their inability to respond to increased globalisation and multiculturalism, the political and cultural resurgence of Indigenous peoples, and increasing demands for justice in urban areas (Sandercock, 2006). For the purpose of this research, some of

this planning theory is analysed as it pertains to Indigeneity in the city. The goal is to examine how planning paradigms can fulfil the Indigenous right to urbanism. Urbanism in this sense concerns both the processes of planning and policy-making and the outcome of such processes that are reified through the built environment of cities. According to Fainstein's (2000) categorisation, these include design-oriented paradigms, collaborative planning methods, and The Just City model.

Design-oriented paradigms, or product-oriented paradigms, set out to enhance the social life of cities through physical design. Creating 'landscapes of desire' puts mainly large-scale signature designs at the heart of urban development (Sandercock & Dovey, 2002). The paragon of such paradigms is the New Urbanism. The New Urbanists approach is centred on planning mixed-use neighbourhoods with a variety of building types and transportation choices which favour diverse ethnocultural and income groups (Haas, 2008; Talen, 2013). Critics of New Urbanism argue that it offers a narrowed capacity for dealing with diversity and consequently, the outcome of New Urbanist development practices has been criticised as seductive, secretive, and discriminatory (Fainstein, 2000; Sandercock & Dovey, 2002). Harvey criticises New Urbanism on the grounds that it constitutes environmental determinism and has no capacity to cope with social complexities, on the one hand, and also its "neoliberal ethic of intense, possessive individualism, and its cognate of political withdrawal from collective forms of action" (Harvey, 2008, p. 32). In Harvey's view, the New Urbanist desire for creating socially-perfect communities through "privileging spatial forms over social processes" can impede rather than facilitate social transformation and lead to the exclusion, marginalisation, and devaluing of whoever is considered as 'other' (Harvey, 1997, p. 2).

Collaborative planning theories, aim to bring planning processes into the public realm and to build a democratic planning practice based on an 'inclusionary argumentation.' Participatory approaches to planning have challenged the linear and rational planning process through shifting some of the power for decision-making from planners to citizens based on principles of fairness, openness and trust (Healey, 1996, 1997, 1998). Some scholars argue, however, that in practice, the diversity in aspirations and needs of stakeholders has raised many challenges rooted in different interests, ideas, and an imbalance of power between professionals and communities.

There is an inevitable exclusion of people, interests, issues, actions and outcomes. For example, many urban renewal planning projects have been influenced by powerful business and real estate companies concerning policy-making and not inclusionary goals (Connelly & Richardson, 2004; Healey, 2004). On the other hand, collaborative theory has been criticised for focusing too much on bringing individuals into the public realm and undermining collective rights for groups such as Indigenous communities (Belanger & Walker, 2009). For Indigenous communities, being a full civic partner means having a suitable degree of self-determination; otherwise, it is not surprising that Indigenous peoples will choose to resist assimilating into mainstream planning processes (Healey, 2004).

The Just City model, Fainstein argues, prioritises oppressed and marginalised groups in decision-making. She points out that “a compelling vision of the just city needs to incorporate an entrepreneurial state that not only provides welfare but also generates increased wealth; moreover, it needs to project a future embodying a middle-class society rather than only empowering the poor and disfranchised” (Fainstein, 2000, p. 468). The focus of this planning paradigm is on the middle class. In settler cities like Winnipeg, such a focus presents the potential for Indigenous communities. Engaging with Indigenous communities is not only about empowering the poor. Like other citizen groups, Indigenous communities are diverse with regards to wealth and social standing. The emergent urban Indigenous middle-class population is expanding, necessitating consideration of their needs and aspirations in addition to those who are economically disadvantaged (Andersen, 2013; Peters, 2015).

Fainstein’s contextualisation of the Just City within existing global capitalist political economy has been criticised by Harvey and Potter (2009). Harvey asserts that achieving the right to the city and removing injustice “cannot be construed simply as an individualised right. It demands a collective effort and the shaping of a collective politics around social solidarities” (Harvey & Potter, 2009, p. 48). The Just City model falls short in contextualising Indigenous collective rights, claims, and modes of governance in parallel with mainstream planning discourses. Harvey insists on the radical position of the discourse of rights favouring transformed political-economic practices towards acknowledging specific collective rights alongside individual rights. Harvey

and Potter push their argument further and discusses the arena in which these rights can be claimed and actualised.

“The inalienable right to the city rests upon the capacity to force open spaces of the city to protest and contention, to create unmediated public spaces, so that the cauldron of urban life can become a catalytic site from which new conceptions and configurations of urban living can be devised and out of which new and less damaging conceptions of rights can be constructed. The right to the just city is not a gift. It has to be seized by political movements” (Harvey & Potter, 2009, p. 49).

Harvey’s description of the need for radical mobilisation resonates with the concept of Indigenous resurgence. Indigenous resurgence -which will be discussed in the next section- is about having the vision and courage to transcend pre-existing structures both individually and collectively. Some planning scholars have tried to translate Lefebvre’s spatial ideas into practice, developing paradigms or strategies which seek to transform the power of planning and decision-making from the conceived space of planners towards the lived space of inhabitants. These non-utopian, conversational, and non-structuralist approaches are called everyday, vernacular, or grassroots urbanism which aims to legitimise insurgent efforts in cities (Chase, Crawford, & Kalisky, 2008; Iveson, 2007, 2013; Kelbaugh & McCullough, 2008). These approaches hinge on the notion of inhabitation and involve efforts to politicise micro-scale spatial practices which lead to reshaping urban spaces and places. “An urban authority based on inhabitation is potentially a powerful democratic antidote to the forms of authority or ‘titles to govern’ based on wealth, nationality, technocratic expertise, and even electoral popularity that pertain in actually-existing cities” (Iveson, 2013, p. 945).

According to Cornthassel (2012), decolonisation is about Indigenous peoples’ engagement in everyday resurgence practices to reconnect with their culture, land, and traditions: “Decolonizing praxis comes from moving beyond political awareness and/or symbolic gestures to everyday practices of resurgence. This shift means rejecting the performativity of a rights discourse geared toward state affirmation and recognition, and embracing a daily existence conditioned by place-based cultural practices” (Cornthassel, 2012, p. 89). Although the literature on resurgence does

not engage directly with urban Indigenous communities, it provides a useful conceptual basis for how the Indigenous right to urbanism can be fulfilled in cities. Considering Indigenous resurgence in urban contexts, everyday urbanism provides a theoretical basis on how resurgent activities could be actualised in urban areas. If formal planning in settler cities, as Porter and Barry (2015, 2016) report, bound the potentials for coexistence between Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultures, planning methods, and governance in urban areas, everyday practices of Indigenous peoples in participating and appropriating urban space and place could create a basis for transforming existing planning and policy-making structures and recasting the contact zones where Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultures meet (Barry & Porter, 2012).

2.2.3 Indigenous Resurgence, Indigenous Planning

Indigenous urbanism, in many ways, challenges the ideological foundation of the settler city's purpose. Settler cities were originally conceived to be free of Indigenous visibility. Insisting on unmediated participation and appropriation of urban space in opposing municipal colonialism resonates with the work of Indigenous scholars who are elaborating on the transformative power of bottom-up, insurgent Indigenous decolonisation movements (Alfred, 2005, 2009; Coulthard, 2014; Simpson, 2011). They are additionally critical of the contemporary 'politics of recognition' between the Canadian state and Indigenous peoples, arguing that the current liberal democratic reconciliation politics is inherently colonial as "it remains structurally committed to the dispossession of Indigenous peoples of our lands and self-determining authority" (Coulthard, 2014, p. 151). Indigenous resurgence scholars are also critical of Indigenous organisations. They argue that these organisations de-radicalise the transformative potential of Indigenous mobilisations by redirecting Indigenous claims into more adaptive and moderate frameworks within existing political, economic, and social structures (Coulthard, 2014). Literature on urban Indigenous issues conceptualises the Indigenous right to self-determination in parallel with fulfilling the right to the city (Sandercock, 2003; Tomiak, 2010); however, the formulation of Indigenous peoples' right to self-determination as the right to the city, without considering the implications of the right to difference and radical aspects of participation and appropriation, results in a misinterpreted and de-radicalised discussion of rights. A neutralised Lefebvrian concept of the right to the city can turn into an ambiguous concept that is "more helpful as a rhetorical device than a policy-making instrument" (Fainstein, 2009, p. 27). This chapter

contends that in order to fulfil Indigenous-specific rights in urban areas, the urban rights discourse should be critically examined and elaborated in the context of Indigenous-specific rights. Indigenous specific rights to self-determination and appropriation of urban space arise from the fact that settler cities are located in Aboriginal territories wherein planning, governance, and institutions existed before European settlement (Matunga, 2013). The literature on Indigenous-inclusive planning needs to address Indigenous resurgence and Indigenous cultural density (Andersen, 2009) to be able to contextualise the concept of the right to the city for Indigenous communities as a distinct group in urban areas.

Without considering the implications of Indigenous-specific rights in terms of appropriation and participation in the production and programming of urban space, the right to the city has been equated with enabling Indigenous peoples to live in cities with civic services such as housing and healthcare similar to other ethnocultural minority groups (Andersen, 2013; Morgan, 2006). Even efforts to decrease Indigenous people's reliance on non-Indigenous urban services, and the provision of culturally-appropriate urban services (e.g. DeVerteuil & Wilson, (2010), does not fulfil the right to the city because it does not transform existing regimes of spatial production. Within the contemporary capitalistic welfare system in settler societies, conflict and policy debates over exclusive rights such as the right to self-determination are simplified to distributive issues, particularly at the local scale (e.g., municipal). The relationship with citizens is defined and shaped by a client-customer relationship (Andersen, 2013; Young, 1990). Andersen's call for the shift of focus from 'difference' to 'density' of Indigenous cultures emphasises the need to re-politicise the right to the city (Andersen, 2009, 2013). He asserts that "a focus on our difference tends, like most stereotypes, to reduce and fix our Indigeneity in both space and time. Such reduction produces a register of authenticity within which historical, social relations are positioned at the high watermark while contemporary positionings, such as our increasing location in urban centres, is understood as a partial vestige of that earlier authenticity" (Andersen, 2013, pp. 268-269).

Interestingly, Andersen's call for shifting the focus away from 'difference', or 'lack' as Newhouse and FitzMaurice (2012) put it, resonates with Lefebvre's emphasis on the right to 'difference', in his sense of the concept. In other words, the right to difference for urban

Indigenous communities means a shift from the de-radicalised conceptualisation of difference toward Indigenous resurgent activities within settler cities (Newhouse & FitzMaurice, 2012). It begins with the everyday lived experiences of Indigenous inhabitants and is about re-asserting Indigenous presence and contributions to urban life. It is about transforming the existing physical and social boundaries that prevent Indigenous peoples from fulfilling their inherent rights as original inhabitants of the territories that cities are located on. As Corntassel (2012) puts it:

“Every Indigenous person is in a daily struggle for resurgence. It is in these everyday actions where the scope of the struggle for decolonization is reclaimed and re-envisioned by Indigenous peoples...This shift means rejecting the performativity of a rights discourse geared toward state affirmation and recognition, and embracing a daily existence conditioned by place-based cultural practices” (Corntassel, 2012, p. 89).

Resurgence scholars argue that recognition of Indigenous rights and processes should primarily spring from Indigenous communities themselves. With urban spatial rights discourse in mind, it implies radical mobilisation of the capacity to claim space and place for Indigenous communities in cities. The Indigenous right to the city is about not only participating in Indigenous-specific affairs, but also in the overall urban governance and decision-making processes. Aboriginal complexity or density is not only an asset for urban Indigenous communities, but for the whole urbanism process (Andersen, 2013; Walker, 2008). As stated, it should be enacted in a bottom-up process starting from the everyday lived experiences of Indigenous inhabitants in cities. A cornerstone of this process is Maaka and Fleras description of Indigeneity as highlighting the importance of the “politicisation of original occupancy” (Maaka & Fleras, 2005). Contemporary urban Indigeneity does not only concern migration from reserve or rural communities to cities anymore. It is also not only about a better distribution of wealth and providing culturally appropriate urban services. A radicalised right to the city rejects any notion of incompatibility of Indigenous cultures and worldviews with urbanism because it formulates Indigenous cultural dimensions as opportunities for urban life, not as challenges. It legitimises the right of Indigenous inhabitants to urban life based on their claims, aspirations, and approaches to creating urban space and place. Contemporary Indigeneity is a structural component of the urban identity

of Canadian cities and is geared towards reclaiming the materiality and memory of Indigenous cultures on the land wherein the spatial structure of the city has been constructed.

Urban planning and design have a fundamental role in reclaiming urban space by Indigenous communities. A poorly understood area of inquiry -which is the topic of the next chapter- is reclaiming the built environment through Indigenous-inclusive urban design. Indigenous urban cultures reject the colonial assumption that Indigenous peoples lack a built heritage. Associating Indigenous settlement patterns and territorialisation of space with primitive and nomadic ways of life enables denying the Indigenous sense of place and placemaking practices. In their study of Australian cities, McGaw et al. (2011) conclude the dominant cultures of placemaking continue to marginalise Aboriginal peoples as “a lack of built fabric and general invisibility of Indigenous culture perpetuate the historical dispossession of Indigenous people in contemporary social practice and its architectural and institutional forms” (McGaw, Pieris, & Potter, 2011, p. 299). Jojola (2013) provides examples of how Indigenous planning methods shaped landscapes and created places historically. Based on what he calls the Seven Generations Model, he explains how successive generations collectively designed places in accordance with spiritual and cultural meanings inspired by Indigenous worldviews. Successive generations contributed to the creation of settlements through consistent, sustainable, and culturally-informed processes. Recognising Indigenous approaches to placemaking in ways that materialise the concept of original occupancy moves toward the fulfilment of the right to self-determination, land-based claims, and creating a sense of place for Indigenous peoples living in cities, and a sense of shared Indigenous space for non-Indigenous people.

Collaborative planning, the Just City, and the New Urbanism paradigms are not able to fully incorporate Indigenous specific rights such as the right to self-determination in their repertoire. Even resurgent everyday Indigenous practices should be supported by a rigorous planning institutional framework. Here the importance of developing the emergent Indigenous planning paradigm in urban contexts is highlighted. Indigenous scholars Jojola (2008, 2013) and Matunga (2013) have developed the conceptual basis for an Indigenous planning paradigm. By asserting that Indigenous planning methods and institutions have existed for hundreds or thousands of years before the imposition of settler state planning upon Indigenous lands, Jojola (2008) points

to Indigenous planning both as an approach to community planning and an ideological movement. The main characteristics of the Indigenous planning paradigm include a strong tradition of resistance and commitment to political change alongside mainstream planning systems and institutions. It aims to create coexistence capacities within pre-established power relations through internalised self-identification and resurgence and externalised advocacy (Matunga, 2013; Prusak, Walker, & Innes, 2015). Indigenous planning's epistemology is inspired by Indigenous worldviews, knowledges, and methodology. It requires that Indigenous values, voice, and individual and collective aspirations not be translated or filtered through mainstream frameworks (Jojola, 2013). Considering Lefebvre's contextualisation and Andersen's argument of Indigenous cultural and social density, Indigenous planning entails the recognition of the right to appropriation and participation of urban space for Indigenous inhabitants, bolstered by their cultural density or complexity in urban areas.

Situating Indigenous needs, aspirations, and rights in urban spatial production and programming requires a radical ontological and epistemological transformation addressing urban Indigeneity. As mentioned above, it includes a shift of gaze from the study of 'lack' towards 'depth' and complexity of Indigenous cultures (Andersen, 2013; Newhouse & FitzMaurice, 2012), from considering urban Indigenous communities as problematic towards municipal assets (Walker, 2008), from conceptualising Indigenous peoples as another minority group to original inhabitants with a set of specific aspirations and rights (Peters, 2015; Walker et al., 2013). Urbanism in Winnipeg will be influenced by Indigenous peoples and their impact on social and cultural aspects of urban life, a fact that cannot be ignored in design, planning, policy making, and municipal governance.

2.2.4 Conclusion to the Conceptual Framework: The Indigenous Right to Urbanism

This chapter proposes recasting the spatial urban rights discourse in relation to specific Indigenous claims of self-determination, sovereignty, and applying Indigenous approaches in planning. Removing various forms of social and spatial injustices in cities for Indigenous peoples requires reclaiming urban space and place through recognition of Indigenous original occupancy and its consequential aspirations and claims towards production and programming of urban space

and place. It is a twofold process, enacted both through high-level bureaucratic and political reforms and bottom-up, radical, and resurgent movements by Indigenous communities. The notion of the Indigenous right to urbanism can be defined as an overarching concept which entails the right to the city and the right to difference contextualised through specific Indigenous claims of participation and appropriation in planning and management of urban space and place. Indigenous urbanism is about expanding the scope of conventional spatial production towards the recognition of the potential that Indigeneity brings to the social and cultural life of cities and as a mechanism for actualising self-determination and autonomy in the spaces of the everyday life. It entails the “restitution of Indigenous materiality and memory in city spaces and places that once were theirs” (Walker & Matunga, 2013, p. 17).

An enhanced Indigenous-inclusive urbanism consists of addressing both the process and the outcome. It includes creating the sense of place for Indigenous inhabitants in their daily lived experience in public spaces of the city. It also involves examining planning and policy-making regulatory bodies to understand how needs and aspirations of Indigenous communities are reflected in municipal governance and decision-making bodies. Situating Indigenous planning as a parallel tradition to mainstream planning practices should be actualised. Transformation of existing urban planning and policy-making structures begins with learning from the lived space of inhabitants. The inability of the abstract visions of planners to include the realities on the ground necessitates listening to the voices of inhabitants. Planners have insufficient awareness of Indigenous histories, cultures, worldviews, priorities, and urban aspirations and an inadequate level of experience working directly with urban Indigenous communities. Understanding the perspectives of the urban inhabitants on how planning should be transformed to accommodate Indigeneity into their discourse is a critical starting point. Through their lived experience, Indigenous urban inhabitants are in direct engagement with urban spaces and places over the course of their everyday lives. The next section discusses the perspectives of Indigenous inhabitants towards urban space and its planning and programming, juxtaposing their views with the perspectives of municipal officials and non-Indigenous urban planners working in Winnipeg.

2.3 Urban planning and Indigenous Communities in Winnipeg

Indigenous urbanism includes creating a material and procedural sense of place for Indigenous inhabitants in the everyday lived experience of the city, as well as examining where the authority to act resides in planning and policy-making processes. Enabling Indigenous urbanism begins with learning from the lived experience of inhabitants. Prioritising the lived knowledge of Indigenous inhabitants over the formal and often abstract knowledge of planners and municipal officials has the capacity to shift spatial production processes from the conceived space of mostly non-Indigenous local government officials and technocrats towards the lived space of Indigenous peoples. This section examines how the Indigenous right to urbanism is reflected in urban planning processes and outcomes in Winnipeg. It explores how Indigenous inhabitants perceive the lived space and how it is conceived by planners and officials working for the city. Findings show that urban space is perceived as oppressive and discriminatory by Indigenous inhabitants. Participants perceive that although the overall situation has been improving, this has been the result of their own mobilisation and not as a result of robust municipal planning and programming mechanisms. Participants argue that Indigenous original occupancy should be recognised and reflected in urban policy-making, planning, and programming activities. Indigeneity should be visible both in planning ‘texts’ and the actual built environment of the city. Participants who work as city officials -both Indigenous and non-Indigenous- asserted that they are using their highest capacity to engage more Aboriginal peoples in planning processes, but that current inclusion and engagement mechanisms, such as applying consensus-based planning approaches and establishing mechanisms for better communication with Aboriginal communities within the existing jurisdictional structure of the municipal government, are not perceived to be useful for fulfilling the Indigenous right to urbanism. Participant input suggests that Winnipeg has an Aboriginal identity that necessitates creating capacities for better coexistence between Indigenous and non-Indigenous inhabitants of the city.

2.3.1 The Lived Experience, Engagement Mechanisms and Inhibiting Indigenous Urban Rights

Indigenous urban inhabitants are in direct and daily engagement with urban spaces and places. The process of achieving the Indigenous right to urbanism starts with delving into the lived space of inhabitants. Understanding the lived space through ‘users’ helps to bridge the abstract bird’s-

eye vision of planners and decision makers towards Indigenous peoples and their problems, aspirations, and capacities. Lefebvre believes that the study of the lived world is overlooked in Western conceptualisations towards space. Definition of urban space as neutral, uniform and universal, enables planners to hide inequalities and difference in class, ethnicity gender, sexual orientation, etc. (Lefebvre, 1991; Westin, 2014). Interviews with Indigenous inhabitants in Winnipeg demonstrates that the production and programming of urban space are reminders of continuing colonial experience. Interviewees pointed to various forms of oppression and discrimination in their everyday lives.

What I feel happens on the Prairies I think there's part of the population puts a pretence of being tolerant but it's all pretence. There are people who genuinely, of course, are in solidarity with people of colour. But generally, the attitude is pretty disgustingly racist. But it's kind of underground. I don't know if it's underground or if I think maybe people are not even conscientious of their racism. It's so normalised that that's who they are and if you call their attention to their racist attitude or something they're saying is derogatory they get really offended because it would never occur to them that they are disrespectful. (Indigenous participant, female, Interview 10)

Participants explained how relations of privilege and oppression have been perpetuated through the spatial structure of Winnipeg in various forms through history. An historical analogy was made by a participant to explain current spatial segregation and dependency on mainstream institutions and services is reminiscent of colonial relations for Indigenous Winnipeggers. A participant described the building of colonial forts for protecting settlers from the Indigenous 'outside' (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). At the same time, they believed that forts created a form of Aboriginal dependency for trading fur and receiving supplies. Aboriginals were not allowed to enter the fort; at the same time, they became increasingly dependent on the supplies provided by settlers inside the fort.

When there were forts, when the colonisers came, they set themselves up in fortresses for protection, for separation. They then made people from the Aboriginal races dependent. They would hang around the fort because they were now dependent on the supplies or whatever inside the fort. Some of them wouldn't be allowed inside the walls of the fort, and so right away there was a 'them-and-us' type thing. So, when you look at our city here too it's like when people are able to escape into their office buildings, into their suburbs, when they're able to escape into all those other things that they have created through injustice, where the people have to be dependent on those services, they

have to hang around offices like (queue) outside of unemployment offices, outside of clinics or whatever. So, they have to hang around to come and get those services because they don't have the same ability as other people to get their service in private. (Indigenous participant, female, Interview 5)

As the fort analogy mentioned by this interview participant suggests, the spatial vocabulary of colonialism as described by Tuhiwai Smith (1999) and Porter (2010) is still existing in Winnipeg though in a different form than the fort. Based on what participants reported, the built form in downtown areas, secured residential enclaves, and public space transformations -such as the loss of Indigenous sense of place at the Forks due to commercialisation and privatisation- are reminders for Indigenous inhabitants that urban space has been claimed for non-Indigenous purposes, purposes that often run contrary to embracing Indigeneity (i.e., market capitalism and accumulation driven by neo-liberal beliefs in success as the product of hard work as opposed to social safety supports for those in need). The spatial segregation is, furthermore, intertwined with the social dependency, a mechanism that has perpetuated colonial relations in Alfred's viewpoint (2009). For most of the interviewees, spatial segregation is a daily reminder of persistent marginalisation and oppression on traditional Aboriginal lands. It demonstrates the continued colonisation of space at an urban scale. The spatial structure of Winnipeg has managed to keep most Indigenous peoples outside of urban life through the creation of spatial boundaries and institutional arrangements which segregate Indigenous inhabitants from the mainstream society. Spatial segregation is a result of the way urban space is socially produced in Winnipeg. Indigenous peoples have no place in the social and consequently spatial structure of the city (Lefebvre, 1991; Shaw, 2007). A participant shared her views on spatial segregation in Winnipeg as follows:

I would probably feel less safe walking in the suburbia compared to the North End, to be honest. I don't know, as you walk through suburbia and people are very more sceptical or curious about you. And it's like they're asking "Why are you doing here?", and like "What are you in this neighbourhood?" Like "are you lost?" I guess it's kind of like the impression that I get depending on where I go in the city. I guess it's kind of like the places I would like to avoid going to. (Indigenous participant, female, Interview 8)

Interviewees referred to Winnipeg as an Indigenous city, emphasising their original occupancy. For respondents, the traditional family roots go deep into the history of the territory, and are

more sophisticated than could be fit within or outside of the jurisdictional boundaries of the city. Participants emphasised their original occupancy and distinguished themselves from other minority groups, indicating that recognition of their history by municipal governance would be the cornerstone of reconciliation and meaningful coexistence. While most of the participants were aware of formal recognition of urban Indigenous communities in urban governance and policy-making, most believed that Indigenous peoples are mostly invisible in the city.

Growing up in Winnipeg and working in Winnipeg I don't see clear evidence that the City of Winnipeg municipality recognises the history, the heritage, and the historical relationship between the Indigenous people here and Europeans. I don't see that. That's not overwhelmingly evident. It is evident in small regards with the Forks being the original migration area of Indigenous people. But I think there're tremendous planning and recognition that needs to be done and invested within Winnipeg. Very, very few people know that Winnipeg is a traditional Treaty 1 Ojibwa territory [and the homeland of Métis nation]. (Indigenous participant, male, Interview 2)

This participant's viewpoint implies that city development approaches and strategies for Indigenous community development amidst the contemporary atmosphere of truth and reconciliation is inherently colonial both in physical scope and cultural orientation. The result of investments in infrastructural and community development is to enhance the discriminatory urban space that inevitably reminds Indigenous peoples of their initial and ongoing dispossession.

Aboriginal organisations that provide Indigenous-specific urban services have been assumed as emblems of recognition of urban Indigenous communities. However, as the following Indigenous organisational manager explains the processes of discrimination and marginalisation strongly persist in institutional relationships. In fact, Indigenous institutions do not have a meaningful role or input in planning processes.

I think the government itself and the people behind the scenes they're withholding support to the Indigenous community. We're not given the same recognition as other Canadians and I see this acted out in policies. I see this acted out in the way the funding is provided to our organisations. It's almost like we have to have a cap in hand and we have to beg for the support. As original people here, we are living in poverty. This [funding] should be provided more willingly. The way I visualise it is that we're pushed aside while others are able to succeed and prosper and benefit and kind of improve their circumstances while the Indigenous population is just pushed to the sideline. We're not

worthy of having access to the resources that we should be entitled to. I think the government's agendas just give the scraps that fall off the table almost. The scraps that fall off the table will go to the Indigenous people. (Indigenous organisational official, Interview 2)

The critique of this Indigenous organisational leader affirms arguments made by Indigenous resurgence scholars that the liberal politics of recognition in Canadian cities is fundamentally devoted to the dispossession of Indigenous authority and perpetuating dependency to mainstream economic and political structures (see Alfred, 2009; Cornstassel, 2012; Coulthard, 2014; Simpson, 2011).

Another official from an Indigenous organisation points to the policy gap in Canadian urban areas which leaves the spaces for municipal-Aboriginal relations blank, vague, and undefined (Belanger & Walker, 2009; Hanselmann, 2001, 2002). The lack of adequate policy at the municipal level addressing Indigenous communities is a challenge toward Indigenous urbanism in Winnipeg, as this Indigenous organisational official reports:

We're doing the hard work. We're contributing to the betterment of this city and they should recognise that. We're operating within the city of Winnipeg and city of Winnipeg should be holding the province accountable. The City of Winnipeg should be holding the federal government accountable. There needs to be accountability among those organisations not just accountability and transparency among us, and that's legislated now. There's no scale. There's no correlation between the size of the population being served by these organisations and the resources to serve them, particularly by the federal government. So, it's offloaded onto the province and the city that responsibility. So that's why I say the biggest single issue facing urban Aboriginal people is to get the federal government, the provincial government, and the city government to focus on Urban Aboriginal issues. (Indigenous organisational official, Interview 1)

The duty to devise specific collaboration capacities with Indigenous peoples in accordance with their distinct rights and claims requires unique acknowledgements that cannot be conflated with general 'public interest' consultations (MacCallum Fraser & Viswanathan, 2013; Newman, 2010). Municipal government is a jurisdiction that is in immediate contact with urban Indigenous communities so it can benefit the most from a meaningful collaboration with Indigenous peoples (Walker, 2008). However, as the above statement suggests, mechanisms to promote political and

cultural coexistence have not been operational in Winnipeg due to the lack of comprehensive policy, willingness, and experience. In Winnipeg, mutual collaborations occurred when moments of interest convergence happened (Belanger & Walker, 2009). Indigenous inhabitants perceive urban space in Winnipeg as discriminatory, oppressive, and unjust in their everyday lives although they confirm that the situation has been gradually improving. These improvements have results from Indigenous mobilisations in the city, not a vigorous political will from the municipal government. This argument connects to the triad of spatial production in Lefebvre's conceptualisation. It is the abstract and conceived space of the planners and politicians which dominate the spatial production in the city, imposing a certain spatial configuration in the lived space of Indigenous communities which perpetuates their dispossession and marginalisation (Porter, 2010). Most of the interviewees expressed their reluctance to voluntarily engage in municipal affairs and participating in elections. As all of the recognition and reconciliation efforts are bounded in existing political and jurisdictional structures, participants suspect the effectiveness of their collaboration with the municipal governance. Even efforts such as increasing the number of Indigenous staff and more formal engagement of the municipal government with Indigenous organisations are considered mostly as a part of the dominant pretence mechanism, as named by the following participant.

There have been Aboriginal people voted in on city council over the past 30 years that I know of. There has been some of that representation, and I don't think those people can really affect change. It's really a drop in a bucket. The influence is so minimal, so I wouldn't spend personally my time or resources to support. I don't have a lot of confidence in the electoral process. In fact, I was at an organisation once and they had these little notices on the table which said "Don't vote. It only encourages them". And I laughed because in many ways that's how much I value that process because I really think it is all part of the pretence that we really do have an influence and we really do have a say in how our city is run and how it serves Indigenous peoples. (Indigenous participant, female, Interview 10)

In this context, it is not surprising that Indigenous peoples resist conventional engagement mechanisms in planning. This challenges the applicability of collaborative planning approaches to engage Indigenous citizens in planning efforts. A conventional stakeholder approach is a form of depoliticised and de-radicalised recognition of the right to the city and engagement of Indigenous citizens in planning processes (Andersen, 2013; Lefebvre, 1991; Porter & Barry,

2016). However, it is the main mechanism that municipal governance in Winnipeg applies in engaging Indigenous communities in the planning process. One of the most recent instances is the development of the *Our Winnipeg* planning document in 2011. In preparing *Our Winnipeg*, one of the main concerns for the city was the involvement of the Indigenous communities. An old planning document *Plan Winnipeg* was adopted by city council in 2001 with a 25-year time frame to address the city's future. However, a 2007 review of *Plan Winnipeg* culminated in the development of *Our Winnipeg* which provides high-level policy direction in several key areas.

Complete Communities is the strategic plan associated with *Plan Winnipeg*. It drills down into land use and how the city can accommodate growth and change over the next twenty years. *Complete Communities* is inspired by New Urbanism ideas such as providing a range of housing options to support diversity, preserving the cultural heritage of the city, transit-oriented design, densification of inner city areas, and creating quality public spaces (City of Winnipeg, 2011a). Interviews with Indigenous participants highlight the importance of the built environment in reproducing forms of oppression, on the one hand, and the potential that exists within urban planning and design practices that could be exploited to remove elements of cultural domination and reclaim Indigenous memory and identity in Winnipeg. However, the document guiding the physical development of the city is lacking particular attention towards Indigenous inhabitants and their role in the evolution of Winnipeg, which is located in their traditional territories. As participants report, there has been a limited opportunity in incorporating Indigenous cultures in the built form of Winnipeg. Similar to most cases around the world, taking a top-down and paternalistic approach towards showcasing Indigenous cultures has turned into tokenistic gestures and proved to be insufficient for representing settler cities as Indigenous places (Dovey, 1999; Jacobs, 1996).

However, a planning manager at the city expressed a different viewpoint, arguing that the last review of *Plan Winnipeg* ended up being a significant undertaking in engaging with Indigenous citizens. *Complete Communities* aimed at enhancing the engagement of Indigenous communities in consensus-based planning model that the city chose to apply. The scope of this engagement, as the planning manager pointed out, was the equal recognition of Indigenous communities as stakeholder groups in consultation processes.

We engaged with over 42,000 Winnipeggers as part of that process, including the Aboriginal community. So, trying to capture that cross-section of the population and be as inclusive as possible. We did produce a consultation report, sort of summing up the engagement activities around Winnipeg, and through round tables and open houses and conversations with folks in various neighbourhoods. The typical approach is to be as inclusive as possible, and usually, that involves initially identifying all of the stakeholders within a given community, the various neighbourhood associations. Any of those key sorts of stakeholder groups, usually engage them early and often throughout the process. I mean we make every kind of concerted effort to be as inclusive as possible and involve as much of the community as we can. (City planning official, non-Indigenous, Interview 1)

As the quote above suggests, the inclusion of Indigenous communities in urban planning falls short on recognising specific Indigenous people's place among other urban inhabitants. The stakeholder approach simply recognises the right of Indigenous peoples to be in the city but neglects the fundamental principles of Indigenous urbanism. In effect, it is a de-radicalised form of the right to the city and a depoliticised form of Indigeneity in postcolonial settler societies (Butler, 2012; Maaka & Fleras, 2005). Research on consultation mechanisms in Saskatoon by Fawcett, Walker, and Greene (2015) examines a similar context to Winnipeg's in which Indigenous communities are consulted not as sovereign political communities -with the right of self-determination- but as stakeholder interest groups in the process of preparing long-term, high level, and strategic plans for the city's future. In sectoral planning, research on social housing in Winnipeg conveys a similar conclusion. As Walker (2006) examines, the Indigenous pursuit of specific rights of citizenship in the provision of low-cost housing was not fulfilled although the spaces for collective engagement were apparently provided. Interviews with Indigenous inhabitants in Winnipeg confirm Sandercock's (2004a) assertion that the notion of sovereignty and specific rights are more critical for Indigenous peoples than collaborating through participatory planning methods deployed through existing planning structures.

Categorising Indigenous peoples as just another interest group does not facilitate meaningful coexistence between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. As a result of the exclusion of Indigenous communities from urbanism processes, the municipal government has not developed an adequate experience or knowledge of working with Indigenous peoples. So even while there are good intentions for effective collaboration, there is a need to move beyond existing engagement mechanisms for a more inclusive urban planning, as this participant suggests:

When you look at the different challenges that are being posed to the city by the growth in the Aboriginal population here, and the city really having the least experience working with the Aboriginal community, the least capacity or amount of resources to direct to addressing issues that are rising out of our community. So, if you dig deep into that particular subject matter, you have to appreciate all these little vagaries: policy, responsibility, jurisdiction, capacity. All of those things have to be measured, and have to be addressed, and have to be given attention. So, strategically though I would say that the city has the most to benefit from working closely with Aboriginal community leadership at all levels; First Nation, Métis, and Urban by working closely with our community and getting a much better understanding of the issues, so what these issues are, and how they should be addressed. (Indigenous organisational official, Interview 1)

One of the clear examples of inability or reluctance on the part of the city to fulfil specific initiatives for Indigenous communities is urban reserves in Winnipeg. It has been argued that urban reserves provide opportunities for improving municipal-Aboriginal relations in cities. Under the federal Addition to Reserves Policy (ATR) and provincial Treaty Land Entitlement Framework Agreements enacted in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, some urban land parcels have acquired reserve status through land claim settlements with First Nation communities. The economic benefits of urban reserves have been highlighted as the main opportunity for Indigenous communities. In addition, the creation of urban reserves enhances the social and cultural presence of First Nations in cities (Barron & Garcea, 1999; Peters, 2007; Walker, 2008). The vacant site of Kapyong Barracks at the intersection of Grant Avenue and Kenaston Boulevard in Winnipeg is an obvious example of the complexities embedded in the creation of urban reserves. The 160-acre former military base was declared as surplus in 2004. Since then several Treaty One First Nations have struggled with the federal government in courts to acquire the land based on the Treaty Land Entitlement Framework as they argue that they have right of first refusal of any surplus federal land (Winnipeg Free Press, 2015).

While the relationship between the federal government and Indigenous communities in the context of urban reserves is clearly defined at the formal level, Walker (2008) argues that there is a less often considered but important strategic relationship which exists between a municipal government and First Nation communities after the establishment of a given urban reserve. The way an urban reserve is planned, designed and programmed in relation to the bigger context in which it has been located makes close coordination between the municipal government and Indigenous owners of urban reserves vital. As interview participants suggest, the issue of urban

reserves is one of the most important that could foster a meaningful transformation in planning processes towards fulfilling the right to self-determination for Indigenous communities in Winnipeg. In Complete Communities, which is one of the four direction strategies supporting Our Winnipeg, urban reserves are recognised as Aboriginal Economic Development Zones. It has been explicitly mentioned that “The City of Winnipeg will negotiate agreements with First Nations to provide a seamless transition between jurisdictions enabling mutual economic development interests to be achieved” (City of Winnipeg, 2011a, p. 122). However, as an Aboriginal official with a treaty land entitlement organisation states, the city has been hesitating in any kind of engagement in the debates over converting the land at Kapyong Barracks to an urban reserve so far.

Everything I heard from the city was positive at least but they just didn’t take the next step of taking a lead to say, “Yeah we support the First Nations in developing this land and working with the city and working with the surrounding communities to consult with them on developing the land.” It’s just frustrating not to see them take the opportunity to do that after all these years of the land [Kapyong Barracks] just sitting there. (Indigenous organisational official, Interview 3)

Once a parcel of land has been designated as an urban reserve, the First Nation has the authority to determine how to use the land. However, the level of this authority is a matter of tension between Indigenous communities and the municipal government. First Nations should sign a Municipal Development and Servicing Agreement (MDSA) with a neighbouring municipality to obtain municipal servicing such as sewer and water (City of Winnipeg, 2016). As Barry argues, procedures of service provision and bylaw compatibility circumscribe Indigenous self-authority in urban reserves, and in fact, is generating a contemporary manifestation of municipal colonialism (Barry, 2017).

To facilitate better engagement of Indigenous communities with municipal governance the Aboriginal Relations Division was established in 2013. This division is located within the municipal administration and its mandate is to increase the participation of Aboriginal citizens within the existing civic system. It is run by mostly Indigenous staff and is mandated to act as a liaison between Indigenous communities and City Hall.

Our role here is acting as a liaison or a link between the community and the civic government to come to the table and talk. Right now, our mandate speaks to us around increasing Aboriginal citizen's participation within the civic system. So, through programs, services and employment, so the kinds of things we do out in the community are around education and awareness about what the civic system provides, and the kinds of ways they could. So, this is about being introspective in what our own goals are as Aboriginal people and balancing that with the structure that we're in. And this is a great opportunity, something to really celebrate and not forget that the establishment of the division says a lot about the strength and the capacity of the city to develop programs and improve service areas. (Municipal official, Indigenous, Interview 2)

The two mentioned approaches to engaging Indigenous peoples in urban planning -engagement in planning as stakeholders in collaborative planning models and facilitating municipal-Indigenous relations through the Aboriginal Relations Office- exemplify what Porter and Barry (2015) call 'bounded recognition' of Indigenous rights. The stakeholder approach in the preparation of plans and addressing Indigenous engagement through existing bureaucratic and jurisdictional establishments have contributed to limit the contact zones and potential for coexistence in Winnipeg (Barry & Porter, 2012; Porter, 2013). The existing situation is far from a radicalised call for the right to urbanism which covers two major aspects of the discourse of recognition in urban areas: "A territorially based recognition of Indigenous places" and "the recognition of Indigenous political authority" (Porter & Barry, 2015, p. 22). The next section engages with recommendations of Indigenous inhabitants and Indigenous organisational officials towards increasing transformative capacities of urban planning in Winnipeg. As participants suggest, discussions on implementing transformative or resurgent planning practices within shared urban spaces are two-fold, and it concerns both planning processes and outcomes materialised in the built environment. Recognising an Indigenous right to urbanism necessitates reformulating how Indigenous inhabitants participate in the process of urban planning and how their interests are reflected in the outcomes of such procedures.

2.3.2 Towards Spatial Equity: Fulfilling the Indigenous Right to Urbanism

...This is an Aboriginal city. To me this is an Indigenous city, why don't we see it?
(Indigenous participant, male, Interview 7)

There exists a potential for improving planning processes and securing Indigenous peoples' right to urbanism. It requires moving beyond inclusion mechanisms in mainstream planning systems to institutional change and creating the space for coexistence. This institutional change could be achieved from top levels of jurisdiction to the bottom. The point of departure is shifting the gaze from the study of 'lack', enabling municipal governance to undertake meaningful change and incorporate Indigeneity as a municipal advantage into their discourse. At the same time, there is a sophisticated, urban, and complex Indigenous social and cultural capital that can promote changes from the bottom in transforming existing planning and programming approaches (Newhouse, FitzMaurice, McGuire-Adams, & Jetté, 2012; Walker, 2008). Coexistence is created in the middle ground, out of the convergence of these two approaches. As interviews suggest, contemporary urban Indigeneity is about reclaiming distinct identities, cultures, land-based claims, and modes of governance in Winnipeg. Participants reported that Indigenous Winnipeggers are claiming urban space by constructing their unique urban identities based on their status as the original inhabitants of Canada. The existence of this strong cultural and social capital in Winnipeg necessitates better recognition on behalf of the municipal government.

There are many different languages and cultures that come here from the Dakotas, Lakotas, and the Assiniboine, the Anishinaabe, and there're all sorts of us that are here, and we come together here. We're still very traditional in that way, that where the two rivers meet we have very deeply rooted history on the land. And we evolved together, and we have common experiences. And there's quite a solid community. And in the community, we have Elders, there're all sorts of activities like different ceremonies. So, the cultural community is very strong. And I can feel very solid in my identity and who I am. I can express myself. I know who I am. I can reach out. (Indigenous participant, female, Interview 16)

Participants suggested that municipal government should recognise Indigenous representation and engagement in planning through establishing protocols and also creating independent advisory committees. These committees could provide input, set priorities, and incorporate Indigenous mechanisms into municipal processes in a direct and unfiltered fashion.

What City Hall needs to do is to actually create a standing committee on Indigenous relations, to establish priorities, to identify solutions that will include Aboriginal people at the municipal level. That I think is the one gap at the municipal level. They have advisory committees that are ad hoc that are created to attach to the mayor's office, but there's nothing there that is permanent. And so, I think it would be nice to have something there that is dedicated towards urban Aboriginal people. You could have, again ways to include how to establish protocols with Aboriginal people. And I think you also need to have some way of recognition at the municipal level that recognises that the city of Winnipeg is on Treaty One territory, and it's also located in the heart of the Metis Nation. (Indigenous participant, male, Interview 18)

Establishing meaningful communication and relationships between municipalities and Indigenous communities is vital to institutional change that opens spaces for coexistence. In addition, a decentralisation of planning and decision-making and recognising the jurisdictional capacities of Indigenous peoples in decision-making is needed (MacCallum Fraser & Viswanathan, 2013). The decentralisation concept links back to Lefebvre and Harvey's discussion of rights in urbanism processes. It legitimises the lived experience, 'non-expert' inhabitant input in the planning processes. As a participant mentioned, the establishment of the Office of Aboriginal Relations has been a positive step towards increasing representation of Indigenous interests in municipal governance. However, the creation of this office is more a sign of symbolic recognition. It is an internal division in City Hall under the existing bureaucratic structure. Such establishment cannot take a critical position towards existing institutional structure wherein it is located although it is a positive step. Transformative planning should be carried out independently, not subject to the influence of mainstream institutional formations. Indigenous planning methods offer the possibility of providing a parallel planning and policy-making pathway for Indigenous communities. A participant describes how independent Indigenous decision-making bodies could influence the mainstream planning processes.

We recommended that mayor and council establish an Aboriginal advisory committee to mayor and council by by-law and supported by the city. So those are two big things. It's one to establish this committee, because even though they have the Office of Aboriginal Relations, that's internal and that's led by people who are employees of the city. So, there are boundaries that they can't cross. There are things that they can't say that an advisory committee can because it's just advisory in other words. You don't have to give them the best advice possible, and if they ignore it that's their decision. But at least they hear it. But also, that advisory committee can be critical, can be constructively critical of current city policy, of new proposed policy, or programs. They can be

constructively critical of that, and they can recommend positive changes in those things to mayor and council on a consistent, continuous basis. (Indigenous organisational official, Interview 1)

Urbanism for Indigenous peoples consists of shaping their urban identity based on maintaining their relationships with the land, whether that is in the context of private or public spaces in the city. Urban Indigenous peoples disrupt spatial frameworks of the contemporary Canadian nation-state by reconnecting with the land through various forms of resurgent activities (Corntassel, 2012; Coulthard, 2014; Wilson & Peters, 2005). Land claims are of high importance in fulfilling the Indigenous right to urbanism. In Winnipeg, areas which could enhance the municipal-Aboriginal relationship and create capacities for a better coexistence are urban reserves. In this context, a meaningful engagement on behalf of the municipal governance and planning system with Indigenous communities could advance the coexistence and collaboration. Pointing to the case of urban reserves, and misconceptions in interpreting the meaning of ‘reserve’, this participant discusses the advantages of developing Indigenous places for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities.

I think urban reserves will be a positive step towards increased self-government and economic sustainability and addressing poverty in some way among our communities and among our urban citizens. There will probably be a greater sense of pride for urban citizens to be employed or to be involved with urban reserves. They would also visibly see that the city of Winnipeg is proud of their citizens and doing so they’ve been supportive of the establishment of this urban reserve. And it’s not going to reduce adjacent property values. It’s going to benefit all Winnipeggers. It’s going to benefit all Manitobans. But most importantly it’s going to benefit the First Nations people that are involved and that are from that community. From what I’ve seen, the process has been too cumbersome, too lengthy, and too bureaucratic. (Indigenous organisational official, Interview 2)

Municipal government is not directly involved in treaty land entitlement debates between the federal government and Indigenous communities. However, it could expand its engagement not only in providing the infrastructure for urban reserves but also as an agent in increasing awareness within non-Indigenous communities about urban reserves. There exists widespread negative perceptions and misunderstandings towards urban reserves in the mainstream public sphere. An Indigenous organisational official describes the how NIMBYism has been affecting decisions over urban reserves in Winnipeg and the role that municipal government could have

played in removing misconceptions, legitimising Indigenous claims over urban treaty lands, and benefit from collaboration with Indigenous communities.

Here's an opportunity for the city of Winnipeg to take the lead, to work with the First Nations and say, "Look! Let's work with the community. Let's work with the First Nations and let's get the First Nations involved in the city planning aspects around Kapyong Barracks. Let's work in true partnership to develop the lands. Let's get together with the communities that are affected and get involved and develop it together." And yeah, maybe the parcel would be converted to a reserve and at the same time be developed in a way that is positive for the community, positive for strong communities and it could be something that we can show the rest of the country. This is a perfect example of how we could work together, but that's just not happening. There's been no leadership from the city. (Indigenous organisational official, Interview 3)

Self-determination and land-based claims are the most important aspirations of Indigenous communities. At the urban scale, urban reserves could potentially be arenas for fulfilling these important rights. Through urban reserves, Indigenous communities could re-territorialise urban space, practice Indigenous planning methods and modes of governance. The success of urban reserves not only is beneficial for Indigenous communities, but for the whole urban society. It could provide alternative ways of governance, policy-making, and planning for mainstream jurisdiction to enhance Indigenous and non-Indigenous coexistence in the shared spaces and places across the city. That is the practice of "living together differently without drifting apart", as Maaka and Fleras (2005, p. 300) put it.

And I'm really supportive of that one because I believe in scale, you've got to have something sizeable, something where you could make a lot of good things happen. And demonstrate a level of scale that it works, that it could be very positive for the city. . On our side of the fence, maybe we didn't do enough to speak to other Winnipeggers and other Manitobans about what these things are; that they're not a threat, that you don't have to fear them, that they're not reserves in the old sense of the word. Reserves are not a bad thing. They don't have to be a bad thing. There's a lot of good reserves. There's more coming. But if some Canadians believe Aboriginal people don't want to work, they don't want to contribute, if you look at these 13 in Saskatoon and you look at other urban reserves in Canada that dispels that myth. It tells you that yes you can contribute. We do want to be good citizens. We do want to contribute to our cities and our province. (Indigenous organisational official, Interview 1)

Another major component of the Indigenous right to urbanism is claiming public spaces of the city through placemaking activities. Most of the participants believed that Indigeneity should be reflected in the materiality of urban spaces in Winnipeg. Placemaking through naming public spaces, incorporation of Aboriginal public art, innovative architecture, etc. are areas that were mentioned as influential in reclaiming symbolic significance of original occupancy and acknowledging traditional Indigenous territories.

I would like to see the City of Winnipeg recognise Indigenous contributions to the City of Winnipeg, to recognise the history, to recognise the involvement that the Indigenous community has played in Winnipeg's evolution. I'd like to see plaques engraved and installed in city sidewalks, saying this is where the first Friendship Centre was created, this is where this organisation was created. This is where this person lived for the longest time or whatever. I'd like to see city streets named after prominent Aboriginal people and leaders, people that have made a contribution in this place. And I think people may not realize it, but at least it would be ingrained in their head. People that are modern, people within the past sixty years, after 1950. You have Chief Peguis Trail but it doesn't connect people to the fact that we are still here. And I think having events for chiefs or Louis Riel, speaks to a time where people think of as a period of history that is just a history. (Indigenous participant, male, Interview 18)

As this participant mentions, claiming urban spaces through placemaking and urban design should reflect past and present simultaneously. Common recognition processes that the city applies involve mostly temporary events, cultural festivals, and anniversaries. However, claiming urban space through representation in the built environment requires innovative planning and programming, and more Indigenous engagement and control. As Chapter Three examines, claiming public spaces through place naming, architecture, public art, and programming can transform previously inadequate and tokenistic official gestures that put Indigeneity in the distant past. As McGaw et al. (2011) argue, Indigenous presence in contemporary settler cities is generally done through memorialisation -emphasising precolonial sites of importance- or putting Indigenous heritage in museums and galleries through institutionalised colonial frameworks (McGaw et al., 2011, p. 297). Not only do Indigenous peoples have a long and continuous history of settlement in territorial places that are currently urban, but there are also contemporary Indigenous cultures which are produced in the urban sphere. The contribution of contemporary Indigenous cultures to urbanism processes in cities can be manifested through the built environment of cities.

One thing that I do see throughout Winnipeg in the summer months is that that's when we have our dances, our celebrations like pow-wows. For the most part those occur right in the First Nation communities. But because we have a high urban population now there's been more and more. There's been a revitalisation of culture among our people. It doesn't have to be hidden anymore. I think the city of Winnipeg should work with our people and design some public space where we could have a permanent presence. (Indigenous organisational official, Interview 2)

Representation in the built environment calls for a more radical movement compared to existing Aboriginal heritage protection in urban areas. Porter (2013, p. 288) points out that heritage protection acts provide a limited and anachronistic portrayal of Indigeneity in the city. Filtering Indigenous presence in cities through memorialisation and museumisation of their cultures results in the denial of the Indigenous right to urbanism. Indigenous cultural representation and protection in contemporary cities should transform rubrics of rigidification of Indigenous cultures in the past (Matunga, 2013). Having Indigenous resurgence and density arguments in mind, it is about the future as well and contributions of Indigenous cultural density to present and future urban development processes. A participant discussed the need for radical practices on behalf of Indigenous communities and a 'creative risk' that municipal government in Winnipeg should take to incorporate Indigeneity into the built environment of the city.

I wished that Winnipeg would take more of a creative risk sometimes where they just don't take a risk, and they don't pay homage to Aboriginal culture. You [should] know right away that this is the original peoples' art, and this is their land, and this is where they came from. Like when we will go driving through the community and I will be like, "Well that's where the apartment block was I used to live here and this is where this was" because you still have those landmarks in your mind. Those are like identifiers of, okay this is my community. So those are important to have I think- those visual things that kind of keep you cemented and yeah [you say,] this is my community. Here in Manitoba, you just don't really get that flavor. You don't really see that. (Indigenous participant, female, Interview 3)

This creative risk would contribute to fulfilling the right to urbanism for Indigenous peoples. However, how would it be achieved? Taking the risk does not mean applying top-down design-oriented programs, as normally such processes turn out to be paternalistic (Fainstein, 2010). Resisting the hegemonic power of the state and the market is achievable through a myriad of small-scale, local, resurgent everyday activities (Coulthard, 2014; Iveson, 2007). From a municipal standpoint, this transformation requires relinquishing control over planning, design,

and programming of public spaces towards granting Indigenous communities and their representative organisations more control and management power. Public spaces could be conceptualised as ‘battlegrounds’ for Indigenous peoples to claim their right to urbanism in their everyday lives (Harvey & Potter, 2009; Madanipour, 2004). They should be created out of real life and the struggles of inhabitants opposed to the abstract, formal, and conceptual production of space controlled by planners (Lefebvre, 1991). Design within these spaces must begin with a deep knowledge of the life that exists there, the knowledge that planners often lack. Such everyday urbanism practices are based on ‘dialogism’ in the daily lives of inhabitants and efforts to remove the opaque screen that abstract cultures place between people and everyday life. By shifting power from professionals to citizens and politicising insurgent activities, this gap between real life and abstract conceptualisation of urban life could be filled (Chase et al., 2008; Lefebvre, 1991). This gap is argued to be a fundamental challenge for the planning profession that concerns all citizens regardless of their racial or cultural associations (Westin, 2014). However, it is essential for urban Indigenous communities as planning has been deliberately aimed at dispossessing them from participation in urban life. Indigenous community-based organisations can play a mediating role in the process of spatial production and eliminate this gap. Winnipeg is advanced in the development of Aboriginal community-based organisations. However, they have rarely engaged in urban planning practices. Indigenous organisations’ mandates ought to be extended in the way that they directly engage with urban planning and programming issues. Increasing the influence of Indigenous peoples on urbanism processes can be facilitated by Indigenous organisations acting as a liaison between urban Indigenous inhabitants and the municipal government.

2.4 Conclusion

Interviews with Indigenous peoples and officials demonstrate that the Indigenous right to urbanism in Winnipeg has not been recognised and fulfilled. Indigenous citizens perceive the spatial structure of the city as oppressive, discriminatory, and privileging the mainstream society in their everyday lives. As interviews with municipal government and planning officials reveal, inclusion and engagement strategies are inconsistent with rights, needs, and aspirations of Indigenous peoples based on their position as original inhabitants of Canada. Inclusion and engagement strategies are structured within existing planning and decision-making frameworks.

Inspired by collaborative planning theories, planners try to reach out to Indigenous communities as they do other minority stakeholder groups. Even these consultation mechanisms are applied mostly in preparing plans for neighbourhoods that Indigenous peoples are concentrated in and do not concern comprehensive city-wide planning and programming. A second strategy is to create mechanisms within municipal government to better formulate Indigenous peoples needs regarding distribution and access to urban services. Both strategies demonstrate a de-radicalised and de-politicised form of recognising Indigenous specific urban rights in Winnipeg. While such strategies are inspired by contemporary politics of recognition under liberal democratic reconciliation, they follow a distributive approach (Young, 1990). Interview results confirm Indigenous resurgence scholars' arguments that such politics are still structurally dispossessing Indigenous peoples from their inherent right to self-determination and land-based claims (Coulthard, 2014). Reclaiming Indigenous materiality and memory in cities (Matunga, 2013) will require widening the attention upon Indigenous resurgence to include spatial production at the urban scale where "settler colonial common sense and state power" requires considerable unsettling (Tomiak, 2016, p. 8).

For Indigenous participants, recognition of original occupancy underpins any effort towards reconciliation and collaboration. Indigenous prior occupancy should be reflected in every planning and policy text, as well as the actual built environment of the city. There should be tangible signs of recognition for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous urban inhabitants that urban spaces and places in Winnipeg are located on traditional Aboriginal territories. The focus of urban planning on Indigenous communities as problematic prevents creating spaces for cultural and social opportunities that Indigenous complexity and density bring to the urban life of Winnipeg (Andersen, 2013). Applying the problem/lack lens by urban planners in approaching Indigenous communities prevents conceptualising Indigeneity as a municipal strength. The focus on prospects that Indigeneity brings to urban life does not only create capacities for Indigenous communities, rather, but it also creates opportunities for all urban inhabitants (Walker, 2008). Given the increasing urban population and the influence of Indigenous peoples in Canadian cities and their role in shaping contemporary and future urbanism processes, it is vital for planning systems and municipal governments to enable co-existence mechanisms for reclaiming

Indigenous materiality and memory at the urban scale (Matunga, 2013; Walker & Matunga, 2013).

Indigenous urbanism refers to the adjustment of urban space to Indigenous peoples, according to their articulation of needs, aspiration, processes, and protocols on a foundation of authority residing in situated sovereignty on their traditional lands (Dorries, 2012; Newhouse, 2011). Fulfilling the Indigenous right to urbanism entails the recognition of Indigenous density or complexity and the shift of gaze from the study of deficiencies in Western terms to opportunities and the right to the city. Recognition of original occupancy in the process of planning and its manifestation in the built environment of cities through urban design and placemaking facilitate creating mutual coexistence. Mainstream planning institutions must open the space for enabling Indigenous modes of governance and planning methods in parallel to the settler establishment. It can be done through the creation of independent jurisdictional bodies with the power of planning and decision-making within existing establishments. In parallel it requires opening up space for bottom-up practices of placemaking and programming initiated by Indigenous communities and their representative organisations, a call for a ‘text-down’ and ‘practice-up’ approach as Barry and Porter (2012) propose. Finally, the municipal government should play a greater role in fulfilling Indigenous-specific claims within urban areas practically. Urban reserves as arenas for operationalising self-determination, reclaiming the land, and practising Indigenous planning paradigms are one suitable instance of transformation and coexistence. Urban Indigenous communities are not only entitled to better social services, jobs, and other essential needs in cities, but also, as the Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study demonstrates, they are looking forward to playing a more significant role in shaping urban environments and influencing the social and cultural life of their cities (EnviroNics Institute, 2010). Reclaiming urban spaces and places in settler cities is a quintessential aspect of the pursuit of what is emphasised by Newhouse (2014) as *Bimaadiziwin* -the concept of a good life- for urban Indigenous communities.

Chapter Three

Urban design, Programming, and Indigenous Peoples in Winnipeg

3.1 Introduction

Chapter Two examined how cities in settler states have been centres for the production and reproduction of colonial relations. Colonial objectives of economic expansion, eliminating ‘non-Western’ knowledge systems and removing the Indigenous materiality and memory from colonised territories were made plausible with the aid of spatial instruments of urban planning and design (Banivanua Mar & Edmonds, 2010; Jacobs, 1996; Matunga, 2013; Shaw, 2007). Cities became material representations of colonial domination and triumph. Through establishing new cities, Western spatial order was distributed across traditional Indigenous territories, and cities became the ‘centres’ of civilisation and culture compared to the ‘outside’ backwards, *terra nullius*, and empty territories of Indigenous communities. The spatial technologies of map making, survey and boundary drawing were crucial in creating such new spatial orders (Jacobs, 1996; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Furthermore, city architecture and urban form became a ‘visual buttress’ for colonial powers (Matunga, 2013, p. 11). Colonial powers used the built environment to sustain the control over local communities and planning as an ideological project ensured political, social, and cultural goals of settlement structures. Construction of administrative buildings as centres for social and cultural control, industrial sites for economic growth, and segregated residential neighbourhoods provided the environmentally and culturally familiar landscapes fulfilling the desired sanitation and health requirements (Schmidt, 2005). In Jacob’s words, town planning became the “mechanism by which colonial adjudications of cleanliness, civility, and modernity were realised quite literally on the ground” (Jacobs, 1996, p. 20). The built environment of cities manifested colonial power over Indigenous territory through the physical structuring of space (Porter, 2010). As Porter argues, colonies were not only ‘sites of exploration’ but ‘laboratories of modernity’ providing new opportunities for settlers to practice new urban forms, patterns, and structures:

“Gridiron pattern of town planning was prevalent, almost ubiquitous, in American colonial towns as it was easy to design, quick to survey, simple to comprehend, having the appearance of rationality, offering all settlers apparently equal locations for homes and business within its standardised structure. It was particularly useful to bring standardised land parcels as commodities to the land market” (Porter, 2010, p. 71).

These top-down, state-based, new spatial orders imposed on traditional Indigenous territories resulted in various forms of dispossession, oppression, and injustices for Indigenous communities. Urban planning and design inspired by Enlightenment theories of space and place were aimed at creating new ‘places’ for settlers in ‘wilderness’ at the expense of destroying existing Indigenous places (Jacobs, 1996; Porter, 2010; Relph, 1976). Place in this context is not the mere location where the structures of power, privilege, and dispossession happened. It can be argued that the colonial processes of urban planning and design re-territorialised urban space and place in ways that eliminated the Indigenous sense of place and replaced it with Western conceptions of place, which have been reproduced continuously over time.

This chapter explores the relationship between the built environment and dispossession of urban Indigenous communities. The discussion on how urban ‘places’ are created is inseparable from removing Indigenous dispossession and marginalisation in cities, as placemaking is inherently a political act and a “strategic device in the assertion or resistance of power and domination” (Potter, 2012, p. 132). From the planning perspective, as discussed in Chapter Two, research on eliminating socio-cultural disparities in Canadian cities has been focused mainly on the provision of civic services such as housing and healthcare for Indigenous and other ethnocultural minority groups (Andersen, 2013; Newhouse, FitzMaurice, McGuire-Adams, & Jetté, 2012). However, the role of the built environment in enhancing urban Indigeneity has not been addressed adequately. The issue of how Indigenous aspirations, rights, and approaches are included in the inherently colonial practice of urban planning and design is a knowledge gap in the planning discourse of Canadian cities. This chapter contends that sociality and spatiality are intertwined in the formation and transformation of places in urban areas, and cannot be studied separately. The built environment of cities consists of places where processes of socio-spatial segregation acting on Indigenous peoples materialise. Incorporation of culturally diverse policies and engaging

Indigenous groups in urban design and placemaking could, therefore, contribute to facilitating the decolonisation of 21st century Canadian cities. As discussed in the previous chapter, fulfilling the Indigenous right to urbanism depends on providing the opportunity for urban Indigenous people to create, program, preserve, and (re-)claim urban places. The creation of place is not merely a technical urban planning exercise. Rather, as Sandercock (2003) argues, it requires new epistemological tools capable of reviving cities of ‘memory’, ‘desire’, and ‘spirit’ for Indigenous communities. Compared to social theories of urban space, less research has been done on planning and design of the built environment in culturally diverse contexts where there are various perceptions of place and placemaking among citizens. This chapter then narrows the focus to Winnipeg and examines how Indigeneity is situated in the placemaking culture, planning process, and outcomes in this prairie city. The next section engages with an explanation of urban form in settler cities and a description of how placemaking practices contribute to dispossession of Indigenous cultures from urban life.

3.2 Conceptual Framework: The Built Environment, Placemaking, and Indigenous Oppression or Empowerment

This section examines the literature on place and placemaking cultures in settler nations where Indigenous-inclusive urban planning is mostly focused on enhancing the provision and distribution of urban services, basic needs, and incorporation of Indigenous communities in pre-existing mainstream planning structures. Drawing upon the ideas of Foucault and Bourdieu on power and capital, it continues with an examination of the association of the built environment with power relations in society and the generation of symbolic capital through placemaking. Urban design not only imposes power ‘over’ Indigenous communities, but it also provides an arena for power ‘to’ transform oppressive circumstances. It provides Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities with a mechanism -if deployed- for turning negative symbolic capital tagged to urban Indigenous peoples, often associated with a discourse centred on ‘lack’ and ‘deficit’ (as discussed in Chapter Two), to a productive, positive symbolic capital of situated attachment, prominent presence, and cultural resurgence within traditional (and contemporary) territory, and Indigenous contributions to the life of cities (Newhouse & FitzMaurice, 2012). This section then narrows the focus to the public spaces of cities, the most contested and political components of the built environment. It engages critically with the literature on public space

design and programming strategies including architecture, public art, and place naming. The analysis of data gathered through interviews with Indigenous citizens, Indigenous organisational officials, and planners and municipal officials at the City of Winnipeg, the chapter then examines the challenges, aspirations, and priorities for urban Indigenous inhabitants in creating and reproducing urban place. Results on the planning, design, and programming of urban public spaces are discussed in the context of the conceptual framework to elicit the placemaking priorities, aspirations, and ideas of Indigenous inhabitants towards a more meaningful Indigenous-inclusive urbanism in Winnipeg, and Canadian cities generally.

3.2.1 Place, Placemaking, and Placelessness

Relph (1976, p. 3) defines ‘place’ as the “complex integration of nature and culture that have developed and are developing in particular locations, and which are linked by flows of people and goods to other places”. Place is the meeting point of location, culture, and social relations. The aspect that distinguishes place from the site or mere location is that it has a complexity which connects sociality to spatiality in everyday life. Space is socially constructed, and the social is spatially constructed (Lefebvre, 1991). Place is “an inextricably intertwined knot of spatiality and sociality” (Dovey, 2010, p. 6). Massey (1994) argues that space and its relationship with social relations must be conceptualised integrally with time. Thinking of space not as an absolute independent phenomenon but as the compression of space-time enables us to consider the relationship between social relations and spatial production. Social relations are influenced by power relations, symbolism, and meanings, and there is a social ‘geometry of power’ within which places are generated. Within this conceptualisation, places are not isolated and circumscribed; they shape a porous network accommodating social relations. Identities of places in these networks are constructed through their interaction with other places. These identities are multiple, complex, and diverse (Massey, 1994, p. 121). One of the considerable aspects of place theorisation by Massey is that “the easy association of place with nostalgia, inertia, and by implication, regressive policies” is refused (Callard, 2011, p. 301). Places in this sense do not have a singular authenticity, boundedness, fixed identity, or static characteristics. The uniqueness of places is defined by a particular mix of social relations not only within that place but also the interconnections with other places. According to Massey, this anti-essentialist description of place rejects placemaking cultures that keep exclusive control over the creation of places within

the control of a particular group, to the dispossession of other cultures or social groups. Social interactions and thus places are not frozen in time and are in a continuous process of becoming and reproduction. So, a group, such as Indigenous peoples, which is contributing to the social production of space within cities cannot simply be ascribed a heritage translated into a distant time in the past and have their contemporary role in urbanism ignored. Secondly, Massey argues that places might have some boundaries which distinguish them from other places, but these boundaries do not necessarily segregate and isolate places from others. Thirdly, places cannot have singular identities, as they have internal conflicts, interactions, and diversities.

“A ‘place’ is formed out of the particular set of social relations which interact at a particular location. And the singularity of any individual place is formed in part out of the specificity of the interactions which occur at that location (nowhere else does this precise mixture occur) and in part out of the fact that the meeting of those social relations at that location (their partly happenstance juxtaposition) will in turn produce new social effects” (Massey, 1994, p. 168).

The concept of place has been a controversial term in academia. Cresswell (2004) highlights the dualism of space and place through much of human geography since 1970s. Dovey (2010) argues that ordinary persons have a clear understanding of the meaning of place in their everyday life; however, in the academic community, there are misunderstandings and misconceptions about the meaning of place. The problem is that the ontological view of place was oppressed throughout most Western philosophy in favour of presenting a definition of place as an abstract ‘location’ within the landscape which is the ‘site’ of something. The ontology of place in relation to lived experience has been an abstract context in which space was prioritised and the sense of place has become secondary and derivative (Casey, 1997; Dovey, 2010; Malpas, 2008). If place is understood as an abstract framework for defining the materiality of objects that occupy space, understanding how it acts upon human life becomes complex. Cresswell (2004) points to space as an abstract concept, a realm without meaning. He argues that when meanings are associated to space by humans, place is generated. Lefebvre’s concept of the social production of space reverberates with the way space converts to place in Cresswell’s description. Places are created out of prioritising the lived experience of inhabitants in the abstract space of authorities and sources of power. The places of the built environment shape a medium through which culture

becomes real in the material world; the built form carries social ideas within its spatial forms (Dovey, 2010; Hillier, 2007).

At the time of settlement and across Indigenous territories, newcomers did not try to assimilate, accommodate, or recognise pre-existing Indigenous places on traditional lands. The colonial processes of urban planning and design have sought to replace Indigenous places with settler colonial landscapes and cityscapes where “racially coded legacies continue to generate contests over the ownership and belonging of space” (Banivanua Mar & Edmonds, 2010, p. 3).

3.2.1.1 The Sense of Place

Every person has her or his epistemology of place rooted in their memories, experiences, ambition, and attitudes (Tuan, 1974, 1977). Place is comprised of some common components: a physical setting (appearance), activities (functions), and meanings (symbols and memories). The important aspect of place lies in the interrelation of these factors, the thing that is described as the sense of place (Relph, 1976). Tuan (1974) uses the term *topophilia* to describe the specific qualities such as meanings, attachments, and memories that people develop in relation to particular places. Norberg-Schulz (1980) uses the term *genius loci*, or the spirit of place, to describe the meaning of places and the ways architecture can capture perceptibly the sense of belonging in places. Place, in Cresswell’s view, is not an entity in the world, but rather a way of observing and understanding the world: “When we look at the world as a world of places we see different things. We see attachments and connections between people and place. We see worlds of meaning and experience” (Cresswell, 2004, p.11).

The sense of place is made either through unselfconscious acts or self-consciously. Rooted in the lived experience of a particular cultural group, the act of authentic or unselfconscious placemaking is inspired by particular values, desires, aspirations, and traditional knowledge. In this context places become centres of individual and collective meanings, identities, and memories for different cultural groups. The other way of creating places is through a conscious act of planning and design. The sense of place embodies an awareness of the symbolic significance and identity of places, and it does not necessarily manifest itself physically and with

‘formal conceptualisation’. It might not, therefore, be interpreted adequately by scientific methods and quantitative approaches (Lynch & Ley, 2010; Norberg-Schulz, 1980; Relph, 1976).

Relph, quoting Rapoport (1972), discusses the meaning of place for Indigenous peoples, and the act of authentic Indigenous placemaking (Rapoport, 1972). He explains that for Indigenous peoples, places are centres of meaning and purpose. Landscape (place) is an expression of collective beliefs, values, and aspirations, building the identity of communities. The sense of place for Indigenous peoples is structured according to places of myth, ceremony, and ritual. And place preserves the record of mythical history, which is sacred and symbolic. Ontological and epistemological Indigenous construction of place may, to a great extent, be supported by knowledge that in Porter’s (2010, p. 41) view is “orally constituted, refers to inter-generational sources, and is evidenced not in relation to empirical inquiry but in reference to custodial responsibilities, narratives, or spiritual awareness.”

Indigenous ways of boundary making and connection to the land may differ, and often do, from the Eurocentric conceptualisations of land ownership, marking territories and creation of places. The sense of place is created through a specific relationship with the land, and it is not necessarily well understood using the political, social, and technical processes of Western contemporary planning and architecture. Considering Indigenous perspectives towards the land, one could argue that for Indigenous peoples, the land is the meeting point for meaning, belonging, and identity (Watson, 2009). In other words, one might conclude that the land, in Indigenous perspectives, is itself the place.

“The dominant urbanised Western understanding of place, which defines place through land ownership, demarcations, and the implementation of strategic power, is thus dialectically opposed to its Indigenous conception. Here place is enacted through movement, connected to the maintenance of stories -or song lines- of country as a crucial act of respect for the ancestors who have an enduring presence in the landscape. In these stories, stasis and fluidity, past and present coexist. These stories that make place, and are of the place, are poetic, but they are also profoundly material: manifesting, as Watson (2009) describes, in the physical lie of the land and the built forms of Indigenous culture” (McGaw et al., 2011, p. 299).

In Lefebvre's theoretical framework of spatial production, it is the lived space that shapes places out of local knowledge, values, and aspirations for Indigenous communities. At the time of re-settlement, the authentic Indigenous ways of placemaking were not honoured by settler populations, resulting in a perspective of emptiness on Indigenous lands. In the absence of intercultural understanding, or simply the blatant imposition of power in spite of it, Indigenous placemaking was ignored by settlers who masked their actions with arguments that conceptualised Indigenous territories as empty, unused, and Indigenous peoples as backwards, uncivilised, lacking a 'built' heritage (Barry & Porter, 2012; Pieris, 2012; Porter, 2010). The settler's placemaking was carried out at the expense of authentic Indigenous places and placemaking.

3.2.1.2 Placelessness

The absence of a sense and significance of situated sociality and spatiality, identities, memory, and meaning yields placeless geographies (Relph, 1976). Augé discusses placelessness through the concept of 'non-place', spaces which "cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity" (Augé, 1995, pp. 77-78). Several scholars have criticised the way architects and urban planners program and design places. One of those is Relph (1976), who argues that placelessness is the result of eradicating cultural diversity, promoting standardised fashion and taste, leading to the creation of 'anti-places' that are the results of 'Disneyfication', 'museumisation', and 'futurisation'. Relph asserts that modernist rational urbanism was unable to cope with issues relating to the 'lived world'; mass media and communications being complicit in the growing uniformity of cultures and destroying place diversity by presenting uniform fashions and tastes.

Contemporary spatial structure and the built environment in settler cities are the legacies of modernist planning and design. Habermas (1989) argues that there is an opposition between the 'lifeworld' (everyday places of experiences, communication, and social integration) and the 'system' (political and economic structures of the state and market) in modernist discourse. He believes that modernity was equivalent to the colonisation of the 'lifeworld' by the 'system' in the context of instrumental reasoning, efficiency and economy. Placeless geographies are manifestations of the colonisation of the lifeworld by the system, namely, state and market

interests. Madanipour (2005, p. 9) argues that the perspective of modern thought toward space and place has been the third-person viewpoint which is the point of view of science, looking from outside, “without being able to account for the expression of feelings and mental states that a first-person viewpoint may include.” This argument goes along with spatial theorists’ critiques of homogenising forces of abstraction which eradicate diversified lived worlds of communities, and result in forms of oppression and injustice (Harvey, 2008; Lefebvre, 1991, 1996; Soja, 2010b). It is not only 20th century modernist urbanism that led to placelessness, but also contemporary post-modern urban design which still suffers from it. Some claim that placemaking is an unfinished project, and urbanism has forsaken placemaking. As a result, urban design has failed to provide opportunities for meaningful coexistence or even basic co-presence between diverse cultures living side by side in cities, especially the mainstream and Indigenous cultures in settler states (Aravot 2002; Westin, 2011).

In addressing urban processes in Canadian cities and the ways Indigenous rights, aspirations, and specific needs should be fulfilled, one should consider that sociality and spatiality of Indigenous-related issues are combined. In other words, decolonisation of cities and removing forms of oppression and dispossession is dependent on reviving the sense of place for urban Indigenous inhabitants. The built environment of cities is the medium through which relations of power and privilege are actualised in the everyday life of Indigenous inhabitants. Enabling a sense of place for Indigenous communities is therefore, essential for providing spatial justice and ultimately decolonising cities in settler nations. A major aspect of achieving spatial justice and recognising the right to the city for all urban inhabitants is creating the capacity for participation in planning, programming and appropriation of urban places over the course of everyday life (Lefebvre, 1991, 1996). In other words, recognising and facilitating the ways oppressed and marginalised groups make places and appropriate the built environment of the cities is the precondition for transformative urbanism. Accordingly, decolonising settler cities requires that the Indigenous right to urbanism be fulfilled (as discussed in Chapter Two). A major aspect of the Indigenous right to urbanism is participation in planning, design, and programming of the built environment, places which are built within traditional Aboriginal territories. While there are studies conducted mostly in the Australian context regarding Indigenous-related spatial issues, the Canadian literature on urbanism, Indigeneity, and city planning lacks adequate attention and research. The

overall paucity of literature on Indigenous urban placemaking affirms Hillier's (2007) argument that there is a deep split between designers preoccupied with physical and spatial synthesis in cities, and those who are concerned with the analysis of economic and social processes. It is the great gap between urban design and human geography (Hillier, 2007, p. 111). Increasing Indigenous populations in Canadian urban centres pose a challenge to existing placemaking processes which fall short of accommodating aspirations of Indigenous urban inhabitants who are claiming cities as part of their traditional 'places'.

3.2.2 Contemporary Placemaking and Urban Indigenous Communities

Some scholars argue that the contemporary postcolonial politics of placemaking are reproducing colonial ideologies and practices (McGaw et al., 2011; Pieris, 2012; Potter, 2012). This argument goes along with the broader politics of eradicating Indigenous peoples from urban areas, or at least keeping them contained and segregated within cities (Jacobs, 1996; Louis, 2007; Matunga, 2013). Elimination, containment, and assimilation strategies have been aimed at making the presence of Indigenous people invisible in cities. In his analysis from a political economy perspective, Harvey (2008) argues that urbanisation has played a major role in the mobilisation of surplus product and value, and illustrates a close relationship between urbanisation and the capitalist mode of production, asserting that it commodifies urban life. Consumerism, individualism, and withdrawal from the collective action are major factors influencing urban development in the capitalist context. Harvey characterises capitalist urbanisation as 'accumulation by dispossession', the accumulation of power through urban development by a small group of 'elites' -state and market- and the disengagement of 'others' -like Indigenous peoples- from planning and design processes, resulting in the deprivation of their right to the city.

In settler cities, the issue is not only the capitalist urge for accumulation which underpins rampant urbanisation. There is another important aspect which is the preservation and reproduction of what Shaw (2007) calls the heritage of 'Whiteness'. Such reproduction is done through the gentrification of neighbourhoods, the creation of sites of spectacle and consumption, large-scale developments, with heritage management through urban design acting in a way that disrupts the Indigenous sense of place, land claims, and sites of significance. Creating

geographies free of Indigenous presence, recognition, and a sense of place has been the key to urbanisation processes generally and the gentrification of older urban areas in settler cities specifically.

In the case of Sydney's inner city urban development, Shaw (2007) explores how gentrification in areas surrounding the Block included a racialisation process that was manifested with the symbolic and material re-colonisation of Indigenous areas. This racialisation process consisted of two processes. First was designing and developing new housing forms and redefining the Victorian-style housing buildings as 'heritage'. The colonially-referenced architecture was a celebration of a legacy which did not include the pre-(Western) settlement era in the contemporary, global, postcolonial Sydney. The second was the process of 'Manhattanisation' in inner city Sydney. Visioning a New York living style through high-rise apartments was an urbanism process which was literally about escaping from the realities 'on the ground' around the Block.

"In the new residential, postmodern context of a globalizing post-colonial city, the renewed interest in 'heritage', as (neo-)colonially encoded built formations, has served to embed a specific identity politics that can be traced as it is manifested in representations of, and by 'heritage'. In the case of inner Sydney, the built form has served a project of reinforcing and reproducing a heritage of 'Whiteness'" (Shaw, 2007, p. 130).

The Block, which is located at the heart of these urban transformations, is an Aboriginal 'place' symbolising Indigenous presence at the core of the settler city. Aboriginal placemaking at the Block was disregarded, denigrated, stigmatised, and actively opposed through protectionist acts, NIMBYism, and the aid of public media to invigorate negative stereotypes about the Block. In a placemaking act which does not recognise Aboriginal history and presence, gentrification serves as the political act of exclusionary and privilege-making residence politics in which certain racial entitlements and belongings are recognised. Manhattan-style apartment development provided a loft living format which is replicating the imaginations of somewhere else and escapes from the realities of Indigenous people's issues in the city. Urban design, in this case, helped to create a cultural environment of indifference, denial, and escapism in Shaw's view. The Indigenous place

in the wave of such transformations was portrayed as trouble, a blight on the city, and a ghetto in Sydney, a city which tried to portray itself as a progressive, multicultural, and global city.

Disparaging and eliminating Indigenous places happens at every scale, even the smallest and the most local. McGaw et al. (2011) examine how gentrification of a street in the Collingwood suburb of Melbourne contributed to the destruction of a modest but vibrant Indigenous gathering place. The case is a street corner with a bench and a couple of trees. The authors describe how local Koori users of this public space, along with some non-Indigenous neighbours, contributed to maintaining the space by taking care of the trees. Urban transformation and gentrification on Smith Street, led to the trees being removed, and the place was destroyed and replaced by the erection of an artwork celebrating the development of the city. Ironically the content of the artwork was about celebrating Indigenous culture and heritage. The existence of an Indigenous meeting place was intolerable in the context of dominant placemaking which controlled the planning and programming of public spaces (McGaw et al., 2011). The success of that place was a result of being a lively meeting place, not installing an artwork. As Jacobs (1996) asserts, heritage preservation acts are aimed at celebrating the contemporary multicultural society through hiding the colonial history of settlement. Urban areas are being ‘eroticised’ and ‘exoticised’ through urban planning and design interventions which showcase an aestheticised and superficial politics of difference (Young, 1990). Jacobs discusses another case of urban renovation -an old brewery in Perth- and concludes that the “built environment heritage retrievals and multicultural celebrations produced particular parameters for cultural valorisation. Aboriginal aspirations for land rights in this more ‘civic’, but also more eroticised and aestheticized, Perth were defiantly outside of these parameters” (Jacobs, 1996, p. 116).

Placemaking in such a way as the examples provided involves creating a sense of place based on preserving the heritage of settlements -the old built environment of the city- and ignores the pre-settlement history of colonisation (Shaw, 2007). Disrupting vernacular, bottom-up acts of Indigenous placemaking in contemporary postcolonial urban contexts goes in parallel, paradoxically, with official acts of reconciliation between non-Indigenous and Indigenous communities and Indigenous heritage preservation by settler states. Such official recognition mostly associates Indigenous cultures with non-urban contexts and ‘nature’ (Porter, 2010;

Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Jacobs mentions an example of developing an ecotourism initiative in Brisbane and the colonial tendency to associate authentic Aboriginality with 'nature'. Placing Indigeneity in nature "draws on primitivised, stable, ahistorical, and deeply romanticised understanding of Aboriginality and Aboriginal associations with the land" (Jacobs, 1996, p. 137). As a consequence, Indigenous peoples are much more likely included in consultations over green space development in planning and design processes than in processes that include the shaping of the built part of the landscape in cities (Behrendt, 2009). Even such limited scope of consultation is controlled under the authority and power of mostly non-Indigenous 'experts', keeping Indigenous engagement at a limited and symbolic level. Another colonial assumption that denies Indigenous contributions to the development of the built heritage of cities is that their cultures lack a permanently built footprint on the ground. Indigenous communities historically have moved within their traditional territories, including rural areas, reserves, and urban centres. Based on Massey's definition of place, if original inhabitants of a location used to gather from somewhere else in a site, it does not disqualify that site from being a place. In other words, permanent residence is not a precondition for the generation of the sense of place. The identity of a place is generated out of both internal social and cultural characteristics and also importantly, the connection with other places in a network comprised of diverse places.

Analysing the example of Uluru/Kata Tjuta Aboriginal Cultural Centre in central Australia, Dovey (1999) examines how the participatory process of developing a cultural centre for introducing local Aboriginal cultures to visitors resulted in the production of different 'meanings' for various stakeholders. From an 'expert' point of view, it was a successful architectural project winning several design awards. For the local Aboriginal peoples, materialising stories through architectural form was positive, but bigger goals of genuine cultural exchange and economic development were not fulfilled. Aboriginality was commodified and packaged for tourism, in Dovey's perspective. It was "consumed rather than understood" (Dovey, 1999, p. 191). In the end, the serpentine zoomorphic form of the building perpetuated the colonial stereotype that Aboriginal culture is associated only with natural and organic forms, in contrast with regularity, harmony, and symmetry of the mainstream architecture. The meanings generated out of this placemaking project were various, though none of them beneficial for the local Indigenous cultures. For the tourism industry, it was a site of cultural

tourism. To the political market, a sign of reconciliation. For the architectural market, a unique piece of design (Dovey, 1999). This act of placemaking for local Indigenous communities was a placeless geography. This example demonstrates how the creation of place with even a high level of Indigenous engagement but in a top-down, non-inclusive design process results in reproducing stereotypes about Indigeneity. The non-urban site of the project accommodated the special design motifs to generate a specific meaning, associating Indigeneity with nature. Within the city, however, creating places out of the mainstream context -from designing unique architectural pieces to even the most vernacular examples of placemaking and programming- have the possibility of generating different meanings. Watson (2009) points to places that unsettle the dominant discourse of reconciliation with Indigenous cultures and do not fit into 'acceptable' Aboriginality in cities.

“The tourist industry covets the exotic image of the native, which can be marketed and exploited, and some traditional Aboriginal practices are therefore allowed to ‘develop and profit’ so long as there is no conflict with other potentially more lucrative developments. By contrast, Aboriginal spaces such as Sydney’s inner city suburb of Redfern do not promote the image of the exotic Aboriginal and do not attract tourists. So, when not performing as the exotic being, the unsettled native is removed from land (as in the case of Redfern) and is also further alienated by the market premium on ‘authentic’ Aboriginal being” (Watson, 2009, p. 39).

Creating Indigenous places in cities occurs not only through formal acts of architecture, planning, and design. In parallel, resurgent Indigenous activities have played major roles in asserting Indigenous presence and raising these voices in the city. Resurgent placemaking activities re-territorialise urban space and challenge hegemonic forces of abstraction. Drawing upon ideas of Foucault (1979, 1988) on power, and conceptualising the built environment as a power mechanism, it can be argued that the built environment provides capacities for both oppression and emancipation, and that a myriad of small-scale Indigenous placemaking activities can enhance the decolonisation process. Physical presence and (re-)claiming public spaces generates what Bourdieu (1986) calls cultural and symbolic capital, and helps in legitimising urban Indigenous claims.

3.2.3 The Built Environment: Oppression, Empowerment, and Symbolic Capital

Drawing upon ideas of Foucault (e.g. 1988) on power, urbanism is examined as a disciplinary technology in this section. Instead of power as something that a person, institution or groups of people possess, Foucault elaborates on the networks, mechanisms, and technologies of power. He imagines the power as a network of relations spread throughout the society. Power relations in his perspective do not only consist of a single form of dominant/oppressed structure rather power is exercised in various shapes and forms over the course of everyday lives of people:

“I speak of power relations, of the forms of rationality which can rule and regulate them, I am not referring to Power -with a capital P- dominating and imposing its rationality upon the totality of the social body. In fact, there are power relations. They are multiple; they have different forms, they can be in play in family relations, or within an institution, or an administration -or between a dominating and a dominated class power relations having specific forms of rationality, forms which are common to them, etc.”(Foucault, 1988, p. 38).

In this bottom-up model of power individuals are not solely passive recipients of power, but they are active agents in exercising power through establishing their relations with other people and institutions. Instead of conceptualising power as something that is possessed by state or some particular class of people, power has a local form and is being exercised through complex relation networks within the society. Power in this sense has both capacities of oppression and emancipation. The exercise of power includes active resistance in addition to being a passive recipient of power (Foucault, 1988). Foucault describes that modern power is embedded in institutions and is enacted through different social and spatial practices. It is aimed at normalising individuals through various disciplinary and surveillance mechanisms. Such system of imposing power over individuals and eradicate various forms of behaviour through surveillance mechanism which are cheap, involve no overt violence and is enacted at minimum economic and social cost (Foucault, 1988). He describes how disciplinary power is institutionalised and dispersed through the society via small-scale spatial practices using the Panopticon as the metaphor. In Panopticon, surveillance mechanism is inscribed in the architecture of the building. In the scale of society, different institutions such as hospitals,

universities, schools, and prisons try to ‘normalise’ individuals through a range of disciplinary mechanisms which maximise control or the illusion of control internalised by the individuals. Architectural structures as a form of spatial arrangements generate a particular configuration of power relation in which disciplinary behaviour is under constant scrutiny and surveillance (Foucault, 1979; Mills, 2003).

Urban space and the built environment it accommodates is not only an agglomeration of institutions and places through which modern disciplinary regimes of power, surveillance, and normalisation operate. Rather, by elaborating the Foucauldian ideas on power, the built environment itself could be conceptualised as a mechanism of power/knowledge contributing in establishing and perpetuation of certain social, cultural, and political structures and shaping specific forms of oppression and marginalisation for certain socio-cultural groups. For Foucault, the power and knowledge are inherently connected. Certain knowledge systems, cultural and social norms are contributing to the establishment of certain power relations in the society. Mills (2003) argues that the settler ways of producing knowledge were inspired by a global objective system of knowledge which put Western perspectives and interests at its core. Consequently, the colonial ways of producing places imposed over the ways Indigenous peoples created, planned and programmed places. Similarly, the built environment of cities as not only the container of social and cultural relation but as an agent in creating power relations is shaped to sustain a certain configuration of power/knowledge to discipline the social and cultural body of the settler societies. The surveillance and individual control mechanisms are inscribed in the architecture of the cities (Foucault, 1980). As Dovey (1999) argues, the built environment and placemaking contribute in imposing various forms of power ‘over’ urban inhabitants. Spatial programming has the task of configuring these power relationships and its instruments in this process through simultaneous dispossession and privileging mechanisms. Dovey categorises various forms of power over which the built environment ‘mediates’ over inhabitants towards unification and removing non-dominant forms of knowledge, culture, and values as force, coercion, manipulation, seduction, authority, and domination (Dovey, 1999, 2010).

Power in the Foucauldian description is not structured as the dichotomy of oppressor/oppressed. The network structure of power makes it flexible and sophisticated. “Power is neither there, nor

is that how it functions. The relations of power are perhaps among the best hidden things in the social body” (Foucault, 1988, p. 118). Although power can be oppressive and imposed ‘over’ the society, it has emancipatory capacities enabling people to exercise their power ‘to’ influence social circumstances: “As soon as there is a power relation, there is a possibility of resistance. We can never be ensnared by power: we can always modify its grip indeterminate conditions and according to a precise strategy” (Foucault, 1988, p.123). Foucault continues that as the power is dispersed through a multiplicity of networks in the society, resistance strategies could be actualised through myriad localised strategies (Foucault, 1988, p. xv). In the context of placemaking and Indigenous communities in settler cities, the importance of resurgent, vernacular, bottom-up acts of placemaking and appropriation and re-territorialisation of urban space is highlighted here (Chapter Two).

The case of Tent Embassy in Australia demonstrates how such localised placemaking practices could transform meanings associated with the built environment through re-territorialisation of urban space. Through resistance and appropriation of a spot in a strategic location within the Capital City-Canberra-, Indigenous activists claimed their right to the city and land. The Tent embassy was established in 1972. Indigenous political activists occupied the lawn in front of the Old Parliament House in Canberra with temporary structures. The mode of placemaking that The Tent Embassy represented was an alternative to the dominant Eurocentric culture of creating planned geometric places within the city. In Robinson’s (1994) description, this placemaking act was the material expression of an already existing political consciousness within Australian Indigenous communities in claiming Indigenous people’s right to land.

“The Tent Embassy forced public recognition of a particular history -a history of ongoing Indigenous (re)occupation, despite two centuries of dispossessions-amidst a cultural and political landscape that sought to admit only certain narratives into a historical archive. The capacity to discount or ignore certain spatial and discursive presences thus characterises power in the contemporary city” (McGaw et al., 2011, p. 303).

There are similar examples of appropriating urban space in Canadian cities as well. Idle No More movement and occupying shopping malls and other public spaces were resurgent acts of

challenging the hegemony of contemporary spatial cultures which seek to dispossess Indigenous peoples from urbanism processes. Indigenous peoples also apply other strategies to create a sense of place in urban areas. Wilson & Peters (2005) argue that Indigenous peoples assume their relationship to the land as an important symbol of Indigenous culture and they have used this relationship as a base for resisting colonial planning processes in urban areas. Based on interviews with Indigenous citizens, Wilson & Peters (2005) identified three strategies that Indigenous peoples apply to sustain their cultural identity. First, they create small-scale places for expressing their spiritual and physical affiliation to the land in cities. These spaces include private backyards and isolated areas in urban parks, sidewalks and other green and quiet areas. Second, they go back and forth to the reservation communities they relate to, where they exist. Finally, they participate in 'pan-Indian' ceremonies along with other Indigenous cultural groups in urban areas to express their link to the land, both symbolically and spiritually. Creating Indigenous-inclusive public spaces is not easy in urban areas. Cultural marginality, misunderstandings, and lack of recognition from mainstream society and municipalities are factors that make Indigenous peoples feel vulnerable in their use of urban public places as spaces for cultural practice (Peters, 2005).

Indigenous ways of making places both as organised collective movements and also as individual experiences challenge the dominant cultures of placemaking and their associated spatial characteristics. Disrupting the reserve/city boundary through asserting an Indigenous presence in urban areas and programming public places out of the predefined context are effective in transforming power structure in the settler society and empowering Indigenous peoples in pursuing their claims. However, in most of the cases, such mobilisations have been spontaneous and unorganised. If the capacities of the built environment in empowering Indigenous peoples are exploited through an organised and systematic fashion, new meanings will be generated, and Indigenous peoples could claim cities as their places; "The design of built form is intrinsically hinged to issues of power precisely because it is the imagination and negotiation of future worlds. The invention of the future will always be contentious, and places will always mediate power relations" (Dovey, 1999, p. 6).

Put from another perspective, the planning and design of the built environment is related to the production and distribution of various forms of 'capital'. Economic forces heavily influence Urban development dynamisms and the built form is a means for capitalisation and investment. However, the planning and design of the built environment involve not only generation and distribution of the economic form of capital but also cultural capital (e.g. preferences, aesthetics, knowledge), social capital (e.g., networks, relationships, attachments), and symbolic capital (i.e., assignment of greatest legitimacy to particular types of each of the other capitals), according to Bourdieu's categorisation (Bourdieu, 1986; Dovey, 1999). Bourdieu elaborates on the concept of capital as a comprehensive system of exchange in which different forms of asset circulate within a complex social network within and across various fields. In the work of Bourdieu, the concepts of capital are inextricably related to two other main concepts: habitus and field. Habitus is the property of individuals, social groups, or institutions in their social lives. It involves one way of seeing the world, feeling, thinking and being. It is the framework which creates the sense of place for each person. Habitus encompasses the 'structured' and the 'structuring structure'. It is organised by one's past and present circumstances. Habitus also structures one's present and future tendencies. It is also a structure created out of a series of dispositions which systematically generate perspectives, values, and practices (Grenfell, 2008, p. 51).

'Field' is the social space in which social agents compete over the accumulation of capitals. Capitals which social actors possess affect the processes that shape fields. At the same time, capitals are produced within social fields. Consequently, the social field provides no equal opportunities for different agents to gain capitals: "players who begin with particular forms of capital are advantaged at the outset because the field depends on, as well as produces more of, that capital. Such lucky players can use their capital advantage to accumulate more and advance further (be more successful) than others" (Grenfell, 2008, p. 69). In addition to the economic capital Bourdieu (1986) makes an argument on the existence of three more forms of capitals within social fields: cultural (preferences, aesthetics, knowledge), social (networks, relationships, attachments), and symbolic (domination of certain types of each one of the capitals in a social field as the legitimate type). The social practice is a result of interaction between one's dispositions (habitus) and one's position and property (capital), within the context of the social field (Grenfell, 2008). Drawing upon the ideas of Bourdieu, Dovey elaborates the concept of

capital in the area of architecture and urban design. Placemaking has a direct impact on the generation of various forms of capital in Dovey's view.

“The design of built form involves the production and circulation of non-economic forms of capital. Social capital becomes embodied in places in the best and worst of ways, as mobilisation towards a better future and as enclaves of class distinction. Symbolic capital circulates through places and fields of practice; its potency relies on being seen as a form of distinction rather than a form of capital. From such a view, places often camouflage practices of power; distinctions between people are camouflaged as distinctions between places” (Dovey, 2010, p. 7).

According to Dovey, the built environment has a direct impact on the creation, development, or destruction of various forms of capital. Buildings, neighbourhoods, and public spaces structure social interactions and affiliations which generate the social capital. A better coexistence between diverse ethnocultural groups is shaped when intra-group (external) or bridging social capital could be facilitated in cities (Putnam, 1995). Urban planning and design practice based on conceptualising Indigenous peoples as a blight to the city and segregating them from placemaking processes fall short in creating significant bridging social capital and hence a better coexistence. Moreover, non-inclusive urban planning and design has a negative impact on bonding social capital within a group and also among minority groups who live side by side in neighbourhoods that are perceived as problematic. Spatially unjust urban development does not favour neighbourhoods which accommodate disadvantaged groups as equal as areas in which privileged communities reside. Silver (2006) reports little socialisation exists across what he names Aboriginal-inner city/non-Aboriginal-suburban divide in Winnipeg. Rooted in colonial assumptions towards Indigenous peoples, urbanism processes work in the way that fosters social exclusion of Indigenous communities and their containment in some regions of the city. One might argue that concentration of Indigenous communities helps to create bonding social capital for them. However, the lack of quality placemaking in such neighbourhoods has resulted in high residential mobility rates which tend to disrupt the generation of social capital such neighbourhoods. Another consequence of discriminatory placemaking as Ghorayshi (2010) reports, in Winnipeg, is the formation of ‘layers of separation’ filled with misunderstandings and

tensions between immigrant and Aboriginal peoples-this topic will be elaborated in the next chapter.

Symbolic capital is related to cultural recognition and the domination of particular tastes, meanings, and values. It is generated out of the domination and legitimacy of a certain symbolic order. Bourdieu explains that the symbolic capital is not a distinct kind of capital per se, and every kind of social, cultural, and economic capital could convert into the symbolic capital when recognised as 'legitimate' (Bourdieu, 1986, 2000; Painter, 2000). Racialised placemaking also generates negative symbolic capital for Indigenous communities in settler nations. Areas such as the North End in Winnipeg and the Block in Sydney are conceptualised as problematic and blight upon the city in the gaze of the mainstream society. Referring to (Crilley, 1993), Shaw (2007) connects the issue of the generation of capitals to urban transformations around the Block in Sydney. She argues that incorporating postmodern heritage-referents urban design strategies "has enabled the harvest of the symbolic capital of heritage, and produced cultural codes" (Shaw, 2007, p. 141). According to Shaw, the application of such pop-culture version of heritage is not only a marketing strategy but also a means of generation of certain meanings through which mechanisms of exclusion and oppression operate.

Placemaking has the capacity of reversing dominant rhetoric of Indigenous dispossession from urbanism processes, generate positive symbolic capital for Indigenous communities and thereby help to eliminate various forms of oppression and dispossession. If urban design acts contribute in disempowering Indigenous communities in creating places, it could be applied as an emancipatory and transformative tool simultaneously because as per Foucault, emancipatory and oppressive capacities of power are two sides of the same coin. Negotiations over generating meanings, symbolic capitals, and transformation of power structures through the built environment happen mostly in the public spaces of the city, the most contested and political components of the built environment. Next section focuses on public spaces of the city and describes public space characteristics and contemporary transformations. It continues with a critical review of some main public space design and programming strategies and approaches.

3.2.4 Public Space Design, Programming, and Indigenous Peoples

The built environment of cities includes a myriad of components, from a single housing unit to city districts. This section focuses on the public spaces of the city, spaces that shape everyday lives of urban inhabitants and accommodate the social life of the city. Public spaces are urban areas that are accessed freely by all citizens and play a major role in creating the identity of a city. As the physical part of the public domain, their design and management contribute to culture, social behaviour and interactions, safety, health, commercial success, etc. in cities (Madanipour, 2006). They are not merely leftover spaces between the buildings; rather, they are in fact the media of communication of the city through providing an arena for social life a city to get shaped. This medium describes the current state of the city and how it responds to inhabitants' needs (Kemble, 1989). Public spaces shape the sense of civic identity, and they are the places that form and store collective memories of society. Public spaces constitute the physical part of the public domain, and their design and management contribute to culture, social behaviour and interactions, safety, health, commercial success, etc. in cities (Hayden, 1995; Madanipour, 2005; Velibeyoglu, 1999). Several authors have pointed to public spaces as areas where urban transformations challenge existing life dynamism. Revolutionary moments and collective memories often take shape in public places, and these spaces become an arena for creating new social orders. Consequently, public places have been under the scrutiny of governments and political actors as arenas for gaining status, authority, and control. Creation of official, magnificent, and monumental public spaces have always been included in the agenda of states. The more formal and controlled the public space, the less it is useful for citizen's involvement in social life and collective urban experience of the city (Goheen, 1998; Madanipour, 2003; Sennett, 1976).

Public places provide an arena where marginalised groups can express their rights, identity and co-presence in urban life and share their experience of the world with others, hence, and as discussed in chapter two, claim their right to the city. Achieving the right to the city is dependent upon public space and the struggle over who has access to public space and whose access is excluded (Madanipour, 2003; Mitchell, 2003). Madanipour states that "in fragmented and polarised societies, the role of public spaces can be significant in promoting social integration and tolerance, facilitating the co-presence of diverse groups who otherwise may not even be

aware of each other” (Madanipour, 2006, p. 183). Considering cities as natural homes of difference makes the Public places sites for meaning and controversy, arenas for expressing values, claims and symbolic significance and in short, practising citizenship (Goheen, 1998; Madanipour, 2006). As Carmona (2010a, 2010b) contends, public space is a political arena and mostly has been fought over by groups with different and paradoxical ideologies about the nature and purposes of the public sphere. It is a result of historical trends, modes of governance, cultural traditions, political priorities, and interplay of political and market forces. Goheen (1998) believes that politics is the language of the public sphere, and the nature of public space has been directly affected by political and socio-economic contexts. Public domain as the fundamental part of the civil society is a collection of material and institutional common and inclusive spaces. Public spaces regulate inter-personal relationships and are places that in which members of the society meet, share experiences, present and exchange symbols and create meanings, and “deal with collective self-rule through seeking consensus as well as exploring differences” (Madanipour, 2003, p. 236). Madanipour concluded that the public sphere has the capacity of limiting the power of the state, and also plays a major role in developing a common political debate and cultural exchange which influences and informs collective decisions. Note that it is easy to surmise that the existence of public spaces inevitably leads to an unspoilt public realm and a better social life for all citizens. However, this is not true in reality. In fact, as Németh (2012) emphasises, ideal public space may have never existed. He gives the example of Greek Agora arguing that even those ‘public’ spaces were formed by excluding some groups such as women and various groups of minorities. The question here is whether public spaces are truly supportive arenas for display, performance, expressing identity, recognition, awareness where all citizens have an equal right to access, occupy, and program. In response to this question, one should consider that urban spaces are being framed by urban design task and places are created by certain people in control of resources and power.

There are discussions over the role and characteristics of public places in cities. Goheen (1998) divided scholars into two groups: first, scholars that believe that public spaces have lost their social and political influence in the modern city due to the withdrawal of active participation from the public realm. Second, scholars that emphasise continuing significance of public spaces as places for visibility, seek recognition, make demands, and claim rights. Goheen following

Habermas (1989) states that as private interests overcome public interests in modern times, public spaces became inhospitable environments for use and enjoyment, especially for marginalised groups. Uniform dress and code of conduct led to less sociability, passive demeanour, and privacy; places for illusion rather than truth, in Sennett's (1994) view. Sennett believes that since the 19th century, urban design has tried to diminish differences in cities - natural home of difference. Other scholars argue that many groups continue to believe that public space is an efficient arena for campaigns that aim to influence public opinion and establish legitimacy. They assert that public space could be a place that is neither state nor society; it is the arena for collective action that links the two domains (Goheen, 1998).

In his critique and classification of contemporary public spaces Carmona (2010a, 2010b) linked the dynamism of public spaces to late capitalism and mass consumption. He believes that contemporary planning and design trends had tried to 'homogenise' public spaces by neglecting attention to the social content of them resulted from either 'over-management' or 'under-management'. Under-management has led to the physical decline and over-management to the commodification of public spaces. Van Melik et. al. argue that urban design and planning has been responding to two needs during last decades; 'fear' and 'fantasy' (Van Melik, Van Aalst, & Van Weesep, 2007). Fear creates escapism from the community and flight into the world of controlled fantasy. Influencing people's behaviour is associated with the fantasy aspect and excluding certain groups with the fear aspect and both have been the focus of safety provision measures in public spaces (Németh & Schmidt, 2011). Mitchell (2003) argues that fear/fantasy dichotomy is the constituent part of the neoliberal urbanism rhetoric. The social justice and fulfilling the right to the city is dependent on prioritising the most excluded inhabitants (e.g. Indigenous communities in settler cities) upon the fears of the bourgeoisie and is actualised in the public spaces of the city.

If we accepted that well managed and designed public space leads to enhancement of the social life of disadvantaged residents, we could realise how power relations guide urban resources to certain populations. Some signature public spaces are the focus of attention, for example, the Forks area in Winnipeg as a public space which is being viewed by the post-colonial dominant urban authority as an alternative to the rundown deteriorated city centre (Cooper, 2009).

However, in poorer neighbourhoods, negligence of attention to marginal public spaces in parallel with disadvantages and differences create senses of entrapment, tension and intolerance between socially diverse groups living in these areas, in the case of Winnipeg inner city areas (Ghorayshi, 2010).

Amin (2002) has also scrutinised the role of public spaces in facilitating or impeding interaction between diverse ethnic groups from a different angle. He points to policy fixes in the United Kingdom and the belief that cultural and physical segregation is resolvable by developing quality public spaces so that interactions between ethnocultural diversity groups can increase. He criticises this belief stating that public spaces tend either to be territorialised by specific groups or be used as transition spaces where little lingering contact takes place between strangers. He continues that public spaces are not spaces of ‘interdependence’ and ‘habitual engagement’, suggesting that intercultural interactions occur in micro-public spaces like the workplace, school, community centres, etc. where casual dialogue and negotiations are mandatory. This thesis contends that the design and programming of urban public spaces are as important as such micro-spaces of empowerment contributing to the facilitation of cross-cultural relations and generation of symbolic capital for Indigenous communities. Amin’s criticisms focus mostly on the design of public spaces, but the way the process of design takes place and the way the management and programming of such places are performed is vital in creating inclusive urban landscapes. The issue of programming which includes applying diverse urban design strategies and tools in public spaces is of the importance here. As Malone’s research on creating Indigenous cultural markers in Adelaide argues:

“Inclusion of Indigenous peoples in civic landscapes contributes not only to their spiritual and cultural renewal and contemporary identity but also to the whole community’s sense of self and to the process of reconciliation. This has the potential to provide a gateway to a different way of understanding place which includes an Indigenous perspective and could, symbolically, contribute to the decolonisation of Indigenous people” (Malone, 2007, p. 158).

As discussed in the previous chapter, fulfilling the right to urbanism for Indigenous peoples is dependent on participating in urban life in all concrete, abstract, and symbolic forms. In other

words, this includes the right to ‘access’ to the city, ‘be’ in the city, and ‘participate’ in the city (Pugalis & Giddings, 2011). The following examines the literature on urban design strategies for design and programming public places. The goal is to discuss how urban design contributes in eliminating oppression and empowering marginalised and invisible groups in urban landscapes specifically Indigenous peoples.

3.2.4.1 Architecture

Removing visible Indigenous presence in Western settler cities has been one of the main goals of the colonial project in settler states (Burley, 2013; Matunga, 2013). Conceptualising Indigenous cultures as the ones lacking a ‘built’ heritage has been one of the main reasons that Indigenous peoples have been continuously ignored in placemaking activities in cities. Struggling with numerous issues of poverty, housing, and urban services, participating in shaping the built environment of the cities may not be a high priority for Indigenous urbanites and organisations. However, given that sociality and spatiality are intertwined in cities and as mentioned the design and programming of the built environment are inherently associated with power relations and the processes of oppression and emancipation, it is important to advance the practice of Indigenous placemaking in cities. As McGaw et al. (2011) argue, colonial cultures of urban planning and design have not been able to comprehend the way Indigenous ‘places’ were created. Instances such as the Tent Embassy and the Block reveal how Indigenous urban inhabitants insisted on their right to the city and their right to places through insurgent practices. In parallel, urban Indigenous communities have the capacity to expand the architectural discourse of Canadian cities, conveying stories, rituals, knowledge, and values into the built form and public space. In contemporary times, Indigenous urbanism brings nuanced, dense, and rich urban cultures which have the capacity of converting stories, rituals, knowledge, and values into the built form. Indigenous-informed architecture has the capability to generate distinction and the symbolic capital for Indigenous communities and through which construct new meanings.

Limited research has been done on the application of Indigenous knowledge in architectural design (see Cardinal, 1977; Cardinal & Armstrong, 1991; Della Costa, 2011; Stewart, 1991, 2007). Stewart asserts that Canadian Indigenous cultures have distinct design traditions which expressed in their architecture and were informed by Indigenous knowledge of the environment,

geography, climate, social issues, and spirituality. He argues that through the built form, Indigenous peoples present their existence and their cultural resilience. He conceptualises Indigenous design process as a ceremony which applies the place-based Indigenous knowledge, and traditional Indigenous forms articulate the principles of architectural design.

“An authentic indigenous building is a building designed by an indigenous architect that exhibits elements of indigeneity privileging indigenous culture in ‘resistance’ to the western norms of the status quo...other attributes of indigeneity include significance as having meaning to someone, materiality as being made of ‘stuff’ to be touched, tasted, plainly seen, having a temperature, a weight, an inherent strength” (Stewart, 2015, p. 73).

The point of Indigenous architecture, according to Stewart, is not showcasing only Indigenous artistic forms. Rather, it is about resisting hegemonic forces of dominant Western settler cultures of placemaking, celebrating Indigenous cultures using the process through which Indigenous protocols, methods, and values are prioritised. Stewart (2015) emphasises that Indigenous architecture should not bound itself in settler colonial boundaries. If it succumbs to the existing design and programming structures, it will not contribute to fulfilling spatial justice, and the right to urbanism for Indigenous communities and would be reduced to tokenistic gestures of celebrating Indigenous heritage-framed as historic/past time relevance only.

3.2.4.2 Public Art

While public spaces are conceptualised as spaces for exclusion, conflict, and protest, they are spaces for showcasing reconciliation as well. Along with architecture, public art with the capacity of stimulating visual memory could help to represent social identities of diverse communities through asserting their historical presence and contemporary contribution to urban life. Compared to the works showcased in an art gallery, public arts address a broader audience, they could initiate a dialogue and could generate the sense of place for communities whose stories are presented (Hayden, 1995). Public artwork has the capacity of redefining public spaces as Indigenous places and mark the prior existence of Indigenous communities and their cultures in places that are currently urban. Jacobs argues that artworks can contribute to ‘re-Aboriginalisation’ of place, although they do not have the capacity of fulfilling official land

rights (Jacobs, 1996, p. 154). Public artwork could help in re-territorialisation of urban space and generation of symbolic capital for Indigenous communities in cities. While exhausting and time-consuming challenges and disputes over land rights continue between Indigenous peoples and official jurisdictions continues in urban areas -which mostly results not in favour of urban Indigenous communities- public art provides the most democratic opportunity for Indigenous peoples to re-assert their mark over land and place (Jacobs, 1996; Malone, 2007; Porter & Barry, 2015). The way public art could contribute in decolonisation of cities is beneficial for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Through applying Indigenous cultural capital and generation of the symbolic capital for Indigenous peoples, their cultural heritage, sophistication, and density could become 'visible' to the eyes of non-Indigenous peoples in public spaces of the city. It provides the chance for non-Indigenous peoples to acquire a more precise understanding of Indigenous cultures, eliminating their misunderstandings on the incompatibility of Indigenous cultures with urban life. It also helps Indigenous peoples to claim urban spaces as Indigenous places (Andersen, 2013; Malone, 2007). Malone's research in the creation of cultural markers in public spaces of Adelaide consists of the study of sculptures, building facades and foyers of public buildings. The representation of Indigenous cultures in public art of the city initiated by non-Indigenous artists, and although included the work of Indigenous artists, it was mostly inspired by Western tradition and resulted in the creation of commemorative monuments:

“Whilst artworks provide tokens or signs here and there, the totality of the constructed landscape overwhelms the underlying Indigenous cultural meaning inscribed in the land itself. As such, there is not an overtly strong Indigenous ‘public self’ or self-representation provided in Adelaide’s constructed civic space or through its urban design. This raises the question of whether Western-based forms of public commemoration are the best means for Indigenous expression. Some other forms of public representation may need to be imagined to bring attention to the inscribed landscape meanings rather than just utilising the form of the ‘constructed monument’” (Malone, 2007, p. 164).

Malone argues for a ‘cultural framing’ which includes other forms of cultural representation in addition to monument making which is inspired by Indigenous modes of cultural representations. Those include ways of representing the meaning of place, ways of placemaking through

Indigenous traditions to counter stereotypes that put Indigeneity out of urban place and out in nature. A mentionable example is the design process of the tree grates in Saskatoon River Landing Area. City of Saskatoon's urban design team consulted a group of First Nation elders to incorporate Indigenous stories in the design of tree grates in one of the city's signature public spaces in 2006. The goal was to recognise the celebrate the River Landing as a historical Indigenous meeting place and honour their life stories and showcase the Indigenous spirit of the place. Although this was a small task and the process was not fully informed by Indigenous methods and control, it has been argued as a positive towards creating a positive symbolic capital and the sense of place for Indigenous urban inhabitants in the city (Walker, 2013; Walker & Matunga, 2013). Hayden (1995) asserts that it is not the public art itself but the process of creation and interpretation of the work in the social context which determines the influence of the public art in urban space.

3.2.4.3 Place Naming

Places could be claimed through naming processes. The naming system demonstrates whether a social group or institution has the authority to attach meaning to a public space, or whether a culture deserves public recognition or not. Place naming is one of the ways to create 'places of memory', similar to the creation of museums, monuments, and galleries in contemporary urban landscapes (Dovey, 2010; Rose-Redwood, 2008). Several geographers argue that political debates over spatialising of social memories through toponymy both legitimise a certain historical narrative, and also the process of and exclusion of some communities -like Indigenous communities- constitute a conscious forgetting (Alderman, 2000; Azaryahu, 1996; Legg, 2007). In her study of placemaking practices in New York, Rose-Redwood explores how processes of naming work in the production of both places of memory and places of erasure. Drawing upon Bourdieu's symbolic capital concept, she argues that naming consists of an interplay between various forms of capital (economic, cultural, social, and symbolic) for legitimising certain socio-cultural narrative in cities. Naming public places after prominent Indigenous figures or using Aboriginal signs and symbols are effective in generating the symbolic capital for Indigenous peoples in urban areas. They could symbolise Indigenous territories on which current cities are located and prior occupancy of Indigenous peoples. However, as Rose-Redwood argues, based on her case study, the process of naming places could result in a form of the inter-group

privileging. In the case of naming places after famous African-American figures in Harlem neighbourhood, she argues that the process under-recognised and excluded women. In the case of naming places in Canadian cities, intergroup conflicts might result in celebrating, for example, one particular cultural history of a given Aboriginal community who possesses more influence and power over decision-making bodies. Also, as Alderman (2003) argues, the generation of positive symbolic capital depends on the socio-spatial context in which the naming process is done. For example, naming a small street or park has a different commemorative effect than renaming a major highway or a signature public space. Undoubtedly, toponymy provides opportunities for Indigenous symbolic empowerment. However, it is far more complex than just renaming a place as a consequence of contemporary efforts of reconciliation which mainly resemble a tokenistic gesture if Indigenous communities are not effectively engaged in the process of toponymy.

3.2.5 Conclusion to the Conceptual Framework

This section discussed how urban design strategies such as the architecture of public spaces, public art, and place naming can contribute to the creation of positive symbolic capital and empowerment of Indigenous inhabitants in cities. The precondition for the success of these approaches in building the discourse of Indigenous cultural representation is that they should be done in accordance with Indigenous understandings of place and placemaking. Including Indigenous cultural capacity in the design and programming of the built environment is essential to fulfil the Indigenous right to urbanism. Two key factors challenge the mainstream perspective on Indigenous recognition in urban design frameworks which must be addressed in the future. First, Canadian cities are built on traditional Indigenous homelands, whether in a treaty relationship or altogether un-ceded. The land itself is the centre of meaning for Aboriginal peoples and is itself an Indigenous 'place'. So, cities are inherently Indigenous places. Second, the number of Indigenous peoples living in cities is rapidly increasing and conventional placemaking approaches will not be productive in enabling Indigenous-inclusive urbanism. A major part of reclaiming Indigenous planning in settler cities is creating a sense of place through urban planning, design, and programming. As McGaw, Pieris & Potter (2011) argue, placemaking is a quintessential instrument in decolonising cities and reterritorialising urban space. The next section discusses the Indigenous inhabitants' perspectives towards placemaking

and public space programming in Winnipeg. It puts views from lived experience alongside views of municipal officials and planners to understand how negotiations over placemaking and Indigenous participation in designing the built form is taking place in Winnipeg.

3.3 Indigenous Peoples, Urban Design, and Public Space Programming in Winnipeg

The next two sections discuss the interview findings in relation to the conceptual framework presented in previous sections. Based on participant perspectives, having a tangible presence in the urban landscape is a key factor in claiming cities as Indigenous places. Contrary to the dominant belief that Indigenous citizens and organisations are aiming strictly to distribute adequate civic services and facilities, participants had a wider view of Indigenous urbanism that moves beyond the provision for basic needs. This thesis contends that design within the built environment of cities should begin with a deep knowledge of the everyday life that exists there (Chase et al., 2008). For formal design and planning discourse, the lived experience of inhabitants has rarely been the starting point. As discussed in Chapter Two, the official narrative of urban design has led to disengagement of Indigenous communities from the planning of urban space and place resulting in the dispossession of their right to urbanism. The other factor which highlights the importance of visibility within the urban landscape is that the invisibility of Indigenous communities in the public domain enables the state to abrogate responsibility, conceptualising them as problematic, thereby generating negative symbolic capital (Dovey, 2010). The next section examines the perspectives of Indigenous inhabitants and Indigenous organisational officials on Winnipeg's built environment, especially public space.

3.3.1 Indigenous Perspectives Toward the Built Environment

There's nothing there on the walls that reflect Indigeneity, or express gratitude, or acknowledge Indigenous contributions. That's what I see. (Indigenous participant, male, interview 18)

The participant's perspective suggests that the invisibility of Indigenous cultures from contemporary placemaking cultures in Winnipeg persists. "Being reflected on the wall" resembles permanency and effectiveness, qualities that could be brought to the built form through urban design and programming. However, the official narrative of the celebration of Indigenous cultures in Winnipeg is different than what Indigenous inhabitants expect to see in their everyday lives. An Indigenous organisational official points to the superficial use of Indigenous cultures in branding and identity creation processes in Winnipeg.

I'm sure if you'll see a city of Winnipeg travel guide you'll see maybe a First Nations person wearing the dancing regalia on the cover sheet. But in terms of being proud the Aboriginal citizens that live here, no I don't see that. (Indigenous organisational official, interview 2)

This narrative excerpt supports the notion of the commodification of cultures in placemaking processes put by Dovey (1999). Commodification involves reducing distinct cultural values to tourist brochures and ignoring the cultural density and sophistication of a particular cultural group. Dovey points that with such simplification, the sense of place itself becomes a commodity for consumption. In settler cities, the Indigenous cultures are consumed in the interest of dominant settler mainstream culture rather than being recognised and incorporated in the social life of the city.

In addition to excluding Indigenous cultures from the placemaking processes in the city, another issue that was raised by interview participants is the containment of Indigenous-specific places in certain parts of the city. Such isolation perpetuates social marginalisation and prevents the generation of symbolic and cultural capital at a city-wide scale for Indigenous peoples.

They're concentrated in a small area of the city. You have the MMF [Manitoba Métis Federation Inc.], you have the Aboriginal Center, you have Thunderbird House here, you know it's all in one single area. Thunderbird House you also have the two main populations of interest: The Métis population and the First Nations population, it's all in one small little area and then maybe a few other but it's not across the city and it should be. (Indigenous participant, female, interview 6)

A further issue that was highlighted by some participants was the paucity of Indigenous places and buildings to serve a large Indigenous population. According to the following quote, the increasing population of Indigenous peoples in Winnipeg is not reflected proportionally in the development of Indigenous places. To serve a large Indigenous population in Winnipeg, there is a need for more facilities, as this participant states:

There's one place that's called Thunderbird House, I don't know if you've been there. There's one there in Winnipeg. We should have a whole bunch of those, because there's over 70,000 of us here as Indigenous people in Winnipeg. So, to expect that one little building to accommodate 70,000 is ridiculous. We should have more of that. We should have more language centers, community centres, healing centres, not only for new Canadians. Have more for Indigenous people, because there's been a lot of destruction that has happened to us. (Indigenous participant, male, interview 7)

Interview participants pointed to the issue of the maintenance of Indigenous buildings in the city. The lack of support from the municipal government in maintaining and operationalising these buildings is a factor that contributes to the demise of such places; consequently, such demise leads to portraying Indigenous communities as people incapable of maintaining their buildings and supporting their places.

There was always this intention that this [Thunderbird house] was going to become a meeting place and a gathering place and a place where there would be a home place for people to come and do ceremony in the city if there was no other place that they could go. At least they would have that, right? But again, there were so many issues over the management and who's doing what and also that whole idea that you get funds for certain things because it's at the time the government grants or private enterprise or whatever it is. You get the building but then who maintains it? Who programs? Who pays for a staff person to program it? And then there's all this push-pull like in groups so there was a lot of tensions over which group was going to manage that building and how it was going to be managed. (Indigenous participant, female, interview 5)

The construction of the Thunderbird House was made possible during Glen Murray's mayoral term in the early 2000s. He promoted engagement with Indigenous communities and facilitated relationship between the municipal government and Indigenous communities (Belanger & Walker, 2009). The lack of continuous support in maintaining the Thunderbird House exemplifies the ad hoc engagement of Indigenous communities in urban planning and placemaking, as the above narrative excerpt states; it reveals that discriminatory cultures of placemaking are persistent in the city although numerous mechanisms of reconciliation and engagement have been in place.

The main part of the semi-structured interviews discussing the built form involves discussions on public spaces of the city. The most famous, political, and contentious place in Winnipeg is the Forks, the signature public space of the city. It is the historical Indigenous meeting and settlement place where the early stages of the development of Winnipeg originated. Since 1980s, the Forks has undergone considerable transformations. The redevelopment of the site as a public space has been inspired by the concept of reviving the Forks as a meeting place not only for First Nations and Métis peoples, but also for non-Indigenous peoples. According to the site developer, the Forks North Portage Partnership (2009), the Forks draws its character from Indigenous history and heritage and symbolises the relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities. However, as most of the Indigenous participants believe, the Indigenous heritage of the Forks is diminishing, and it is losing its character and identity as an Indigenous place. Participants described how they perceive the transformation of the site is changing the identity of the place.

I remember my most favourite place to go was the Forks. And I'd spend a lot of time there to get away from the city, to get away from the pressures and just being in green space was my healing or my peace of mind. But now it's been so developed. You don't see much green space. It's been taken over. Now it's being developed with the Human Rights building and all this other stuff going on. They've cut down all the plants and put in new types of plants and landscaping. So, there aren't very many green spaces like where I live. (Indigenous participant, female, interview 16)

Increasing construction on the site is considered perilous by participants as it is not informed by meaningful Indigenous collaboration in planning and design. Participant viewpoints resonates

with Cooper's (2009) argument that the development of the Forks has been informed by colonial assumptions toward Indigenous cultures. The Forks is representing itself as a safe, peaceful, and isolated alternative to the run-down, dangerous downtown core. The heritage which is being celebrated at the site has nothing to do with the continuous dispossession and loss of Indigenous cultures and peoples spread all over the rest of the city. Such process of representing heritage goes in parallel with Shaw's (2007) explanation of transformations of the areas surrounding the Block in Sydney. In Cooper's (2009) analysis, the site's planning and development documents locate Indigenous history and heritage in the distant past and ignore the colonial history of the site. In fact, the structure of decision-making and the elimination of Indigenous peoples and organisations from having meaningful participation in planning and programming of the site reinforces existing stereotypes and perpetuates the exclusion of Indigenous culture from placemaking. One might argue that there are some Indigenous public artworks within site, probably more than any other area in the city. But this participant mentions the inadequacy of the manner through which Indigenous cultural elements are presented in the city and specifically at the Forks.

Whether or not people would actually read it, or understand them, or recognise that, that remains to be seen. If you look at the design of the Forks, which is created back in the early 90s, they do have elements of Indigenous language but it's done in such a way that you can barely notice it. And I think even to that extent I think it's even more uncomfortable for non-Aboriginal people, for the dominant culture within the city of Winnipeg to understand that. (Indigenous participant, male, interview 18)

As Malone (2007) argues, monument making lacks transformative capacities. In other words, it cannot be effective in generating positive symbolic capital, and the empowerment of urban Indigenous communities. The 'cultural framing', that Malone argues for, goes beyond public art installation. It is inspired by Indigenous methods and control and includes the ways places are created by Indigenous communities.

Many scholars argue that global economic transformations increasingly influence contemporary public spaces, they are being conceptualised as commercial commodities, sites for stimulating consumption, not necessarily meeting places of cross-cultural communications and representations (Carmona 2010, a,b). Commercialisation of public space goes along with

privatisation, a process that is argued as detrimental to accommodate true publicness. Private control over public space design and management compromises collaborative placemaking. Such spaces hinder the freedom to protest, free speech, and vernacular programming which are fundamental aspects of fulfilling the right to the place for oppressed and marginalised communities (Harvey, 2008). In addition, the main concern for the owners of such pseudo-public spaces is increasing profit, so the design quality and concern for providing social mixing opportunities are not of much importance (Mitchell, 2003; Németh & Schmidt, 2011). Moreover, providing security becomes the main concern in programming such spaces. Public space is managed in a way that attracts a more desired audience and excludes the ones who appear less appropriate. CCTV cameras, tightened security measures, and policed public spaces resemble surveillance mechanism that was discussed by Foucault through elaborating Panopticon technology; the way the built environment enacts disciplinary power over inhabitants through various design and programming mechanisms (Dovey, 1999; Foucault, 1979; Fyfe & Bannister, 1996). In a settler context such as Winnipeg, public space commercialisation and privatisation contribute to further marginalisation and dispossession of Indigenous communities from the place, as the following participant puts it.

But the reason why we liked it [the Forks] was my parents could pack sandwiches and Kool-Aid. It wasn't it was almost a free outing because we had a low income. So, we would sit there by the lake on their picnic blanket or whatever and they would call us to eat and then we would go back and play and they would watch the boats go by on the river. So, that was kind of a free place to go and there were all sorts of people there- moms and dads and parents and people on bikes. That was kind of a public space that we really embraced. But currently it's a difficult thing sometimes like I go to the Forks. I often feel like I don't belong because it is very commercial -you know parking and you know buy stuff and it's expensive. You can walk there for free but a lot of my extended family they don't have the money to spend, it is almost like a special occasion place for them now. (Indigenous participant, female, interview 3)

The commercialisation trend has not affected only the Forks' development. According to study participants, the process of design and development of the built environment across Winnipeg is perceived as a privileging. Lacking quality public places has a direct impact on deteriorating social well-being of Indigenous communities as a participant describes:

I like to meditate. I like to sit on the land. I like to anchor myself on the land. I like to walk amongst the trees and by the water. I miss that part. I miss my home. I'm very lonely for my home and the land, the quiet, the birds, the air. But here it's like ugh. It's ugly. There's no trees. It's flat. The air stinks all the time. There's always noise pollution. If it's not the train it's the plane. Nobody is ever happy. You have to go out and drink. People like to go to hockey or something, you know? There doesn't seem like enough positive, sober activity for Aboriginal youth. You have to pay to be in a recreation center. Too much money. I can imagine how young people feel so disconnected from things and being healthy. I really feel sorry for them and sad for them. It's scary because we have a lot to deal with. (Indigenous participant, female, interview 16)

The narrative excerpt above should be read carefully; the willingness of having more open space should not be misinterpreted as Indigenous peoples and cultures are alien to the built culture and architecture, and are associated mostly with nature. Increased health and well-being through prioritising human needs in urban planning is a primary goal in contemporary urban design discourse (Southworth, Cranz, Lindsay, & Morhayim, 2012). The comment of the participant on human-oriented urbanism is a valuable input for planners who are willing to draw lessons from the lived experience of Indigenous inhabitants. Another participant highlights the importance of urban public spaces not as the leftover spaces between the buildings, as many planners think, but essential elements in community building processes.

I look at the new developments in our area. What the city does is they say we're going to build a new community and we're going to have a village center in the middle of the development. Developers will say yeah! We're going to do that but then they don't and there's no repercussion. What they did in our neighbourhood is first of all they build all the new housing. Once that was done then they filled in the empty spaces with townhouses and condos and in the middle, there's this little parcel of land. Now that all of that's done now they're saying now we're going to provide service by having a village centre so we're going to have retail and whatever. You don't build a community! (Indigenous participant, male, interview 1)

The participant's critique once more refers to the need for a more human-oriented approach to urban design and planning (Gehl, 2010). Having adequate green spaces, well-designed and managed public spaces, prioritising pedestrian movement, and developing efficient transit modes were the major points that were raised by participants when they expressed their viewpoints toward enhancing the built environment. Such recommendations are not necessarily specific to Indigenous peoples, rather they are beneficial for the whole city residents and facilitates

mobilisation toward spatial justice for all urban inhabitants. By the way, what do planners generally think about incorporating Indigeneity in placemaking? An urban designer working at the planning division shares his thoughts on inclusionary urban design and architecture as follow.

I'm thinking about our inner city recreation centres. They're all boxes. So how do we break down some of those forms, and the concern always is dollars and money and cost, but back to we have Magnus Eliason Recreation Centre. Where I first took my daughters to a pow wow was at Magnus Eliason rec centre, and it's an inner city facility. But it's a square box and a gym that could be anywhere. It does not necessarily reflect the character of its community more than its character, and its community might be utilitarian. But in that community, it would have made much more sense to have the shape of the buildings, those aspects of culture embedded in the built form. We've done it more on the landscape side than we have on the building. And really the building is what you notice more than you do sort of the urban space, I think. (Municipal official, non-Indigenous, interview 3)

Culturally-sensitive urban design and architecture is a concern for this urban design official at the municipal administration. However, as research in the Australian context -which is similar to Canada's- demonstrates, the culture of placemaking is rooted in Anglo-European principles, affected by American aspirations, and influenced by globalisation trends (Pieris, 2012; Potter, 2012). This urban design specialist states that the consultation with Indigenous communities on urban design issues is mainly limited to landscape planning, mostly on small-scale parks in neighbourhoods where a large number of Indigenous inhabitants reside. During the same interview, another urban designer expressed his viewpoint toward the limited scope of collaborative urban design with Indigenous peoples.

Aboriginal architecture in Winnipeg is limited, I would say. European White settlement imposes order on the land. The Aboriginal one was working with the land and being more sensitive to its context. Landscape architects try to work with the land or with the community to shape what should happen, versus a delivered product. But I think really limited in Winnipeg for architecture and urban spaces. We're kind of responding to an urban context that could be North American wide, with a few exceptions. Disappointing response, I guess. We've had a disappointing response to it. (Municipal official, non-Indigenous, interview 3)

Thoughtful or unintended imposition of Western spatiality leaves no space for Indigenous placemaking underpinned by Indigenous ontologies and epistemologies of place. Similar to other

settler cities, Indigenous recognition in Winnipeg is limited to purely symbolic ways which showcase an anachronistic portrayal of Indigenous cultures, ignoring the fact that Indigenous peoples have an evolving role in contemporary urbanism in settler cities (Potter, 2012). As the above narrative excerpt implies, urban planners and designers are willing to incorporate Indigeneity in Winnipeg's built form. However, the administrative structure of the municipal government, urban design procedures and bureaucracies, and a long history of marginalisation of Indigenous communities prevent transformative planning and design to happen. In this Western, expert-dominated, privileging placemaking culture there is little maneuvering space even for already few numbers of Indigenous professionals in the field. As the following interview participant who had experience in real estate development consultation reports.

Well, they could certainly have input even if they weren't the decision maker. Even something as simple as an advisory group. But for example, I know some Métis architects are really trying to influence that and they've tried but they keep getting excluded from the process all the time. (Indigenous participant, male, interview 1)

The built form embodies everyday social experiences and in order to transform social relations, the built environment should be transformed. Lefebvre's understanding of cities as the 'oeuvre' highlights the need for creative activity, rhythm, symbolism, imaginary, and play (Harvey, 2008; Lefebvre, 1996; Pugalís & Giddings, 2011; Stickells, 2011). Approaching city design from the perspective of 'user' is in contrast with the commodification of urban space and entails the participation of all urban inhabitants in the creation and appropriation of place. In settler cities, Indigenous-inclusive urban design is taken for granted till contemporary times; this chapter argues that it is a key area for mobilisation and empowerment of Indigenous communities towards achieving spatial justice and consequently decolonisation of cities. The next section engages with perspectives of Indigenous participants toward the ways Indigenous cultures could be incorporated in shaping the built environment.

3.3.2 Indigenous-Inclusive Placemaking as a Means of Decolonising the City

Decolonisation of contemporary settler cities involves retrieving the materiality and memory of Indigenous cultures in the way it portrays Indigenous peoples' contributions to urban life, based on their cultural density and sophistication. Increasing Indigenous visibility through design should transform existing ways of recognition which mostly put Indigenous cultures in galleries and museums associating them with the past (McGaw et al., 2011; Porter, 2010). Existing means of celebrating Indigenous cultures in the built form of settler cities have contributed to further marginalisation and segregation. In Vancouver for example, as Barman (2007) argues, erasure of Indigenous peoples living in proximity to the developing city paved the way for opening space for accommodating new settler populations. Then, some totem poles erected in Stanley Park to "mark the forced removal of the last of its Indigenous residents, erasure functioned as a pathway to Indigenous Indigeneity's replacement by a sanitised Indigeneity got from elsewhere" (Barman, 2007, p. 4). Barman describes this act as an invidious attempt that was "intended to create the illusion that Vancouver was Indigenous-friendly, even as it rid itself of the real thing" (p. 4). She argues that Indigenous heritage was presented in a sanitised fashion, in the way that it not affected the non-Indigenous lives and did not engage with current realities of coexistence with Indigenous peoples on the ground. Ironically, and a similar fashion, a similar totem pole - donated to Manitoba to commemorate the 100th anniversary of British Columbia's entry into confederation- rests in the south grounds of Manitoba's Legislative Building in Winnipeg. Metaphorically, it is the emblem of the ongoing approach to recognition of Indigenous peoples and their right to urbanism in contemporary times. Most of the study participants highlighted the issue of meaningful visibility and its preconditions, inclusion and collaboration.

If you look at evidence-based research it tells you that people, anybody, any person, has to be able to see themselves in the community they live. And when they see themselves in the architecture, in the monuments, whatever you want to call it - the physical structures of the city, if you can see yourself in that, then it makes you feel more a part of it. To me that's a no-brainer. We know, research that tells, good ideas come from anybody, from any group. Creativity, ingenuity, innovation can come from anywhere and anybody. All you've got to do as a leader is to harness it. But in order to harness it you've got to have good policy, good practice, right? So yeah, people want to feel good

about themselves, and you feel good when you see something that represents you there.
(Indigenous organisational official, interview 1)

Participants assert that visibility is in fact, is the affirmation of Indigenous original occupancy and consequent legitimate right claims. The first principle in inclusive design would be open recognition of this fact by the mainstream placemaking culture. The ways Indigenous peoples created meanings, sense of place, and territory should be celebrated, as the next quote from a study participant emphasises.

I think that city design will help actually create positive view and a positive attitude and realise this is an Aboriginal city, especially Winnipeg. The Forks in Winnipeg, essentially there is a huge history; there is such a deep history and we need to recognise it. This is a city [like others] but this is an Aboriginal city for me anyway. It should be honored. It needs to be more visible. (Indigenous participant, female, interview 6)

According to following participant, one of the most important issues in incorporating urban design activities to represent Indigenous cultures in cities is that the meaningful representation through design should represent not only the past, but also the contemporary presence and contribution of Indigenous peoples to society and urban life. So, a second Indigenous-inclusive urban design principle could be elaborated as follow.

I would like to see the City of Winnipeg recognise Indigenous contributions to the City of Winnipeg, to recognise the history, to acknowledge the involvement that the Indigenous community has played in Winnipeg's evolution. I'd like to see plaques engraved and installed in city sidewalks, saying this is where the first friendship centre was created, this is where this organization was created, this is where this person lived or whatever. I'd like to see city streets named after prominent Aboriginal people and leaders, people that have made a contribution in this place. And I think people may not realise it, but at least it would be ingrained in their head. Aboriginal people who are modern, people within the past sixty years, let's say. You have Chief Peguis Trail but it just fits into the stereotype, and it doesn't connect people to the fact that we are still here. And I think having events for chiefs or Louis Riel, speaks to a time where people think of as a period of history that is just that -it's history. (Indigenous participant, male, interview 18)

In participants' viewpoints, a celebration of the Indigenous cultures through events and seasonal festivities is promising, however, more permanent places should be created both within Indigenous neighbourhoods, to serve the increasing number of urban inhabitants, as well as

across other parts of the city to build cross-cultural communication and exchange. The following narrative implies that Indigenous peoples themselves do not prefer isolation and separation, contrary to the belief that they choose to do so. Having more Indigenous buildings and places is an assertion of original occupancy creates the potential for intercultural contact and exchange.

So, we will go there [the Forks] if we have money; you know in an ideal world, it would be nice to have a place like Oodena's Circle in the North End. That would be my dream -to have something that pays a little bit of tribute to the people that were here- the Ojibwa people, the Cree people. Maybe you know in an ideal world what would be nice would be to have a meeting place where all cultures can meet, something that is accessible for low-income people. And then we maybe incorporate the whole treaty education aspect to the building so the designing of it. Almost like a mixed-use where it's office space, educational space, cultural space. There's a real need there for that. I can see that. I know there's some discussion in the community here about that like in the First Nation community. I think with our population growing here there's a need even to have more for sure. (Indigenous participant, female, interview 3)

So, the affluent number of well-located, well-designed, well-programmed, and well-maintained permanent Indigenous places is the third principle contributing in transformative placemaking in the vision of Indigenous inhabitants. McGaw et al. (2011) conclude that this aspect of placemaking includes the recognition of the 'right to centre', which partially contributes to the fulfilment of the right to urbanism and spatial justice for Indigenous inhabitants. Creating Indigenous places at important locations across the city creates leads to visibility and generates a positive symbolic capital for Indigenous communities.

Slowing down commercialisation of Indigenous places is another factor that was pointed out by participants. The case of the Forks is discussed by the following participant explaining how excessive commercialisation of the place has contributed to the erasure of Indigenous cultures from the site. According to Relph's conceptualisation, unceasing (re-)development of the Forks - inspired by commercial interests- is increasingly transforming the place into a placeless geography.

The Forks has undergone extensive redesign and they're always putting up these massive structures over there that are not conducive to maintaining green space. They're not conducive to recreation or I think just being outdoors. Like they put up that big hotel right in the centre. And then the huge parking lot there. I think the Forks they should

build an harbour there because that was our land at one time. And in recognition of the pride and in recognition of support of Indigenous people. The city of Winnipeg should work with the Forks to design a permanent harbour. A permanent place so that we can have our powwows there without having to go up and create a temporary structure every time we have gatherings out there. (Indigenous participant, female, interview 21)

Material visibility through the use of public art is another approach that was emphasised by study participants. The application of creative art in urban design serves two purposes, firstly, it generates the sense of place for Indigenous peoples through recognition of their original occupancy and contemporary contribution to urban life. Secondly, it transcends the urban design discourse within the city through incorporating design procedures and elements that are not typical of the North American urban landscapes. The use of creative public art inspired by Indigenous cultures creates a distinguishable cityscape, urban character, and meaning.

I think the Main Street and Higgins area is a prime example of that, they took the Boulevard and made it Native design, Native colours, even the sidewalks are lined and coloured. I really enjoy walking in that area despite what's there and the condition of the people, but it's really nice to look at. It's really nice architecture. I think that would be nice in all areas of the city. And once again, it would serve to recognise the Indigenous population that was already there. (Indigenous participant, female, interview 20)

In addition to creating a unique urban character and creating a sense of place for Indigenous peoples, using urban design and visual elements could generate meanings and foster dialogue (Malone, 2007), as the following Indigenous inhabitant who runs an Indigenous contemporary art gallery explains.

Well I think using visuals to get a dialogue going is somewhat easier rather than a town hall meeting or something like that. You know being at a show or coming to an event is more casual and people maybe feel more openly to talk about what the ideas are or what the art is doing. So, I think that is really great in kind of getting a discussion going and kind of opening people's minds up... We will be doing the perception project which is a really great kind of awareness campaign of like racism and what people perceive of Aboriginal people. So that'll happen in the public walkways. And I think that will be a great place to access a lot of people who might not come to the gallery or feel that you know they don't really want to come to an Aboriginal art gallery or an art gallery in general. I feel like it's a good way to kind of intervene in the public to get them thinking about things and ideas and issues. So, I really love going offsite and doing things that would access other audiences that we wouldn't normally always have that come to the gallery. (Indigenous participant, female, interview 21)

Toponymy was discussed as a powerful strategy for claiming places in conceptual section of this chapter (section 3.2.4.3). Participants expressed that naming places after prominent Indigenous figures or using traditional names create a sense of identity and belonging to the city for them. It is perceived as a sign of reconciliation and recognition.

I think that naming would be beneficial to bring a lot of pride to the Indigenous community. And acknowledge the presence that was here before colonisation, and the place names. The traditional place names, I think that would be really awesome. (Indigenous participant, female, interview 20)

The use of public art and cultural elements in architecture convey similar meanings for Indigenous participants. As Stewart (2015) argues, privileging Indigenous cultures in design is a form of resistance to dominant Western norms. Referring to Bourdieu's conceptualisation of forms of capital, it is a kind of distinction which generates symbolic capital through the presentation of the Indigenous cultural capital.

It's got the colours. I like that. I like the buildings where there's paintings of us like dancing or you see people that you recognise. It makes you feel at home. It makes you feel like you belong, that you're just as important as everything else because for the longest time we weren't in those same sort of dynamics, you know? Like the design of the buildings are so gothic. If you go into places, and you see our reflections and hints that we are here, we feel more involved and more accepted. (Indigenous participant, female, interview 16)

Applying alternate design forms and public art is considered as appealing to the above participant. However, out of the mainstream context design is a challenge for Indigenous communities where no meaningful relationship between the municipal government and Indigenous communities is in place. When there is a limited understanding of Indigenous cultures and design methods on the part of decision-makers, planners, and designers, initiating creative design works becomes difficult. Innovative design elements and approaches can be assumed as exotic or inappropriate in a context which seeks uniformity. Consequently, getting approval for a building permit from the planning administrative bodies, coordination with inflexible design codes, and getting consent from residents in proximate areas create considerable challenges towards comprehensive Indigenous placemaking to operationalise (Stewart, 2015). The solution to this problem lies in more Indigenous engagement in urban

planning and municipal government, discussed in Chapter Two, and a planning culture that embraces diversity and difference (Chapter Four). The role of municipal administration in facilitating inclusionary urban design is asserted by an Indigenous organisational official in the following comment.

Before a lot of programming was driven by the Aboriginal community itself not by the city. I think there needs to be more leadership there from the city to take on the role and actually support the Aboriginal community and taking the lead role in offering the services and being more involved in the city planning aspects of the city. I feel there's been a lack of involvement from the Aboriginal community in terms of city planning itself like in terms of the physical aspect of the cities like in terms of designing the city and the development of the city. There's been some good programming but again I think there was a lack there in terms of involving the city in the actual city planning aspects. (Indigenous organisational official, interview 3)

Interviews with urban design officials working in the municipal administration elicit a conventional approach to engaging Indigenous communities in placemaking. Such approach is similar to other settler cities in Canada and Australia discussed earlier and includes a stakeholder consensus-building general model. Within such framework, urban development priorities and what is considered as beneficial for the neighbourhoods are decided by non-Indigenous professionals. In addition, Indigenous inhabitants are categorised as equal to another ethnocultural minority groups in outreach and consultation procedures, as the following excerpt by urban designer in city planning office implies.

I think we do really embrace the cultural history of Winnipeg, through Folklorama and festivals like that and there have been some efforts through interpretive signage to celebrate places. There's definitely been some celebration or interest in the settlement patterns originally. On Scotia Street, for example, we did a series of interpretive panels that kind of tell the story from First Nations settlements to the first Scottish settlers and how that kind of told that story for that neighbourhood of this is how things kind of evolved, to later on it was Ukrainian and Eastern European so as neighbourhoods change we did a project where we kind of tell a story and I guess a new chapter is being written now. But there are places where it seems appropriate, where there's a will of the community to tell that story, we do. (Municipal official, non-Indigenous, interview 3)

The next chapter demonstrates that recognising ethnocultural diversity and Indigenous cultures in city spaces through temporary events and multicultural celebrations is not sufficient and

transformative. In an inclusionary urban design approach, Indigenous communities decide what should be presented, how it is designed, and where it is placed; it is not limited to design and programming by officials in city administration. The result of top-down process has been limited to the ad hoc small-scale use of public art or landscape design in Winnipeg. As participants asserted, the contemporary Indigenous representation in urban form continues to marginalise Indigenous peoples in Canadian cities. The revival of Indigenous materiality and memory in Canadian urban areas has not commenced at any great pace in contemporary reconciliation and postcolonial contexts.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter identified significant contributing factors to meaningful and empowering Indigenous placemaking in Canadian cities. From the vantage point of study participants, Winnipeg is an Indigenous ‘place’. Associations of Indigenous cultures with the land shapes a continuous sense of place which has informed an historical and contemporary sense of belonging in the city. However, Indigenous collective memories, meanings and associations with this place are removed by colonial planning and design processes. The continuing invisibility of Indigenous cultures from the built environment of cities signifies the dispossession of Indigenous communities from their right to urbanism. This invisibility is justified by the myth that Indigenous cultures do not possess a ‘built’ heritage (Barman, 2007; Jojola, 2013; Stewart, 2015). Results from interviews suggest that visibility in the built environment of the city is one of the aspirations of Indigenous inhabitants in Winnipeg in the process of reclaiming the settler city as an Indigenous place. For a long time, urban design has been complicit in removing Indigeneity from urban areas; however, based on the Foucauldian conceptualisation of power structures, it could also be used as an empowering tool and the means for generating new symbolic capital for Indigenous urban inhabitants. Indigenous presence and influence in the contemporary and future urban life of Canadian cities is a certainty. Incorporating Indigenous approaches into existing placemaking structures, therefore, creates a potential for transforming existing oppressive and privileging social structures. Accomplishing this task in contemporary urbanism in settler cities will not be easy. Public spaces are increasingly commercialised, privatised, uniform, and politically and culturally indifferent towards non-Western and non-capitalist cultures. Such non-places, or placeless geographies, tend to be both privileging for

some and exclusionary of others. Public space is the site where relations of oppression, privilege, resistance, and recognition take place and are materialised. Eliminating the homogenising cultures of placemaking requires addressing the lived experience of urban inhabitants and the acknowledgement of the right of Indigenous inhabitants specifically to appropriate urban places. Recognition and celebration of Indigenous cultures cannot be reduced to signified identities such as the tourist brochure example, putting Indigenous cultures in museums, or associating them with nature elsewhere. Such representation results in the consumption of Indigenous cultures in ways reproducing dominant Eurocentric power, rather than the equal place-partnership with Indigenous peoples in a reconciliatory context (Dovey, 1999, 2010). The built environment, if perceived as a cultural product, should be shaped reflexively. Users or inhabitants have the ability to “actively negotiate, contest or even corrupt socially constructed meanings” (Wansborough & Mageean, 2000, p. 186). Fulfilling spatial justice and the Indigenous right to urbanism requires the enablement of new visibility for Indigenous cultures within the urban landscape through (colonial) ‘de-territorialisation’ and (Indigenous) ‘re-territorialisation’ of urban space (McGaw et al., 2011).

Participants were asked to share their perspectives on the ways Indigeneity should be re-inscribed in the design and programming of public spaces in Winnipeg. Some principles emerged; firstly, placemaking should address both the past and the present. The focus on the past should be about Indigenous original occupancy and meanings attached to the land in present design and placemaking, not only about putting the Indigenous cultural artefact in galleries and portraying an anachronistic version of Indigeneity. As Wall observes:

“Critical analysis of museum practices, for instance, address the uneven social distribution of the cultural capital (including knowledge, discourse and socialisation) that orders and reinforces social hierarchies. Those operating outside systems of legitimated knowledge and expression [such as Indigenous communities in settler nations] find their creative capacities undervalued and undermined” (Wall, 2012, p. 20).

In addition, there should be a good number of well-designed, well-programmed, and well-maintained permanent Indigenous places spread over prominent, popular, and central locations

within cities. Furthermore, the architectural form, the use of public art, and place naming should be informed by Indigenous participation and control (as discussed in Chapter Two). Indigenous community involvement in placemaking must go beyond tokenism. The application of visual elements is not sufficient in itself and should be done in a purposeful way, in a way that initiates dialogue (Malone, 2007). In urban areas, public space is shared between diverse social and cultural groups and the issue of how dominant placemaking practices will be made to relinquish control is convoluted. Jacobs (1996, p. 154) explains hybrid placemaking as cultures in which the “the persistent and static binary oppositions that are so fundamental to the culture of colonialism” are unsettled. In this regard, ongoing communication and the commitment of municipal, provincial, and federal governments to enhancing Indigenous-inclusive urban planning and design is required.

Creating Indigenous places across the city does not connote isolation and separation. In accordance with Massey’s (1994) definition of place, this thesis contends that in highly diverse, contemporary Canadian cities, places should not be viewed as tightly bound; rather, they should be viewed as porous networks accommodating social relations within society. It is the interaction with other places in a just and equitable way which generates a productive sense of place and leads to the production of positive symbolic capital for Indigenous peoples, empowering them in pursuit of their rights and aspirations. The issue of how Indigenous communities and diverse ethnocultural groups share urban space and place in settler cities, the ways multicultural policies address ethnocultural diversity, and how urban planning accommodates diversity and reconciles different claims and aspirations to urbanism is the topic of the next chapter.

Chapter Four

Ethnocultural Diversity, Indigeneity, and Planning for Difference in Canadian Cities

4.1 Introduction

We are living in an age of migration, and cities are the arenas where the relations of diversity, difference, conflict, values, and claims for recognition are materialised (Cantle, 2012; Castles, Haas, & Miller, 2014; Fainstein, 2010). In different urban contexts around the world, multiculturalism -an umbrella term for describing both demographic realities and policies that target ethnocultural diversity- is being examined and assessed differently. In some countries, it is labelled as a ‘failed’ political philosophy and policy to manage ethnic and racial differences and tensions while in some other -like Canada- it is the cornerstone of the nation-building process (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010; Bauder, 2014; Fincher, Iveson, Leitner, & Preston, 2014). Immigrants and their descendants have constantly been diversifying the demographic, social, and cultural structures of Canadian cities. As described in Chapter One, in contrast to the historical trends, most immigrant newcomers now emigrate from non-European countries. For example, over 60% of recent immigrants are coming from Asian and Middle Eastern countries. Projections demonstrate that second-generation individuals and immigrant newcomers together will represent nearly half of Canada’s population in 2036 -up from 38% in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2017).

In Canada, the discourse of multiculturalism is multifaceted and nuanced due to increasing numbers of immigrants and also Indigenous peoples living in urban areas (Gyepi-Garbrah et al., 2014; Peters, 2015). Multiculturalism and the rights of diverse ethnic groups are considered central in the formulation of national identities in settler states, and in the case of Canada it is officially enshrined in law and is stated in the Constitution. This chapter asks how multiculturalism is interpreted at the city level and influences urban dynamics? Fincher et al. (2014) examine the ways multiculturalism could be interpreted in an urban planning context; first, multiculturalism can be conceptualised as a philosophy of nation-building with the goal of fulfilling minority rights and removing racial injustices.

Secondly, it can be defined as a collection of public policies addressing ethnocultural minority groups; and thirdly, it can be approached as a contemporary worldwide demographic reality. This research concedes that all of these interrelated aspects should be taken into consideration when urban planning aims at enfolded multiculturalism into its discourse, a phenomenon that is increasingly transforming urban space and the built environment in Canadian cities.

4.2 Multiculturalism, Post-Multiculturalism, and Interculturalism

Contemporary debates over immigration and diversity go beyond official multiculturalism policies. Kymlicka (2016) refers to a consensus among some scholars and policymakers that we are living in a ‘post-multiculturalism’ era. He emphasises the role the citizenship debate plays in multiculturalism discourse, asserting that “multiculturalism has often been promoted as a means of “citizenization” intended to deepen relations of democratic citizenship” (Kymlicka, 2016, p. 53). For Kymlicka, post-multiculturalism refers to an inclusive form of shared citizenship where the goal is to overcome pitfalls of traditional multiculturalism-which are the inability of multiculturalism policies in eliminating root causes of social, economic, and political marginalisation of minority groups- while preventing the mainstream homogenising and oppressive powers. He criticises contemporary post-multiculturalism for ignoring the evolution and history of multicultural policies and the close ties between multiculturalism and citizenisation processes.

Kymlicka is critical of approaching multiculturalism as the “naïve and uncritical celebration of ethnocultural diversity” (Kymlicka, 2016, p. 54). Acknowledging cultures and rituals, cuisine, music, dance, and other cultural spectacles is part of this approach and indeed, is a troublesome approach because it covers only racial and ethnic minorities and neglects other cultural, physical, and sexual minorities (Burayidi, 2015). In addition, models of representation within the mainstream society are focused on elite persons in these communities, and hence, the lived experiences of a fuller cross-section of members of minority groups remain invisible and misunderstood. Furthermore, multiculturalism does not engage the mainstream society effectively in negotiations and interactions with ethnocultural minority groups. In Canada, for example, there are several medium-size and smaller cities that are absorbing the overspill of new immigrants from bigger cities and are not yet equipped with the required physical, social, and

cultural infrastructure to support it. All in all, existing multiculturalism policies are under-developed and ineffectual (Alibhai-Brown, 2000). Kymlicka (2016, 2012) refers to celebratory multiculturalism as minimal and in fact a caricature of true multiculturalism because, first, this model does not address political and economic inequalities. Secondly, a focus on unique cultural practices such as music or food might trivialise cultural diversity and ignore challenges of religious, cultural, and social differences and clashes. Thirdly, celebratory multiculturalism might lead to the spread of stereotypes by presenting a static and frozen form of culture. Finally, it might jeopardise the position of minorities within these ethnocultural groups through reproducing unequal power relations, patriarchy, sexism, etc. (Kymlicka, 2012, 2016). In addition, there are other critics who believe that too much focus on difference might exacerbate the process of othering, hence reinforcing the subordinate position of cultural minorities (Koopmans, 2010), or it may assign a person to a specific ethnic group permanently against their will (Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2002). Other scholars have examined the commodification of cultures through planning and the effect of gentrifying ethnocultural neighbourhoods on the social life of ethnic minorities (Fincher et al., 2014). The goal of municipal governments is to generate revenue using ethnic cultures, neighbourhoods, and distinct cultural characteristics for tourism purposes and to absorb investment. However in practice, the consequence has been socioeconomic polarisation of minority cultures and population displacement.

‘Post-multiculturalism’ as Kymlicka recounts, seeks to reverse these trends. It aims to prioritise political participation and economy over symbolic cultural recognition, human rights over unconditional respect for cultural traditions, create common national identities instead of highlighting distinct cultural identities, and to promote intercultural communication and exchange. He indeed challenges post-multiculturalist claims that multiculturalism is only about celebrating diversity and has failed in fulfilling equal rights for all ethnocultural minority groups. As a defender of multiculturalism, Kymlicka rejects post-multiculturalism and elaborates on the transformation and evolution of the discourse of multiculturalism (Kymlicka, 2007, 2012, 2016). He distinguishes three emerging multiculturalism paradigms in Western democracies. First is the recognition of specific Indigenous rights such as land titles, self-government, treaty and constitutional rights. The second trend is new forms of territorial autonomy given to sub-state national groups such as the Quebecois in Canada. A third trend consists of the new kind of

multicultural citizenship for immigrant groups in which their rights and needs are affirmed more comprehensively and meaningfully.

Kymlicka defends human-rights-based multiculturalism which is about removing forms of social, political, and economic stigmatisation, underrepresentation, and inequality. True multiculturalism is transformative for both mainstream and minority groups regarding amending undemocratic and illiberal attitudes toward each other. He provides an optimistic prospect for the multiculturalism agenda by giving examples of advancements in Indigenous multicultural citizenship such as the increasing recognition of specific rights of Indigenous peoples by various levels of government and the adoption of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples by the UN (United Nations, 2007). In his previous work, he calls this trend the ‘internationalisation’ of multiculturalism which is about the global diffusion of multiculturalism debates and advocacy (Kymlicka, 1995, 2007). However, as Chapter Two in this thesis discusses, Indigenous communities living in Canadian cities do not see this policy as beneficial, as they assert that oppression and marginalisation of urban Indigenous communities is still vigorous and it is actually the Indigenous resurgence and urbanism that is asserting Indigenous presence and influence on urban political, economic, and social processes. Scholars like Bauder and Shaw are still fundamentally challenging the multiculturalism agenda in Western settler nations regarding their capacity in accommodating Indigenous rights and claims (Bauder, 2011, 2014; Shaw, 2007).

In his definition of multiculturalism, Kymlicka distinguishes between ‘new’ and ‘old’ minorities: “multiculturalism as an umbrella term to cover a wide range of policies designed to provide some level of public recognition, support or accommodation to non-dominant ethnocultural groups, whether those groups are ‘new’ minorities (e.g. immigrant and refugees) or ‘old’ minorities (e.g. historically settled national minorities and Indigenous peoples)” (Kymlicka, 2007, p. 16). This distinction is noteworthy, but in practice, the subject is not only the chronology and the precedence of immigration. As Kymlicka concedes, the discourse of multiculturalism is undeniably more contentious, problematic, and multifaceted. In the Canadian context, the discourse of multiculturalism discourse mostly targets international immigrants although the existence-not immigration- of Indigenous peoples before Western re-settlement

renders the issue complicated and multidimensional. Indigenous peoples are part of the multiculturalism agenda, but as the original inhabitants of the land, their attributes differ from immigrants. David Johnston, the former Governor General of Canada's controversial comment that "Indigenous people were immigrants as well, 10, 12, 14,000 years ago" is evidence of the willingness of the settler mainstream authority to assimilate Indigeneity into immigration discourse (The Globe and Mail, 2017). As Chapter Two of this thesis discusses, Indigenous communities that are increasingly urbanised are claiming their distinctive right to urbanism as original inhabitants of territories where cities are developed. The original occupancy is the quintessential aspect of the recognition of Indigenous rights (Peters, 2015).

Bauder (2011) argues that in settler societies like Canada, narratives of immigration and Indigeneity are closely linked but there is a public and academic 'discursive separation' between the two; the detachment, quoting Žižek (2006), he calls a parallax gap. It means that historically, immigration and Indigenous issues are related in the context of colonisation. Multiculturalism involves welcoming immigrants and then integrating them into the fabric of the nation. It is a political process that shapes the national identity in settler states and importantly Indigenous peoples who already belong to this land, and were present there before immigrants, have no place in this assimilative discourse. There is a more surprising aspect of these socio-political frameworks at present that Bauder (2011, 2014) observes. Contemporary multiculturalism not only does not recognise the Indigenous presence but also distinguishes between already-immigrated settlers who are mostly of White/European descent with more diverse new immigrants coming mainly from the global South. Through multiculturalism camouflage, therefore, the settler state has been able to, firstly, naturalise its privilege as 'native' thus superior; secondly, eliminate Indigenous peoples from nation-building discourses, and thirdly, apply discriminatory attitudes toward newer immigrants to this nation.

"Recognizing the presence of Aboriginal peoples prior to the formation of the settler society would wreak havoc on the national identity as an immigration country in which belonging is defined in political, not ethnic, terms. A settler nation must deny the ethnic principle of territorial belonging" (Bauder, 2011, p. 517).

Bauder's argument resonates with the analysis of Razack (2002) of three phases of settlement and the generation of 'national mythologies' in Canada. The first phase, according to Razack, is about conquest and formulating the relationship between space, race, and law in the context of *terra nullius* or uninhabited land. When more settlers arrived, the second phase of the national story began to be told which concerned the 'development' of this empty land by European settlers' wisdom and effort. Through this phase, original inhabitants of the land get eliminated from the nation-building process. Moreover, a third and recent phase of the national story emerged in the 1990s as Razack describes:

"The land, once empty and later populated by hardy settlers, is now besieged and crowded by Third World refugees and migrants who are drawn to Canada by the legendary niceness of European Canadians, their well-known commitment to democracy, and the bounty of their land. The 'crowds' at the border threaten the calm, ordered spaces of the original inhabitants [settlers]. A specific geographical imagination is clearly traceable in the story of origins told in anti-immigration rhetoric, operating as metaphor but also enabling material practices such as the increased policing of the border and bodies of colour" (Razack, 2002, p. 4).

Multiculturalism in settler nations is therefore, underpinned by a nation-building process where Indigenous peoples' privilege as the original hosts, or even equal inhabitants, is disregarded. Shaw (2007) argues that regardless of multicultural gestures in settler societies, there are processes of Whiteness underpinned by the colonisation legacy that both implicitly and explicitly exclude Indigenous peoples. She points to a 'neo-colonialism' hiding behind a blanket of apparent ethnic diversity. In her critique, quoting (Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2002), Ghorayshi (2010, p. 91) defines Canadian multiculturalism as "a business that sells diversity and favours dominant French and English groups". She refers to historical colonisation, suburbanisation, industrialisation, colonisation, and contemporary neo-liberalism stating that they created the current racialised poverty and gap between multiculturalism rhetoric and the everyday lives of people in Canadian cities.

As a consequence of this discursive separation, studies of Indigeneity have been isolated to the periphery of "anthropology and archaeology, as a somewhat cross-disciplinary form of

Aboriginal studies” (Shaw, 2007, p. 29). Shaw argues that the Aboriginal community is explicitly and implicitly excluded from its distinguishing capacities, rooted in the colonisation legacy and normative cultural forms of Whiteness (see Chapter Two). The settler identity building has not been based on the Indigenous past, but rather based on items that were imported since the beginning of immigration and bound to showcasing old buildings and objects and hiding the history of encounter and colonisation (pop-culture version of heritage and commodification of culture, as discussed in Chapter Three). The concept of cosmopolitan citizenship has been shifted from being free of national boundaries and prejudices, to a person capable of consuming high-quality commodity and cultures including ethnic cultures rather than participating in true multiculturalism in settler cities (Allon, 2013; Dovey, 1999; Jacobs, 1996; Shaw, 2007). Sandercock (2003) asserts that this is the case not just for Indigenous peoples, but other ethnocultural diversity groups as well. She argues that in Australia, for example, both “White racists and multiculturalists in Australia share a conception of themselves as nationalists and as managers of the national space, a space which is structured around a White culture and in which Indigenous and non-Whites are merely objects to be removed or moved to a place according to White national will” (Sandercock, 2003, p. 113).

Given the realities of globalisation and international migration and increasing urbanisation of Indigenous communities in settler nations, cities have already entered the state of ‘super-diversity’ in Canada. It means that policies which governments have applied to manage and mediate cultural diversity are no longer appropriate as they cannot adapt to the new circumstances of this hyper-diversity (Cantle, 2012). Multiculturalism policies in practice have led to the formation of a ‘plural monoculturalism’ state in which diverse groups are living in proximity but in isolation (Sen, 2006). Although technology has allowed virtual connectedness and communication, globalisation has exacerbated fractures and clashes among diverse communities as “people cling to more traditional identities and ‘hunker down’ in the face of more global uncertainties” (Cantle, 2012, p. 2). In this climate, politicians have tried to seize the opportunity to foment populist campaigns. Alibhai-Brown (2000) examines the role of the political elite in the multiculturalism debate in Britain as an historical failure. She believes Britons were failed by political authorities who did not prepare them for understanding new

realities of immigration, diversity, equality, and the eradication of imperial master/barbarian relationships between them and people from Africa and Asia (Alibhai-Brown, 2000, p. 42).

To overcome current spatial, social and cultural segregation in Canadian cities, it is important to determine how Indigenous peoples and immigrants can be empowered simultaneously to achieve equal opportunities in cities to express their cultural identity, fulfil their claims to urban space, and gain access to services in an inclusive context. Some scholars believe that in immigrant settler cities, the multiculturalism agenda has not prevented spatial segregation, economic imbalances and social disparities within communities, and in fact, it has failed. They argue that there is a need for a shift from official and state-based multiculturalism agendas to interculturalism (Bannerji, 2009; Bouchard, 2011; Cattle, 2012; Collins & Friesen, 2011; Meer & Modood, 2012; Wood & Landry, 2008). Collins & Friesen (2011) claim that state-based passive multiculturalism has reduced the potential for daily contact between diverse individuals and communities in cities. They assert that creating an active intercultural context would enable everyday intercultural contacts in cities, contributing to a reduction of inequalities, and realizing the ‘diversity advantage’ as a tool to facilitate urban development in neoliberal contexts. They examined the Intercultural City Project in Auckland, New Zealand, and focus on creating sites for encounters between different cultures. They concluded their research by suggesting that research on intercultural city image, sense of place, community relations, and creating places for intercultural relations be expanded. Ghorayshi (2010) also suggests the shift from multiculturalism to interculturalism, to bridge the layers of separation between Indigenous and immigrant inhabitants. The following table summarises the characteristics of interculturalism compared with multiculturalism discussed in the literature.

Table 4-1: Multiculturalism and interculturalism characteristics

Multiculturalism	Interculturalism
Centralised planning	Democratic governance
National level with input from provincial governments	Local level decision-making
Removal of conflict	Considering conflict as an arena for creativity
Detrimental antagonism	Healthy agonism
Comprehensive rational planning	Transformative planning
In-group favourism / out-group denigrate	Reflective in-group attitude/out-group respect and contact
Planning cities with technical skills, policy sciences	Promoting lived-experience: memory, desire, spirit
Bonding social capital	Bridging social capital
Segregation	Engagement
Cultural self-assertion	Dialogue between cultures
Emphasis on individual rights	Recognition of collective rights, right to the city, right to difference
Over-emphasising ethnocultural divisions	Shared national identity based on political and institutional values (e.g. human rights)
Lack of intercultural understanding/isolation of ethnicity	Cultural literacy
Assimilationist and exclusionary nation-building policies	Acknowledging historical injustice/recognition and accommodation
Institutionalised separation	Inclusive, flexible policy making
Focus on racial identities	Promote better relations for race, ethnicity, age, disability, and sexual orientation, etc.

Source: Adapted from Amin, 2002; Cattle, 2012; Deuchar, 2011; Ghorayshi, 2010; Sandercock, 2003; Wood & Landry, 2008

Some scholars approach interculturalism from other angles. Van Leeuwen (2010) focuses on ‘intercultural citizenship’ and defines three levels of ‘cosmopolitan’, ‘agonistic’, and ‘side-by-side’ citizenship. He categorises these types according to their ‘demanding’ nature. By demanding he means “the level of practical competence that is required to navigate and negotiate social difference” (Leeuwen, 2010, p. 650). The study of multicultural policy within Australia’s local governments by Dunn et al. (2001) revealed that financial constraints are not the only issues in developing intercultural programs. They argued that there is a need for a symbolic shift in the policy environment that is excluding minority groups from Anglo-Celtic mainstream urban governance (Dunn, Hanna, & Thompson, 2001).

High levels of ethnocultural diversity and the presence of Indigenous communities in Canadian cities creates a special context. This research argues that in order to achieve a comprehensive framework for improving ethnocultural coexistence, the discursive separation between immigration and Indigenous discourses should be bridged (but not elided) in urban planning literature. It means that the decolonising practice is closely linked to the issue of immigration and settlement. In addressing urban problems and planning ethnoculturally inclusive cities, Indigenous communities should have the power of influence and decision-making as the 'host' alongside the mainstream apparatus which basically consists of previously settled 'immigrants'. At the same time, it is imperative to distinguish urban Indigenous communities -considered too often as another ethnocultural minority group or another stakeholder in planning processes- from international immigrants. Immigrant minorities are "voluntarily looking to settle down and fit in within the existing social and political framework, Indigenous peoples constitute forcibly incorporated nations who want to 'get out' of imposed political arrangements that deny, exclude and oppress" (Fleras & Maaka, 2010, p. 15).

It is true that many immigrants voluntarily choose to come to Canada, but contrary to Fleras & Maaka's argument, this thesis argues that immigrants are not aiming to completely 'assimilate' into the mainstream society. A large body of research on urban planning and ethnocultural diversity neglects to address the Indigenous-immigrant difference in Canadian urban areas. Some like Qadeer (1997; 2009) neglect the existence of Indigenous populations and focus only on multicultural policies and practices. Some argue that in the major metropolitan areas of North America, multiculturalism in practice has surpassed its theorisation, and that political and planning institutions are responding to the demand of diverse communities in advanced ways (Agrawal, 2015; Qadeer & Agrawal, 2011). Overlooking Indigenous issues and demarcating multiculturalism in settler cities as success with some material or distributive expressions leads to a flawed conclusion and there is a need for approaching these issues from a more critical perspective.

Critical scholars and activists have examined multiculturalism and interculturalism from a different gaze. In discussing the concept of 'border colonialism', Walia (2013, p. 9) conceptualises anti-immigrant xenophobia, White supremacy, and settler colonialism as mutually

reinforcing. Border colonialism sees immigration through a global system of displacement that is the result of overlapping powers of “capitalism, colonial empire, state building, and hierarchies of oppression”. It foregrounds the colonial processes in settler states too, as boundaries have divided Indigenous communities as well.

“Much like immigration laws criminalising migrants for transgressing state borders, trespass and private property laws outlaw squatting and the common use of space, while legalising the colonial occupation and division of Indigenous lands...whether through military checkpoints, gated communities in gentrified neighbourhoods, secured corporate boardrooms, or gendered bathrooms, bordering practices delineate zones of access, exclusion, and death. Everywhere that bordering and ordering practices proliferate, they reinforce the enclosure of the commons, thus reifying apartheid relations at the political, economic, social, and psychological, levels” (Walia, 2013, p. 9).

De-constructing borders for Walia is quintessential as a step towards decolonisation, creating the potential for recognition of Indigenous material, spiritual, and epistemological forms of sovereignty (Sium, Desai, & Ritskes, 2012). A common ground is seen that connects immigration and Indigeneity and rejects the discursive separation of these two discourses in settler states. Walia elaborates the case of No One Is Illegal (NOII), a migrant justice group in Canada working to support refugees and immigrants in solidarity with Indigenous communities. The importance of such a movement is that, in contrast to other immigrant rights movements, it critically challenges the border imperialism of the capitalist state and creates an alliance between diverse social movements from gender justice movements to anticolonial ones. As Walia (2013, p. 38) argues, such alliance fundamentally challenges the settler-colonial authority and Western sovereignty.

This movement has brought together immigrant and Indigenous groups in challenging the power structures and the separation of immigrant and Indigenous discourses. Walia’s argument against border imperialism can be adapted to the urban scale and the disruption of real and imaginary boundaries. Spatial and physical segregation, hierarchy, displacement, and marginalisation in urban districts and neighbourhoods should be challenged through interconnection, not

necessarily assimilation or unification. According to Massey (1994), there are networks of social relations in society that shape distinct places in cities. Massey's description of places (as discussed in Chapter Three) resonates with Young's analysis of the politics of difference which depends on the porosity of neighbourhoods or the quality of the link between these places in the urban environment (Young, 1990). Rios (2015, p. 347) elaborates on Massey's argument: "This 'practising of place' is inherently political and requires action between people -re-acting and pro-acting, drawing together local circumstances with external forces at play". Planning has a major role in connecting multiple understandings and conceptualisations of space and place between immigrant groups and Indigenous communities.

In Walia's view, the process of decolonisation in settler states is a comprehensive project involving both immigrant and Indigenous peoples. All social justice movements, therefore, should recognise Indigenous self-determination, resurgence, and worldviews and advance their goals alongside Indigenous movements. She points to the Idle No More movement and her support for creating a convergence between two parallel social groups -migrant justice activists and Indigenous peoples- that pursue a common goal. Decolonisation and opposing oppressive hierarchies, for Walia, should begin with Indigenous and ethnocultural minorities shedding their "internalised prejudices and suspicious ways of relating to one another" (Walia, 2013, p. 274).

This thesis seeks to find evidence of the statement mentioned above through synthesising Indigenous and immigrant perspectives towards urbanism in Winnipeg. The different needs, aspirations, and values of diverse urban inhabitants create different perceptions of urban space and place. As discussed in Chapter Two, all urban inhabitants have a legitimate right to the production and programming of urban space and place. Everyday experience and presence in the city qualify diverse ethnocultural groups to participate in urban life. In his examination of capacities of urban belonging for illegal immigrants in cities, Bauder (2016) argues for the need to emphasise the radical and political aspects of the right to the city and the right to difference. As an alternative to legal and formal citizenship status, the urban environment provides a sense of belonging to its inhabitants who would claim urban space, services, and the built environment (Allon, 2013). In other words: "one 'belongs' to the city in a very different sense from that in which one belongs to the nation" (Robins, 2001, p. 89). A major aspect of the everyday lived

experience of immigrant newcomers, and Indigenous urban inhabitants are the mutual interactions and perspective between these groups. The ways they share urban space and place, negotiate their differences, and shape their coexistence is of importance in multicultural settler cities. The next section focuses on literature discussing Indigenous-immigrant relations in cities where they are living in proximity to one another.

4.3 Indigenous-Immigrant Relations: Layers of Separation or the Potential for Coexistence?

Some urbanism scholars praise multiculturalism as a public philosophy that recognises ethnocultural diversity and the rights of minority groups in cities. However, research reveals that minority groups feel high levels of discrimination against them and experience higher spatial and social segregation than others in Canadian society. The level of misunderstanding, fear, and segregation between diverse ethnocultural diversity groups, and between immigrants and Indigenous communities, is high as well (Gyepi-Garbrah et al., 2014). For some, existing segregation and exclusion are evidence that the state-based multiculturalism agenda has not created a comprehensive framework for inclusion of all citizens in urban life. Ghorayshi (2010), for example, found that in addition to problems of housing, adaptation, and employment in Winnipeg inner city areas, immigrant newcomers are facing large problems of racism, exclusion, misunderstanding, and lack of interconnectedness between them and urban Indigenous peoples. The reason for such tensions between communities has been scrutinised by MacKenzie and others, who argue that the need to compete over resources and political influence make such tensions between ethnocultural minority groups inevitable (MacKenzie, Forde, & Ciupijus, 2012). There is another viewpoint arguing that although political actors express much concern about segregation and tension problems, but they are in fact responsible for their development and expansion (Glynn, 2010). Glynn pointed out that multiculturalism policies have tried to prevent a dramatic shift in socioeconomic circumstances of ethnic minorities. Politicians welcome “a bit of competition between ethnic groups as a useful counter to much more challenging class-based unrest. Different groups should compete for a small share of the cake, than that they should combine and demand a larger one” (Glynn, 2010, p. 1010). She claims that politicians and dominant powers, in general, have always benefited from divisions and differences between diverse populations in cities.

Little study has been done to examine the relationship between Indigenous peoples and immigrants in Canada. These two groups are and will be primary contributors to population increase in the country and are increasingly in contact in urban areas (Chapter One). These complex relationships, according to Kasparian (2012, p. 5), are “set against the backdrop of dismissal, ignorance, and a deliberate forgetting of historical events”. Immigrants and Indigenous communities share the same public spaces, use the same civic services and facilities, and in many areas, live in immediate proximity to each other. Despite the existence of mutual misunderstandings and stereotypes, there are characteristics that these two groups have in common, though they are pursuing different aspirations and claims. There have been efforts to increase the mutual awareness between immigrants and Indigenous communities. As an example, Kasparian (2012) refers to an activity organised by an integration centre for Francophone immigrants, where a group of newcomers spent a day with the Mi’kmaq community in New Brunswick. This experience “revealed how surprised Aboriginal people were -given their very negative self-image- that immigrants were taking an interest in them. Immigrants, on the other hand, were amazed that Canadians have little or no interest in these Aboriginal communities with whom they have been cohabitating for centuries, aside from stigmatised or folklorised representations” (Kasparian, 2012, p. 4). Research on another Canadian case reveals that immigrant newcomers and Indigenous inhabitants are developing cross-cultural relationships. Ka Ni Kanichihk (KNK) is a community-based Indigenous organisation in Winnipeg which provides civic services and supports created and managed by First Nations communities. KNK has engaged in establishing cross-cultural programs such as the Aboriginal Awareness Workshops and Youth Peacebuilding Gatherings. Gyepi-Garbrah, Walker, & Garcea (2014) argue that through these programs -which are rare in Canadian cities- “Aboriginals and newcomers have created shared spaces of interaction and learned from one another’s personal stories, cultures and spirituality, creating friendships and intercultural bonds” (Gyepi-Garbrah et al., 2014, p. 14).

This trend could lead to the establishment of bridging social capital and the advancement of intercultural relations (Deuchar, 2011; Putnam, 2000; Vermeulen, Tillie, & Walle, 2012). Despite being a nascent trend, immigrant-Indigenous coexistence is gaining importance in urbanism literature. Multiculturalism and Indigenous issues overlap on issues such as racism and

social and spatial discrimination, although Indigenous rights and aspirations are different from immigrants (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010). Intercultural urbanism is associated with decolonising approaches to planning and policy-making by recognising the rights and aspirations of diverse ethnocultural groups, including the right of self-governance for Indigenous peoples (Walker & Belanger, 2013). Transforming the deeply rooted structures of orthodox city planning, which contributed to oppression and invisibility of Indigenous peoples and racial minority groups, starts from the local scale, small urban processes, and even practices that might look mundane or insignificant at first glance. Vernacular acts of spatial programming and placemaking have the capacity of increasing non-economic forms of capital in urban areas (cultural and symbolic capitals) as discussed in Chapter Three. As Belanger & Walker (2013) assert, this could start with a small task such as a place naming process, erection of public art, programming a small urban park, etc. that is based on relationship-building, respect and considering diverse communities as full civic partners (Walker, 2008). Garcea (2009) and Walker & Matunga (2013) pointed to increasing interest of municipal officials in planning with ethnocultural diversity groups and Indigenous citizens in Saskatoon. These practices are accompanied by an emerging ideological shift in policy making and institutional practice which has resulted in increasing Indigenous participation in planning processes. This shift has been reflected in the built environment through the creation of some public art elements. Policing programs, streetscape, land use, local area planning, business development are the other main arenas within which intercultural planning has the capacity to expand in the city.

Increasing Indigenous role and influence in receiving and welcoming immigrants offers another effective capacity in starting new collaborative frameworks, building trust, recognising the rights of Indigenous communities and moving toward prosperous intercultural cities in the future. The success of the project of multiculturalism and cross-cultural communications and exchange in settler societies depends on engaging Indigenous communities -Canada's first receptor community- in discussions and decision-making of immigration policies. Incorporating Indigenous communities in immigration discussions, procedures, and trends from the local scale to higher policy-making -in both material and symbolic ways- is needed in order to challenge the power and privilege of Whiteness as "welcoming newcomers to one's homeplace, as host, may indeed be one of the most powerful expressions of sovereignty and occupancy as a political and

cultural community” (Gyepi-Garbrah et al., 2014, p. 14). In the beginning, such engagement might be more symbolic but gradually could lead to raising the level of Indigenous influence in policy-making bodies and planning institutions. This engagement would contribute to increasing symbolic and cultural capitals for all ethnocultural and Indigenous communities, promoting intercultural contact, and enhancing mutual cultural literacy among communities.

Urbanism scholars have mounted a variety of arguments on segregation, ethnic enclaves, and intercultural relations. Is the spatial segregation of ethnic minorities from the mainstream inevitably detrimental, leading to the ghettoisation of society? Or alternatively, as some scholars argue, does clustering bring opportunities for ethnocultural groups in the way of culturally-appropriate facilities, services, economic opportunities, and social capital. Cantle (2012) distinguishes between different dimensions of segregation: spatial, cultural and social, functional, and segregation based on value systems and norms. In discussions of integrating immigrants and engaging them in intercultural communication, these various dimensions should be addressed simultaneously. Too much focus on increasing spatial integration in planning, for example, might lead to the loss of networks of support and social capital, and in fact could fuel inter-ethnic conflicts and the disempowerment of vulnerable members of the community.

The success of cross-cultural relations and the fulfilment of the right to the city for all urban inhabitants varies across different contexts. Scholars who assess multicultural considerations in urban planning as successful mostly apply a quantitative methodology to their research. For example, they might conclude an increase in the number of municipal officials belonging to ethnocultural groups, or proliferation of places of worship in cities of the global North. However, relying on quantitative data might be misleading in examining the effectiveness of planning for diversity as having a high level of demographic variance in a neighbourhood, workplace, or municipality does not necessarily mean that the social, cultural, and economic aspirations of multicultural minorities are fulfilled. Recognising and accommodating diversity and difference in planning processes necessitates better attention to bottom-up and community-based strategies and requires:

“moving beyond the usual repertoire of social mixing strategies, offering an alternative that emphasises process over design, couched in demands for social and spatial justice and recognition of cultural difference, instead of simply ameliorating the negative effects of concentrated poverty and ethnic segregation, or capitalizing on diversity” (Fincher et al., 2014, p. 24).

This thesis argues the value of qualitative approach for evaluating ethnocultural diversity, the participation of immigrants in urban life, and the status of intercultural relations and perceptions between Indigenous communities and immigrant newcomers in Winnipeg. A bottom-up approach elicits urban inhabitants’ perspectives to evaluate the applicability and the success of multicultural policies and strategies at the local level and everyday lives of the city. Inhabitants’ viewpoints help to evaluate if enforcing socio-spatial mix helps intercultural relations or not. How do Indigenous peoples and ethnocultural groups construct their imaginations in relation to one another and create spaces for coexistence? The core concept underpinning multiculturalism and interculturalism is ethnocultural diversity and difference and the way they are negotiated in cities. The next section elaborates on the politics and the philosophy of difference and scrutinises how diversity and difference are managed in urban contexts and situated in urban planning processes in a way where the specific needs of diverse ethnocultural groups are recognised and accommodated. It is followed by exploring the manner through which city planners have tried to manage diversity in cities, examining some case studies from the literature.

4.4 (Ethnocultural) Diversity: The New Tenet of Urban Planning

If the goal of urban planning is to support social and spatial harmony, order, and intercultural awareness, then managing and promoting diversity, *inter alia*, is a great challenge. Although urban planning has long tried to facilitate diverse ways of living, it simultaneously has embraced policies, procedures, and tools that compromise it (Talen, 2015). The literature on multiculturalism, diversity, and difference mostly addresses these issues at the level of the nation-state. Higher level policy making is influential but communications, conflicts, and inequalities happen at the local scale in the everyday lived experiences of urban inhabitants (Fincher et al., 2014). So, socially transformative planning occurs through ‘a thousand tiny empowerments’ at the local scale come together (Sandercock, 1998). This section discusses that

the urban planning process which prioritises the lived experience of everyday urban inhabitants and addresses diversity and difference through a bottom-up process could play an effective role in enhancing coexistence, tolerance, and cross-cultural relations.

Diversity in urban contexts is a topic that could be approached from various ways; from variegated housing types to ethnic celebrations, to differences among minority groups that are seemingly homogeneous. For urban planners, urban diversity might refer to a variegated physical form, building types, diverse land uses, a nuanced public realm, and various ethnocultural groups who are seeking their right to the city (Fainstein, 2005). As discussed in Chapter Two, the city is not solely a container of social relations nor a place for ‘cozy togetherness’ (Allon, 2013). Rather, the city is “a battleground through which groups define their identities, stake their claims, wage their battles, and articulate citizenships rights and obligations” (Isin, 2002, p. 50). Managing diversity challenges orthodoxies of urban planning and design both regarding procedural planning aspects and also urban form and the built environment. Planning cultures of homogenising urban space and place which conceptualise a culturally-neutral public realm fall short in 21st-century cities where diversity and its complexities could not be eliminated from the urban landscape.

From a political philosophy perspective, Young’ (1990) discussion centres on how social justice goals could be achieved for different oppressed groups in cities. Her discussion of the politics of difference provides a conceptual basis for contextualising the discussion of diversity in urban planning. She perceives urban space and place as the appropriate arenas where diversity and difference can be recognised and nurtured in a meaningful way. Young defines social justice as “the elimination of institutionalised domination and oppression” (Young, 1990, p. 15). She is critical towards contemporary theories of justice which as she argues, follow a distributive paradigm. Distributive paradigm focuses on distributing material goods and social positions among diverse communities. Such approach, she argues, is not useful in transforming institutional organisations and power relations. Even the distribution of social positions and opportunities treats such attributes as static, given, individualised, and commodified. She argues that the distributive paradigm should be limited to material goods as various forms of oppression of social groups are beyond distribution and could not be eliminated through applying a

distributive approach. In Young's perspective, oppression has five forms: exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence. She criticises the concept of a uniform public and impartiality in treating social groups and argues for policies that recognise group differences. For Young, the elimination of institutionalised domination and oppression should offer a vision of a heterogeneous public that recognises and upholds differences (Young, 1990, p. 10). Such acknowledgement is about re-politicisation of policy-making and planning where welfare capitalistic power relations that lead to oppression and domination of minority groups could be challenged. In urbanism context, such re-politicisation translates into discussions of the right to the city, right to difference, and spatial justice elaborated in the context of Indigenous urbanism in this thesis. Young emphasises a flexible system of rights that is sensitive toward group-conscious policies and rights in addition to a universal system of rights that is recognised for all members of the society (Young, 1991, p. 174). City life potentially creates a space for living alongside the different without necessarily forming a socio-culturally neutral community void of differences. Embracing difference in settler cities is vital as:

“Indigenous and migrant communities also complicate traditional categories of identity and difference, especially within national spaces already fractured by discontinuities between community and culture. After all, the sheer variation of urban cultures disturbs the very notion of a shared community and common culture as the basis of citizenship” (Allon, 2013, p.254).

The level of ‘tolerated’ difference is a matter of debate in academia and the public realm. Regarding planning more inclusive cities, Harper & Stein (2015) assert that recognising difference should be tolerated to a level that the liberal democratic values of societies are not violated. In their description “a multicultural society (in the normative sense) must be a liberal democratic society because only liberal democratic societies have the values and institutions to allow for the tolerance, acceptance, or accommodation of cultural diversity” (Harper & Stein, 2015, p. 35). Harper & Stein assert that ethnoculturally diverse groups have the responsibility of respecting core liberal democratic values of the society. However, their recommendation is underpinned by the assumption that contemporary liberal democratic societies treat all diverse citizens in an equal and unbiased manner, the mainstream entirely observes liberal-democratic values and the blame is on ethnocultural minorities who cannot adapt to the values of the society.

In societies that various forms of oppression, marginalisation, privilege, unfair mechanisms of interaction between people from different backgrounds, xenophobia, and market and state coercive powers exist, fulfilling the goals of interculturalism seems impossible as the preconditions of liberal democracy are not provided for all members of the society. So, the problem of multiculturalism is not that some ethnocultural groups do not succumb completely to the core values of the mainstream society in the first place. Educating true democratic and liberal values is a two-fold process and includes both ethnocultural groups and the mainstream society. Ignoring the structures of oppression and socio-spatial injustices are primary issues that hinder intercultural relations. An ideal city in Young's view -where all forms of oppression and injustice are eradicated- include the following characteristics: social differentiation without exclusion, variety, eroticism, and publicity.

“In the ideal of city life freedom leads to group differentiation, to the formation of affinity groups, but this social and spatial differentiation of groups is without exclusion... In the good city one crosses from one distinct neighborhood to another without knowing precisely where one ended and the other began. In the normative ideal of city life, borders are open and undecidable...What makes urban spaces interesting, draws people out in public to them, gives people pleasure and excitement, is the diversity of activities they support (Young, 1990, pp. 238-239).

Young describes the ‘erotic’ quality of city life that is generated by diverse peoples, places, and activities. This eroticism derives from the diverse physical attributions of the built environment- architecture style, colour, function, history-, and also “arises from its social and spatial inexhaustibility. A place of many places, the city folds over on itself in so many layers and relationships that it is incomprehensible. One cannot ‘take it in,’ one never feels as though there is nothing new and interesting to explore” (Young, 1990, p. 240).

The simultaneous importance of spatial and social characteristics of urban life in influencing the politics of difference and nurturing diversity is highlighted by Young. Some other scholars - specialised in planning- argue for privileging social processes over spatial forms in fulfilling diversity and coexistence in urban areas. For them, one of the fundamental tasks of urban

planning in the 21st century is to take a more social stance in regulating and managing difference in ethnoculturally diverse cities. Sandercock (2004b) believes that nowadays urban planning is a continuous social project whose task is to manage or enhance the coexistence of people in the shared spaces of cities in the way that enriches human life and provides social, cultural, and environmental justice. She asserts that shaping the future cities should be based on 'cultural politics of difference' where cross-cultural contact and conflict are accommodated and planned for. She characterises contemporary intercultural cities as 'cities of difference' known by four main factors: immigration, postcolonialism, the rise of Indigenous peoples, and the rise of civil society. Urban planning discourses in the past few decades tried to take needs, rights, aspirations and cultural values of all diversity groups into consideration, dimensions that are absent in rational-comprehensive planning paradigms. Some planning theories have intended to bring planning processes into the public realm, to build a democratic planning practice based on an 'inclusionary argumentation'. Collaborative planning has widely been applied in urban planning in engaging diverse citizen groups in planning processes (Healey, 1996, 1998). Nevertheless, as evidenced in Chapter Two, collaborative planning methods have not been successful in engaging Indigenous inhabitants in planning settler cities. This chapter discusses that it is the case for other ethnocultural minority groups too. As Healey confirms, in countries that have been affected by colonialism, the efforts of participatory planning could not be effective in practice as a result of embedded values, privilege, and power of dominant cultures (Healey, 2004). Sandercock (2003) adds three more ways in which diversity challenges planning systems: legislative frameworks, policies, bylaws, and regulations, fear and anxiety among people, and inconsistent cultural values and norms.

For moving toward successful intercultural cities, there is a need for new models of planning practices that expand the discourse beyond instrumental rationality. These planning approaches, as Sandercock argued, are critical, creative, therapeutic, and audacious (Sandercock, 2004b). There is a need for applying transformative approaches that reflect the breadth of the lived experience of cities: desire, memory, celebration, fear, and struggle (Lefebvre, 1991; Sandercock, 2003; Wood & Landry, 2008). The ideal of 'Cosmopolis' for Sandercock is achieved when planners respond to urban inhabitants' needs in developing cities of 'memory', 'desire', and 'spirit'. Addressing these dimensions requires planners to go beyond being

“obsessed with technical skills or wearing the protective armour of the policy sciences” (Sandercock, 2003, p. 221).

The city of memory creates the senses of identity and belonging for all inhabitants. Their public spaces nurture a sense of inclusion and respect for diversity. As Hayden (1995) asserts, urban places contain individual and collective memories, and vernacular placemaking has the power to shape social and political meanings and end the visibility of the history of non-settler mainstream dwellers. The city of desire fulfils what discussed as the eroticism of urban life, chances of spontaneous encounter, watching and being watched. Desire can translate into planning by focusing on genuine places of encounter which are not commercialised, privatised, surveilled, and programmed in a top-down fashion (Carmona, 2010a, 2010b). City of spirit recognises the spiritual value of places for particular groups. In contrast to the hollowness of the modern industrial cityscape, city of spirit nourishes the spiritual needs of its residents through embracing creative strategies that inhabitants apply to create places, mark their belongings, create their urban identity, and claiming their right to the city through occupying and demonstrating in public spaces (Sandercock, 2003).

It is necessary for cities to cope with such nuanced urban dynamics, and there is a need for structural and epistemological transformations in planning theory and practice (Porter, 2010). Sandercock (2003) conceptualises the ‘epistemology of multiplicity’ for planning practice frameworks. She argues that in addition to technical aspects of urban planning which are the predominant approach to planning education and practice, there are more ways of knowing and practicing in this field. The epistemology of multiplicity for planning includes six ways of knowing: knowing through dialogue, from experience, learning from local knowledge, through learning to read symbolic and non-verbal evidence, learning through contemplation or appreciative knowledge, and through action-planning or learning by doing. The intercultural way of living is nourished through the lived experiences of inhabitants not abstract spaces of planners and politicians. More informal and regular the contact, the more important and effective it could be; more than formally organised occasions for engagement such as town hall meetings. A precondition is raising the level of cultural ‘literacy’ and ‘competence’ among planners, designers, politicians, and other officials engaged in shaping urbanism trends (Wood & Landry,

2008). Augmented levels of cultural literacy and competency play a determining role in managing conflicts, mediating communications, and negotiation of planning and design priorities among communities (Burayidi, 2015; Forester, 1999, 2009).

4.5 Urban Planning and Design Approaches to Diversity and Multiculturalism

This section analyses how urban planners have approached multiculturalism in their efforts. The goal is to examine how various accommodations of ethnocultural diversity in urban planning, design, and programming have led to structural transformations in removing various forms of social and spatial injustices; or on the other hand, have been complicit in exacerbating the situation of underprivileged peoples. As Fincher et al. scrutinise: “In the current neoliberal era where the market dominates, urban planning is viewed as the handmaiden to investment and redevelopment, concentrating on physical planning such as housing redevelopment rather than the traditional goals of social planning” (Fincher et al., 2014, p. 15). From facilitating multi-generational living arrangements through zoning to the use of native languages in municipal documents, planning regulation and practice affect the quality of life of ethnocultural groups and their level of participation in the life of their cities (Burayidi, 2015). This section focuses on some of the major multicultural planning and design trends which are in accordance with the focus of this research. It draws upon planning literature concerned with diversity, multiculturalism, and interculturalism and discusses some global case studies in succeeding pages.

4.5.1 Accommodating Diversity in Neighbourhood Design

For scholars concerned with the architecture of cities and urban design, the ideal of diversity is achieved when physical heterogeneity is materialised in the built form (Gehl, 2010; Jacobs, 1961). Physical diversity might simply represent a spectrum of Western styles but it could lead to the production of economic and social opportunities for the underprivileged as well. Such diverse built forms engender social diversity which leads to an increase in the social capital (Rogers, Halstead, Gardner, & Carlson, 2011). Jacobs’ ideas prioritise physical diversity and argue that such heterogeneity promotes social and economic diversity. Her main principle for planning for vitality in urban areas is a mix of uses, building types, and functions.

“This ubiquitous principle is the need of cities for a most intricate and close-grained diversity of uses that give each other constant mutual support both economically and socially. The components of this diversity can differ enormously, but they must supplement each other in certain concrete ways, I think that unsuccessful city areas are areas which lack this kind of intricate mutual support, and that the science of city planning and the art of city design, in real life for real cities, must become the science and art of catalyzing and nourishing these close-grained working relationships” (Jacobs, 1961, p. 14).

Jacobs elaborates on the design and planning of some specific elements of the built form such as sidewalks, urban parks, streets, and urban districts and proposes design and programming principles that lead to co-presence, encounter among people, and consequently safety, security, and the vitality of cities. In her perspective, only diverse urban environments have the practical power of inducing a natural and continuous flow of life and use. Prosperous neighbourhoods are not isolated enclaves; they are continuing social and economic continuities: “The more a city mingles everyday diversity of uses and users in its everyday streets, the more successfully, casually, and economically its people thereby enliven the urban life” (Jacobs, 1961, p. 111). One of the main goals of the design-oriented approaches to urban planning is to fulfil the purpose of diversity. New urbanistic communities strive towards achieving a social and economic mix through developing a combination of functions, housing types, and quality public spaces for interpersonal encounter and communication (Farr, 2008; Haas, 2008). Wood & Landry (2008) for example, highlight the role of public spaces in promoting interculturalism through encouraging informal and random communications contrasting privacy and confinement of neighbourhoods, buildings, even vehicles.

The goal of physical diversity has not fully achieved in the contemporary practice of urban development. Scholars have argued for the interaction and balance of local and global forces in shaping the built form of contemporary cities (Castells, 2008; Hall, 2015; Sassen, 2006). Fainstein (2005) argues that the global forces that influence contemporary cities more heavily rather than local forces. Accordingly, recreating traditional dense and diverse inner-cities might be in fact contrast to the global and national market tendencies. At the local scale, market forces at one hand and the municipal bylaws and planning regulations on the other, have caused much

New Urbanist -which is the most prevalent form of design-oriented neighbourhood design- developments inconsistent with their intended goals (Blais, 2010; Levine, 2005). Research on the Canadian experience in developing New Urbanist neighbourhoods yields similar outcomes. In Canada, New Urbanist projects have been developed mostly in areas surrounding Toronto, Vancouver, and Calgary. Grant and Bohdanow's (2008) evaluation of these neighbourhoods reveals that such developments demonstrate resistance towards change. They mostly managed to achieve a mix of housing design, provide walkable streets and alleys, and anesthetisation of public spaces. However, they have not fully accomplished central goals of providing affordable housing, densification, and vehicle dependency. Even if the goals of physical diversity through new urbanism are achieved, is it assured that such diversity benefits all minority groups? Harvey is critical of improving the social life of cities through design and architecture. He argues that design-oriented approaches could be detrimental for diversity and might even lead to further "racism, segregation, and devaluing 'others'" (Harvey, 1997, p. 2). Fainstein criticises design-oriented approaches too; she argues that these approaches have been underpinned by the same flawed modernistic principles of environmental determinism which "merely calls for a different form of suburbia rather than overcoming metropolitan social segregation" (Fainstein, 2000, p. 463).

The contemporary practice of neighbourhood planning is neutral to demographic heterogeneity. Referring to three major planning paradigms of the 21st century elaborated by Fainstein (2000)- communicative planning, New Urbanism and the Just City Model-, Talen (2015) argues that a targeted approach comprised of the combination of all three paradigms should be applied in neighbourhood planning and design. Communicative planning could fulfil the need for inclusive planning processes, New Urbanism to provide the forms and the infrastructure that accommodates social diversity, and the Just City approach to better distribute welfare benefits across diverse populations. The precondition for a successful planning for a diverse neighbourhood as Talen argues is the active collaboration and engagement of inhabitants. Inclusive planning processes should provide continuous and collective review and modification mechanisms. In addition, land use regulations and building codes should be adjusted to support diversity through reversing spatial policies that have triggered social segregation (Jacobs, 1961; Talen, 2015). A diversified, mixed-use, dense, and walkable built form provides ample potential

for promoting interculturalism, social capital, and meaningful coexistence (Rogers et al., 2011). This potential is actualised through putting social and spatial justice at the core of Neighbourhood planning processes (Chapter Two).

4.5.2 Sites of Religious or Spiritual Significance

Different ethnocultural groups mark their belonging to urban space through placemaking activities. Transforming urban landscapes cause conflicts and complications as they “help to constitute community values, playing a central role in the performance of place-based social identities and distinction” (Duncan & Duncan, 2001). Through generating various forms of economic, social, and symbolic capitals (Chapter Three), immigrants ameliorate the process of settlement in their new home through expressing their cultures, values, and aspiration in commercial facilities, community centres, festivals and events, and also places of worship. The changing composition of international immigrants has resulted in the proliferation of non-Christian places of worship in the built form of Canadian cities and created a new challenge for urban planners (Agrawal, 2009, 2015). Planners have to grapple with this challenge as “the politics of identity and citizenship intersect with the production of urban landscapes and public spaces, and planning is crucial to this process” (Fincher et al., 2014, p. 35).

Like other planning-related municipal requests, applications for landscape and land use transformations regarding building religious centres are formally submitted to planning committees. Regulating religious land uses and resolving disputes over such developments are among the most political, conflictual, and challenging tasks of planners in managing multiculturalism and diversity in cities. When spiritual or religious beliefs, practices, and buildings are considered abnormal in the gaze of the mainstream society, contestations occur. The architectural attributes of mosques, for example, do not typically conform to conventional norms of planning and design in municipalities. These facilities are not only places of worship rather, they are places for socialisation like community centres for many Muslim people. Mosques -as parts of the built environment- are permanent and visible structures which symbolically and materially mark the belonging of Muslim communities to urban neighbourhoods (Cesari, 2005). Similar story goes for other religious structures-permanent or temporary -such as Hindu temples, Sikh temples, and eruvim (Hackworth & Stein, 2012).

Isin & Simiatycki's (2002) research on three cases of mosque development in Toronto metropolitan region reveals considerable trends. Two out of these three applications were rejected initially on technical grounds. Among rejection reasons declared were proximity to industrial areas, the presence of other religious and non-religious incompatible land uses, and parking issues, among others. In a third case where the application was initially approved, resident opposition and protest challenged urban planners and municipal officials. Such social arguments cannot be formulated or explained merely through planning bylaws and technical standards. Opposing religious structures in neighbourhoods are tied to broader arguments of racism, xenophobia, and stereotyping.

“Precisely because there is a symbolic as well as a material dimension to spatial change associated with the claims of migrant religious groups, attempts by planners to duck ethno-nationalist complaints about new religious structures associated with migrant groups by suggesting that decisions are only technical matters are highly problematic and reinforce a normalized whiteness” (Fincher et al., 2014, p. 39).

Also, due to the lack of diversity education in planning pedagogy, the inherent personal bias of urban planners and municipal officials comes into play and might influence their judgements even when they try to approach this struggles through mere technical reasoning (Rios, 2015; Sen, Kumar, & Smith, 2015). Note that mosques or other places of worship are not considered out of place in the urban fabric of immigrant settler cities only by predominant mainstream society. With the increased diversity of urban neighbourhoods, tension might arise between followers of different faiths within the same religion or between immigrants who might have come from the same country too. These nuances confirm the existence of a ‘labyrinth of diversity’ which is increasingly becoming multifaceted in contemporary cities that makes planning for multiculturalism and coexistence intricate and convoluted. Agrawal (2015) urges urban planners to facilitate interfaith dialogue through planning. His argument is underpinned by Allport's Contact Hypothesis (1954) which emphasises the role of contact in mitigating bigotry and prejudice. He argues that geographical proximity creates the capacity of changing attitudes towards other faith groups through increased encounter, common goals of providing civic services, and infrastructure: “clustering places of worship as a deliberate planning activity could

promote interfaith encounters that could decrease prejudice and increase appreciation for persons of other religious faiths, even if it does not result in interfaith dialogue” (Agrawal, 2015, pp. 335-336). However, the reality of developing religious sites for ethnocultural groups does not seem promising. Clustering religious centres engender the risk of increasing conflict, segregation, xenophobia, and racism. Creating intercultural communication through investing on the most controversial and divisive cultural and social topic -religion- does not appear to be the most convenient way to facilitate interculturalism.

Furthermore, Canadian urban areas -especially prairie cities- are home to diverse ethnocultural groups alongside Indigenous communities and the non-Indigenous mainstream society. As discussed in Chapter Three, unique architectural design, placemaking, and developing sites of spiritual significance are processes through which Indigenous communities could reclaim urban space and place in settler cities. Creating Indigenous places faces similar challenges to developing religious places as their special form and function might be considered out of context by the settler mainstream society. A lack of inclusive urban planning, design, and placemaking cultures hinders the ‘city of spirit’ dimension of inclusive and intercultural urbanism to actualise. Also, a sole focus on facilitating the development of religious sites is simply divisive as it does not apply to Indigenous inhabitants and non-religious populations and might trigger inter-group tensions.

4.5.3 Commodifying Places: Planning Tourist Precincts

In contemporary globalisation era, cities are in constant competition to absorb flows of businesses, investments, tourists, and the so-called creative class (Castells, 2004; Florida, 2002; Hall, 2015). Creating the sites of spectacle and consumption is an indispensable component of this city branding process in a globalised world (Bain, 2015; Shoval & Strom, 2009). In this climate, ethnocultural diversity in urban areas creates a potential for the development of tourist precincts. Diversity, in this case, is an asset for planners and policymakers to generate revenue, work with diverse communities, and portray their cities as plural and tolerant. As Fincher et al. (2014) observe, in the practice of planning and programming ethnocultural sites across the world, there is a trend of commodification and consumption of cultures evident in placemaking of these districts. In the scope of such approaches, the goal of removing marginalisation and

inequalities is not a priority. Capitalising on the authenticity and cultural heritage of specific places is problematic as “it glosses over the diversity of subjectivities that make up cultural communities, leading to essentialization of identity and aestheticising of marginalised groups as ‘other’” (Rios, 2015, p. 356). Rios describes that this othering process includes “the thematisation and commodification of multi-ethnic and multiracial places, whether by romanticising a neo-traditional social imaginary of the past, promoting a pastiche postmodern image, or glorifying the ever-present postcolonial condition” (Rios, 2015, p. 356). Rios argument resonates with Shaw’s argument on heritage preservation in settler cities; the elimination of Indigenous history and presence, and the racial politics of Whiteness associated with it (Chapters Two and Three). Exclusionary placemaking affects both ethnocultural groups and Indigenous communities in a similar vein. It commodifies and consumes their cultural heritage and perpetuates their oppression and powerlessness in creating urban space and place.

At first glance, it seems that promoting touristic sites benefits local communities. But, in practice, although ethnic communities, investors, and entrepreneurs are participating in the planning, design, and programming of these districts, they have not been able to remain economically and socially sustainable. Investment in these areas has led to a rise in property values, rents, and the imbalance of business and financial interests with the social life of these neighbourhoods (Jones & Ram, 2007; Shaw, Bagwell, & Karmowska, 2004). Socio-economic polarisation is the outcome of such outward-looking development approach in these neighbourhoods: “At the top is a discourse of urban redevelopment, multiculturalism, spectacle, consumer choice and the pursuit of leisure. At the bottom is a tale of marginal economic survival, unsocial hours and under-rewarded toil under precarious conditions of ever-present risk” (Jones & Ram, 2007, p. 64).

The case of China Towns in North American cities has come to attention due to their reckless transformations. In Canada, untethered gentrification and ‘trendification’ is changing the face and the character of these areas, they are losing their sense of belonging, and immigrant population base (National Post, 2017). Local businesses are dispersed out of old China Towns, and large-scale retail and commercial developments are replacing them-for example, the scheme for building a 27-storey tower in Calgary’s China Town. China Towns in Vancouver, Toronto,

and Calgary are losing their sense of place and turning into placeless geographies losing their social and cultural capitals. In Relph words (1976), due to such transformations Chinatown are becoming 'Disneyfied' and 'kitchy' placeless geographies.

Gentrification, trendification, and creating the sites of spectacle benefit some members of the ethnocultural community. Jacobs (1996) conducted studies on four locations -two in the UK and two in Australia- in attempt to reveal a Fourth World -Aboriginal- within First World Australian cities and a Third World within London as a global First World city. She argues that postmodern urban transformations like urban redevelopment and gentrification projects are reproducing colonial relations because they are based on colonial politics of race and difference. Her study of Banglatown development in Spitalfields area of London reveals that business interests might go in line with interests of some members of the ethnocultural group in the gentrification and redevelopment processes. As a result of alliances established with big businesses, some opportunities opened for some Bengali small businesses and Bengali workforce. However:

“In Spitalfields too the desire for Otherness became part of the politics of place. Gentrifiers and developers regularly celebrated the distinctive 'multicultural' history of the area. But, this celebrated cohabitation could not be too promiscuous or unpredictable. Here a multiculturalism of convenience emerged based on a properly placed (spatially segregated) Bengali community. Ordered and domesticated, the Bengali residents of Spitalfields could become a safe, present-day supplement to the narrative construction of Spitalfields as the emblematic place of an embracing, tolerant Englishness” (Jacobs, 1996, p. 87).

Proximity advantages and the existence of networks of support, economic, and social opportunities for ethnocultural groups is the factor that encourages such groups favouring a spatial segregation. However, gentrification and business-oriented approaches compromise these opportunities for many various ethnocultural groups. This trend is not exclusive to China Towns. In the process of downtown revitalisations, both Indigenous communities and ethnocultural minority groups are affected by social polarisation, population displacement, and the loss of support networks. Placemaking cultures that warranty the permeability and interconnection of

different ethnic cultures and more importantly, strive towards eliminating social and economic inequalities, can promote interculturalism and diversity.

4.5.4 Engaging Ethnocultural Diversity Groups in Decision-Making

Processes

The Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1985) asserts that its goal is to “promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in the elimination of any barrier to that participation” (Canada, 1985, p. 3). Apart from the high-level policymaking, the way this principle is actualised within the local municipal governments is nebulous (Wood & Gilbert, 2005). The City of Toronto is the pioneer in initiating local programs concerning multiculturalism which address ethnocultural diversity. However, research shows that most of these programs address settlement needs such as language classes and job search help. In addition, racial profiling and inequalities in treatment and income persist. Lastly, even though the number of municipal officials from diverse backgrounds has been increased in Toronto, the number of such politicians sharply drops in adjacent suburban areas (Fincher et al., 2014; Preston & Rose, 2012; Wortley & Tanner, 2004). As these research works demonstrate, apart from the rhetoric of multiculturalism at higher jurisdictional levels, multiculturalism has been problematic in the most diverse city of Canada -or probably the world. Fincher et al. (2014) argue that some factors challenge enacting comprehensive multiculturalism in all aspects of urban living: some issues are rooted in urban planning pedagogy which is centred on serving a universal public and unifies ethnocultural nuances. Rios examine that most planning schools do not offer courses on the topic of cultural diversity as a part of their core curricula, nor are students required to demonstrate their intercultural understanding (Rios, 2015, p. 344). Diverse worldviews, value systems, cultural nuances, class, sexuality, religion, and physical ability are parts of the discourse of urban diversity that have not been articulated in planning education adequately (Sen et al., 2015). Some other relate the lack of diversity attention to planners’ top-down view of the city that ignores the lived experience of urban inhabitants and realities on the ground (Westin, 2014). Even in multicultural Toronto planners and municipal officials have hesitated in providing essential services such as translation and interpretation in public meetings regarding urban affairs. In suburban municipalities, such reluctance is more evident where assimilationist views prevail and

leads to tense conflicts in some decision-making processes such as religious sites and commercial land uses (Good, 2009; Preston & Lo, 2000).

It was previously discussed that the redevelopment of China Towns in Canada reports forms of inclusion of ethnocultural groups in planning processes that are mostly the result of the formation of business alliances with certain communities and various levels of government on urban renewal projects. A review of the past experiences demonstrates, the rationale behind this is the attraction of such neighbourhoods for investing and capitalisation (Fincher et al. 2014).

Ethnocultural groups are involved in the planning processes to facilitate decision-making and ameliorate political complications of such transformations. As deliberated, the goals of social and spatial justice and removing inequalities are not the priority in such gentrification or urban revitalisation projects.

Other policies have tried to engage ethnocultural groups in decision-making processes such as affirming multiculturalism in cities' vision statements, diversity and affirmative action statements and commitments in hiring a quota of visible minorities (Burayidi & Wiles, 2015). Although considered as successful and forward-looking practices, these material and symbolic engagement mechanisms are insufficient, limited in policy goals, and piecemeal in addressing and accommodating rapid demographic, social, and cultural transformations of contemporary multicultural cities; both for Indigenous and ethnocultural diversity groups.

4.5.5 Social Mingling Through Public Space Design and Programming

To promote social mix, urban planners have applied spatial strategies to increase diversity within neighbourhoods. These strategies include bringing residents with different income levels together, a combination of housing tenures-private rental, social rental, and ownership-, and mixing residents with various racial associations. In some cities across the world, such strategies indicate a level of success from a quantitative point of view. They have been able to change the demographic composition of some neighbourhoods. However, social mix, reducing racial poverty, eliminating marginalisation, and enhancing intercultural understandings are qualitative goals and hard to examine in terms of measuring their success: “empirical assessments from Australia to the Netherlands, UK to the US thus far generally show that social mix projects tend

to be disappointing in reaching their stated aims of either socioeconomic mobility or improved social relations -at best they are found to be ambiguous and at worst downright harmful” (Fincher et al., 2014, p. 21). Many of such social mixing programs benefited only the middle and higher classes through increasing their economic and social mobility and accessibility (Aalbers, 2011; Rose et al., 2012).

Promoting interpersonal contact and communication in public spaces of cities is another aspect of applying social mixing policies. Public spaces are sites of gathering, playing, protesting, and practising citizenship. Well-planned and programmed public spaces could facilitate social integration of disadvantaged inhabitants and promote intercultural dialogue in society (Angotti & Hanhardt, 2001; Madanipour, 2004; Wood & Landry, 2008). However, planning and programming contemporary public places are influenced by privatisation and commercialisation trends which impact the equal access to these areas (Carmona, 2010a, 2010b; Schmidt & Németh, 2010). The share of many racial minority groups in official discourse of planning, design, and programming of public places is mostly limited to temporary and seasonal events and special ceremonies such as folk fests and some culturally-specific rituals. Amin (2002, p. 967) evaluates the city’s public spaces as they are not ‘natural servants of multicultural engagement’. He argues that the officially designed and planned public spaces tend to either be territorialised by specific groups or being used as transition spaces where little lingering contact takes place between unfamiliar persons. In his critique of the UK’s mixed housing and community cohesion policy which he thinks is based on fixed ethnic minority identities, Amin highlights the importance of sites for mundane communication and cultural exchange in enhancing interculturalism and negotiating diversity in urban areas.

“Every combination highlights the powers of situated everyday life in neighbourhoods, workplaces, and public spaces, through which historical, global, and local processes intersect to give meaning to living with diversity. The significance of the microcultures of the place is highlighted by the achievements of prosaic negotiation and transgression in dealing with racism and ethnic diversity... Ultimately, coming to terms with difference is a matter of everyday practices and strategies of cultural contact and exchange with others who are different from us. For such interchange to be effective and lasting, it needs to be inculcated as a habit of practice

(not just co-presence) in mixed sites of everyday contact such as schools, the workplace, and other public spaces” (Amin, 2002, p. 976).

Nevertheless, evidence from other research yields different results. Areas such as workplaces do not provide equal opportunities, and despite anti-discrimination legislation, discrimination, harassment, and oppression happen at workplaces on a daily basis (Cantle, 2012). In another example, Vermeulen et al. (2012) investigate the effects of ethnic diversity on bonding and bridging social capitals in Amsterdam neighbourhoods. They examine neighbourhood associations as an indicator for homogeneous bonding social capital and leisure centres for heterogeneous bridging social capital. Their research reveals that collective activities (as Amin suggests) are difficult to organise due to differences in the background in diverse neighbourhoods of Amsterdam. Leisure associations suffer from increasing social polarisation and decline in bridging social capital as their functionality is dependant on face-to-face communications. Incidents such as the post 9/11 public debates on immigration fueled the polarisation between different ethnocultural groups “Neighbourhood residents have come to trust each other even less, which probably holds true for interethnic relations, although not between similar ethnicities... Diverse neighbourhoods present even more challenges for people to connect with each other. Hence, one encounters even fewer leisure and hobby associations here than ever” (Vermeulen et al., 2012, p. 350). Another research on the Dutch context reports similar results on conflicts that arose from organising a recreational soccer league in a neighbourhood where multicultural approach in planning was implemented through social mixing (housing proximity) between diverse residents (Laws & Forester, 2015).

Qadeer (2015) believes that the emergence of cultural and religious spaces, ethnic enclaves, symbols, and services herald the success of multicultural urban planning practice regarding applying the strategy of ‘reasonable accommodation’ in North America. Such expressions in Qadeer’s view demonstrate that planning practice has surpassed theories of incorporating ethnocultural diversity in planning-which are merely normative and prescriptive. However, the question of whether applying multicultural policies have led to spatial and social equity for ‘all’ ethnocultural minority groups challenges Qadeer’s optimistic assessment of multicultural planning in Canada and the United States. Based on Alibhai-Brown’s (2000) critique of

multiculturalism approaches, one could argue that all planning efforts mentioned above include one or more of the following attitudes toward multiculturalism: ‘minimalist’, ‘celebratory’, and ‘tribal’. Discussed case studies and a myriad of similar examples in Canada demonstrate that multiculturalism has not been transformative in eliminating stereotyping, racism, xenophobia, and marginalisation of ethnocultural minorities. Rios (2015) underscores some challenges that contemporary planning faces: “a lack of participation in planning decisions, a cultural divide that exists between practitioners and communities, and urban designs that do not meet cultural needs and preferences” (Rios, 2015, p. 345). The growing gap between marginalised communities and planners necessitate a more critical and in-depth examination of local politics of difference in cities and urban planning cultures to promote interculturalism and coexistence. Next section presents input from study participants and discusses their viewpoints towards Canadian multiculturalism and its impacts on planning processes. Then, Indigenous and immigrant newcomer perspectives toward living with each other in Winnipeg are juxtaposed and deliberated.

4.6 Integration, Assimilation, and Coexistence: Ethnocultural Perspectives from Winnipeg

Multiculturalism involves welcoming immigrants and then integrating them into the social fabric of the nation. Although integrating might refer to keeping one’s culture and values, the practice of multiculturalism has been underpinned by an assimilative discourse, as discussed.

Multiculturalism has been the political process of shaping the national identity in Canada and other settler states wherein Indigenous communities have no place (Bauder, 2011, 2014; Razack, 2002). As immigration is and will be affecting population growth in Canadian cities, it is important to study how diversity is managed and negotiated at the local scale and in the lived experience of urban inhabitants. Ethnocultural diversity is the greatest challenge -and opportunity- of urbanism in contemporary cities, and there is a need to explore how immigrants participate in the creation and management of urban space and place within settler nations. Is multiculturalism in fact acting as a smokescreen for implementing neo-colonialism by hiding it behind a blanket of apparent ethnic diversity (Shaw, 2007)? Alternatively, does it have the potential of being the transformative process of eliminating marginalisation and various forms of oppression (Kymlicka, 2016; Young, 1991)? Research on cross-cultural urban planning needs to

go beyond the official rhetoric of multiculturalism and fathom the subjectivities of everyday lives of ethnocultural minorities. The focus of this section is on the perspectives of immigrant newcomers toward diversity in Winnipeg, the way they perceive their city accommodates multiculturalism, and the manner through which they shape their intercultural interactions and perspectives with Indigenous inhabitants of the city.

4.6.1 “Everybody Except Aboriginals are Migrants.”⁶ Perspectives toward Canadian Multiculturalism

Immigrants come to Canada through various economic, sponsorship, study, and refugee immigration streams. Participants of this research mostly belong to economic classes of immigrants meaning that they are either skilled worker individuals, former temporary workers, or international students who have gained permanent residency recently. The focus of this thesis is on individuals who arrived in Canada in adulthood and are within their first five years residing in this country. For most of the newcomer participants, the main motivation behind choosing Canada was that it is considered a successful multicultural society in welcoming people from diverse racial groups, when compared to other countries:

The whole country is based on immigration, so there is a strong sense that multiculturalism is an essential part in the Canadian society and needs to be nurtured somehow to make people believe in it. And hopefully, we can get it embedded in our personal life where we can reflect it or project it to the society, as a social behaviour. I think more needs to be done in this regard and I think it's a progressive process and it would take some time for us to reach a level of maturity to make the integration process or the multiculturalism aspect of our society fully understood by individuals, whether they are newcomers or mainstream individuals. Like any other society there are struggle with respect to how different kind of groups can live in all coexisting in the same society. But relatively speaking I think Canada is ahead of the game. (Immigrant participant, male, interview 2)

For this participant, multiculturalism is alive, vibrant, and evolving. Some -mostly European- scholars share the same argument and believe Canada has advanced cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism (Alibhai-Brown, 2000). If we define multiculturalism as accommodating

⁶ Immigrant participant, female, interview 7.

international immigrants into the society and assimilate them, this argument is valid. However, if multiculturalism means an enhanced politics of difference and fulfilling the rights of minority groups including Indigenous peoples, then it cannot be argued that Canada has advanced multiculturalism. One should note that European and Canadian discourses of diversity, national identity building, and multiculturalism are underpinned by different contexts and circumstances and cannot be compared as equal in the first place (Bauder, 2011). The smoke screen created due to the elimination of Indigenous peoples from nation-building processes and multiculturalism discussions in Canada created a positive image of a successful multicultural society outside the country (Shaw, 2007). The fact that Canada is a nation-state built on immigration leaves no space for inequalities and discrimination toward immigrant groups imposed by the settler mainstream society, as participants asserted. For the next interview participant and several others, Indigenous communities are unique as they are the only non-immigrant ethnocultural minority living in Canada. The original occupancy of Indigenous peoples on the land that is today's Canada was mentioned and recognised by the majority of participants.

[The] mainstream, despite being the majority should respect other cultures. They should be made aware otherwise there won't be any change. So many hundreds of service organisations [exist], but without changing that negative mindset that the lack of the appreciation that the mainstream has towards people of other culture backgrounds, nothing will change. So, they should be made aware that these people have come from their country. Everybody's a migrant. In the UK it's a different thing, but in Canada everybody except Aboriginal people are migrants. At one point in time you came here. (Immigrant participant, female, interview 7)

Putting immigration processes in the context of Indigenous prior occupancy is a step towards unsettling the settler narrative of nation-building and heritage making that separates these two discourses from each other (Bauder, 2011, 2014; Razack, 2002; Shaw, 2007). Indigenous communities are the original occupants of Canada, are present in the society, and live in cities alongside others. For ethnocultural participants, 'Whiteness' is considered to be incongruous with these historical and contemporary realities.

Integration in the mainstream society is considered as a goal and a measure of success for immigrant newcomers. Integration in this sense differs from assimilation and does not mean abandoning one's culture and values. For immigrant newcomers, integration means keeping

one's own cultural values simultaneously and being recognised by the mainstream society and other minority groups. Accordingly, the matter of integration is central for immigrant participants to measure the success of multicultural policies in creating a diverse and just urbanism. Interview participants observe integration as the recreation of traditional culture within the context of new 'home'. A Filipino participant who is a community organisational official explains how the process of integration means for immigrants and how it should be interpreted in a different way than full assimilation into the mainstream culture.

Well I guess you'd wonder because there are 70,000 Filipinos in a province that is a little over a million, why do we keep on coming here when it is so cold? Because it's a friendly place and people feel at home. We also are creating our own culture. We come here as Filipinos, but Filipinos have 71 different dialects, and with the many cultures we have in the Philippines coming here we're developing our own Winnipeg Filipino culture, that kind of thing. It's a very dynamic community, there's always things going on. Our weekends are always busy. (Immigrant organisational official, interview 3)

Immigrant newcomers are mostly coming from diverse and complex countries regarding ethnic group, religion, language, and lifestyle. Living in a diverse society is a familiar phenomenon for many immigrant newcomers in Winnipeg. Consequently, immigrants expect that the mainstream society develops a deeper understanding of cultural nuances hence better accommodation of diversity in the social fabric of cities. Increasing awareness transcends from applying the language of food and occasional celebrations, as the following quotes suggest.

Punjabis are quite a bit here. If you see there are eight or nine Gurdwaras, but people have very false idea about India. And it's again through food. They think India is all about samosas and butter chicken. Like if you eat samosa and butter chicken you know Indian culture. It's not like that, that's just one part. (Immigrant participant, female, interview 10)

Personally, I don't because I find that a lot of these cultural displays are... you know culture is more complex than just a visual representation of it or an ornament or a dress or a name. And I find that people frequently take these material representations of culture and say okay here's what Russia looks like and you know there's this dress and hat and everything. While to me it's this is not even in my head a part of my culture. There's so much more to it and I find that it's true for a lot of other cultures too. (Immigrant participant, female, interview 15)

Participants' perspectives resonate with Kymlicka (2016) and Alibhai-Brown (2000) critique of multiculturalism policies and their role in trivialisation and commodification of cultures. Immigrant interviewees pointed to the positive mindset that they carried with them on Canadian multiculturalism when they chose to immigrate to Canada. After coming to the country, the existence of such a high level of diversity within urban areas seemed promising for them at the first glance. However, as participants mention, the host society -the city of Winnipeg- does not engage the full potential of this motivated, young, and diverse population in practice. The following quote's implication is the critique of distributive approach (Young, 1990) in accommodating diversity and fulfilling the rights of minority groups.

I think our society they should invest in human capital. So, by that I mean, our society should not look at immigration and immigrants as a burden, it should look at it as an investment for the future, especially when we have an aging population. So as a society we should be coming up with ways to reinforce the healthy integration of the new immigrants or new Canadians and not to have them feel they've been given a favour or doing them a favour by allowing them to access certain services through which their basic needs can be addressed. (Immigrant participant, male, interview 2)

Transcending the ethnocultural diversity discourse and enhancing intercultural relations in the everyday lives of people is of importance for immigrant newcomers. Urban space should create a positive context for communications between ethnocultural groups, as participants asserted. Increasing awareness, understanding, and tolerance is done through increasing meaningful interaction. Interviewees favoured having connections with people from their own culture and language and living near to the friends and relatives, as it reproduces the social capital that living in proximity provides for them. In parallel, the need for interaction and intercultural relations was highlighted.

There should be interaction, because that's what makes the city also alive because that's the people; those are the people here. So, you come from different places so there should be interaction between people because we are the ones running Winnipeg. We live here, our children are going to grow up here, and right now it's in our hand to shape what Winnipeg is. We don't want isolation. We don't want segregation between cultures. We don't want that to happen, because that will create animosity. (Immigrant participant, male, interview 13)

Data from interviews demonstrate that immigrants' expectations of multicultural policies have been evolving. Assimilation seems not to be the ultimate goal for new Canadian participants; they are pursuing to define a new relationship with the mainstream society through determining the level of integration into the host society they prefer. With the integration comes the claims of influencing the production of urban space and place in the new home. Urban planning, which ontologically is based on assimilating differences, will fall short in embracing these claims if it adheres to orthodox methodologies and approaches.

4.6.2 Layers of Separation or Positive Coexistence? Indigenous-Immigrant Relations

In the Winnipeg' inner city, Indigenous peoples and ethnocultural newcomers live side by side. Such cohabitation creates a complex context for planning and design. Work of scholars such as Qadeer & Agrawal (2011) and Qadeer (2007) in multicultural planning practices in Canadian cities focuses on the responsiveness of planning systems to cultural diversity among immigrant newcomers. The study of culturally sensitive policies in Canadian metropolitan areas mostly neglects discussions of Indigeneity (Walker, 2008). In addition to being excluded from the mainstream society, levels of misunderstanding, fear and segregation between immigrant communities and Indigenous peoples is high (Ghorayshi, 2010).

However, there is evidence-based research suggesting that this trend is changing (Gyepi-Garbrah, Walker, & Garcea, 2014; Kasparian 2012; Walia, 2013). This thesis argues that immigrant newcomers and Indigenous peoples have started their coexistence in the city of Winnipeg amid the absence of strong intercultural strategy on behalf of the municipal governance. Data from interviews suggest that mutual awareness between the two major groups of marginalised urban inhabitants has been increasing. Efforts made by immigrant and Indigenous organisations as well as spontaneous individual understandings have been influential in this matter. Even though the dominant separation between discourses of immigration and Indigeneity persists, these communities' ideas on equality and justice in the city converge. The increasingly diverse civil society has started challenging settler mainstream conceptions of racial superiority within the public realm in Winnipeg. This section juxtaposes and synthesises the

perspective of immigrant and Indigenous urban inhabitants to elicit the capacities of advancing interculturalism in Winnipeg.

To begin with, immigrant newcomer participants expressed their willingness to know more about the colonial history, cultures of Indigenous peoples, and the impacts of colonial processes on the lives of Indigenous communities.

When I came to Winnipeg I never knew like, I never knew about these people. Technically speaking I think they are the real Canadians. All of us, all others are immigrants. I think there's a lot more that I need to know. They are the real natives of this country. And then still the population is less and I've heard different stories about them. So, I think it's better if I do my research on them and try to know more about them. (Immigrant participant, male, interview 6)

There are some stereotypes among Indigenous participants about immigrants too. A few Indigenous participants pointed to some misunderstandings in interviews. Among them is the notion that immigrants are taking all the jobs and the social opportunities. But, as the following Indigenous participant observes, lack of appropriate mutual awareness is the root cause of problems. It accumulates to existing historical issues between Indigenous peoples and new 'settlers'.

Immigrants are misinformed. I really feel that they're just as brainwashed about how to think and how to deal with us. And what we've been learning is that the government has been telling them, perpetuating very negative information and making our lives much harder because now there's so many more immigrants. (Indigenous participant, female, interview 16)

The invisibility of Indigenous cultures from the public realm is one of the main causes of the existence of negative stereotypes between Immigrant and Indigenous communities, as participants reported. Several participants linked the current Indigenous issues to the historical dispossession and marginalisation of their communities. It is evident that immigrant participants tried to avoid the same blame mechanism that blames Indigenous communities for their circumstances. However, stereotypes still play a major role in shaping the mindset of many other immigrant newcomers.

The first impression that the Canadians gave to me, don't go to the north of the city because it's dangerous. Don't walk in the evening downtown because it's dangerous as there are too many Aboriginals around. So, this is the first impression. But they are people like everybody. (Immigrant participant, female, interview 1)

On the other side, many Indigenous participants expressed their positive perspective towards welcoming immigrants into this country. Some pointed to the Indigenous traditional teachings which advice for openness and hospitality. The ideal situation as one participant suggested, is city-wide friendship centres which bring all ethnocultural groups -including Indigenous peoples- together. By the way, stereotypes and misunderstandings exist among many Indigenous peoples as well.

The way I was raised was like all people are equal, you respect all people. Some people within my extended family structure and friends, they believe these stereotypes about newcomers. So, I have always been quick to stand up for that because I don't like racism in any form, like against Aboriginal people or against non-Aboriginal people so. (Indigenous participant, male, interview 3)

An immigrant participant who is working for a refugee settlement organisation pointed to the role cultural imperialism -as a form of oppression- works against Indigenous communities in Canada (Young, 1990). His emphasis was on the process of othering (Matunga, 2013) which shapes the perspectives of immigrant newcomers towards Indigenous peoples. The majority of foreign immigrants do not have enough information about Indigenous communities in Canada. At the onset of immigration, a newcomers' mind is a clean slate on this matter but quickly is shaped negatively against Indigenous peoples through getting inspired by family and friends, media, and the mainstream society. True Intercultural city is the product of what Wood & Landry (2008) call cultural literacy and cultural competence, so there is a need for more transformative perspectives and aptitudes in urbanism. Increasing the levels of literacy should be initiated among politicians and professionals and then trickled down through the lived experience of the society at local levels. Currently, the realities of the Canadian society portray a different picture as this immigrant newcomer participant expresses.

Immigrants newcomers have this perception of First Nations and I think that opinion is being formed through media and whatever they read because bias history and biased media coverage that would paint a picture of a First Nation person as a person who is

uncivilised, a person who is not safe to be around with, or to be close to. And therefore, the further from First Nations the better or safer you are. And so, the first thing we face from newcomer refugees at least, after a few days of arrival they would tell me do not put me in a neighbourhood where First Nations are. (Immigrant participant, male, interview 2)

Immigrant newcomers concede to the fact that Indigeneity is rendered invisible from the social life of the city -based on their everyday life experience. Such urban invisibility -the result of colonial cultures of planning and municipal colonialism discussed in previous chapters- imposes a cultural illiteracy and hinders cross-cultural understanding and interaction. A participant shared his opinion providing the examples of school and workplace. Places where, according to Amin (2002), cultural exchange and transformation could advance interculturalism.

I think people don't talk about the Aboriginal issues, it's considered as taboo. Even at the lunch table we are talking about it, its people don't freely express their opinions as they will do it on other issues. So, I've seen some of my immigrant friends' kids are not even aware of the issues. So, it's really sad that people won't talk about it. And you feel angrier about it, because you see all these things like Canada sending things or efforts abroad like when there was the Ebola crisis and things and helping other countries. There's a crisis in our backyard and we don't talk about it. (Immigrant participant, female, interview 10)

The counterpart view on interculturalism shared by an Indigenous participant as following. She highlights the lack of communication between these two groups and the significant role of non-governmental organisations in advancing interculturalism.

Being involved in politics or community organisations, if we have to network or communicate with new Canadians I am very comfortable. And we don't look at the colour of our skin we just look at how we treat each other. For example, I know when I was doing community working with the inner city I was working with the Africans. And I got along well with them because of the fact that I think there's that shared history of colonisation and empowerment. In my opinion, the African community was where the Aboriginal community was. (Indigenous participant, male, interview 18)

Sound communication is seen to be key to enhancing coexistence between Indigenous citizens and ethnocultural minority groups. The role of planning in forming meaningful communication could be addressed in two contexts; first is the decision-making and policy-making levels which involve mostly top-down, bureaucratic, and official procedures. This level has been mostly

dealing with mediation between diverse stakeholders in the planning process. The outcome has not been very effective in addressing the real-life challenges of minority groups (Sandercock, 2003). Drawbacks of communicative planning theory discussed earlier but Main & Rojas (2015) add another pitfall of participatory planning. A major issue with outreach mechanisms in hindering cross-cultural interactions is that they rely heavily on verbal communication. An immigrant newcomer raised this issue in the following quote.

You cannot drag everyone into an event and make it compulsory for everyone to come and say, “okay you have to love these people”; this is not going to happen. So, I think one of the ways to encourage people to come is to -is to do those events but to make sure they’re entertaining. It shouldn’t be like a lecture... I think it should be something that’s not directly focused on history per se because a lot of people find it a boring subject. So, it may be around some cultural artifacts and help people create something or you know learn something in a more entertaining way. Next time they will be more interested in it because they already learned a part of it. They will be ready for something [more] serious than making dream catchers. (Immigrant participant, male, interview 8)

Similarly, Indigenous participants believed that engaging immigrants in communication with Indigenous inhabitants of the city not only benefit themselves but also alleviates the coexistence situation for Indigenous communities too.

I think a lot of them are very open to learning about other cultures, to working towards helping the less fortunate regardless of which race they are. But then you also get the ones who are spouting out the stereotypes we’re always facing. It depends on their realm, how they live their life, if they’re involved in their community or just staying at home. That makes a huge difference. Because if we stay at home were not learning anything, we’re not evolving, you’re just stuck in your stagnant thoughts. It’s better to be active in the community. (Indigenous participant, female, interview 20)

Effective communication is essential in inclusive urban planning. So, where there is a deficiency in communication, either as a result of language barriers, and outreach mechanism that relies too much on verbal communication and textual evidence, ethnocultural groups get discouraged in participating in planning and programming. The use of jargon also creates a gap between who can understand the technical language of planners and those who do not. Recent research on applying new methods of engagement yields promising results. Through discussing two examples of Photovoice-expressing participant ideas through photography- and Place It! -

proposing solutions through creating simple models of the built form- Main & Rojas (2015) highlight the importance of the art-based approaches towards engaging marginalised inhabitants in planning processes. The case studies show that Place It! and Photovoice, as two art-based strategies, have been useful in creating mutual trust, community ties, and a sense of empowerment among residents. With the aid of community-based organisations, such art-based strategies can generate a meaningful dialogue between planners and inhabitants and bring marginalised communities who might be unwilling to participate in planning processes through existing mechanisms. Data from interviews report that there has been emerging local, small-scale, spontaneous practices made by communities and neighbourhoods which have been influential in enhancing coexistence between ethnocultural diversity groups and Indigenous communities. An immigrant newcomer who was involved in a social service agency reports an example as follow:

I used to run a program that a cross-cultural exchange between Aboriginal populations and newcomer community members, some African families. We'd bring them together, they'd do dance and then they see, African families see the Aboriginal guys drumming and they say, "oh we do this we're almost the same". And they see the Aboriginal elders smudging and they say, 'oh we do this thing back at home too'. So, when you create these cross-cultural connections people find that they have more in common than they might seem. Once you break the divide and you create opportunity for people to connect, then you find that most of these two communities are all Indigenous populations in their own respect. So, you find that they have issues that connects them, they have issues that are more common amongst themselves, which creates acceptance between themselves. Often, they see they have common challenges living in Winnipeg. (Immigrant participant, male, interview 3)

An Indigenous official working for an Indigenous organisation also spoke about his experience working with immigrant organisations.

I think there's a lot of support there from them in seeing our plight as Indigenous people to get our rights recognised. I've been in this program part-time and there was a lot of immigrants. Like there was a lot of people from Africa, Latin America. They never knew anything about First Nation history so when they come here it's like, "Wow! This is the history of Canada? We always looked at Canada as this great country that's inclusive, that's open to new ideas, and new cultures, and new religions. And here we hear about all these issues with First Nation people." (Indigenous organisational official, interview 3)

The use of art-based techniques in such cross-cultural activities could enhance Indigenous-immigrant communications in a spontaneous and effective way. There are a lot of similarities between issues that Indigenous communities and immigrants face that could be highlighted in focus groups, discussion forums and intercultural meetings. But it does not necessarily mean that these two groups should be treated equally by the planning system and the municipal government. Focus on similarities at the grassroots level should not be translated into denying the inherent rights of Indigenous peoples (Chapter Two) and categorising them as another stakeholder group. A downtown neighbourhood organisational official described his experience regarding a neighbourhood program including Indigenous peoples as follows:

It's important to connect people together through celebrating similarities, which is what we focus on a lot. So, we look at where we can connect groups through similarities and also, use things like gardening or other things like that that are kind of universal. But also, teaching them about what Indigenous plants are grown here, and how to use them in food. So, we try to use different community space as a way to integrate and give the opportunity for all groups to connect. (Immigrant organisational (neighbourhood) official, interview 2)

On the other side, most of the Indigenous participants pointed to the similarities between Indigenous communities and ethnocultural newcomers residing in inner city areas of Winnipeg, especially the challenges and problems they have in common.

I think they're pretty much in the same boat. They face a lot of racism, and troubles and hardships too. And you find them all around the same spots as natives too. So, you know they got their own sections and they're pretty much right alongside with us. They're stuck in the same circumstances. (Indigenous participant, male, interview 15)

Several successful cases of programming cross-cultural activities with the focus on leisure and recreational events were mentioned by immigrant citizens and organisational officials. Investing on micro scale of local activities in addition to macro scale of policy and decision-making contributes to better coexistence between these communities, as participants asserted.

Planning for diversity in Winnipeg and other Canadian cities cannot be done without addressing Indigeneity. Separating the Indigeneity and immigration discourses has been inherently a part of the colonial project (Bauder, 2011, 2014) and as Razack (2002) puts it, it contributes to

structuring a social space underpinned by a racial hierarchy narrative that assumes settlers as the ‘original’ inhabitants and developers of the land. An important aspect in planning for diversity with regards to Indigenous rights in urban areas is bridging between Indigeneity and immigration discourses by increasing the role of Indigenous communities in processes of settlement, planning, and programming for immigrant newcomers (Gyepi-Garbrah, Walker, & Garcea, 2014; Kasparian, 2010).

The only thing that I can think of that might help, putting them together, they are not together obviously. These are -Aboriginals- they own the land; they’ve been here before anybody. And now you’re putting them with immigrants, it would make them feel, “What are they doing?” the only thing I can see that could be incorporated is making Aboriginals to participate in immigrant events. Like come to give them lectures, come to tell them history, come to assist them with things. You can’t actually make them interact that other than bringing them together. (Immigrant participant, male, interview 8)

Indigenous participants emphasised their difference with immigrants implying that they should be entitled to play a more major role in spatial production and placemaking. Almost all of the Indigenous participants challenged the fact that they are treated as another minority group by the settler mainstream society.

I would say overall the new Canadians are a diverse group, they’re from all different parts of the world. By and large, they’re making the transition from coming from a foreign country to Canada much easier than our people even coming from reserves, or that are born here. Because I think the real big difference is they weren’t put on reserves. They weren’t put in residential schools. So, there’s really some important factors that you have to understand the differences in the makeup of any given new Canadian or newer Canadian group -differences from Aboriginal people. (Indigenous organisational official, interview 1)

Immigrant and Indigenous participants provide similar perspectives towards immigration and Indigeneity. Both groups highlight the Indigenous original occupancy, their different needs and aspirations, and the persistence of negative symbolic capital associated with Indigenous peoples in Winnipeg. None of the immigrant newcomers pointed to the notion of the inconsistency of Indigenous cultures with the city and urban life. As immigrants’ first encounter with Indigenous communities happens in cities, they naturally perceive Indigenous cultures nothing other than ‘urban’. None of the immigrant participants highlighted the reserve/city dichotomy debate or

linked the problems associated with Indigenous communities to the incompatibility of Indigenous cultures with urban life. On the other hand, most of the Indigenous participant shared a positive view towards contemporary immigration trends in which ethnic and cultural composition of newcomers have become more diverse. The historical Anglo-settler colonial processes accompanied by immigration trends have contributed to contemporary dispossession and marginalisation of Indigenous peoples. Data from the interviews indicate that Indigenous peoples favour the increasing ethnocultural diversity among immigrant newcomers as it positively contributes to unsettling the “racialized structure of citizenship that characterises contemporary Canada” (Razack, 2002, p. 5).

4.7 City Planning and Accommodation of Diversity and Difference

This section focuses on a taken-for-granted aspect of immigration and ethnocultural diversity, the way immigrants contribute in shaping urban space and place and how they communicate with municipal government and planning authorities. The common belief about immigrant communities’ will to assimilate translates into succumbing to existing ways of spatial production and placemaking. However, as discussed previously, the increasing diversity of ethnocultural groups has engendered new and complex challenges for urban planners and municipal officials. Ethnocultural diversity groups are increasingly claiming urban space and place; they seek to mark their presence in cities and enhance their social, cultural, and symbolic capitals. Nevertheless, political and economic structures of the city pose challenges toward such claims, for instance, the racialised structure of citizenship and the reactions of the mainstream society towards nonconventional placemaking are factors which have influenced the negotiations over urban space and place. This section delves into the lived experience of immigrant newcomers in inner city Winnipeg and tries to elicit their viewpoints on urban planning, design, and programming in the city.

4.7.1 “They’ll Accept Them as Documents, but They won’t Approve Them.”⁷ Municipal Governance and Accommodating Ethnocultural Diversity in Planning

In urban planning and policy making, fulfilment of the rights to the city for immigrant newcomers has been limited to providing them with basic needs such as initial settlement, housing, and employment. Interviews suggest that newcomer communities are willing to have an adequate role in city planning and programming in addition to access to civic services and amenities. Immigrant communities bring with them ideas, suggestions, and recommendations for urban planning and management of urban space and place that historically materialised in the formation and programming of ethnic neighbourhoods. Interviews suggest that immigrants are not willing to be treated as passive communities subjected to top-down and paternalistic policies. For moving towards diverse and inclusive urbanism, there is a need to engage them actively in an inclusive and culturally-appropriate planning context. Although accessing basic needs is a precedence for newcomers, participants pointed to the need for meaningful connections between municipal government and immigrant communities.

They have no policy. They have no interaction with immigration issues. They have always thought that they have no role with immigration and the lives of newcomers. So, the city is lost on any issues to do with newcomer populations. Right now, we are talking to some of the front-running mayor candidates so that. They have not positioned themselves to reconcile with themselves that there are 12,000 immigrants who come to this city every year. They have completely abdicated that responsibility and they are not there. They think it’s the federal and provincial governments responsibility. (Immigrant participant, male, interview 3)

The critique of this interviewee resonates with Fincher et al.’s (2014) review of the literature on policies impacting multiculturalism, diversity, and difference which mostly address the issues at the high levels of nation-states and provincial governments. The municipal governance is the jurisdictional body which is in immediate contact with immigrant communities and got the capacity to influence the daily lives of diverse ethnocultural groups.

⁷ immigrant organisational (neighbourhood) official, interview 2.

The municipality can play such a role in terms of planning for the city and how it should be and should look like in terms of services, addressing the needs, and making it easier to live in. I think they have a role to engage the society and the public in terms of planning and making the city more livable and easy to maneuver through and to access to the facilities that people need for their daily life. So, one of the ways I think is to actualize or to understand democracy in a practical sense, is to engage the public in the planning process and whatever method that they can use to engage them. But as long as the engagements reach a bigger segment of society where they feel that they are heard and their ideas and opinions are actually being appreciated. (Immigrant participant, male, interview 2)

The participant points to what Burayidi & Wiles (2015) describe as a palpable ‘political lag’, the unwillingness of politicians in embracing diversity (p. 199). Actualising democracy in municipal governance needs a transformative approach. Devising solutions such as translation services in public meetings are not sufficient per se as they do not promise that ‘ideas’ are communicated accurately (Main & Rojas, 2015). Though, at what level planners and the municipality in Winnipeg engage with immigrant groups and their representative organisations? As the following neighbourhood organisation manager in inner city Winnipeg reports, relations between organisations that are in immediate contact with immigrant newcomers -as well as Indigenous peoples- are limited and ad hoc.

Besides the housing work that we do, we have the least amount of interaction with the city overall for our organisation than we do with other levels of government. So, we’re way better engaged provincially and federally. We’re a neighbourhood renewal corporation. Based on a model of work we do, we fit directly into the city planning documents. However, they don’t acknowledge us as those key players. It’s kind of a separation there. So, the city just provides support for housing, under housing improvement zone funding, but they’re also talking about changing that within the city housing plan. We’re not quite sure what that means for the future of our relationship there. (Immigrant organisational (Neighbourhood) official, interview 2)

Neighbourhood organisations are essential in implementing ethnoculturally inclusive planning processes through promoting participation, shared management, and social cohesion (Talen, 2015). However, the following quote reports a policy vacuum in formulating and managing interactions between the city and its ethnocultural inhabitants in urban planning efforts. There exists the Citizen’s Equity Committee within the jurisdictional body of Winnipeg which addresses ethnocultural diversity groups and their engagement in municipal affairs. Though, as

another official who works for an immigrant organisation argues, this engagement has been limited and inadequate.

There is an outfit called the Citizen Equity Committee. That sees to the ethnocultural groups within the city, and basically, they try to keep tabs or have a good relationship with most of the ethnocultural groups here in the city. But in terms of specific planning, there is no direct link. Like I said the ten years that I've been working with this organization I don't remember if there's been a case where the city came knocking on our doors asking for our feedback on certain things that they were planning on doing. So, I think there is some deficiency there in terms of how the authorities at city council operate with the ethnocultural groups. (Immigrant organisational official, interview 1)

This immigrant organisation official continues that election days are the major times that politicians knock their door. Not-for-profit organisations within communities do most of the work regarding ethnocultural diversity within the city. There should be engagement mechanisms through which planning system could accommodate immigrants regarding what assets they are bringing with them to the society, as an inner city neighbourhood organisational official asserts.

The city doesn't do any plan. The city has a My Winnipeg plan. But that kind of vaguely covers what kind of neighbourhood we know should happen. Like our agency, one of our major roles is we pull together community plans. So, we create a five-year neighbourhood plan with the community. Identify what the needs are and where they want to make improvement, and then we help over the five years to make that happen. ...Like we always want to push that it gets approved at city hall, and we've never had success. We've also developed community green plans and the city has refused to approve those at council level. They'll accept them as documents, but they won't approve them because then they'd be bound to follow through with them. But the furthest we've ever got was they'll accept them as a document, which means that they can refer to it. But it doesn't mean that they're bound to any of the goals or mandates in them. (Immigrant organisational (neighbourhood) official, interview 2)

Narrative excerpts from interviews suggest that urban planning system in Winnipeg is not holding itself committed to ethnocultural diversity groups adequately. In planning and policy-making of the city, there is no effective engagement mechanisms, benchmarks or targets that force decision makers actually to transform existing regimes of spatial production. Including minority groups in planning means applying the diversity advantage in enhancing the social life of the whole society (Collins & Friesen, 2011). A potential which already exists within the city

of Winnipeg as it is home to a large immigrant population but is not being applied and actualised by the urban planners and municipal authorities.

From the perspective of another organisational official, Winnipeg has managed to portray itself as a multicultural city mainly through its multicultural events. A superficial interpretation of multiculturalism that scholars such as Walia (2013) and Kymlicka (2016) are critical of them. Celebrating cultural diversity through events and celebrations is considered positive by participants, but transformation and inclusion go beyond events and occasional activities as this immigrant organisational official asserts.

They should involve more of the community. It's probably going out more in the different communities and having meaningful discussions. Sharing of pending decisions for instance in city hall where they can get input from different communities. And that means not necessarily the communities going to them, but them going down to the communities and doing more presentations. I don't know if that's ever possible but they do go for social events, and all that. But part of that should also be meaningful communication with communities on important matters that they make decisions on at city hall. (Immigrant organisational official, interview 3)

Recognising ethnocultural groups as equal actors in city planning and programming needs a proactive mobilisation from the municipal government side. Reaching out to diverse communities is the outcome of an epistemological shift in planners' thinking. It calls for actualising the epistemology of multiplicity underpinned by prioritising the lived experience of urban inhabitants (Sandercock, 2003). Though, as the following participant states, municipal government and planners are passive in forming interactive communication with ethnocultural diversity groups. In their approach toward communicating with minority groups, planners need to be more proactive, open, engaging and informative.

If you are living in high income neighbourhood or if you are in a high-income family, you are more well-informed. You're likely to read the newspaper, likely to watch the news; you are likely to connect with what's going on around. But if you are struggling with a lot of issues, you are doing two jobs and have a couple of kids, you are actually struggling yourself. The chances for you to have access to information are limited. And you end up living in the same kind of situation because information is empowering. So, public engagement and coming to communities, inviting people and informing them of the services will be able to improve people's lives I think. And because if you have your

views captured in what the services that the city provides, then you are likely to participate in that. (Immigrant participant, male, interview 3)

The level of engagement and the willingness of planners in approaching ethnocultural groups in influenced by economic and political relations. Similar to the examples from across the world and Canada examined in the conceptual section on gentrification processes and neighbourhood renewals, economic interests mainly influence the level of engagement that planners strive for. Municipal government and planners' main focus -as a participant reports- was on investing in housing, not social programs. The rationale behind investing mostly in housing is improving properties -through gentrification- henceforth increasing property tax base, capitalisation, and the return of the investment. Affordable and social housing programs rarely are included in this housing agenda in inner city neighbourhoods, as this organisational manager reports. Next section focuses primarily on recommendations participants provided for improving cultural literacy and competency among planners and municipal officials and the ways urban planning could advance interculturalism.

4.7.2 “If You Want to Come, You’re Welcome to Canada. It’s a Free Country.”⁸ Advancing Interculturalism through Incorporating Ethnocultural Diversity in Urban Planning, Design, and Programming

One of the main positive characteristics of Winnipeg mentioned by almost all immigrant participants is that this city looks comparatively a friendly place to them, through it does not mean that there is no discrimination and inequality. Several participants implicitly mentioned the racialised characteristics of urban planning in organising divided urban spaces and places.

I think if you live in a suburb you don’t get the full experience of the city. You only know what media covers or what stories are. And a lot of those stories are negative. The media also focuses on gang issues, or violent issues and they don’t focus on all the positive stuff that happens in the inner cities. Not that ignorance is ever justified, but I think if you grow up in a neighbourhood where you are not in the inner city very often and you don’t come downtown very often, you don’t see the diversity, you don’t grow up with it, and you are only basing it off of what you hear on the news, I think that would lead you to not have a positive opinion. So, I think there’s a disconnect there. (Immigrant organisational (neighbourhood) official, interview 2)

⁸ Indigenous participant, male, interview 2.

In another participant's viewpoint, municipal government should enact bridging programs that can help incorporate the new immigrants into the society and create awareness to people living already here about different ways they think, act, and live at the same time. This intercultural approach focuses on integration and interaction at the same time. There should be a holistic approach in addressing ethnocultural diversity in city planning discourses where diversity is considered as a civic asset and is celebrated.

I came to a country that's multicultural, so I would love to see other people [and how] they interact...diversity I think that is richer than my own culture. (Immigrant participant, female, interview 1)

On the other hand, Indigenous participants stated the similarity of their issues with immigrant newcomers'. Some raised their concern regarding Canadian government's capacity in creating enough social opportunities and employment for all immigrants, however, almost all Indigenous interview participants shared a positive view towards ethnocultural diversity in Winnipeg. The development of intercultural communication is the natural outcome of such diversity, as this participant mentions:

We essentially fall in the same category, and Indigenous people move in from their community in the far north, it's the same, similar situation that we end up needing. And we end up needing, and we develop friendships this way too. You'll find that a lot of Indigenous people are close to new Canadians. (Indigenous participant, female, interview 7)

Financial concern is a major issue for newcomers but as an interview participant asserted, a good number of new Canadians have a backup plan and can cope with the initial financial stresses upon arriving in Canada. Therefore, the main reason for choosing certain neighbourhoods to live in for newcomers is creating social bonds and benefit from proximity advantages. A diversified context gives them a better sense of security, belonging, and support.

My first experience with Winnipeg was I was just shocked by even the diversity of faces you see on the street because if you come to Russia everyone's white and everyone looks Russian. Here you walk on the street and even before you talk to people their faces are different and then you get to know different cultures and different places they came

from and different stories of their lives and it's really interesting. So, I feel like there's more than enough diversity in the city. (Immigrant participant, female, interview 15)

Likewise, an Indigenous participant highlighted how mutual misunderstandings and segregation between Indigenous inhabitants and their diverse ethnocultural neighbours nourishes the powers of 'Whiteness'. Her quote resonates with Young's (1990) and Sandcock's (2003) arguments that diversity should be embraced and turned into an advantage for oppressed communities through interconnection.

I really think the culture of this whole kind of political economy is really about exaggerating differences between people and really highlighting those differences because it just keeps people totally divided and as long as people are completely divided along race and class and gender and ability we're going to keep living in this mess because I think the only thing that's really going to change the world is people get connected stay connected. (Indigenous participant, female, interview 10)

Therefore, while multiculturalism policy has left Indigenous peoples out of the game, interculturalism, not as a top-down government-mandated policy but as a phenomenon which emerges from the lived experience of urban inhabitants, could bring Indigenous peoples back to the discourses of nation-building, urban identity building, planning, programming, and placemaking. It is in fact a plural philosophy that intends to treat all inhabitants in Canadian cities as equal. It cannot be a predefined model that is enshrined in law and policy statements and initiated by regulatory procedures, as Bouchard and Taylor (2008) propose for Québec.

Additionally, as an interviewee reported, a neglected point in addressing ethnocultural diversity is the difference between people who are coming from the same regions. As some scholars like Kymlicka (2016), Koopmans (2010) and Abu-Laban & Gabriel (2008) argue, too much focus on cultural differences could fuel social polarisation and could cause a phenomenon that could be called inter-ethnic racism or discrimination. This participant points to inter-ethnic racism which he believes is based mostly on religious and cultural affiliations. The recommendation of this participant for preventing inter-ethnic contentions is a diversified neighbourhood that creates a more heterogeneous context compared to a racial enclave:

It's racism by my own people... You know, the discrimination based on cultures. Or discrimination based on caste. I think that the same thing might happen if not today maybe like fifteen or twenty years from now [in Canada]... They have their own gods. So, on one side when you don't talk about rituals and gods, it's good but when you go into politics, god, and rituals then again you know the problems start coming up. So, if you talk about sports, it's good. But when you talk about gods, rituals, politics, things will get worse. And it will happen. I've started noticing these things that people are supporting people from their culture to nominate themselves for any political seat in political areas. (Immigrant participant, male, interview 6)

The need for more engagement in decision-making has been traditionally interpreted as the need for increasing the number of ethnocultural diversity politicians, city councillors, or planners. However, as data from interviews suggest, ethnocultural participants do not consider having a person from their ethnic community or country necessarily transformative. When inter-ethnic tensions exist, representation of members of the same community, ethnicity, or religion in the municipal government might not be of an advantage for all members of that ethnocultural group.

I don't think in politics it matters whether which background he comes from. I think the bottom line is whether that person is capable. Whether he has brown skin, white skin or something doesn't matter. But where it matters is if everyone is getting equal opportunity to do this. And that we can bring only through education. Not making certain percentage of it should be for this community, or this community. Not that. But I think education has to be. Like look at the wrong things we got into our system so well. Look at the cars. (Immigrant participant, female, interview 10)

A similar comment from another interview participant suggests that the focus of interculturalism should not be put on the place of birth, religion, or the community where one is coming from. Enhancing interculturalism is dependant on investing on maximising common social and cultural interests. Recreational activities convey the opportunity to link people together as this participant states.

Because what I am aspiring for, what I am looking for I would love to - my background as a Middle Eastern I would love to see if there are cultural centres where not everything is religion, but some of it as religion. But say like art, culture, and poetry, whatever. Whatever related to our ethnic culture of those societies can may be practiced or celebrated here and through whatever setting. I would be more than happy to participate. But since the only probably available channel is a worshipping place unfortunately and I think it's not enough for me as a motivation to participate. (Immigrant participant, male, interview 2)

According to this perspective, the proliferation of sites of religious significance could not be interpreted as the success of multicultural policies as scholars such as Agrawal (2015) argue. Another issue mentioned by a participant was called ‘sophisticated racism’ within the mainstream society. It resembles the perspective shared by an Indigenous participant -mentioned in the Chapter Two- on underground racism. Underground racism is rooted in viewing Indigenous and immigrant communities through a problem lens and considering them as deprived communities that are always in a rivalry in accessing resources and services. The following newcomer participant emphasises the necessity to focus on planning processes rather than outcomes in achieving interculturalism and inclusive urbanism.

I think this sophisticated racism is there for sure. It's not the help you offer, it's just the acceptance [that matters] and minorities can help themselves. So, I think that mentality should be changed. If you go with the perception that I have to just let them know this is the planning and what we are doing, that doesn't help. And somehow giving incentives and you take their yes for the planning [decisions]... I think one of the major things is the process. It's never the outcome. You cannot just come up one day and say that this is the new place or space coming up for the city, and this is how it's going to work. In your head, it is fine because you have the knowledge of spaces, how it's designed, so according to you it's perfect. If the process is missing you are going to disconnect with people. (Immigrant participant, female, interview 9)

The focus on the process of planning provides an ample opportunity for planners to understand and support neighbourhoods' diversity. Establishing a process for shared management of the built environment as a ‘neighbourhood-stabilising’ strategy alongside more flexibility of regulatory mechanisms such as design codes, and determining public investment priorities, are quintessential principles toward planning contemporary diverse neighbourhoods (Talen, 2015, p. 279). The focus on the neighbourhood planning and programming and the local scale of everyday lives of urban inhabitants form a platform where both Indigenous peoples and ethnocultural groups could come together and collaborate.

The priorities of authorities and market forces affect planning processes significantly. Mentioning some examples in Toronto and Vancouver, a landscape designer immigrant argued that planners do not possess enough power in decision-making processes, especially in the areas that deal with financial resources and budget distribution. City planners have long tried to

involve local groups and neighbourhood organisations in neighbourhood planning. However, there is a paucity of budget left for actualising bottom-up planning. The perceived powerlessness of planners in influencing the planning process is not only the result of global regimes of economy and politics. A participant pointed to the lack of awareness and communication between planners and citizens, cultural incompetence and illiteracy of planners in terms of communications with ethnocultural diversity groups are some factors that have left planners lagging behind dynamics that are rapidly transforming urban space and place in Winnipeg.

When I moved here it was interesting because Glen Murray had a public transport funding at that time to build this rapid transit corridor and studies were done. And that was shut down by the next mayor. I was so surprised how much less input planning department in the city has over the politics. It's like all long-term planning, major long-term planning decisions where they come by politicians... Why planner doesn't have strong opinions? It's just making a deal and begging developers to develop things. And changing it because whatever the developer wants. I think you can't separate politics and planning. But I think as a citizen also you have to be aware. People don't know what exactly planners do like the way we know about what doctors do or lawyers do. I don't think there is much awareness about planning and how it affects your everyday life. And that is very important I think. (Immigrant participant, female, interview 10)

Reaching out in the first place and then engaging ethnocultural diversity groups in urban planning, design, and programming has a doubly beneficial effect. It does not simply shift the power balance from the state to inhabitant; rather, by raising the voices and concerns of diverse population groups it also increases the awareness and consequently empowers planners as they grapple with economic and political forces that do not prioritise interculturalism in urbanism processes.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter started with an analysis of concepts of multiculturalism, post-multiculturalism and interculturalism. It explained why discourses of Indigeneity and immigration have been kept separate to preserve historical privilege over Indigenous peoples and at the same time discriminate against newer ethnoculturally-diverse immigrants. As discussed, nation-building in settler nations like Canada is buttressed by a multiculturalism agenda where Indigenous peoples' rights and claims are disregarded. This chapter argued that debates regarding immigration,

urbanism, and coexistence in cities are inherently linked to discussions about urban Indigenous communities.

Demographic realities show that immigrants and Indigenous communities will be principal factors that influence urbanism processes in Canadian cities into the future. The biggest Canadian cities have already entered the state of hyper-diversity, and mid-size cities like Winnipeg are rapidly entering this phase. There is a consensus among scholars that existing multicultural theories, practices, and policies have not been able to overcome spatial, social and cultural segregation in cities. Multiculturalism in practice has led to the commodification of cultures, disrupting the sense of place, and trivialising ethnic cultures, focusing mostly on celebratory practices. This chapter examined the backlash against multiculturalism and elaborated on the concept of interculturalism, although there is debate among scholars that interculturalism is even a separate discourse from multiculturalism or it is the outcome of the evolution of multiculturalism in contemporary times.

Cross-cultural understandings and communications enable all marginalised inhabitants to use their collective powers in opposing various forms of oppression. Indigenous resurgence and immigrant mobilisations could collaborate in transforming existing spatial production and placemaking. Such collaboration could empower both communities without necessarily assimilating differences. Decolonisation in settler nations is a radical project involving both immigrant and Indigenous peoples. Spatial and physical segregation, hierarchy, displacement, and marginalisation in urban districts and neighbourhoods should be negotiated through the interconnection between immigrant and Indigenous inhabitants. All social justice movements should recognise Indigenous self-determination, resurgence, and worldviews and advance their goals alongside Indigenous movements (Walia, 2013).

The literature on urban planning in the context of ethnocultural diversity rarely incorporates Indigeneity and the interconnectedness of immigrant-Indigenous issues in its discussions. In planning an increasingly diverse city like Winnipeg, should the focus be on managing differences (negotiations, facilitations) or similarities (celebrations)? Which one is the primary task of planning? How should Indigenous inhabitants who are claiming their right to the city and

place negotiate their coexistence with diverse groups of international immigrants? These are ongoing questions regarding planning in 21st century Winnipeg that were asked from participants of this research, both Indigenous and ethnocultural newcomer.

As both major participant groups concede, urban planning needs to address Indigenous peoples and immigrants simultaneously but not as equal stakeholders. Creating opportunities in cities to express Indigenous cultural identity claims to urban space, and access to services needs to be unique and carefully determined. Interviews confirm that immigrant newcomers recognise Indigenous original occupancy and consequent rights. Amid the absence of vigorous municipal planning and programming, Indigenous and immigrant inhabitants of inner city Winnipeg have begun their coexistence. Immigrant newcomers did not accept as true the colonial notion of the inconsistency of Indigenous cultures with urban living. They expressed their willingness to improve their mutual understanding and intercultural interactions with their Indigenous neighbours. Also, participants believe that municipal governance lacks interest in promoting interculturalism and cultural awareness as this leads to unsettling existing power structures and privilege mechanisms. On the other side, Indigenous peoples raised their concern about the inefficiency of urbanism procedures and processes in eliminating stereotypes, misunderstandings, and creating awareness among newcomers of Indigenous issues, cultures, history, and values.

According to Young (1990), an ideal city is a home to difference, not similarity. Social and physical diversity grants vibrancy to urban life, but such social and spatial differentiation should be without exclusion. Places are distinct but they are porous and interconnected, and spatial production and placemaking nurture interculturalism. This chapter examined how diversity and difference could be negotiated in urban contexts and situated in urban planning strategies and practices. A critical examination of these approaches revealed that existing multicultural planning has not been transformative in eliminating stereotyping, racism, xenophobia, and marginalisation of ethnocultural minorities. Ethnocultural diversity is the most significant challenge of urbanism in contemporary and future Canadian cities. To improve interculturalism, there is a need for an epistemological shift in planning. This epistemological shift involves

putting the subjectivities of the lived experience of urban inhabitants alongside the technical knowledge of planners.

Ethnocultural diversity groups do not only intend to assimilate into the mainstream society after immigration. Rather, in their pursuit of 'integration', they aspire to be actively engaged in spatial production and programming, as interview results confirm. For immigrant newcomers, integration into Canadian society is contingent on keeping one's cultural values, practices, and aspirations. Thus, celebratory multiculturalism, and its trivialisation and commodification of cultures, were criticised by many participants. Participants pointed out that they recreate their culture within the context of new home. Ethnocultural minority groups do not simply adopt mainstream narratives of their culture and values; they synthesise and create their own urban cultures.

Interview results show that planners and municipal officials lack rigorous cultural literacy and competency regarding diversity and difference. All planner interviewees categorised Indigenous communities in the same manner as immigrant minorities. The main approach to engaging ethnocultural groups was applying communicative planning practices. A distributive approach underpins these practices and treats all urban inhabitants as equivalent stakeholders. Chapter Two discussed that this is a de-politicised and non-transformative planning approach, which is not effective at removing various forms of oppression among minority groups. In celebrating differences, Indigenous peoples, recent immigrants, and the settler mainstream should get the same amount of emphasis, and their different rights and claims recognised equally. Presently, immigrant cultures are expected to blend into the settler mainstream over time, and although they themselves remain underprivileged within the mainstream, they also develop an oppressive attitude towards Indigenous urban inhabitants.

Intercultural urbanism is about managing difference and conflict in deliberating plans and programs, in both symbolic and material ways. Furthermore, cities need to adapt to diverse needs among multiple publics in physical development processes as well. Planners should focus on the process as well as the outcome of planning practices through applying creative participatory methods, rather than simply collaborative planning procedures, which tend to be non-

transformative (Nguyen, Gill, & Steephen, 2015). Ethnocultural everyday urbanism alongside Indigenous resurgence is key to transforming existing regimes of spatial production which have disempowered and marginalised cultural minority groups from urban life. Finally, planning for already ethnoculturally diverse neighbourhoods requires balancing the need for change and stability. As Talen puts it:

“The goal of urban planning may be to encourage change that supports a stable heterogeneity-the continued presence of diversity-while discouraging change that undermines it. This requires strategic thinking, since support of a diverse neighbourhood runs the risk that any targeted planning effort will ultimately undermine the very diversity planners hope to protect” (Talen, 2015, p. 285).

Enhancing intercultural urbanism starts with urban planners. Planners should increase their cultural literacy and competency in approaching ethnocultural diversity and Indigeneity in Canadian cities. Normative commitment among planners and municipal officials to cross-cultural understanding is necessary. Also, through prioritising the lived experiences of diverse urban inhabitants, lessons can be gleaned for planners. Nuances exist among different cultures and ethnocultural groups residing in a city, but a taken for granted point is that there is difference and diversity within diverse ethnocultural groups and within Indigenous communities as well. The recognition of the right to the city and the right to difference is underpinned by the notion of inhabitation and participation in spatial production and placemaking. The focus on the Indigenous right to urbanism entails specific Indigenous rights and claims, but in a myriad of ways converging with ethnocultural interests and claims to urban space and place. Approaching Indigeneity and ethnocultural diversity in urban planning, design, and programming in a related discourse is mutually reinforcing and enhances the capacity of collective empowerment of all minority or marginalised groups in claiming their urban rights.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

To advance the process of reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015) has put forth calls to action. The calls to action address municipal governments in some respects. Municipal jurisdictions are called upon - in addition to federal, provincial, and territorial governments- to fully adopt and implement the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations, 2007) as the guiding framework for reconciliation. Reconciliation would require municipal governments to disassemble to a significant extent Eurocentric concepts and procedures that have imposed settler-colonial sovereignty over Indigenous peoples and their territories. Municipal governments are called upon to provide education to public servants, increasing their literacy on subjects such as history and legacy of Indigenous communities, damaging colonial processes (e.g. residential schools), treaties and Indigenous rights, among others. Reconciliation will require “skills based training in intercultural competency, conflict resolution, human rights, and anti-racism” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, p. 7). Inviting Canadian municipal governments to participate in the process of reconciliation implies that the existence, aspirations, and claims of Indigenous peoples in urban areas cannot be overlooked in contemporary times. As this thesis illustrates, the endurance of orthodox urban planning, design, and programming processes and procedures is a significant impediment facing contemporary reconciliation, detrimental to the goal of an enhanced coexistence in Canadian cities.

This thesis began with the assertion that Indigenous peoples have a legitimate right to not only live in cities, but also a right to participate in urban planning, design, and programming which concerns the production and management of urban space and place. Cities in what is now identified as Canada have been built on traditional Indigenous territories, areas where Indigenous peoples were and are sovereign peoples. The fact of prior occupancy involves an inherent right to self-determination regardless of the place Indigenous peoples choose to reside in their territory.

Chapter One illustrated how urban planning has played a significant role in facilitating the elimination and invisibility of Indigenous peoples from urban areas. Interviews with Indigenous participants revealed that Indigenous inhabitants of Winnipeg still feel high levels of discrimination, racism, and that social and spatial injustices exist in their everyday lives in the city. The chapter then examined the social construction of urban space and two complementary and inseparable rights that every urban inhabitant possesses, the right to the city, and the right to difference. The chapter argued that the fulfilment of these rights for urban Indigenous peoples involves the recognition of prior occupancy, which differentiates Indigenous inhabitants from other ethnocultural minority groups in planning processes, and consequently recognition of Indigenous self-determination, treaty, and constitutional rights. The chapter critically examined several prevailing contemporary urban planning paradigms and their capacity for accommodating Indigenous-specific right-claims in their discourse. It was argued that these paradigms offer a de-radicalised and de-politicised form of consensus building and urban citizenship wherein specific Indigenous right-claims cannot be actualised. Findings from interviews with planners and municipal officials at the City of Winnipeg confirmed the assumption that the current state-led engagement mechanisms are not transformative and reconciliatory, although they include reaching out to Indigenous communities through Indigenous city officials. The efforts made by Winnipeg's municipal administration to include Indigenous inhabitants in urban planning at best demonstrates a veneer of reconciliation and inclusion, according to perspectives received from interview participants. The acknowledgement of Indigenous urban rights consists of the transformation of decision-making and planning processes and procedures on the basis of the recognition of original occupancy and sovereignty rights. It was argued that the incorporation of Indigenous planning methods as well as the recognition of resurgent Indigenous acts of planning and placemaking are ways to transform pre-existing policymaking and planning structures. It consequently helps Indigenous communities to re-territorialise urban space and contributes to enhancing coexistence between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities.

Putting the perspectives of interview participants in the context of Indigenous urban rights, Chapter Two elaborated the concept of the Indigenous right to urbanism as a transformative framework through which Indigenous urban inhabitants might reclaim urban space and place.

This concept is underpinned by the assumption that the focus on Indigenous peoples' problems and deficits should be changed towards viewing the opportunities that Indigenous cultures bring to urban life. Indigenous urbanism refers to the adjustment of urban space and place to Indigenous peoples, according to their articulation of needs, aspirations, values, methods, and protocols based on inherent sovereignty in their traditional territories. The chapter concluded by asserting that the recognition of the Indigenous right to urbanism is a prerequisite for responding to urban aspirations of Indigenous peoples. Reclaiming urban space and place calls for re-politicisation and re-radicalisation of existing planning frameworks, which often presuppose Indigenous peoples as communities with no political authority or functional capacity in spatial production and planning.

Chapter Three focused on an under-examined aspect of Indigenous urbanism, which addresses the role of the built environment in the dispossession or empowerment of Indigenous urban inhabitants. This chapter began by illustrating how the built environment of settler cities has manifested the colonial power over Indigenous territorialisation of space and placemaking. The built form of cities has acted as a medium through which Western sovereignty and the political, social, and cultural goals of settlement processes were physically expressed on the ground. The chapter asserted that sociality and spatiality are intertwined in urbanism discussions and cannot be ignored in discussions of Indigenous rights in urbanism processes and the decolonisation of cities. Furthermore, philosophical concepts that examine the ways the design of built environment and programming mediates power and symbolic capital in the society were reviewed and synthesised in the context of Indigenous urbanism. The chapter illustrated how design and programming of the built environment in settler cities have contributed to Indigenous disempowerment and associating a negative symbolic capital with Indigenous urban inhabitants. The third chapter revealed that Indigenous inhabitants of Winnipeg perceive their city as an Indigenous 'place'. The Forks at the heart of the city is the signature public space where the associations of Indigenous cultures with the land shapes a continuous sense of place from the past to present. It also forms the contemporary and future imaginaries of urban identity and belonging for Indigenous peoples in Winnipeg. However, interview findings demonstrate that placemaking at the Forks is gradually eroding its Indigenous sense of place. The open space is

being taken over, the area is increasingly commercialised, and the physical development shows little sign of Indigenous-sensitivity in planning, design, and programming.

Chapter Three argued that placemaking has the capacity to become an emancipatory and transformative instrument in reversing the invisibility of Indigenous materiality and memory. With the aid of data gathered through interviews, the importance of reviving the Indigenous sense of place in Winnipeg was illustrated. Participants shared their perspectives on the ways Indigenous cultures could be expressed through design and programming of public spaces of the city -the most politically contested components of the built environment. Through the analysis of the politics and practices of placemaking in Winnipeg, based on the perspectives of study participants, this chapter stressed some points that transcend existing placemaking cultures beyond tokenism. First, the application of urban design strategies and practices such as distinguished architectural aesthetics, public art, and place naming should be informed by the lived experience of Indigenous urban inhabitants, affirming their right to participate and appropriate urban places. Moreover, celebration and expression of Indigenous cultures should be done through an equal place-partnership context in which Indigenous peoples themselves decide how and what aspects of their culture are represented. In addition, Indigenous cultural representation should not be bound to existing Eurocentric frameworks wherein Indigenous legacy and culture are consumed by the settler-mainstream narratives rather than recognised, celebrated, and understood. Chapter Three concludes that the facilitation of the visibility of Indigenous cultures in the built environment of the city is quintessential in fulfilling the Indigenous right to urbanism and removing various forms of cultural and spatial injustice and oppression. Nevertheless, as Chapter Three asserts, creating Indigenous places does not happen in isolation and separation. Place identity is defined in relation to other places and the flow of social relations between diverse inhabitants of the urban environment.

Decolonisation of cities happens when both processes and outcomes of urban planning and design are transformed, as discussed in Chapters Two and Three. There is also another dimension to the discourse of urban planning with and by Indigenous peoples. The built environment of Winnipeg and other Canadian cities is shared between the settler mainstream society, Indigenous peoples, and ethnocultural diversity groups. All of these groups have their

claims to the appropriation of urban space and placemaking. Chapter Four of this thesis focused on the ways Indigenous inhabitants and ethnocultural diversity groups negotiate their coexistence in the shared spaces and places of the city.

Chapter Four sought to open up space for thinking about themes that influence the substantiation of Indigenous urbanism in Canadian cities, beyond Indigenous-specific conceptualisations and theories of Indigenous engagement in planning processes. Throughout the thesis, it was demonstrated how municipal government engages with Indigenous inhabitants in urban planning processes in the contemporary contexts of inclusion and reconciliation. Urban planners and municipal officials conceptualise Indigenous communities as a minority stakeholder group in planning processes that are based on consensus building, similar to the way they incorporate other ethnocultural diversity groups. This 'equal treatment' has subordinated Indigenous peoples position in pursuing their political and material claims in urban areas. While Indigenous narratives emphasise the separate nature of immigrant and Indigenous discourses, settler-mainstream treatment of Indigenous peoples in cities is the same as immigrant minorities. Paradoxically, neutralising Indigenous self-determination rights through situating them along with immigrants within ethnocultural minority frameworks is the result of separation between immigration and Indigeneity discourses, both in the public and academia.

The point of departure in Chapter Four is the common discursive separation of Indigeneity and immigration in Canadian nation-building processes which have not been adequately examined (Bauder, 2011). Bridging this discursive separation helps to reveal the contradictions of settlement narratives of shaping national identity and belonging through immigration. Indigenous peoples who had territorial belongings before the arrival of settlers have not had any voice in immigration debates. At the same time, their specific sovereignty and decision-making rights which would trump the rights of immigrant settlers have been denied. At the same time, many recent immigrants who belong to racial minority groups end up with conditions of marginalisation and racism within the settler society. In many respects, these struggles are the same as those of Indigenous peoples. Chapter Four tried to demonstrate that keeping the Indigenous and immigration issues disconnected is an oversimplification of mechanisms of discrimination and privilege and perpetuates hegemonic norms of the settler mainstream society.

The argument is based on the assumption that the White privilege, racism, anti-immigrant xenophobia, and settler colonialism imposed on Indigenous communities are mutually reinforcing (Walia, 2013). Therefore, planning for social and spatial justice among Indigenous inhabitants requires addressing the discussion of urban diversity and difference simultaneously.

Chapter Four sought to answer two fundamental questions, first, how ethnocultural diversity groups evaluate multiculturalism policy and practice in managing diversity and difference in Canadian urban contexts, and second, how Indigenous and ethnocultural diversity inhabitants negotiate their coexistence with each other -as well as the settler mainstream society- in the shared spaces of neighbourhoods in Winnipeg. It was argued that removing various forms of injustices and oppression that affects different marginalised groups, including ethnocultural diversity groups and Indigenous peoples, requires a conscious act of recognising differences and not attempting to assimilate material, cultural, and epistemological differences. The chapter critically analysed the politics of multiculturalism in Canada and debates on improving intercultural relations. It reviewed some of the leading approaches that municipal governments have applied in accommodating ethnocultural diversity in their practices. All of the discussed multicultural planning practices including urban revitalisation efforts, creating culturally-specific spaces, minority representation in municipal governments, and celebratory practices of cultural valorisation depicted a minimal and non-effective form of a politics of difference. Participant interviews illustrate that ethnocultural diversity groups (immigrant newcomers) are not seeking to culturally and socially assimilate into the mainstream society. While they are aiming to shape their ethnic-Canadian culture, they believe that multicultural planning approaches offer a celebratory, superficial, and minimalist solution to integrating their cultures in planning and design processes.

Chapter Four illustrated that immigrant newcomers and Indigenous inhabitants have started their coexistence in the inner city neighbourhoods of Winnipeg. Newcomer participants recognise Indigenous prior occupancy and believe that their specific right-claims should be respected by the mainstream society and institutions. Furthermore, newcomer diversity groups do not assume that there is any incompatibility between Indigenous cultures and urban living, although many of them gradually develop a negative bias against Indigenous communities. The influences of

mainstream stereotypes, media, and the lack of proper intercultural communication were mentioned as the factors contributing to stereotypes and misunderstandings. On the other hand, most of the Indigenous participants expressed their liberal position towards immigration and their willingness to have peaceful coexistence with new Canadians. Indigenous participants favoured the increasing diversity of immigrant populations to Canada by stating that more culturally diverse urban spaces and places contribute to unsettling the hegemonic norms of Whiteness in the city.

Winnipeg has become one of the Canadian cities encountering significant transformation to its demographic composition. The federal government is increasing its annual international immigration allocation and larger cities are already saturated. Therefore, more immigrant newcomers are settling in cities like Winnipeg. Simultaneously, the Indigenous population is growing four times faster than the non-Indigenous population. Current trends show that in coming decades, ethnocultural diversity groups and Indigenous communities will be the principal populations that influence urbanism processes in Winnipeg. Interviews with ethnocultural diversity groups, immigrant organisational officials, and urban planners and designers in the municipal administration indicated that the planning system in Winnipeg is lagging behind such demographic transformations and societal realities in term of capacity, literacy, and competency for engaging constructively with diversity. Ongoing multicultural planning and programming practices that commodify and trivialise ethnic cultures, disrupt the sense of place, and take a distributive stance in reaching out to ethnocultural groups will not be able to accommodate the hyper-diversity phase that Winnipeg and some other Canadian medium-sized cities are entering. Chapter Four argues that the Indigenous right to urbanism cannot be fulfilled unless the assimilative approach towards accommodating ethnocultural diversity and difference is transformed. If current assimilative attitudes toward engaging ethnocultural diversity in urban planning is unsettled, capacity will be created for Indigenous urban inhabitants to re-politicise and re-radicalise spatial production, placemaking, and programming, hence, reclaiming cities as Indigenous places, and asserting their specific group rights, to incorporate Indigenous epistemologies in planning.

This thesis has sought to demonstrate that reconciliation and coexistence in Canadian cities emanate from the lived experience of urban inhabitants and are actualised through the equitable participation in production and programming of urban space and place. An urban planning process based on a just politics of difference recognises differences, collective subjectivities, legitimate rights and claims specific to diverse groups. Porter and Barry (2016) recommend that urban planning for coexistence takes an agonistic approach towards recognising Indigenous rights within a mainstream society which is being conceptualised as uniform.

“An agonistic approach urges a spirit of reciprocity -*everyone* recognizing their historically constituted positions, their Otherness, their right to be incommensurably different and for that difference to matter to the deliberations. These core lessons, ethics that *all* of us in the planning field -scholars, students, communities, practitioners, analysts, decision makers and policy designers- will be the beating heart of our efforts toward the decolonization of planning” (Porter & Barry, 2016, p. 197).

Though, this thesis has tried to expand the coexistence discourse and situate the discussion of Indigenous rights in the broader context of urban diversity and difference in cities. Neglecting multicultural policies and critically examining urban planning approaches toward ethnocultural diversity enable the state to abrogate its responsibility towards recognising Indigenous-specific rights and constrain Indigenous communities in assimilative frameworks of multicultural planning.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that although this thesis criticised the ways planning theory and practice engage with Indigenous communities and ethnocultural diversity groups, it does not intend to take a normative position to determine a robust framework through which planning should engage with Indigenous and other minority communities. Participant perspectives provide some guiding principles for civic officials to understand in order to facilitate planning and design done by/with Indigenous urban inhabitants. The ideal of reconciliation in urbanism happens when the conventional structures of decision-making are unsettled, and space is opened for situating alternative modes of planning, design, and

programming. It is up to Indigenous communities to decide how to participate, what approaches to take in cultural representation, and how to exercise Indigenous planning methods.

This thesis has sought to open up space for thinking about urban Indigeneity beyond existing frameworks of service-delivery, urbanisation, and the view of Indigenous issues as problems, deficits, and lack. It was surprising to see how inhabitants offered a deep understanding of urban life, spatial production, and placemaking that surpasses the knowledge of municipal officials and urban planners in the context of difference, diversity, and interculturalism. On the contrary, interviews illustrate how urban planning jurisdictions are lagging behind urban inhabitants in terms of effectively engaging with Indigeneity and ethnocultural diversity. Findings demonstrate that conversation should happen to educate urban decision-makers, planners, and designers about the realities of the lived experience of urban Indigenous inhabitants and other ethnocultural diversity groups. As it was illustrated, Indigenous emancipation and empowerment in cities happen when all aspects of urban life and urbanism processes are taken into consideration. This thesis has argued that existing planning paradigms do not offer the range of openness needed for incorporating diversity and specifically Indigeneity into their discourse. Further research is needed to explore how urban planning procedures could be Indigenised and how Indigenous worldviews, methodologies, and decision-making epistemologies could be situated in contemporary urbanism processes in Canadian cities.

Despite the significance of the focus on service-delivery, financial and political struggles, and lack of comprehensive mutual collaboration between Indigenous organisations and municipal governments, spatial production and placemaking is a priority for decolonising cities. Accordingly, an area for further research is the examination of the agency of Indigenous organisations to take part in urban planning and placemaking. Further study is needed to examine the capacities for partnership and collaboration between Indigenous organisations and ethnocultural organisations to promote interculturalism. Additional research could also be done to examine how homogenising forces of the Western liberal state -citizenship based on the normative Whiteness of the settler mainstream- and capitalist economy perpetuate existing regimes of spatial production and placemaking. Finally, this thesis addressed Indigeneity and ethnocultural diversity which both concern racial and ethnic associations. Urban diversity and

difference is an overarching concept that includes other forms of diversity as well. The ways urban planning, design, and programming engage, oppress, or accommodate other forms of urban diversity such as sexual preferences, lifestyles, gender, age, and various forms of disabilities are other topics worthy of future research.

References

- Aalbers, M. B. (2011). The Revanchist Renewal of Yesterday's City of Tomorrow. *Antipode*, 43(5), 1696-1724.
- Abu-Laban, Y., & Gabriel, C. (2002). *Selling Diversity: Immigration, Multiculturalism, Employment Equity, and Globalization*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Agrawal, S. (2009). New Ethnic Places of Worship and Planning Challenges. *Plan Canada: Special Edition: Welcoming Communities: Planning for Diverse Populations*, 64-67.
- Agrawal, S. (2015). Religious Clusters and Interfaith Dialogue. In M. Burayidi (Ed.), *Cities and the Politics of Difference: Multiculturalism and Diversity in Urban Planning* (pp. 318-339). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Alderman, D. (2000). A Street Fit for a King: Naming Places and Commemoration in the American South. *Professional Geographer*, 52, 672-684.
- Alfred, T. (2005). *Wasase: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Alfred, T. (2009). Colonialism and State Dependency. *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, 5, 42-60.
- Alibhai-Brown, Y. (2000). *After Multiculturalism*. London: Foreign Policy Centre.
- Allon, F. (2013). Litter and Monuments: Rights to the City in Berlin and Sydney. *Space and Culture*, 16(3), 252-260.
- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice* New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing.
- Amin, A. (2002). Ethnicity and the Multicultural City; Living with Diversity. *Environment and Planning A*, 34, 959-980.
- Andersen, C. (2009). Critical Indigenous Studies: From Difference to Density. *Cultural Studies Review*, 15(2), 80-100.
- Andersen, C. (2013). Urban Aboriginal Planning: Towards a Transformative Statistical Praxis. In R. Walker, T. Jojola, & D. Natcher (Eds.), *Reclaiming Indigenous Planning* (pp. 260-282). Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Angotti, T., & Hanhardt, E. (2001). Problems and Prospects for Healthy Mixed-use Communities in New York City. *Planning Practice and Research*, 16(2), 145-154.
- Aravot, I. (2002). Back to Phenomenological Placemaking. *Journal of Urban Design*, 7(2), 201-212.
- Artibise, A. (1975). *Winnipeg : A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Artibise, A. (1977). *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History*. Toronto: J. Lorimer in association with the National Museum of Man.
- Augé, M. (1995). *Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of supermodernity*. New York: Verso.
- Azaryahu, M. (1996). The Power of Commemorative Street Names. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 14, 311-330.
- Bain, A. (2015). Re-Imaging, Re-Elevating, and Re-Placing the Urban: The Cultural Transformations of Canadian Inner Cities. In P. Filion, M. Moos, T. Vinodrai, & R. Walker (Eds.), *Canadian Cities in Transition: Perspectives for an Urban Age* (5 ed., pp. 244-257). Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Banivanua Mar, T., & Edmonds, P. (2010). *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Bannerji, H. (2009). On the Dark side of the Nation: Politics of Multiculturism and the State of "Canada." In S. Mookerje, S. Szeman, & G. Faurschou (Eds.), *Canadian Cultural Studies: A Reader* (pp. 327-343). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Banting, K., & Kymlicka, W. (2010). Canadian Multiculturalism: Global Anxieties and Local Debates. *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, 23(1), 43-72.
- Barkwell, L. (2008). *The Reign of Terror Against the Métis of Red River* Retrieved from <http://www.metismuseum.ca/media/document.php/07260.THE%20REIGN%20OF%20TERROR.pdf>
- Barman, J. (2007). Erasing Indigenous Indigeneity in Vancouver. *BC Studies*, 155(Autumn 2007), 3-30.
- Barron, F. L., & Garcea, J. (Eds.). (1999). *Urban Indian Reserves: Forging New Relationships in Saskatchewan*. Saskatoon: Purich Publishing.
- Barry, J. (2017). *Urban Reserves, Shared Servicing Agreements and the Emergence of New Forms of Municipal Colonialism in Manitoba*. Paper presented at the Canadian Association of Geographers Annual Conference, Toronto.
- Barry, J., & Porter, L. (2012). Indigenous Recognition in State-based Planning Systems: Understanding Textual Mediation in the Contact Zone. *Planning Theory*, 11(2), 170-187.
- Bauder, H. (2011). Closing the Immigration–Aboriginal Parallax Gap. *Geoforum*, 42, 517-519.
- Bauder, H. (2014). Re-Imagining the Nation - Lessons from the Debates of Immigration in a Settler Society and an Ethnic Nation. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 2(1), 9-27.
- Behrendt, L. (2009). Home: The Importance of Place to the Dispossessed. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 108(1), 71-85.
- Belanger, Y., & Walker, R. (2009). Interest Convergence and Co-Production of Plans: An Examination of Winnipeg's 'Aboriginal Pathways'. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 18, 118-139.
- Blais, P. (2010). *Perverse cities; Hidden Subsidies, Wonky Policy, and Urban Sprawl*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Bouchard, G. (2011). What is Interculturalism? *McGill Law Journal*, 56(2), 435-468.
- Bouchard, G. & Taylor, C. (2008). *Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation*. Québec City: Gouvernement du Québec. Retrieved from <https://www.mce.gouv.qc.ca/publications/CCPARDC/rapport-final-integral-en.pdf>
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The Forms of Capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241-258). Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Bourdieu, P. (2000). *Pascalian Meditations*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Brenner, N., Marcuse, P., & Mayer, M. (Eds.). (2012). *Cities for People, not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Bumsted, J. M. (2003). *Trials and Tribulations: The Red River Settlement and the Emergence of Manitoba 1811-1870*. Winnipeg: Great Plains Publications.
- Burayidi, M. (2015). *Cities and the Politics of Difference: Multiculturalism and Diversity in Urban Planning* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Burayidi, M., & Wiles, A. (2015). Majority-Minority Cities: What Can they Teach Us about the Future of Planning Practice? In M. Burayidi (Ed.), *Cities and the Politics of Difference: Multiculturalism and Diversity in Urban Planning* (pp. 193-213). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Burley, D. G. (2013). Rooster Town: Winnipeg's Lost Métis Suburb, 1900–1960. *Urban History Review*, 42(1), 3-25.

- Butler, C. (2012). *Henri Lefebvre: Spatial Politics, Everyday Life, and the Right to the City*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Cairns, A. C. (2000). *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Callard, F. (2011). Doreen Massey. In P. Hubbard & R. Kitchin (Eds.), *Key Thinkers on Space and Place* (2 ed.). Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Canada. (1985). *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*. Ottawa: The Minister of Justice.
- Cantle, T. (2012). *Interculturalism: The New Era of Cohesion and Diversity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cardinal, D. (1977). *Of The Spirit*. Edmonton: NeWest Press.
- Cardinal, D., & Armstrong, J. (1991). *The Native Creative Process: A Collaborative Discourse between Douglas Cardinal and Jeanette Armstrong*. Penticton: Theytus Books.
- Carmona, M. (2010a). Contemporary Public Space, Part Two: Classification. *Journal of Urban Design*, 15(2), 157-173.
- Carmona, M. (2010b). Contemporary Public Space: Critique and Classification, Part One: Critique. *Journal of Urban Design*, 15(1), 123-148.
- Carter, T. (2009). Planning for Newcomers in Winnipeg's Inner City. Retrieved from www.metropolis.net/pdfs/Planning_for_Newcomers_e.pdf
- Casey, E. (1997). *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Castells, M. (2004). An Introduction to the Information Age. In F. Webster, R. Blom, E. Karvonen, H. Melin, K. Nordenstreng, & E. Puoskari (Eds.), *The Information Society Reader* (pp. 138-149). London and New York: Routledge.
- Castells, M. (2008). Space of Flows, Space of Places: Materials for a Theory of Urbanism in the Information Age. In T. Haas (Ed.), *New Urbanism and Beyond: Designing Cities for the Future* (pp. 314-321). New York: Rizzoli.
- Castles, S., Haas, H. d., & Miller, M. J. (2014). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (5 ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cesari, J. (2005). Mosque Conflicts in European Cities: Introduction. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31(6), 1015-1024.
- Chase, J., Crawford, M., & Kalisky, J. (Eds.). (2008). *Everyday Urbanism*. New York: Monacelli Press.
- City of Winnipeg. (2011a). *Complete Communities*. Winnipeg.
- City of Winnipeg. (2011b). *Our Winnipeg*. Winnipeg.
- City of Winnipeg. (2016). *An Overview of Best Practices for the Establishment of and Development within Aboriginal Economic Development Zones*. Winnipeg.
- Collins, F. L., & Friesen, W. (2011). Making the Most of Diversity? The Intercultural City Project and a Rescaled Version of Diversity in Auckland, New Zealand. *Urban Studies*, 48(14), 1-19.
- Connelly, S., & Richardson, T. (2004). Exclusion: the Necessary Difference Between Ideal and Practical Consensus. *Environmental Planning and Management*, 47(1), 3-17.
- Cooper, S. (2009). *The Meeting Place: Examining the relationship between colonialism and planning at The Forks, Winnipeg*. (Master Thesis), University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.
- Cornthassel, J. (2012). Re-envisioning Resurgence: Indigenous Pathways to Decolonization and Sustainable Self-Determination. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1(1), 86-101.

- Coulthard, G. S. (2014). *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Cresswell, T. (2004). *Place: A Short Introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Crilley, D. (1993). Architecture as Advertising: Constructing the Image of Redevelopment. In G. Kearns & C. Philo (Eds.), *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present* (pp. 232-252). Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Dafoe, C. (1998). *Winnipeg, Heart of the Continent*. Winnipeg: Great Plains Publications.
- Della Costa, W. (2011). An Emerging Narrative: Aboriginal Contributions to Canadian Architecture. In C. J. Voyageur, D. R. Newhouse, & d. Beavon (Eds.), *Hidden in Plain Sight: Contributions of Aboriginal Peoples to Canadian Identity and Culture, Vol II* (pp. 356-379). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Denis, C. (1997). *We Are Not You: First Nations and Canadian Modernity*. Toronto, ON, CAN: Broadview Press.
- Deuchar, R. (2011). 'People Look at Us, the Way We Dress, and They Think We're Gangsters': Bonds, Bridges, Gangs and Refugees: A Qualitative Study of Inter-Cultural Social Capital in Glasgow. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 24, 672-689.
- DeVerteuil, G., & Wilson, K. (2010). Reconciling Indigenous Need with the Urban Welfare State? Evidence of Culturally-Appropriate Services and Spaces for Aboriginals in Winnipeg, Canada. *Geoforum*, 41, 498-507.
- Distasio, J., & Kaufman, A. (2015). *The Divided Prairie City: Income Inequality among Winnipeg's Neighbourhoods, 1970-2010*. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, The University of Winnipeg.
- Doern, B. & Phidd, R. (1983). *Canadian Public Policy: Ideas, Structure, Process*. Toronto: Methuen.
- Dorries, H. (2012). *Rejecting the "False Choice": Foregrounding Indigenous Sovereignty in Planning Theory and Practice*. (PhD Thesis), University of Toronto, Toronto.
- Dovey, K. (1999). *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*. London: Routledge.
- Dovey, K. (2010). *Becoming Places: Urbanism/Architecture/Identity/Power*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Duncan, J. S., & Duncan, N. G. (2001). The Aestheticization of the Politics of Landscape Preservation. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 91(2), 387-409.
- Dunn, K., Hanna, B., & Thompson, S. (2001). The Local Politics of Difference: An Examination of Intercommunal Relations Policy in Australian Local Government. *Environment and Planning A*, 33, 1577-1595.
- Ens, G. J. (1996). *Homeland to Hinterland : the Changing Worlds of the Red River Métis in the Nineteenth Century*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Ens, G. J., & Sawchuk, J. (2016). *From New Peoples to New Nations: Aspects of Métis History and Identity from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-First Centuries*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Enviroics Institute. (2010). *Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study-Main Report*. Retrieved from <http://www.uaps.ca/wp-content/uploads/2010/04/UAPS-FULL-REPORT.pdf>
- Enviroics Institute. (2011). *Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study-Winnipeg Report*. Retrieved from http://www.uaps.ca/wp-content/uploads/2010/02/UAPS-Winnipeg-report_FINAL1.pdf
- Fainstein, S. (2000). New Directions in Planning Theory. *Urban Affairs Review*, 35(4), 451-478.
- Fainstein, S. (2005). Cities and Diversity: Should We Want it? Can We Plan for it? *Urban Affairs Review*, 41(1), 3-19.

- Fainstein, S. (2009). Planning and the Just City. In P. Marcuse, J. Connolly, J. Novy, I. Olivo, C. Potter, & J. Steil (Eds.), *Searching for the Just City: Debates in urban theory and practice* (pp. 19-39). London & New York: Routledge.
- Fainstein, S. (2010). *The Just City*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press.
- Farr, D. (2008). *Sustainable Urbanism: Urban Design with Nature*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Fawcett, B., Walker, R., & Greene, J. (2015). Indigenizing City Planning Processes in Saskatoon, Canada. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 24(2), 158-175.
- Fincher, R., Iveson, K., Leitner, H., & Preston, V. (2014). Planning in the Multicultural City: Celebrating Diversity or Reinforcing Difference? *Progress in Planning*, 92, 1-55.
- FitzMaurice, K. (2012). *The State of Urban Aboriginal Communities*. Retrieved from <http://uakn.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/2012-UAKN-Research-Paper-Series-The-State-of-Urban-Aboriginal-Communities-Dr.-Kevin-FitzMaurice-1.pdf>
- Fleras, A., & Maaka, R. (2010). Indigeneity-grounded Analysis (IGA) as Policy (-making) Lens: New Zealand Models, Canadian Realities. *The International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 1(1), Article 4, 1-34.
- Florida, R. (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class* New York: Basic Books.
- Forester, J. (1989). *Planning in the Face of Power*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Forester, J. (1999). *The Deliberative Practitioner: Encouraging Participatory Planning Processes*. Cambridge & London: The MIT Press.
- Forester, J. (2009). *Dealing with Differences: Dramas of Mediating Public Disputes*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1979). *Discipline and Punish*. New York: Vintage.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (1988). *Michel Foucault; Politics, Philosophy, Culture. Interviews and Other Writings 1977-1984*. New York: Routledge.
- Friedmann, J. (1987). *Planning in the Public Domain: From Knowledge to Action*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Friesen, G. (1996). *River Road: Essays on Manitoba and Prairie History*. Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press.
- Fyfe, N., & Bannister, J. (1996). City Watching: Closed Circuit Television Surveillance in Public Spaces. *Area*, 28(1), 37-46.
- Garcea, J. (2009). Diversity Planning in Saskatoon. *Plan Canada, Special Edition: Welcoming Communities: Planning for Diverse Populations*, 38-42.
- Gehl, J. (2010). *Cities for People*. Washington, DC: Island Press.
- Ghorayshi, P. (2010). Diversity and Interculturalism: Learning from Winnipeg's Inner City. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 19, 89-104.
- Glynn, S. (2010). Playing the Ethnic Card: Politics and Segregation in London's East End. *Urban Studies*, 47(5), 991-1013.
- Goheen, P. (1998). Public Space and the Geography of the Modern City. *Progress in Human Geography*, 22(4), 479-496.
- Good, K. R. (2009). *Municipalities and Multiculturalism: The Politics of Immigration in Toronto and Vancouver*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- Government of Manitoba. (2014). Manitoba Immigration Facts: 2014 Statistical Report. from Manitoba Labour and Immigration
- Grant, J., & Bohdanow, S. (2008). New Urbanism Developments in Canada: a Survey. *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability*, 1(2), 109-127.
- Grenfell, M. (2008). *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*. Stocksfield: Acumen.
- Gulson, K., & Parkes, R. (2010). From the Barrel of the Gun: Policy Incursions, Land, and Aboriginal Peoples in Australia *Environment and Planning A*, 42(2), 300-313.
- Gyepi-Garbrah, J., Walker, R. C., & Garcea, J. (2014). Indigeneity, Immigrant Newcomers, and Interculturalism in Winnipeg, Canada. *Urban Studies*, 49, 1-17.
- Haas, T. (Ed.) (2008). *New Urbanism and Beyond : Designing Cities for the Future*. New York: Rizzoli.
- Habermas, J. (1989). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (T. Burger, Trans.). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Hackworth, J., & Stein, K. (2012). The Collision of Faith and Economic Development in Toronto's Inner Suburban Industrial Districts. *Urban Affairs Review*, 48(1), 37-63.
- Hall, P. V. (2015). Global Flows: Making the City, Made in the City. In P. Fillion, M. Moos, T. Vinodrai, & R. Walker (Eds.), *Canadian Cities in Transition: Perspectives for an Urban Age* (5 ed., pp. 38-50). Don Mills Oxford University Press.
- Hanselmann, C. (2001). *Urban Aboriginal People in Western Canada: Realities and Policies*. Retrieved from http://cwf.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/CWF_UrbanAboriginalPeopleWesternCanada_Report_SEP2001.pdf
- Hanselmann, C. (2002). *Enhanced Urban Aboriginal Programming in Western Canada*. Retrieved from http://cwf.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/CWF_EnhancedUrbanAboriginalProgrammingWesternCanada_Report_JAN2002.pdf
- Harper, T., & Stein, S. (2015). The Centrality of Liberal Democratic Values in Multicultural Society. In M. Burayidi (Ed.), *Cities and the Politics of Difference: Multiculturalism and Diversity in Urban Planning* (pp. 31-57). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Harvey, D. (1973). *Social Justice and the City*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Harvey, D. (1997). The New Urbanism and the Communitarian Trap. *Harvard Design Magazine*, Winter/Spring (1).
- Harvey, D. (2008). The Right to the City. *New Left Review*, 53, 23-40.
- Harvey, D., & Potter, C. (2009). The Right to the Just City. In P. Marcuse, J. Connolly, J. Novy, I. Olivo, C. Potter, & J. Steil (Eds.), *Searching for the Just City: Debates in urban theory and practice* (pp. 40-51). London & New York: Routledge.
- Hay, I. (2000). *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*. Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press.
- Hayden, D. (1995). *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Healey, P. (1996). The Communicative Turn in Planning Theory and its Implications for Spatial Strategy Formation. In S. Campbell & S. Fainstein (Eds.), *Readings in Planning Theory* (pp. 237-255).
- Healey, P. (1997). *Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies*. Hampshire, UK: Macmillan.

- Healey, P. (1998). Institutional Analysis, Communicative Planning, and Shaping Places. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 19(2), 111-121.
- Healey, P. (2004). Editorial. *Planning Theory and Practice*, 5(5-8).
- Hillier, B. (2007). Non-discursive Regularities. In *Space is the Machine: A Configurational Theory of Architecture* (pp. 110-215). London: Space Syntax.
- Howitt, R., & Lunkapis, G. J. (2010). Coexistence: Planning and the Challenge of Indigenous Rights. In J. Hillier & P. Healey (Eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Planning Theory: Conceptual Challenges for Spatial Planning* (pp. 109-133). Farnham: Ashgate.
- HTFC Planning and Design. (1993). Oodena Celebration Circle Interpretive Design. <http://www.htfc.mb.ca/projects/oodena-celebration-circle/>
- Huck, B., & Flynn, C. (2003). A Continental Crossroads. In *Crossroads of the Continent: A History of the Forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers* (pp. 46-65). Winnipeg: Heartland Associates Inc. and Forks North Portage Partnership.
- Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada. (2016). Indigenous Peoples and Communities. <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014265/1369225120949>
- Isin, E. F. (2002). *Being Political*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Isin, E. F., & Siemiatycki, M. (2002). Making Space for Mosques. In S. Razack (Ed.), *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society* (pp. 185-210). Toronto: Between The Lines.
- Iveson, K. (2007). *Publics and the City*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Iveson, K. (2013). Cities within the City: Do-It-Yourself Urbanism and the Right to the City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37(3), 941-956.
- Jacobs, J. (1961). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House.
- Jacobs, J. M. (1996). *Edge of Empire; Postcolonialism and the City*. London: Routledge.
- Johnson, J., Cant, G., Howitt, R., & Peters, E. (2007). Guest Editorial, Creating Anti-colonial Geographies: Embracing Indigenous People's Knowledges and Rights. *Geographical Research*, 45(2), 117-120.
- Jojola, T. (2008). Indigenous Planning: an Emerging Context. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 17(Supplement), 37-47.
- Jojola, T. (2013). Indigenous Planning: Towards a Seven Generations Model. In R. Walker, T. Jojola, & D. Natcher (Eds.), *Reclaiming Indigenous Planning* (pp. 457-474). Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Jones, T., & Ram, M. (2007). Urban Boosterism, Tourism and Ethnic Minority Enterprise in Birmingham. In J. Rath (Ed.), *Tourism, Ethnic Diversity and the City* (pp. 50-66). New York: Routledge.
- Kasparian, S. (2012). Introduction: Aboriginal Peoples: Canada's First Welcoming Community, Where do Aboriginal-Immigrant Relations Stand Today? *Canadian Issues, Summer* 1-7.
- Kelbaugh, D., & McCullough, K. (Eds.). (2008). *Writing Urbanism*. New York: Routledge.
- Kemble, R. (1989). *The Canadian City, St. John's to Victoria; A Critical Commentary*. Montréal: Harvest house.
- Kobayashi, A., & Preston, V. (2015). International Migration and Immigration: Remaking the Multicultural Canadian City. In P. Fillion, M. Moos, T. Vinodrai, & R. Walker (Eds.), *Canadian Cities in Transition: Perspectives for an Urban Age* (5 ed., pp. 129-150). Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.

- Koopmans, R. (2010). Trade-offs Between Equality and Difference: Immigrant Integration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State in Cross-National Perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(1), 1-26.
- Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kymlicka, W. (2007). *Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Kymlicka, W. (2012). *Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.
- Kymlicka, W. (2016). Trajectories of Multicultural Citizenship. In R. Marback (Ed.), *Representation and Citizenship* (pp. 52-78). Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Lagasse, J. H. (1959). *A study of the Population of Indian Ancestry Living in Manitoba*. Winnipeg: Dept. of Agriculture and Immigration, Social and Economic Research Office.
- Lashta, E., Berdahl, L., & Walker, R. (2016). Interpersonal Contact and Attitudes Towards Indigenous Peoples in Canada's Prairie Cities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(7), 1242-1260.
- Laws, D., & Forester, J. (2015). The Pragmatic Politics of Multicultural Democracy. In M. Burayidi (Ed.), *Cities and the Politics of Difference: Multiculturalism and Diversity in Urban Planning* (pp. 87-108). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Leeuwen, B. v. (2010). Dealing with Urban Diversity: Promises and Challenges of City Life for Intercultural Citizenship. *Political Theory*, 38(5), 631-657.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Lefebvre, H. (1996). *Writings on Cities*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lefebvre, H. (2003). *The Urban Revolution*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Lefebvre, H. (2005). *Critique of Everyday Life III: From Modernity to Modernism (Towards a Metaphilosophy of Daily Life)*. London: Verso.
- Legg, S. (2007). Reviewing Geographies of Memory/Forgetting. *Environment and Planning A*, 39, 456-466.
- Levine, J. (2005). *Zoned Out: Regulation, Markets, and Choices in Transportation and Metropolitan Land Use*. New York: Resources for the Future.
- Li, W. (2009). *Ethnoburb: The New Ethnic Community in Urban America*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Louis, R. P. (2007). Can You Hear Us Now? Voices from the Margin: Using Indigenous Methodologies in Geographic Research. *Geographical Research*, 45(2), 130-139.
- Lynch, N., & Ley, D. (2010). The Changing Meanings of Urban Places. In T. Bunting, P. Fillion, & R. Walker (Eds.), *Canadian Cities in Transition: New Directions in the Twenty-First Century* (4 ed.). Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Maaka, R., & Fleras, A. (2005). *The Politics of Indigeneity: Challenging the State in Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
- MacCallum Fraser, C., & Viswanathan, L. (2013). The Crown Duty to Consult and Ontario Municipal-First Nations Relations: Lessons Learned from the Red Hill Valley Parkway Project. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 22(1), Supplement: 1-19.
- Macdougall, B. (2016). History of settlement in Winnipeg, personal communication.
- MacKenzie, R., Forde, C., & Ciupijus, Z. (2012). Networks of Support for New Migrant Communities: Institutional Goals versus Substantive Goals? *Urban Studies*, 49(3), 631-647.

- Madanipour, A. (2003). *Public and Private Spaces of the City*. New York: Routledge.
- Madanipour, A. (2004). Marginal Public Spaces in European Cities. *Journal of Urban Design*, 9(3), 267-286.
- Madanipour, A. (2005). Public Spaces of European Cities. *Nordic Journal of Architectural Research*, 1, 7-16.
- Madanipour, A. (2006). Roles and Challenges of Urban Design. *Journal of Urban Design*, 11(2), 173-193.
- Main, K., & Rojas, J. (2015). The Role of Visual Arts in the Planning of Multicultural Communities. In M. Burayidi (Ed.), *Cities and the Politics of Difference: Multiculturalism and Diversity in Urban Planning* (pp. 291-317). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Malone, G. (2007). Ways of Belonging: Reconciliation and Adelaide's Public Space Indigenous Cultural Markers. *Geographical Research*, 45(2), 158-166.
- Malpas, J. (2008). New Media, Cultural Heritage and the Sense of Place. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 14(3), 197-209.
- Manzer, R. (1985). *Public Policies and Political Developments in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto press.
- Massey, D. (1994). *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Matunga, H. (2013). Theorizing Indigenous Planning. In R. Walker, T. Jojola, & D. Natcher (Eds.), *Reclaiming Indigenous Planning* (pp. 3-32). Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- McGaw, J., Pieris, A., & Potter, E. (2011). Indigenous Place-Making in the City: Disposessions, Occupations and Implications for Cultural Architecture. *Architectural Theory Review*, 16(3), 296-311.
- Meagher, s. (2013). *Public Philosophy: Revitalizing Philosophy as a Civic Discipline*, Report to the Kettering Foundation. Retrieved from http://api.ning.com/files/C*75Xw4bA4cU7vHOHS-zlLRmkdBskXa9IzuVBCJKtjhmSgMrQy8tWTu1s9vqumPuG2gyJfaPzwWJ1Tu4*NoJIUVYUXtPpC37/KetteringreportfinalcorrectedFeb2013.pdf
- Meer, N., & Modood, T. (2012). How does Interculturalism Contrast with Multiculturalism? *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 33(2), 175-196.
- Mills, S. (2003). *Michel Foucault*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Mitchell, D. (2003). *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*. New York & London: The Guilford Press.
- Morgan, G. (2006). *Unsettled Places: Aboriginal People and Urbanisation in New South Wales*. Kent Town: Wakefield Press.
- National Post. (2017). Are We Witnessing the Death of Chinatown-in Vancouver and across North America?
- Németh, J. (2012). Controlling the Commons: How Public Is Public Space? *Urban Affairs Review*, 48(6), 811-835.
- Németh, J., & Schmidt, S. (2011). The Privatization of Public Space: Modeling and Measuring Publicness. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 38, 5-23.
- Newhouse, D. (2011). Urban Life: Reflections of a Middle-Class Indian In H. Howard & C. Proulx (Eds.), *Aboriginal Peoples in Canadian Cities: Transformations and Continuities* (pp. 23-38). Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

- Newhouse, D. (2014). Fostering Bimaadiziwin: the City as Home for Urban Aboriginal Peoples. *Canadian Diversity*, 11(Winter), 43-48.
- Newhouse, D., & FitzMaurice, K. (2012). Aboriginal People in the City: From the Study of Problems to community Engagement and the Fostering of Mino-Biimaadiziwin. In *Well-Being in the Urban Aboriginal Community: Fostering Biimaadiziwin, a National Research Conference on Urban Aboriginal Peoples* (pp. ix-xxi). Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc.
- Newhouse, D., FitzMaurice, K., McGuire-Adams, T., & Jetté, D. (Eds.). (2012). *Well-Being in the Urban Aboriginal Community: Fostering Biimaadiziwin, a National Research Conference on Urban Aboriginal Peoples*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc.
- Newman, D. (2010). *The Duty to Consult: New Relationships with Aboriginal Peoples*. Saskatoon: Purich Publishing, Ltd.
- Nguyen, M. T., Gill, H., & Steeph, A. (2015). Community Planning for Immigrant Integration. In M. Burayidi (Ed.), *Cities and the Politics of Difference: Multiculturalism and Diversity in Urban Planning* (pp. 214-235). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Norberg-Schulz, C. (1980). *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*. New York: Rizzoli.
- Ouellette, R. F. (2014). The Second Métis War of 1885: A Case Study of Non-commissioned Member Training and the Intermediate Leadership Program. *Canadian Military Journal*, 14(4), 54-65.
- Painter, J. (2000). Pierre Bourdieu. In M. Crang & N. Thrift (Eds.), *Thinking Space* (pp. 239-259). London and New York: Routledge.
- Parks Canada. (2009). The Forks of The Red and Assiniboine Rivers. Retrieved from <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/lhn-nhs/mb/forks/index.aspx>
- Pelletier, E. (1977). *A Social History of the Manitoba Métis*. Altona, Manitoba: Manitoba Métis Federation Press.
- Peters, E. (2005). Indigeneity and Marginalisation: Planning for and with Urban Aboriginal Communities in Canada. *Progress in Planning*, 63(327-339).
- Peters, E. (2007). *Urban Reserves*. Retrieved from http://fngovernance.org/ncfng_research/e_peters.pdf
- Peters, E. (2015). Aboriginal People in Canadian Cities. In P. Filion, M. Moos, T. Vinodrai, & R. Walker (Eds.), *Canadian Cities in Transition: Perspectives for an Urban Age* (5 ed., pp. 364-378). Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Pieris, A. (2012). Occupying the Centre: Indigenous Presence in the Australian Capital City. *Postcolonial Studies*, 15(2), 221-248.
- Porter, L. (2010). *Unlearning the Colonial Cultures of Planning*. Burlington: Ashgate.
- Porter, L. (2013). Coexistence in Cities: The Challenges of Indigenous Urban Planning in the Twenty-First Century. In R. Walker, T. Jojola, & D. Natcher (Eds.), *Reclaiming Indigenous Planning* (pp. 283-310). Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Porter, L., & Barry, J. (2015). Bounded Recognition: Urban Planning and the Textual Mediation of Indigenous Rights in Canada and Australia. *Critical Policy Studies*, 9(1), 22-40.
- Porter, L., & Barry, J. (2016). *Planning for Coexistence? Recognizing Indigenous Rights through Land-use Planning in Canada and Australia*. New York: Routledge.
- Potter, E. (2012). Introduction: Making Indigenous Place in the Australian City. *Postcolonial Studies*, 15(2), 131-142.

- Preston, V., & Lo, L. (2000). Asian Theme Malls in Suburban Toronto: Land Use Conflict in Richmond Hill. *Canadian Geographer*, 44(1), 86-94.
- Preston, V., & Rose, J. (2012). *The Role of Municipalities in Facilitating Integration: A Toronto Case Study*. Paper presented at the 14th National Metropolis Conference, Toronto.
- Prusak, S. Y., Walker, R., & Innes, R. (2015). Toward Indigenous Planning? First Nation Community Planning in Saskatchewan, Canada. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 36(4), 440-450.
- Pugalis, L., & Giddings, B. (2011). A Renewed Right to Urban Life: A Twenty-First Century Engagement with Lefebvre's Initial "Cry". *Architectural Theory Review*, 16(3), 278-295.
- Purcell, M. (2002). Excavating Lefebvre: The Right to the City and its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant. *GeoJournal*, 58, 99-108.
- Putnam, R. (1995). Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital. *Journal of Democracy*, 6, 65-78.
- Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Qadeer, M. (1997). Pluralistic Planning for Multicultural Cities: The Canadian Practice. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 63(4), 481-494.
- Qadeer, M. (2009). What is this Thing Called Multicultural Planning? . *Plan Canada, Welcoming Communities*(Special Edition), 10-13.
- Qadeer, M. (2015). The Incorporation of Multicultural Ethos in Urban Planning. In M. Burayidi (Ed.), *Cities and the Politics of Difference: Multiculturalism and Diversity in Urban Planning* (pp. 58-86). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Qadeer, M., & Agrawal, S. K. (2011). The Practice of Multicultural Planning in American and Canadian Cities. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 20(1), 132-156.
- Rapoport, A. (1972). *Australian Aborigines and the Definition of Place*. Sydney: University of Sydney.
- Razack, S. (2002). *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*. Toronto: Between The Lines.
- Relph, E. (1976). *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion.
- Rios, M. (2015). Negotiating Culture: Toward Greater Competency in Planning. In M. Burayidi (Ed.), *Cities and the Politics of Difference: Multiculturalism and Diversity in Urban Planning* (pp. 343-361). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Robins, K. (2001). Becoming Anybody: Thinking Against the Nation and Through the City. *City*, 5(1), 77-90.
- Robinson, S. (1994). The Aboriginal Embassy: An Account of the Protests of 1972. *Aboriginal History*, 18, 49-63.
- Robson, C. (2011). *Real World Research* (3 ed.). West Sussex, UK: Wiley Publications.
- Rogers, S. H., Halstead, J. M., Gardner, K. H., & Carlson, C. H. (2011). Examining Walkability and Social Capital as Indicators of Quality of Life at the Municipal and Neighborhood Scales. *Applied Research Quality Life*, 6, 201-213.
- Rose-Redwood, R. (2008). From Number to Name: Symbolic Capital, Places of Memory and the Politics of Street Renaming in New York City. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 9(4), 431-452.
- Rose, D., Germain, A., Bacque, M., Bridge, G., Fijalkow, Y., & Slater, T. (2012). 'Social Mix' and Neighbourhood Revitalization in a Transatlantic Perspective: Comparing Local

- Policy Discourses and Expectations in Paris (France), Bristol (UK) and Montreal (Canada). *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37(2), 430-450.
- Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. (2005). *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data* (2 ed.). Thousand Oaks, London & New York: Sage Publications.
- Sandercock, L. (1998). *Towards Cosmopolis; Planning For Multicultural Cities*. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons.
- Sandercock, L. (2003). *Cosmopolis II; Mongrel Cities; Cities in the 21st Century*. New York: Continuum.
- Sandercock, L. (2004a). Interface: Planning and Indigenous Communities. *Planning Theory and Practice*, 5, 95-97.
- Sandercock, L. (2004b). Towards a Planning Imagination for the 21st Century. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 70(2), 133-141.
- Sandercock, L. (2006). Twists and Turns: The Dance of Explanation. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 7(3), 241-244.
- Sandercock, L., & Attili, G. (Eds.). (2010). *Multimedia Explorations in Urban Policy and Planning: Beyond the Flatlands*. Dordrecht, Heidelberg, London & New York: Springer.
- Sandercock, L., & Dovey, K. (2002). Pleasure, Politics, and the "Public Interest": Melbourne's Riverscape Revitalization. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 68(2), 151-164.
- Sassen, S. (2006). *Why Cities Matter in: Cities. Architecture and Society, Exhibition Catalogue of the 10th Architecture Biennale Venice*. Paper presented at the Architecture Biennale, Venice.
- Schmid, C. (2008). Henri Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space: Towards a Three-Dimensional dialectic. In K. Goonewardena, S. Kipfer, R. Milgrom, & C. Schmid (Eds.), *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (pp. 27-45). New York & London: Routledge.
- Schmidt, S. (2005). Cultural Influences and the Built Environment: An Examination of Kumasi, Ghana. *Journal of Urban Design*, 10(3), 353-370.
- Schmidt, S., & Németh, J. (2010). Space, Place and the City: Emerging Research on Public Space Design and Planning. *Journal of Urban Design*, 15(4), 453-457.
- Seidman, I. (2006). *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences* (3 Ed.). New York & London: Teachers College Press.
- Sen, A. (2006). Chili and Liberty. *The New Republic*.
- Sen, S., Kumar, M., & Smith, S. (2015). Educating Planners for a Cosmopolitan Society: A Selective Case Study of Historically Black Colleges and Universities. In M. Burayidi (Ed.), *Cities and the Politics of Difference: Multiculturalism and Diversity in Urban Planning* (pp. 362-387). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Sennett, R. (1976). *The Fall of Public Man*. London: Penguin Books.
- Sennett, R. (1994). *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization*. New York: Norton.
- Shaw, S., Bagwell, S., & Karmowska, J. (2004). Ethnoscapes as Spectacle: Reimagining Multicultural Districts as New Destinations for Leisure and Tourism Consumption. *Urban Studies*, 41(10), 1983-2000.
- Shaw, W. S. (2007). *Cities of Whiteness*. Malden, MA; Oxford, UK; Carlton, Australia: Blackwell Publishing.

- Shoval, N., & Strom, E. (2009). Inscribing Universal Values into the Urban Landscape: New York, Jerusalem, and Winnipeg as Case Studies. *Urban Geography*, 30(2), 143-161.
- Silver, J. (2006). *In Their Own Voices: Building Urban Aboriginal Communities*. Halifax: Farnwood Publishing.
- Simpson, L. (2011). *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back: Stories of Nishnaabeg Re-Creation: Resurgence, and a New Emergence*. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing.
- Sium, A., Desai, C., & Ritskes, E. (2012). Towards the 'Tangible Unknown': Decolonization and the Indigenous Future. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1(1), I-XIII.
- Soja, E. (1989). *Postmodern Geographies: the Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (2 ed.). London, New York: Verso.
- Soja, E. (2009). The City and Spatial Justice. *Spatial Justice*, 1.
- Soja, E. (2010a). *Seeking Spatial Justice*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Soja, E. (2010b). Spatializing the Urban, Part I. *City*, 14(6), 629-635.
- Southworth, M., Cranz, G., Lindsay, G., & Morhayim, L. (2012). People in the Design of Urban Places. *Journal of Urban Design*, 17(4), 461-465.
- St. John, P. (2003). The Forks Today. In *Crossroads of the Continent: A History of the Forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers* (pp. 146-175). Winnipeg: Heartland Associates Inc. and Forks North Portage Partnership.
- Stanger-Ross, J. (2008). Municipal Colonialism in Vancouver: City Planning and the Conflict over Indian Reserves, 1928–1950s. *The Canadian Historical Review*, 89(4), 541-580.
- Statistics Canada. (2010). *Canada's Ethnocultural Mosaic, 2006 Census: Definitions*. Retrieved from <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/as-sa/97-562/note-eng.cfm>.
- Statistics Canada. (2011). *Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity in Canada, National Household Survey*. Retrieved from <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-010-x/99-010-x2011001-eng.cfm>.
- Statistics Canada. (2017a). *Aboriginal Peoples in Canada: Key Results from the 2016 Census*. Retrieved from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/171025/dq171025a-eng.pdf>.
- Statistics Canada. (2017b). *Immigration and Diversity: Population Projections for Canada and its Regions, 2011 to 2036*. Retrieved from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-551-x/91-551-x2017001-eng.pdf>.
- Statistics Canada. (2017c). *Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity: Key Results from the 2016 Census*. Retrieved from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/171025/dq171025b-eng.pdf>.
- Stewart, P. (1991). Designing for Canada's Native Population. *Canadian Architect*, 18(February).
- Stewart, P. (2007). *First nations residential schools in Canada: An architecture of cultural displacement*. University of British Columbia. Vancouver.
- Stewart, P. (2015). *Indigenous Architecture through Indigenous Knowledge*. (PhD Thesis), The University of British Columbia, Vancouver.
- Stickells, L. (2011). The Right To The City: Rethinking Architecture's Social Significance. *Architectural Theory Review*, 16(3), 213-227.
- Talen, E. (2013). *Charter of the New Urbanism* (2 ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Talen, E. (2015). A Targeted Approach to Planning Socially Diverse Neighborhoods. In M. Burayidi (Ed.), *Cities and the Politics of Difference: Multiculturalism and Diversity in Urban Planning* (pp. 265-290). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- Tehmina, B. (2003). Manual or Electronic? The Role of Coding in Qualitative Data Analysis. *Journal of Educational Research*, 45(2), 143-154.
- The Fork North Portage Partnership. (2009). *Building Connections 2010-2020*. Retrieved from http://www.theforks.com/uploads/ck/files/Publications/Booklet%20TFNP%2010%20Year%20Plan_May%2025.pdf
- The Forks. (1993). Oodena Celebration Circle. Retrieved 11 November 2016, from <http://www.theforks.com/uploads/ck/files/AboutOodena.pdf>
- The Globe and Mail. (2017). Governor-General David Johnston Apologizes for Referring to Indigenous People as Immigrants, June 19 2017.
- Tomiak, J. (2010). *Indigenous Self-Determination, Neoliberalization, and the Right to the City: Rescaling Aboriginal Governance in Ottawa and Winnipeg*. Carleton University, Ottawa.
- Tomiak, J. (2016). Unsettling Ottawa: Settler Colonialism, Indigenous Resistance, and the Politics of Scale. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 25(1), 8-21.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015). *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action*. Retrieved from http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Findings/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf
- Tuan, Y.-F. (1974). *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.
- Tuan, Y.-F. (1977). *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Tuhiwai Smith, L. (1999). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books.
- Tully, j. (2008). *Public Philosophy in a New Key, Volume I: Democracy and Civic Freedom*. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- United Nations. (2007). United Nations General Assembly: Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf
- Van Melik, R., Van Aalst, I., & Van Weesep, J. (2007). Fear and Fantasy in the Public Domain: The Development of Secured and Themed Urban Space. *Journal of Urban Design*, 12(1), 25-42.
- Velibeyoglu, K. (1999). Urban design in the Postmodern context. Retrieved from http://www.angelfire.com/ar/corei/Velibeyoglu_UD.pdf
- Vermeulen, F., Tillie, J., & Walle, R. v. d. (2012). Different Effects of Ethnic Diversity on Social Capital: Density of Foundations and Leisure Associations in Amsterdam Neighbourhoods. *Urban Studies*, 49(2), 337-352.
- Walia, H. (2013). *Undoing Border Imperialism*. Oakland: AK Press.
- Walker, R. (2006). Searching for Aboriginal/Indigenous Self-Determination: Urban Citizenship in the Winnipeg Low-Cost Housing Sector, Canada. *Environment and Planning A*, 38, 2345-2363.
- Walker, R. (2008). Improving the Interface Between Urban Municipalities and Aboriginal Communities. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 17(Supplement), 20-36.
- Walker, R. (2013). Indigenous in the City: Contemporary Identities and Cultural Innovation. In v. Peters & C. Andersen (Eds.).

- Walker, R., & Belanger, Y. (2013). Aboriginality and Planning in Canada's Large Prairie Cities. In R. Walker, T. Jojola, & D. Natcher (Eds.), *Reclaiming Indigenous Planning* (pp. 193-217). Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Walker, R., Jojola, T., & Natcher, D. (Eds.). (2013). *Reclaiming Indigenous Planning*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Walker, R., & Matunga, H. (2013). Re-situating Indigenous Planning in the City. *Plan Canada*, 53(2), 14-17.
- Walker, R., & Nejad, S. (2017). Urban Planning, Indigenous Peoples, and Settler States. In A. Bain & L. Peake (Eds.), *Urbanization in a Global Context* (pp. 136-154). Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Wall, K. (2012). The Gallery and the Inukshuk: Everyday Creativity and Cultural Production as Leisure Practices. *Leisure/Loisir*, 1, 17-35.
- Wansborough, M., & Mageean, A. (2000). The Role of Urban Design in Cultural Regeneration. *Journal of Urban Design*, 5(2), 181-197.
- Watson, I. (2009). Sovereign Spaces, Caring for Country, and the Homeless Position of Aboriginal People. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 108(1).
- Westin, S. (2011). The Life and Form of the City: An Interview with Bill Hillier. *Space and Culture*, 14(2), 227-237.
- Westin, S. (2014). *The Paradoxes of Planning: A Psycho-Analytical Perspective* Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate.
- Wilson, K., & Peters, E. (2005). You can Make a Place for it: Remapping Urban First Nations Spaces of Identity. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 23, 395-413.
- Wilson, S. (2008). *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.
- Winnipeg Free Press. (2015). Kapyong Barracks: 10 Things to Bring You up to Speed, September 23 2015. *Winnipeg Free Press*.
- Winnipeg Free Press. (2017). Face of Manitoba Evolves Due to Diversity, October 25, 2017.
- Wood, P., & Landry, C. (2008). *The Intercultural City*. London: Earthscan.
- Wood, P. K., & Gilbert, L. (2005). Multiculturalism in Canada: Accidental Discourse, Alternative Vision, Urban Practice. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29(3), 679-691.
- Wortley, S., & Tanner, J. (2004). Discrimination or Good Policing? The Racial Profiling Debate in Canada. *Our Diverse Cities*, 1(Spring), 197-201.
- Yin, R. K. (2016). *Qualitative Research from Start to finish* (2 ed.). New York: The Guilford Press.
- Young, I. M. (1990). *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Žižek, S. (2006). *The Parallax View*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Appendix A: Recruitment Posters



UNIVERSITY OF
SASKATCHEWAN

Department of Geography and Planning

PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FOR RESEARCH IN PUBLIC SPACE PLANNING AND DESIGN AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

I am looking for volunteers to take part in a PhD study of *Ethnocultural Diversity, Indigeneity, and Placemaking in Winnipeg*.

As a participant in this study, you would be asked to undertake a face-to-face interview with the PhD student at a location of your choosing.

Your participation would involve one interview which is approximately 45-60 minutes.

In appreciation for your time, you will receive a payment of \$40.
For more information about this study, or to volunteer for this study,
please contact:

Maeengan Linklater
at maeengan@hotmail.com
or

Sarem MM Nejad
Department of Geography and Planning, University of Saskatchewan
at 306-715-8494 or sarem.nejad@usask.ca

**This study has been reviewed by, and received approval
through, the Behavioural Research Ethics Board, University of Saskatchewan.**





UNIVERSITY OF
SASKATCHEWAN

Department of Geography and Planning

**PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FOR
RESEARCH IN PUBLIC SPACE PLANNING AND
DESIGN AND IMMIGRANTS**

I am looking for volunteers to take part in a PhD study of *Ethnocultural Diversity, Indigeneity, and Placemaking in Winnipeg*.

As a participant in this study, you would be asked to undertake a face-to-face interview with the PhD student at a location of your choosing.

Your participation would involve one interview which is approximately 45-60 minutes.

In appreciation for your time, you will receive a payment of \$40.
For more information about this study, or to volunteer for this study,
please contact:

Maeengan Linklater
at maeengan@hotmail.com
or

Sarem MM Nejad
Department of Geography and Planning, University of Saskatchewan
at 306-715-8494 or sarem.nejad@usask.ca

**This study has been reviewed by, and received approval
through, the Behavioural Research Ethics Board, University of Saskatchewan.**

Appendix B: Consent Forms

Participant Consent Form Face-to-Face interview-citizens

Project Title: Ethno-cultural Diversity, Indigeneity, and Placemaking in Winnipeg

Researcher: Sarem MM Nejad, PhD candidate, Department of Geography and Planning, University of Saskatchewan, 306-715-8494, sarem.nejad@usask.ca

Supervisor: Dr. Ryan Walker, Associate Professor, Department of Geography and Planning, University of Saskatchewan, 306-966-5664, ryan.walker@usask.ca

Purpose and Objective(s) of the Research:

- The purpose of this research is to explore the role of ethno-cultural diversity and Indigeneity in the production and programming of public spaces in Winnipeg.
- The four objectives of the research are to: (1) Elicit the perspective of Indigenous peoples towards place, placemaking and public space programming in cities; (2) Elicit the perspective of ethno-cultural diversity groups towards place, placemaking and public space programming in urban areas; (3) Explore how municipalities engage ethno-cultural diversity groups and Indigenous peoples in planning, design and management of public spaces in Prairie cities; (4) Develop post-colonization framework for public space design and programming to improve Indigeneity, ethno-cultural diversity, and intercultural relations in Canadian cities.

Procedures:

- You will be asked a series of open-ended questions to get your perspectives on municipal planning and local civic engagement issues in Winnipeg. Fifteen interviews of this type will be conducted in your city.
- With your permission I would like to use an audio recorder to record our interview, which will then be transcribed and used as data in the study. You may request that the recording device be turned off at any time.
- The interview normally takes no longer than one hour, and can be carried out in a location of your choice.
- Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the procedures and goals of the study or your role.

Funded by: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Potential Risks: There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research.

Potential Benefits:

- I hope that this research will help to improve the ways that municipal planning is practiced with Indigenous citizens and ethno-cultural diversity groups and organizations in Prairie cities. I also anticipate that this research will help to improve the way post-secondary students in professional planning programs across Canada are educated with regard to engaging with ethno-cultural minority groups (immigrants) and Indigenous citizens, and urban Indigenous and immigrant organizations on issues of city planning and design and intercultural relation in urban public spaces.

Compensation:

- In appreciation for your time, you will receive a payment of \$40 just before we begin the interview.

Confidentiality:

- Your name, and the fact that you are participating in this study, is known to Sarem Nejad, Dr. Ryan Walker, and perhaps a 'local research assistant' if that is how you were recruited to the study. The audio file from this interview will be transcribed into a MS Word file and your name will appear at the top of that file. Nejad and Dr. Walker are the only people that have access to the audio recording and transcript from this interview.
- The data from this research project will be published and presented at conferences; however, your identity will be kept confidential. Although we will report direct quotations from the interview, they will be attributed as follows: Male/Female; Indigenous citizen or your pseudonym. Your name will not be listed in any publications or presentations.

Storage of Data:

- The digital voice and transcript files, and associated data analysis files, will be stored on the password protected computer drives at the Universities of Saskatchewan while the data analysis is underway.
- Once the data analysis and publication of results is complete, raw data files will be stored by Dr. Walker on his password protected institutional server at the University of Saskatchewan for a period of 5-10 years, after which time it will be deleted.
- Completed consent forms will be stored in Dr. Walker's locked filing cabinet in his office at the University of Saskatchewan for a period of 5-10 years, after which time they will be shredded and disposed of.

Right to Withdraw:

- Your participation is voluntary and you can answer only those questions that you are comfortable with. You may withdraw from the research project for any reason, at any time, without explanation or penalty of any sort.
- Should you wish to withdraw, data from your interview will be deleted, provided that it has not already been incorporated into a publication (under preparation, review, or in final form) or into a presentation.

Follow up:

- Please keep your eye on the website of the Department of Geography and Planning (<http://www.arts.usask.ca/geography/>), where I will load final reports from the study once the project is complete. If you do not have access to a computer or the internet, please feel free to contact us (contacts are listed on page 1) at any time.

Questions or Concerns:

- Contact one the researcher or the supervisor using the information at the top of page 1;
- This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to the Research Ethics Office ethics.office@usask.ca; 306-966-2975. Participants outside of Saskatoon may call toll free at 1-888-966-2975.

Consent:

Do you give your permission to have our interview audio-recorded? Yes: ____ No: ____

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understand the description provided; you have had an opportunity to ask questions and your questions have been answered. You consent to participate in the research project. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to you for your records.

_____ <i>Name of Participant</i>	_____ <i>Signature</i>	_____ <i>Date</i>
-------------------------------------	---------------------------	----------------------

_____ <i>Researcher's Signature</i>	_____ <i>Date</i>
--	----------------------

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Participant Consent Form Face-to-Face Interview-Officials

Project Title: Ethno-cultural Diversity, Indigeneity, and Placemaking in Winnipeg

Researcher: Sarem MM Nejad, PhD candidate, Department of Geography and Planning, University of Saskatchewan, 306-715-8494, sarem.nejad@usask.ca

Supervisor: Dr. Ryan Walker, Associate Professor, Department of Geography and Planning, University of Saskatchewan, 306-966-5664, ryan.walker@usask.ca

Purpose and Objective(s) of the Research:

- The purpose of this research is to explore the role of ethno-cultural diversity and Indigeneity in the production and programming of public spaces in Winnipeg.
- The four objectives of the research are to: (1) Elicit the perspective of Indigenous peoples towards place, placemaking and public space programming in cities; (2) Elicit the perspective of ethno-cultural diversity groups towards place, placemaking and public space programming in urban areas; (3) Explore how municipalities engage ethno-cultural diversity groups and Indigenous peoples in planning, design and management of public spaces in Prairie cities; (4) Develop post-colonization framework for public space design and programming to improve Indigeneity, ethno-cultural diversity, and intercultural relations in Canadian cities.

Procedures:

- You will be asked a series of open-ended questions to get your perspectives on municipal planning and local civic engagement issues in Winnipeg. Fifteen interviews of this type will be conducted in your city.
- With your permission, I would like to use an audio recorder to record our interview, which will then be transcribed and used as data in the study. You may request that the recording device be turned off at any time.
- The interview normally takes no longer than one hour, and can be carried out in a location of your choice.
- Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the procedures and goals of the study or your role.

Funded by: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Potential Risks: There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research.

Potential Benefits:

- I hope that this research will help to improve the ways that municipal planning is practiced with Indigenous citizens and ethno-cultural diversity groups and organizations in Prairie cities. I also anticipate that this research will help to improve the way post-secondary students in professional planning programs across Canada are educated with

regard to engaging with ethno-cultural minority groups (immigrants) and Indigenous citizens, and urban Indigenous and immigrant organizations on issues of city planning and design and intercultural relation in urban public spaces.

Compensation:

- In appreciation for your time, you will receive a payment of \$40 just before we begin the interview.

Confidentiality:

- Your name, and the fact that you are participating in this study, is known to Sarem Nejad, Dr. Ryan Walker, and perhaps a 'local research assistant' if that is how you were recruited to the study. The audio file from this interview will be transcribed into a MS Word file and your name will appear at the top of that file. Nejad and Dr. Walker are the only people that have access to the audio recording and transcript from this interview.
- The data from this research project will be published and presented at conferences; however, your identity will be kept confidential. Although we will report direct quotations from the interview, they will be attributed as follows: Male/Female; Indigenous citizen or your pseudonym. Your name will not be listed in any publications or presentations.

Storage of Data:

- The digital voice and transcript files, and associated data analysis files, will be stored on the password protected computer drives at the Universities of Saskatchewan while the data analysis is underway.
- Once the data analysis and publication of results is complete, raw data files will be stored by Dr. Walker on his password protected institutional server at the University of Saskatchewan for a period of 5-10 years, after which time it will be deleted.
- Completed consent forms will be stored in Dr. Walker's locked filing cabinet in his office at the University of Saskatchewan for a period of 5-10 years, after which time they will be shredded and disposed of.

Right to Withdraw:

- Your participation is voluntary and you can answer only those questions that you are comfortable with. You may withdraw from the research project for any reason, at any time, without explanation or penalty of any sort.
- Should you wish to withdraw, data from your interview will be deleted, provided that it has not already been incorporated into a publication (under preparation, review, or in final form) or into a presentation.

Follow up:

- Please keep your eye on the website of the Department of Geography and Planning (<http://www.arts.usask.ca/geography/>), where I will load final reports from the study

once the project is complete. If you do not have access to a computer or the internet, please feel free to contact us (contacts are listed on page 1) at any time.

Questions or Concerns:

- Contact one the researcher or the supervisor using the information at the top of page 1;
- This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to the Research Ethics Office ethics.office@usask.ca; 306-966-2975. Participants outside of Saskatoon may call toll free at 1-888-966-2975.

Consent:

Do you give your permission to have our interview audio-recorded? Yes: ____ No: ____

Please place a check mark beside one of the following ways that attributions may be linked to statements you make during the interview:

1. Official title and agency name _____
2. Agency's name only (but not my official title) _____
3. The jurisdiction where agency is active
(e.g., Municipal office, immigrant organization) _____
4. No attributions at all _____

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understand the description provided; you have had an opportunity to ask questions and your questions have been answered. You consent to participate in the research project. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to you for your records.

_____	_____	_____
<i>Name of Participant</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>
_____	_____	
<i>Researcher's Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>	

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Appendix C: Permission to Use Material in Thesis

1. The Consent to Publish from Springer:

Consent to Publish

Published under the imprint

Springer

Title of Book/Volume/Conference: The Handbook of Contemporary Indigenous Architecture

Editor(s) name(s): Elizabeth Grant, Kelly Greenop, Albert Refiti and Daniel Glenn

Title of Contribution: Contemporary Urban Indigenous Placemaking in Canada

Author(s) full name(s): Sarem Nejad and Ryan Walker

Corresponding Author's name, address, affiliation and e-mail: Ryan Walker, Professor, Department of Geography and Planning, University of Saskatchewan, 117 Science Place, Saskatoon, SK S7N 5C8, Canada, ryan.walker@usask.ca

When Author is more than one person the expression "Author" as used in this agreement will apply collectively unless otherwise indicated.

§ 1 Rights Granted

Author hereby grants and assigns to **Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd.** (hereinafter called Publisher) the exclusive, sole, permanent, world-wide, transferable, sub-licensable and unlimited right to reproduce, publish, distribute, transmit, make available or otherwise communicate to the public, translate, publicly perform, archive, store, lease or lend and sell the Contribution or parts thereof individually or together with other works in any language, in all revisions and versions (including soft cover, book club and collected editions, anthologies, advance printing, reprints or print to order, microfilm editions, audiograms and videograms), in all forms and media of expression including in electronic form (including offline and online use, push or pull technologies, use in databases and data networks (e.g. the Internet) for display, print and storing on any and all stationary or portable end-user devices, e.g. text readers, audio, video or interactive devices, and for use in multimedia or interactive versions as well as for the display or transmission of the Contribution or parts thereof in data networks or search engines, and posting the Contribution on social media accounts closely related to the Work), in whole, in part or in abridged form, in each case as now known or developed in the future, including the right to grant further time-limited or permanent rights. Publisher especially has the right to permit others to use individual illustrations, tables or text quotations and may use the Contribution for advertising purposes. For the purposes of use in electronic forms, Publisher may adjust the Contribution to the respective form of use and include links (e.g. frames or inline-links) or otherwise combine it with other works and/or remove links or combinations with other works provided in the Contribution. For the avoidance of doubt, all provisions of this contract apply regardless of whether the Contribution and/or the Work itself constitutes a database under applicable copyright laws or not.

The copyright in the Contribution shall be vested in the name of Publisher. Author has asserted his/her right(s) to be identified as the originator of this Contribution in all editions and versions of the Work and parts thereof, published in all forms and media. Publisher may take, either in its own name or in that of Author, any necessary steps to protect the rights granted under this Agreement against infringement by third parties. It will have a copyright notice inserted into all editions of the Work according to the provisions of the Universal Copyright Convention (UCC).

The parties acknowledge that there may be no basis for claim of copyright in the United States to a Contribution prepared by an officer or employee of the United States government as part of that person's official duties. If the Contribution was performed under a United States government contract, but Author is not a United States government employee, Publisher grants the United States government royalty-free permission to reproduce all or part of the Contribution and to authorise others to do so for United States government purposes. If the Contribution was prepared or published by or under the direction or control of Her Majesty (i.e., the constitutional monarch of the Commonwealth realm) or any Crown government department, the copyright in the Contribution shall, subject to any agreement with Author, belong to Her Majesty. If Author is an officer or employee of the United States government or of the Crown, reference will be made to this status on the signature page.

§ 2 Rights retained by Author

Author retains, in addition to uses permitted by law, the right to communicate the content of the Contribution to other research colleagues, to share the Contribution with them in manuscript form, to perform or present the Contribution or to use the content for non-commercial internal and educational purposes, provided the original source of publication is cited according to current citation standards.

§ 3 Warranties

Author agrees, at the request of Publisher, to execute all documents and do all things reasonably required by Publisher in order to confer to Publisher all rights intended to be granted under this Agreement. Author warrants that the Contribution is original except for such excerpts from copyrighted works (including illustrations, tables, animations and text quotations) as may be included with the permission of the copyright holder thereof, in which case(s) Author is required to obtain written permission to the extent necessary and to indicate the precise sources of the excerpts in the manuscript. Author is also requested to store the signed permission forms and to make them available to Publisher if required.

Author warrants that Author is entitled to grant the rights in accordance with Clause 1 "Rights Granted", that Author has not assigned such rights to third parties, that the Contribution has not heretofore been published in whole or in part, that the Contribution contains no libellous or defamatory statements and does not infringe on any copyright, trademark, patent, statutory right or proprietary right of others, including rights obtained through licences; and that Author will indemnify Publisher against any costs, expenses or damages for which Publisher may become liable as a result of any claim which, if true, would constitute a breach by Author of any of Author's representations or warranties in this Agreement.

Author agrees to amend the Contribution to remove any potential obscenity, defamation, libel, malicious falsehood or otherwise unlawful part(s) identified at any time. Any such removal or alteration shall not affect the warranty and indemnity given by Author in this Agreement.

§ 4 Delivery of Contribution and Publication

Author shall deliver the Contribution to the responsible Editor on a date to be agreed upon, electronically in Microsoft Word format or in such form as may be agreed in writing with Publisher. The Contribution shall be in a form acceptable to the Publisher (acting reasonably) and in line with the instructions contained in the guidelines and Author shall provide at the same time, or earlier if the Publisher reasonably requests, any editorial, publicity or other form required by the Publisher.

Publisher will undertake the publication and distribution of the Work in print and electronic form at its own expense and risk within a reasonable time after it has given notice of its acceptance of the Work to Author in writing.

§ 5 Author's Discount for Books and Electronic Access

Author is entitled to purchase for his/her personal use (if ordered directly from Publisher) the Work or other books published by Publisher at a discount of 40% off the list price for as long as there is a contractual arrangement between Author and Publisher and subject to applicable book price regulation.

Resale of such copies or of free copies is not permitted.

Publisher shall provide electronic access to the electronic final published version of the Work on Publisher's Internet portal, currently known as SpringerLink, to Author. Furthermore, Author has the right to download and disseminate single chapters from the electronic final published version of the Work for his/her private and professional non-commercial research and classroom use (e.g. sharing the chapter by mail or in hard copy form with research colleagues for their professional non-commercial research and classroom use, or to use it for presentations or handouts for students). Author is also entitled to use single chapters for the further development of his/her scientific career (e.g. by copying and attaching chapters to an electronic or hard copy job or grant application).

When Author is more than one person each of the co-authors may share single chapters of the Work with other scientists or research colleagues as described above. In each case, Publisher grants the rights to Author under this clause provided that Author has obtained the prior consent of any co-author(s) of the respective chapter.

§ 6 Termination

Either party shall be entitled to terminate this Agreement forthwith by notice in writing to the other party if the other party commits a material breach of the terms of the Agreement which cannot be remedied or, if such breach can be remedied, fails to remedy such breach within 28 days of being given written notice to do so.

On termination of this Agreement in accordance with its terms, all rights and obligations of Publisher and Author under this Agreement will cease immediately, except that any terms of this Agreement that expressly or by implication survive termination of this Agreement shall remain in full force and effect.

§ 7 Governing Law and Jurisdiction

If any difference shall arise between Author and Publisher concerning the meaning of this Agreement or the rights and liabilities of the parties, the parties shall engage in good faith discussions to attempt to seek a mutually satisfactory resolution of the dispute. This agreement shall be governed by, and shall be construed in accordance with, the laws of the Republic of Singapore. The courts of Singapore, Singapore shall have the exclusive jurisdiction.

Corresponding Author signs for and accepts responsibility for releasing this material on behalf of any and all Co-Authors.

Signature of Corresponding Author:

Date:

- ☐ I'm an employee of the US Government and transfer the rights to the extent transferable (Title 17 §105 U.S.C. applies)
☐ I'm an employee of the Crown and copyright on the Contribution belongs to Her Majesty

For internal use only:

Order Number: 86874642

GPU/PD/PS: 15/66/344

Legal Entity Number: 1510 Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd.

Springer-C-CTP-05/2016

2. The Consent to Publish from Oxford University Press:

1/25/2018

RE: permission to use in thesis - Malek Mohammad Nejad, Sarem

RE: permission to use in thesis

COOKE, Sandy <Sandy.Cooke@oup.com>

Wed 2018-01-24 12:26 PM

To: WILSON, Phyllis <PHYLLIS.WILSON@oup.com>; Walker, Ryan <ryan.walker@usask.ca>;

Cc: Malek Mohammad Nejad, Sarem <sarem.nejad@usask.ca>; Alison Bain (abain@yorku.ca) <abain@yorku.ca>; Linda Peake <lpeake@yorku.ca>;

Hi all. We are happy to grant gratis permission for this with the understanding that this is a one-time use and not for any commercial use.

Please let me know if you need anything else.

Kind regards,

Sandy Cooke
Permissions Manager
Global Academic
Oxford University Press
8 Sampson Mews, Suite 204
Don Mills, ON M3C 0H5
Tel: 416-441-5666
Fax: 416-444-0427

From: WILSON, Phyllis

Sent: Wednesday, January 24, 2018 1:21 PM

To: 'Walker, Ryan'; COOKE, Sandy

Cc: Malek Mohammad Nejad, Sarem; Alison Bain (abain@yorku.ca); Linda Peake

Subject: RE: permission to use in thesis

Hi Ryan

I am passing your query along to Sandy Cooke, our permissions manager, who will be able to answer you on this.

All the best
Phyllis

Phyllis Wilson

Managing Editor

Higher Education Division

Oxford University Press

8 Sampson Mews, Suite 204

Toronto, Ontario M3C 0H5

<https://campus.usask.ca/owa/#viewmodel=ReadMessageItem&ItemID=AAMkADU4N2VtZTZlLWRjM2EtNDc3MS1iMTMyLTImMmQ1MjAxMmVkNABG...> 1/2

1/25/2018

RE: permission to use in thesis - Malek Mohammad Nejad, Sarem

Phone: 416-441-5705

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford. It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship, and education by publishing worldwide.

From: Walker, Ryan [<mailto:ryan.walker@usask.ca>]
Sent: January-24-18 1:18 PM
To: WILSON, Phyllis
Cc: Malek Mohammad Nejad, Sarem; Alison Bain (abain@yorku.ca); Linda Peake
Subject: permission to use in thesis

Hello Phyllis (cc'ed to Alison, Linda, and Sarem):

Sarem Nejad, my co-author on the OUP book chapter noted in the attached contract (Bain and Peake edited volume), is preparing for his Ph.D. defence. He has a small, but sufficiently significant excerpt from the published book chapter that he wishes to include (with proper attribution to the chapter, book, and publisher noted on the pages where it is placed) in his thesis.

I am assuming this educational use is fine with OUP, though the attached contract does not address the issue specifically. I am checking in with you to ask permission.

Thank you for your consideration,

Ryan

--

Ryan Walker Ph.D. MQP RPP, Professor and Acting Associate Dean
[College of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies](#)

Regional & Urban Planning

2018  50th Anniversary



UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN