THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN THE USE OF PUBLIC SPACES IN MONTRÉAL

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Abstract

In order for Montréal to position itself as Canada's hub for international activities, the city needs to create public spaces that are welcoming to people of diverse languages. But despite the presence of a significant population of speakers of non-dominant and non-official languages, linguistic diversity is not included as a priority in Montréal's planning policy. The purpose of this research is to understand the relationship between language and the use of public spaces in Montréal. This research addresses three questions: What are the main welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces in Montréal for a linguistically diverse public? What are the social and spatial elements that account for welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces? And what lessons can be learned to best design public spaces for a linguistically diverse public? Multiple methods were used, including a survey that was conducted with twenty French language students, site visits, and literature review on linguistic landscape, behavior setting and multilingual urban planning. The results show that language is not the only factor that affects how people use public spaces. There are a variety of spatial and social features such as accessibility, maintenance, safety, inclusion and tolerance, which determine if a space is perceived as welcoming. Results also show that people in welcoming places are more prone to use their native languages for casual social interactions with strangers and acquaintances, while this does not occur in unwelcoming places. By identifying the location and characteristics of welcoming and unwelcoming places, it is possible to pinpoint the congruence between layout and recurrent actions in public spaces, particularly in those frequented by linguistically diverse people. These findings will help both researchers and practitioners better understand the relationship between language and the use of public space in a multicultural city.

Key words: linguistic landscape, public spaces, multiculturalism, behavior setting, heritage, inclusion, Montréal, Canada

Résumé

Afin de positionner Montréal comme centre d'activités internationales du Canada, la ville a besoin de créer des espaces publics qui sont accueillants pour les personnes dont la langue maternelle n'est pas la langue nationale. Toutefois, malgré la présence d'une population significative de locuteurs de langues non dominants et non officielles, la diversité linguistique ne semble pas être une priorité dans les politiques urbaines de Montréal. Le but de cette recherche est de comprendre la relation entre la langue et l'utilisation des espaces publics à Montréal. Cette recherche répond à trois questions : Quels sont les principaux espaces publics accueillants et peu accueillants à Montréal pour les populations multiculturelles? Quels sont les éléments sociaux et spatiaux qui évoquent des espaces publics accueillants et peu accueillants? Et quelles sont les leçons à tirer en matière de conception d'espaces pour un public au profil linguistique et culturel diversifiés? Plusieurs méthodes ont été utilisées, notamment un sondage mené auprès de vingt élèves de français langue seconde, des visites terrain, et une analyse documentaire sur le paysage linguistique, le comportement du milieu et la planification urbaine multilingue. Les résultats montrent que la langue n'est pas le seul facteur qui affecte la façon dont les personnes utilisent les espaces publics. D'autres éléments sociaux et spatiaux tels que l'accessibilité, l'entretien, la sécurité, l'inclusion et la tolérance, déterminent si un espace est perçu comme accueillant ou non. Les résultats indiquent également que les gens dans les espaces considérés comme accueillants sont plus enclins à utiliser leur langue maternelle pour les interactions sociales occasionnelles avec des étrangers et des connaissances, alors que cela ne se produit pas dans les espaces peu accueillants. En identifiant la localisation et les caractéristiques des espaces accueillants et peu accueillants, il est possible d'identifier la congruence entre l'aménagement et les actions récurrentes dans les espaces publics, spécialement dans ceux qui sont fréquentés par les personnes dont la langue maternelle n'est pas la langue nationale. Ces résultats aideront les chercheurs et les professionnels à mieux comprendre la relation entre la langue et l'utilisation de l'espace public dans une ville multiculturelle.

Mots clés : Paysage linguistique, espace public, multiculturalisme, comportement du milieu, patrimoine, inclusion, Montréal, Canada.

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List of Acronyms

APA	American Planning Association
ARMP	Milton Park Recreation Association
CIP	Canadian Institute of Planners
LL	Linguistic landscape
OUQ	Ordre des urbanistes du Québec
PPS	Project for Public Spaces
STM	Société de transport de Montréal
UQAM	Université du Québec à Montréal
YMCA	YMCA International Language School

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Language plays an important role in how people use public spaces in Montréal. When a space feels 'welcoming', it is more likely to be used (Dyer & Ngui, 2010). The quality of public spaces is increasingly recognised as important to a city's image, the satisfaction of residents and visitors, and to democratic life. Cities with public spaces that are able to cater the different needs of its residents are places that foster innovation and creativity (Florida, 2002; Hannigan, 2010).

In societies that aim for tolerance and acceptance of diverse populations, such as Canada, the design of 'publicly accessible spaces'- whether privately or publicly owned – is seen as a responsibility for local government, one that is sometimes shared with private actors. Governments are expected to provide decent public spaces that foster a sense of community and sociability, while enforcing municipal regulations among private developers (UN-Habitat, 2013). A 'decent place' is understood as one that provides the necessary features to meet the needs of a community, including those of the most vulnerable groups, such as visible minorities, newcomers, seniors and children (UN-Habitat, 2013). Recent studies have also shown that public places contribute to foster urban vitality, which is a combination of unique commercial and leisure opportunities that attract a diverse population at different times (Gemzøe, 2006; Jacobs, 1961; Myrick, 2015; UN-Habitat, 2013; Wunderlich, 2008).

'Welcoming public spaces' are particularly important to processes of inclusion in multicultural cities, where immigrants, those who do not know the city, its customs, or even its dominant language(s) may otherwise feel uncomfortable or excluded. How cities organise spaces and make them 'welcoming' is not often studied or well-understood. As an example, the City of Montréal does not acknowledge in current planning regulations the linguistic diversity of Montréal's population (Ville de Montréal, 2004). These gaps in planning policies are issues that should be addressed as Canadian cities are becoming more multicultural. By integrating consideration of linguistic and other forms of diversity into planning regulations, it is possible to create welcoming places that take into account the specific needs of the community.

However, what municipal authorities see as good public spaces may not correspond with how immigrants and linguistic minorities see themselves as parts of society or what they see as a 'welcoming' space. Municipalities often focus on aesthetic principles in improving public spaces. The literature suggests, however, that a multidisciplinary approach – one that draws on writings on linguistic landscape, behavior setting and multilingual urban planning – is required to create welcoming spaces. The debate also extends to how these places actually accommodate immigrants' needs and make them feel included. The reality is that there are barriers that people experience in the urban landscape, whether they are spatial or social. Spatial barriers are associated to the lack of features such as green spaces, accessibility and signage in more than one language. Social barriers are associated to the lack of sociability, safety and tolerance (Qadeer, 2000; Sandercock, 2003).

The success of public spaces in welcoming people can be measured by the existence of a diversity of residents who are actively engaged in using these spaces (Dyer & Ngui, 2010). Welcoming public spaces are those areas that are open to visitors from any linguistic, ethnic, age and gender backgrounds. When managed efficiently, public spaces have the potential to foster urban vitality, and a sense of inclusion to mainstream society, as well as to provide opportunities for civic engagement. In short, welcoming public spaces serve as a gateway to public life and inclusion for a diverse public. Recognition of linguistic diversity is an important element in creating a welcoming environment in cities with significant populations of speakers of non-dominant or non-official languages. Equally important, it is not sufficient to assess public spaces from the vantage point of experts, municipal authorities or real estate developers; the perceptions of users of these spaces –including those from potentially marginalised groups – need to be explored.

While some public spaces are excellent examples of welcoming inclusive environments, others are identified by linguistic minorities as unpleasant (Croucher, 2008; Driskell, 2002; Dyer & Ngui, 2010; Gehl, & Svarre, 2013; Gemzøe, 2006). Why some spaces are viewed as 'welcoming' and others are not is of importance to city officials, residents and visitors alike.

1.2. Research question

The objective of this research is to understand how language affects the use of public spaces in Montréal. With the use of a survey that was conducted with twenty French language students and a literature review on linguistic landscape, behavior setting and multilingual urban planning, this research paper covers three secondary questions: Firstly, which are the main welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces for a linguistically diverse public in Montréal? Secondly, what are the social and spatial elements that account for welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces? Lastly, what lessons can be learned to best design public spaces for a linguistically diverse audience? A checklist of guidelines to design welcoming spaces for a linguistically diverse public is provided at the end of this project, combined with an analysis on the importance of including linguistic diversity as a feature to be addressed in municipal planning.

1.3. Background

In order to understand the relationship between language and public spaces in Montréal, it is important to take a look at the role of language legislation and immigration in the shaping of urban spaces in this city.

1.3.1. Language legislation

Québec has a population of over 8 million people, with French as the language spoken by the majority. Francophones constitute almost 82% of Québec's total population, while Anglophones represent about 8% of the province's population. The remaining 10% speaks a language other than French or English as their first language (Allophones) (Institut de la statistique du Québec, 2014).

Montréal is well-known for being the Francophone metropolis of North America, but this *visage francophone* is the result of a progressive linguistic policy that emerged after Québec's *Révolution tranquille* in the second half of the twentieth century (Backhaus, 2009). At that time, a minority Anglophone elite was in control of a province with a Francophone majority that was employed in the workforce (Lamarre, 2014). The implementation of a new language legislation represented a change in Québec's power relations.

In 1974 the province adopted the Official Language Act (Loi sur la langue officielle), formerly known as Bill 22, which contained 123 articles about language usage in the public and private domains. Two key articles were Article 1, which recognized French as the official language of Québec, and Article 35, which detailed that public signage should be written in French or in both French and another languages. (Backhaus, 2009). These provisions aimed to counter-balance the predominance of English in Québec's (and particularly Montréal's) linguistic landscape. Both were controversial. Bill 22 increased friction between Francophones and Anglophones: for Francophones, the law did not do much to protect their language; for Anglophones, the law was a threat to freedom of speech (Backhaus, 2009). As a result, Bill 22 was withdrawn in 1977.

The Charter of 1977 (Charter of the French Language-Bill 101/ Charte de la langue française, Loi 101) was proposed by the newly elected Parti québecois. It was much larger in scope than Bill 22 and it recognized French as the language of administration, workplace, business, public schooling and signage (Lamarre, 2014). Bilingual signs were banned to provide Québec with a clear image that French was the language to be spoken and eliminate the opportunity of the audience to choose English to communicate. The articles from Bill 101 that dealt with the linguistic landscape were the following (Backhaus, 2009):

- Art. 22. Use of French in signs and posters of civil administration. An exception was made where reasons of public health or safety required the use of another language.
- Art. 29. French was the only language allowed for traffic signs.
- Art. 58. Signs and posters and commercial advertisings must be displayed only in French.

Two exceptions to the use of French were allowed for messages of religious, political, ideological or humanitarian causes (Art. 59) and signs related to cultural activities by a particular ethnic group (Art. 61). The provincial government created a 'Commission de toponymie' to standardise and officialise the use of French in place names and other geographical nomenclatures (Arts. 122, 125) (Backhaus, 2009). This explains why Chinatown in Montréal uses French street names.

The approval of Bill 101 drew criticism from the federal government. In 1988, the Supreme Court of Canada declared that unilingualism on commercial signage was against the Québec Charter of Human Rights and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Lamarre, 2014). As a result, Article 58 was modified to allow the use of another language in addition to French on signage, as long as the use of French was predominant (Backhaus, 2009).

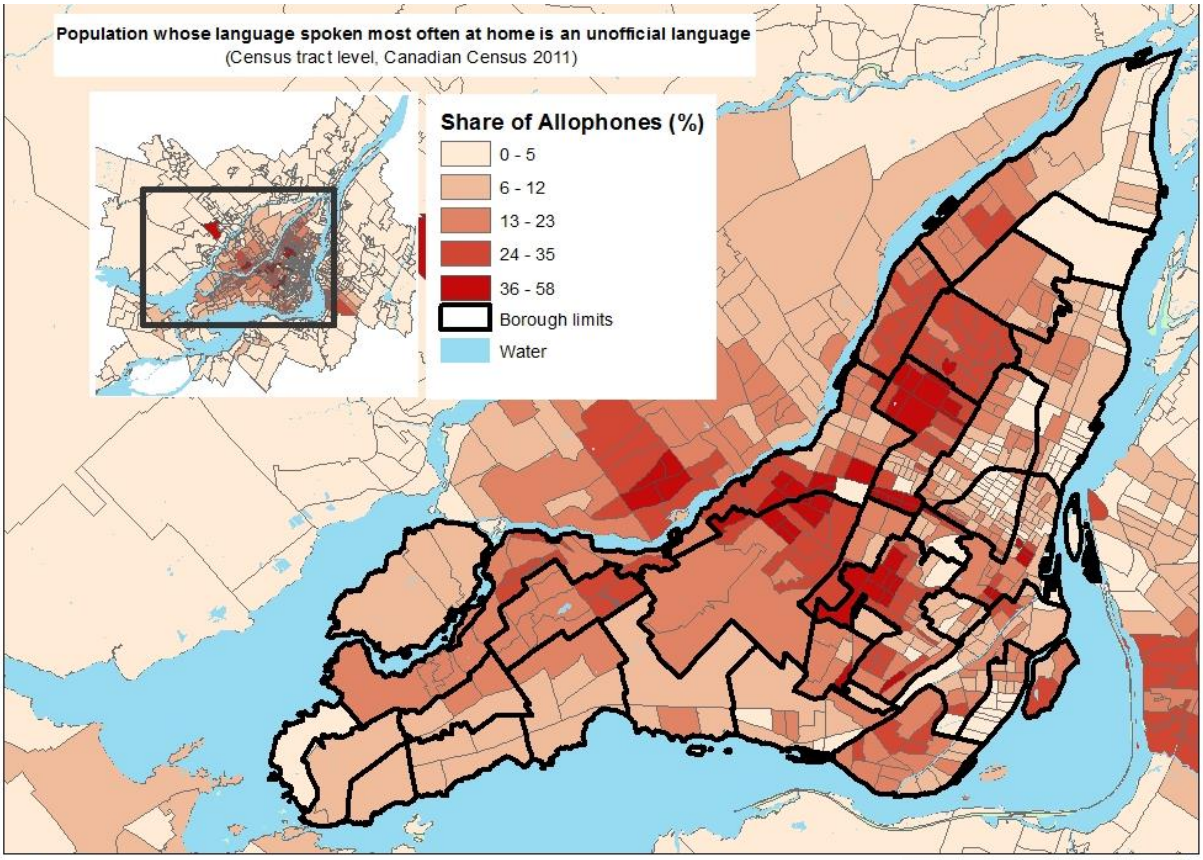
Since then, planning for public (parks, streets, public buildings and libraries) and private spaces has followed the linguistic regulations that originated in the second half of the twentieth century. There are two reasons why Québec's linguistic regulations were approved. On one side, provincial authorities want to ensure that French is the language to be employed in public life (Lamarre, 2014). On the other side, linguistic regulations are a tool to establish power relations between French as the official language and the minority languages that should adapt to the regulations of the dominant linguistic group (Lamarre, 2014). The demographic profile of Montréal's Allophone population is discussed in the next section, including those linguistic minorities with no official status in Canada. Aboriginal languages were not considered as part of the Allophone population. Understanding the profile of Montréal's Allophone population is a key factor in identifying the social and spatial elements that foster welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces in a society influenced by language legislation.

1.3.2. Allophone neighbourhoods in Montréal

Canada is becoming a polyglot country. In 2006, Canada had 18.1 million people whose mother tongue was English, 6.9 million whose mother tongue was French and 6.3 million whose mother tongue was neither English nor French (Statistics Canada, 2006). This last group accounts for 20% of Canada's population. Despite Montréal calling itself a "Francophone city", the reality is that Montréal is a multicultural city with a diversity of languages and a population that is increasingly able to communicate in English and French (Statistics Canada, 2011a). While it is true that French is the native language of 63.3% of Montréalers, there is a considerable number of people whose mother tongue is neither French nor English (Statistics Canada, 2011a). In fact, the use of only French or English at home has declined, while the use of French in combination with a language other than English at home grew to 8.7% (329,000) (Statistics Canada, 2011e).

According to Statistics Canada (2011a), 22% (832,245) of the population in Montréal reported a non-official language as mother tongue (Statistics Canada, 2011a). The most spoken non-official languages in Montréal are Arabic, Spanish, Italian, Chinese (not otherwise specified) and Creole. In addition, Montréal has Canada's largest population of speakers of Arabic and Spanish (Statistics Canada, 2011e). Within Montréal, there are some neighbourhoods that are home of a diverse population. Specifically, two of the most linguistically diverse boroughs in Montréal are Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce (which is also one of the most linguistically diverse boroughs in Canada) and Ahuntsic-Cartierville (Statistics Canada, 2011a). Fig. 1 displays the percentage of the population per census tract whose language most spoken at home is a non-official language (neither English nor French). This map provides information on the location of allophone households within the island of Montréal.

Fig. 1. Population whose language spoken most often at home is a non-official language



Source: University of Toronto, Computing in the Humanities and Social Sciences. (CHASS), http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/, accessed 20 February 2015.

Identifying the location of the Allophone communities in Montréal is the first step to understand the relationship between language and public space in the built environment. Moreover, a spatial description of the distribution of Montréal's Allophone population is essential to appreciate the linguistic diversity that is found in the built environment. The following section provides a brief introduction to multiculturalism and interculturalism as the two main integration policies in Canada and their relationship with the public realm.

1.4. Multiculturalism and planning for public spaces

There are two approaches that have delineated Canada's and Québec's integration policies: multiculturalism and interculturalism. The two of them have indirectly shaped planning principles and practice since the second half of the twentieth century. By understanding these integration policies it is possible to move towards developing a tool that keeps in mind multiculturalism (or interculturalism in the case of Québec) to create welcoming public spaces for diverse populations.

The division of integration policies into these two approaches is the result of Canada's and Québec's different priorities with regards to immigration. In the second half of the twentieth century, Canada's main immigration concerns were economic whereas Québec was preoccupied about its demographic and political agenda (Veronis, 2013). Nevertheless, these two entities shared the common goal of envisioning immigrants as a tool to promote nation-building, identity and citizenship (Veronis, 2013).

Multiculturalism was implemented in the English-speaking provinces of Canada. In 1988, multiculturalism served as a policy to recognize the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledge the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance, and share their cultural heritage (Millar, 2013). Multiculturalism envisions the society as a mosaic of beliefs, practices and customs, not as a melting pot assimilating different racial and cultural groups (Qadeer, 1997). The Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988 defines multiculturalism as a policy designed to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canadians while working to achieve the equality of all. Multiculturalism has two defining principles: the right to practice and preserve heritage (including the right of linguistic minorities to speak their language at home)

and the right to form associations and practice their customs and religions as a group. Newcomers are allowed to maintain their own cultural identity (including their language in the private domain) while they are also expected to assimilate linguistically into at least one of the two official language communities: English or French. In this process, language is seen as the main vehicle for social integration (Millar, 2013).

Interculturalism appeared in Québec as a reaction against multiculturalism. Provincial authorities perceived multiculturalism as a threat to the identity of the Québécois nation. In the 1990s, the federal government signed agreements with provinces and territories to determine concurrent responsibilities in immigration based on regional needs and priorities (Veronis, 2013). As a result, in 1991 Québec and Canada signed the Québec-Canada Accord, which granted Québec exclusive management over the selection of permanent residents (other than refugees and relatives) and the reception and integration of immigrants (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2014). Québec developed interculturalism as an alternative approach to multiculturalism and an attempt to create a unique *visage linguistique et culturel* within Canada.

An intercultural approach defines integration as a two-fold process. It requires newcomers to adapt and adhere to common values, but it also requires openness to diversity in the social milieu of the host society (Millar, 2013). Québec placed the French language as the centre of public life and interaction, limiting the practice of non-official languages and ethnic costumes to the private domain. Immigrants' cultural contributions are accepted but only within the limits imposed by the respect of democratic values. Interculturalism is more explicit than multiculturalism in setting up the limits of tolerance (Huot, 2013). Contrary to interculturalism, multiculturalism does not specify the terms and conditions under which immigrant integration is supposed to happen. While multiculturalism outlines the groups' right to difference, interculturalism focuses on the right to equal participation in a pluralist society (Laxer, 2013).

The federal government distributes generous resources to immigrant organizations and ethnic associations to support activities within their communities, including funds for settlement services to newcomers (Statistics Canada, 2009). However, public opinion has been critical of Canada's multiculturalism for falling short in promoting social, economic and political equality

(Millar, 2013). Another criticism has been that the federal government allocated funding to mainstream organizations instead of ethno-specific organizations. Some of these organizations are not connected with the real needs and concerns of minority communities (Millar, 2013).

Multiculturalism embodies the planning issues related to cultural diversity, such as the uniformity of policies and standards, equity in accommodating the needs of divergent groups, and public versus private interests related to cultural values (Qadeer, 1997). Multiculturalism in planning has the challenge to overcome a Universalist criteria that, in practice, is based on Western, Judeo-Christian values of the dominant communities: the English or the French (Qadeer, 1997). In addition, funding for public spaces shrinks as cities face tighter budgets. Public funding for urban projects usually goes first to major infrastructure projects and public spaces in urban centres are left at the bottom of the priority list (Zwicker, 2015).

Urban areas are Canada's engines of economic growth. The competitiveness of Canadian cities and their possibility to attract national and foreign investment relies, in part, on the quality of their public spaces. These areas work as magnets that attract a creative class and serve as the heart of creative hubs for the knowledge economy (Hannigan, 2010). Canada's development of urban spaces needs to incorporate linguistic minorities, while allowing them to preserve their linguistic heritage (Bollens, 2002). The City of Montréal is known for its public spaces, which are an essential component of urban vitality and promote social interaction (Ville de Montréal, 2004). It is important that these places are open for everyone to visit and engage in the social experience (Fuentes-Calle, 2010), such a perspective only weakly appears in city plans. The Master Plan of the City of Montréal highlights a couple of elements that should be included to create welcoming places. One of these elements is a coherent design of the public realm (streets, sidewalks, parks, plazas and squares) to ensure that public spaces are comfortable, safe and pleasant areas to visit in every season, especially during winter (Ville de Montréal, 2002). Another element is the importance of encouraging pedestrian travel through better design of public spaces (Ville de Montréal, 2004). However, the Master Plan does not recognize the need to include linguistic diversity in the development of welcoming public spaces for a multicultural population. Diversity is only mentioned when it comes to its incorporation as part of street art (Ville de Montréal, 2004).

Public spaces are responsible for fostering sociability and inclusion (Marusic, Niksic, & Coirier, 2010). Furthermore, public spaces have the potential to develop a person's sense of attachment to the urban fabric. If a person feels attached to the city as a whole and not only to the neighbourhood where he or she lives, cultural differences and national identities are easier to negotiate (Roca, 2010). Public spaces are an example of democracy and inclusion in the city, and they do so by accommodating a diverse population of visitors to make use of these spaces for daily encounters and exceptional events (Marcuse, 2006).

According to Roca, the level of appropriation of public space is the best indicator of a city's social well-being (Roca, 2010). Public spaces should be identified as the place for social life and unexpected situations. When public spaces are frequented by people from all over the city, and when these public spaces are open to people from the neighbourhood and from the city as a whole, public spaces can turn into areas of linguistic interaction and cultural dialogue between diverse populations (Roca, 2010).

1.5. Objectives of the Research

Despite official regulations to control the language that is spoken at work, the government cannot control the language that people choose to speak on streets, parks and other public spaces. This research project analyzes how language affects the use of public spaces in Montréal. This project addresses the following secondary objectives.

The first one is to identify what are the main welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces for intercultural comfort in Montréal. This objective is accomplished through literature review on the subject and through the implementation of a research survey to a group of twenty French language students at YMCA International Language School (YMCA) and Milton Park Recreation Association (ARMP). The survey helped to identify the participants' choice of welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces, as well as the social and spatial elements that make these spaces welcoming. Participants were also required to submit photos of these public spaces. The second objective is to identify the elements that account for welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces. This information is obtained from literature review on how to evaluate welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces for different audiences (children, seniors, immigrants, families,

teenagers, linguistic minorities). The third objective is to analyse the lessons on how to best design public spaces for a linguistically diverse public. The research survey and the literature review prove to be useful in meeting this objective. During the implementation of the research survey, participants were asked to identify welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces and to take pictures of these places. A selection of the top three welcoming public spaces and top three unwelcoming public spaces is made based on the responses provided by participants.

A checklist on planning for inclusive multilingual public spaces is prepared from the results of the literature review. This checklist is used to conduct site visits to the top three welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces. The checklist provides a qualitative approach to identify the spatial and social features of welcoming public spaces. The ultimate goal of this checklist is to remind planners and policy makers to keep in mind the importance of these socio-spatial features in order to create welcoming public spaces for linguistically diverse communities. By looking at the diversity of Montréal's linguistic landscape, the City is acknowledging an important part of its cultural heritage. Furthermore, the provision of welcoming public spaces can be used as a platform to attract and retain investors and skilled immigrants who are essential in the consolidation of a knowledge-based economy (Hannigan, 2010). Chapter Two contains information about the methodology adopted for this research project, as well as the contributions of the study for the planning discipline. The last section of Chapter Two presents a brief outline of the content that is covered in each chapter.

1.6. Chapter Outline

This paper is structured in the following manner. Chapter One presents the objective of this research paper, as well as the research question and the background behind the research topic. Chapter Two describes the methodology of the research. The literature review, Chapter Three, includes contributions from different planning perspectives: linguistic landscape, behavior setting and multilingual urban planning, as well as the proposal of the checklist for planning inclusive multilingual public spaces. Chapter Four explains the results from the research survey. A discussion from the survey results and the literature review is presented in Chapter Five. Chapter Six includes the final conclusions on creating welcoming public spaces.

Chapter 2: Methodology

This chapter is structured in three sections. Section 2.1 includes the approach used throughout this project. The contributions of the study are highlighted in section 2.2 to understand the relevance of the topic. Section 2.3 contains a general chapter outline.

2.1. Approach

This research paper employs surveys in order to understand how language affects the use of public spaces in Montréal. In addition, a literature review is conducted on linguistic landscape, behavior setting and multilingual urban planning. A brief explanation of Bill 101 and Montréal's linguistic regulations is presented in Chapter One to provide an overview of Montréal's local context.

Before conducting the survey, a draft was tested with volunteers from the School of Urban Planning and modifications were made. The survey has two sections. Section One consists of 31 questions regarding language, social interactions and the use of public spaces. Participants were invited to provide information regarding public spaces that they found welcoming and unwelcoming. Section Two consists of a photo exercise. Participants were asked to identify at least one welcoming and one unwelcoming public space, take pictures of each public space, and submit the photos with a brief description on why these spaces were welcoming or unwelcoming.

Survey participants were French language students from YMCA International Language School (YMCA) and Milton Park Recreation Association (ARMP). A total of twenty students participated in this project. Eight of these students were from YMCA and twelve from ARMP.

The survey generated information on: public spaces that were considered to be multilingual spots for social interaction; spaces considered to be welcoming and unwelcoming; and reasons why they belonged to one of the two categories.

Excel and ArcMap are used for data analysis of results. Maps are created through ArcMap to map the location of those public spaces identified as welcoming or unwelcoming. Given the

small sample size, no attempt was made to assess the statistical significance of variations in responses to the survey.

Once the results of the survey are analyzed and the necessary visual resources are created, the next step is to develop a list of social and spatial features that contribute to foster welcoming spaces for multilingual interaction. The checklist is titled "Planning for inclusive multilingual public spaces". This document is the result of the literature review on how to create welcoming public spaces for linguistically diverse societies (Appendix E). This checklist integrates recommendations from the American Planning Association (2014), the Canadian Institute of Planners (2015), Project for Public Spaces (2014), as well as from the work of authors such as Driskell (2002), Dyer & Ngui (2010), Fuentes-Calle (2010), Gehl & Svarre (2013), Gemzøe (2006), Mehta (2009), Qadeer (1997), Shohamy & Gorter (2009), and Zeisel (1981). Six site visits are conducted with the help of this checklist that is a reflective exercise to analyze the social and spatial features that planners and policy makers should keep in mind to create welcoming public spaces.

2.2. Contributions of the study

The results of this study are useful in providing advice to municipalities about the social and spatial features that should be considered to create welcoming public spaces for linguistically diverse communities. The literature suggests that there are three elements that people use to analyze language in the city and that are important for the creation of a welcoming public space: behavior setting, bilingual winks and linguistic landscape.

This research project is based on the idea that public spaces for linguistically diverse communities should be considered a central issue in master plans and urban development initiatives given the growing multicultural character of Canadian cities (Qadeer, 1997). When public spaces are designed by having the user in mind, they foster urban vitality and a sense of belonging (Madden, 2010). Welcoming public spaces provide not only physical amenities but also the ability to link these spaces to social meanings and everyday experience (Ferri, 2010).

Chapter 3: Literature review on public space and language

This chapter presents the results from the literature review on public space and language. A review on the literature is an essential step to set the basis for the analysis of the results of the research survey on language and the use of public spaces, and the site visits to welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces chosen from participants' responses. The next section provides a brief explanation on the content of this chapter.

3.1. Addressing difference in the public realm

The socio-linguistic dynamics of public spaces are an important element of diversity in contemporary cities. In cities with a linguistically diverse population, mechanisms to manage co-existence include the creation and maintenance of 'welcoming' public spaces (Qadeer, 1997; Sandercock, 2000). How best to design public spaces for inclusion of diverse publics, and the promotion of tolerance, is a subject of debate between architects, planners, sociologists, linguists, among others. What is meant by a 'welcoming' public space and how one can be identified is the starting point for discussion in this chapter.

Literature on diversity and two types of public environments – public space generally and the street as a particular type of public space – are discussed. Second, in addition to questions of urban design, there are multiple other ways in which researchers say diversity should be viewed; this chapter considers several of these levels, examining normative value-orientations, legislative frameworks, as well as attitudes and inter-personal dynamics, as a basis for understanding how public spaces in cities with linguistic diversity do and could function. Third, the specific case of Montréal is explored by analyzing the diversity of the city's linguistic landscape, which is the result of language regulations and Montréal's multicultural character. A summary is provided at the end of the chapter to review the main findings from the literature and the categories used on the checklist for multilingual public spaces.

3.2. Public spaces and welcoming spaces

Public space is defined as a place that anyone may enter freely, young or old, rich or poor. Public spaces belong to everyone and to no one in particular (Dyer & Ngui, 2010). Public spaces are usually owned and managed by governments, which means that they belong to the people of a city, province, state or country. Some public spaces are owned by non-profit organizations but receive funding from governments to support public use of the space (Dyer & Ngui, 2010). There are many types of public spaces: public parks, public gardens, public beaches, town squares, civic centres, libraries, and streets.

Welcoming public spaces are generally identified by 'users' as settings that are meaningful to them and that provide them with adequate social features (possibilities for social interaction, community events, possibilities for civic engagement, diversity, inclusion), as well as recreational activities enabled by spatial amenities (sports fields, playgrounds, street lighting and access by public transit) (American Planning Association, 2014; Appleyard, 2005; Driskell, 2002; Project for Public Spaces, 2014).

This definition of welcoming public spaces is based on the affordances framework to the study of people and their relationship with the built environment. The 'affordances theory' is based on the premise that a habitat in which humans can flourish, both personally and as a society, is one that affords people's natural behaviors (Gibson, 1979; Myrick, 2015). Affordances are a mixture of public and private hooks that are grouped together at key locations to help furnish spaces, enhancing the area in terms of brand, attraction and performance (Myrick, 2015). The term performance is used to understand how to help communities define their highest priority outcomes (Myrick, 2015). Examples of attractive affordances for public spaces include perpendicular signage, seating and sensory experience through scents and colors (Myrick, 2015).

From an 'affordances theory' approach, welcoming public spaces are those that include physical elements that make public spaces more appealing to users (Gibson, 1979; Myrick, 2015). In each particular case, the affordances that make a public space welcoming for a community are identified and grouped strategically to draw people to use a place or an entire streetscape

(Myrick, 2015). In this process, it is important to identify the audience of a particular project to determine which affordances to incorporate into design (Myrick, 2015).

The 'affordances theory' is related to a 'behavior setting' approach. Both perspectives affirm that people are attracted to and related to the functions of their environment. For example, a bench affords sitting and a soccer field affords outdoor activity. The choice of affordances in public spaces can affect who uses these places. A 'behavior setting' approach is a useful tool to understand the dynamics that generate welcoming public spaces. A behavior setting consists of the study of a particular layout of the environment, a recurrent activity, and the congruence of the relationship between these two elements (Mehta, 2009). The greater the congruence between the particular layout of the environment and the activity, the better the 'behavior setting' is able to meet human behaviors and needs. Mehta (2009) provides the example of personalized storefronts that provide stimulation and interest, leading ultimately to conversation and sociability, as one where there is congruence between urban design (facades) and activity (social interaction in the street), thereby improving the 'welcoming' aspect of streets.

Specific physical elements can help foster the social, recreational, economic and other activities characteristic of welcoming public spaces. Seating, for instance, is a spatial element that can contribute to a welcoming public space (Myrick, 2015). Seating helps to retain people on the streets. In Europe, as one example, subsidies are given to small businesses for street furniture to encourage public life on the streets (Mehta, 2009). When formal seating is absent, people may seek alternatives, creating 'incidental' or 'impromptu' seating on walls, the ground, and other elements of the environment. Some urban designers see such behavior as a sign that actions are needed to create 'talkscapes' for social interaction (American Planning Association, 2014; Gemzøe, 2006; Gibson, 1979; Project for Public Spaces, 2014).

Streets are public spaces that play an important role in catering to functional, social and leisure needs. Neighbourhood commercial streets are important for street life because they are responsible for supporting social interaction and urban vitality (Mehta, 2009). Streets and sidewalks can be seen as the most vital organ of the public realm (Appleyard, 2005; J. Jacobs, 1961; Mehta, 2009). Rather than just a channel for movement of people and vehicles, the

neighbourhood commercial street can be conceived as a public space for shopping, play, relaxation and social interaction (Mehta, 2009; Wunderlich, 2008). It is in streets that cities connect their citizens with one another, and bring together neighbourhoods, communities and people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Streets should be spaces to promote sociability and community engagement (Fenster, 2006). Streets that are in harmony with the built environment also have the potential to be used as spaces for different political, religious, commercial and cultural activities. When a city is able to provide safe, lively and well-maintained streets, a city is nourishing its urban vitality (J. Jacobs, 1961). However, contemporary planning tends to move the development of some traditional functions of the street to the private domain (Mehta, 2009), affecting human presence on the street and the overall impression of 'urban vitality'. The existence of 'dead zones' or 'dead times' may suggest that the area is not safe to visit (J. Jacobs, 1961).

Local residents, and visitors to an area may also shape streets in unexpected ways, contributing or detracting from the character of the street as a public and shared space. Besides the primary activity for acquiring goods and services, people gather in streets to spend time with acquaintances and walk around (Mehta, 2009; Wunderlich, 2008). While walking on the streets people build conscious and unconscious relationships with society and the built-environment (Wunderlich, 2008). The specific types of activities that people participate in can be found by looking at the traces of human activity left on streets (A. Jacobs, 1985; Zeisel, 1981). Some observers suggest that municipalities should pay attention to the use of street furniture for purposes that it was not designed for, such as newspaper dispensing boxes as tables and signs as objects to lean against. Streets where stairs and flowerpots are used for seating highlight people's need for talkscapes (A. Jacobs, 1985; Zwicker, 2015). Streets with low patronage activity, damaged furniture (broken windows) and no people making use of available seating highlight that the area is not safe (J. Jacobs, 1961; Kelling & Wilson, 1982). The different ways in which people interact with the built environment are clues to understand how the built environment is being shaped by human activity (A. Jacobs, 1985; Mehta, 2009). These alternative uses highlight the lack of adequate street furniture to fulfill specific needs as well as local efforts to adapt space to improve its usefulness (A. Jacobs, 1985; Zwicker, 2015).

3.3. Public spaces and linguistic diversity

Ethnic and linguistic communities contribute new recreational and cultural activities to the public life of a locality, and may need (or desire) new types of spaces, facilities, or activities introduced into the public realm (Lorinc, 2006). For instance, in Brampton, Ontario, City councillors approved a revised parks and recreation Master Plan to include the different tastes of the latest generation of Bramptonians (Lorinc, 2006). Sports facilities in Brampton are planned for hockey but also for soccer, cricket, lacrosse, kabbadi and other sports that are popular among Brampton's multicultural population (Lorinc, 2006). This intervention is an attempt to promote inclusion and diversity in the built environment.

Public spaces can be the setting for social interaction between different linguistic communities. For example, public spaces can host community and recreational activities that invite different groups to socialize and learn from each other's language and culture (Fuentes-Calle, 2010). Welcoming streets for multilingual audiences are those that are able to cater different activities in overlapping functions of space and time(J. Jacobs, 1961; Wunderlich, 2008).The promotion of a plurality of spatial forms and functions in the built-environment is a crucial step to ensure positive outcomes while developing a policy of multiculturalism (Qadeer, 1997).

Welcoming public spaces have a crucial role as meeting points for different linguistic groups to get to know each other and learn from each other's differences (Ashcraft & Scheflen, 1976). Getting to kow each other is argued to help eliminate fear of the other (Bollens, 2002), reduce fear of difference (Sandercock, 2000), and promote social integration (Hannigan, 2010; Lorinc, 2006). If community members are not exposed to linguistic diversity through political and social dialogue with members of another linguistic community, individuals might not be able to have the necessary opportunities to experience the linguistic contacts that foster the disposition to learn from each other's language (Landry & Bourhis, 1997).

One way to analyse the linguistic implications of public spaces is by looking at linguistic landscapes. The linguistic landscape (LL) is understood as the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). The LL has

two major functions: informational and symbolic. It is informational because the LL serves as a maker of geographical boundaries between language communities. It is symbolic because it also highlights the language of the dominant linguistic group in public life (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Additionally, LLs are also understood as the study of the presence and use of many languages in a determined geographic area (Kreslins, 2003). Hicks (2002) employs the concept of LL to the study of signage and place-names in Scotland and to identify traces in the built-environment that provide information about the symbolic struggle for space between languages.

A linguistic landscape approach contributes to the understanding of welcoming public spaces because it takes into account the relationship between language and social interaction to the built environment (Bourhis & Landry, 2002). In addition, a linguist landscape approach helps researchers to identify and categorize the signs that can be found in streets and other public spaces. Signs can be categorized as either top-down or bottom-up (Gorter, 2006; Landry & Bourhis, 1997). An approach on linguistic landscape also provides a better understanding of the agent responsible for sending the message and the audience that receives it (Gorter, 2006; Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Furthermore, by analyzing the relationship between agents in the LL, it is possible to analyze as well the power relations in public spaces (Gorter, 2006).

3.4. Normative perspectives

In recent years, planning bodies and planning academics have articulated strong positions on the need for multicultural sensitivity. In an article published at Plan Canada, Qadeer (2000) recognizes the need to accommodate the cultural differences of Canada's multicultural society by revising planning policies, regulations, processes and standards. In doing so, civility and cultural sensitivity need to be instituted in the planning practice (Qadeer, 2000). Planning principles need to serve all groups fairly by taking diverse needs into account (Qadeer, 2000). In the case of Québec, the *Ordre des urbanistes du Québec* (OUQ) recognizes that planners shall act with integrity and commitment to the wellbeing of the community (OUQ, 2015). The Canadian Institute of Planners (CIP) (2015) requires that all professional planners, if working with the code of ethics, should, "…practice in a manner that respects diversity, needs, values and aspirations of the public and encourages discussion on these matters." In addition, it is the responsibility of

planners to "… provide opportunities for meaningful participation and education in the planning process to all interested parties" (CIP, 2015).

These principles are part of the planning guidelines to ensure the planner's responsibility to the public interest, particularly in the creation of welcoming public spaces for multicultural communities. Planning of public spaces must focus on multiple publics (Qadeer, 2000). This is a difficult task, however, because, according to Fuentes-Calle (2010); Qadeer (1997); Sandercock (2004) and Singh (2003), multicultural (and multilingual) cities represent a challenge to traditional planning systems and policies. Multiculturalism poses a challenge to cities in the fields of governance, planning and policy (Sandercock, 2000, 2003).The governance implications include encouraging the political participation of immigrants and the openness of society to new notions of an emerging common identity (Sandercock, 2004). Participation also means expanding the planning practice by designing inclusive spaces and culturally appropriate participatory processes (Sandercock, 2004). Participation involves recognizing and addressing the cultural biases of the built environment (Sandercock, 2004): how planners perceive heritage, the uses and design of public space, and planner's perceptions on 'appropriate behavior' in public spaces and the by-laws that are created to regulate these behaviors. Sandercock (2000, 2003) identifies challenges at the following levels: legislation, planners' attitudes and actions, and community-level biases; each of which is discussed below.

Firstly, the values and norms of the dominant culture are embedded in legislative frameworks of planning, in planning by-laws and regulations (Sandercock, 2003). The legal framework evolved at a time when most societies were not yet multicultural and imagined themselves as more homogeneous than now. The values have not been adapted to the needs of multicultural societies (Sandercock, 2000).

Secondly, these values and norms are not only embedded in the legislative framework, they are also found in attitudes, behavior and practices of policy makers and planners (Sandercock, 2003). This could create cultural misunderstandings between planners and linguistic minorities in the following ways: different communication styles, attitudes toward disclosure (how much information a community member is willing to share), attitudes toward conflict,

attitudes toward teamwork to accomplish tasks, different decision-making procedures and different procedural approaches to planning (Sandercock, 2003).

Thirdly, xenophobia and racism within communities occur in the form of a planning dispute (Sandercock, 2000). For example, a neighbourhood might experience a dispute over the location of a Buddhist temple in a suburban house or the construction of a mosque in downtown. These conflicts are sometimes caused by deep-seated fears and xenophobic attitudes (Sandercock, 2003).

Lastly, a fourth challenge is found when western planners come up with arguments against cultural practices that are different from their own values and practices (Sandercock, 2000). There is a dilemma of control and power: of the state over minorities and of certain community members over others within the minority community itself (Sandercock, 2003).

In many cases planners view themselves as disinterested, objective, scientific observers who are outside culture and who use universal norms when making evaluations (Bollens, 2002). When minority groups wish to obtain approval to develop public spaces or cultural projects to cater their specific needs, planners have used urban design, parking and occupancy standards to prevent these specific projects from happening (Bollens, 2002). The same occurs with economic activities. Strict municipal regulations and high investment costs limit newcomer's economic integration to society (Dyson, 2013). As a result, some of these residents sell their products at streets and public squares with no municipal authorization (Dyson, 2013). Public spaces that do not include the leisure interests of their residents are also an example of how planning is sometimes based in Western cultural values, excluding the social diversity of a community (Sandercock, 2004). In this sense, biases emerge at multiple levels, all of which planners must confront to create more equitable, just, and inclusive cities.

Dialogue can help people to confront biases and, in the process, help create the multicultural city (Sandercock, 2000). Researchers contend planning needs to be understood from a dialogical approach that can bring antagonistic parties together to talk through their concerns. Dialogue between different people, different groups and even different political parties is needed to promote an understanding of each other's differences (Bollens, 2002).

Dialogue helps to set the foundations for welcoming and inclusive public spaces for a linguistically diverse population.

At the local level, planners and policy makers need to understand how a community's culture is maintained, how it changes and how one's own culture affects one's ability to understand that of others (Sandercock, 2000). In this sense, a dialogical approach requires that planners and policy makers spend time in a community and build trust there. Public spaces are a component of such dynamics and, researchers argue, should be incorporated as the areas where different linguistic groups can get to know each other and understand their differences (Ashcraft & Scheflen, 1976).

At the city level, the goal of urban policy ought to be rethought from assimilation to accommodation (Bollens, 2002). From a multicultural planning approach, planning must go beyond simply advocacy for the disadvantaged, though questions of equity remain important (Qadeer, 2000). Planners play an important role in reconciling the varied needs of different cultural, ethnic, and linguistic communities and in assuring that responses to those needs fit with city-wide objectives (Hannigan, 2010; Qadeer, 1997). Qadeer (1997) believes that a good starting point for promoting pluralism in the planning system would be to entrench the Human Rights Code in planning policies and programs, and to make cultural and racial discrimination a legitimate basis for planning appeals. This should be done while taking into account equity and the representation of minorities on public bodies.

In sum, an examination of normative perspectives on multiculturalism and linguistic diversity in the city suggests important principles that underpin this study of public space. In the spirit of making Canadian cities an example of intercultural co-existence, Sandercock (2004) highlights that urban policies need to address cultural difference. This can be done through urban design and civic engagement; urban design serves to accommodate cultural and linguistic differences in a diverse community, while civic engagement allows every voice to be heard in the planning process (Fuentes-Calle, 2010). Advocates of multiculturalism in planning say city governments should find creative ways to make the physical elements of public spaces flexible, both to work with the changing environment and increasing diversity of communities (Fuentes-

Calle, 2010). For instance, in some cities there is street furniture that can be moved by public authorities to multiple locations on the street as needed (Gemzøe, 2006) while in some Parisian public parks visitors can move seating according to their particular needs. This type of design contributes to develop multiple activities for people of all ages, cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Mehta, 2009). Planners are responsible for developing effective communication with the actors involved in the creation of public spaces. In doing so, planners must be sensitive of the cultural needs and perspectives of multilingualism and linguistic diversity, and of the cultural background of the community where the project will be implemented (Sandercock, 2000). When public space is organized properly, it offers the potential to foster urban vitality by allowing individuals to socialize and increase their disposition to know about each other (Amin, 2010). The literature reviewed suggests that public spaces should be used as a setting for linguistic interaction between different linguistic communities. This could be done by using public spaces as the place to host community and recreational activities that invite different groups to socialize and learn from each other's language and culture (Fuentes-Calle, 2010).

3.5. Linguistic diversity and Montréal's built environment

As it was mentioned in Chapter One, Montréal and the rest of Québec conduct an intercultural approach that recognizes the linguistic and cultural contributions of visible minorities as long as French is understood as the language of public life (Veronis, 2013). This vision is found in Bill 101, also known as the Charter of the French Language, which contains the linguistic mandate to ensure the supremacy of the French language in Québec (Croucher, 2008). The *Office québécois de la langue française* (1980) describes the Charter as "A law adopted… to ensure the quality and influence of the French language. It makes French the province's official language, the language of the law, education, communications, business as well as the normal everyday language in the workplace."

Bill 87 is included within the Charter and it complements Bill 101 by ensuring the use of French in signage (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009; Szabó Gilinger, Sloboda, Imii, & Vigers, 2012). These regulations continue to shape street life across neighbourhoods in Montréal (Croucher, 2008).

The presence of signage in one or more languages in streets and public squares attracts different types of users (Gorter, 2006).

Montréal has a wide array of public spaces to offer. The Mile End is well-known for its public spaces that attract a linguistically diverse patronage (Rantisi & Leslie, 2010). The existence of welcoming public spaces and an independent retail scene are two appealing elements that nourish the neighbourhood's street life (Rantisi & Leslie, 2010). The architecture, the presence of a linguistically diverse patronage and the cleanliness of these spaces have turned the Mile End's public spaces into areas of inspiration for a vibrant culture of design (Rantisi & Leslie, 2010). In addition, the availability of public spaces that are open, crowded, diverse, incomplete and disorderly (or lightly regulated), enhances the performance of this creative community (Rantisi & Leslie, 2010). The vibrant life that occurs in streets and public squares is critical in fostering social exchange (Amin, 2010; J. Jacobs, 1961). As a result, the linguistic communities that inhabit the Mile End interact between each other on a regular basis and they do so in public spaces that support a sense of inclusion (Qadeer, 2000; Rantisi & Leslie, 2010). The development of inclusive communities is another concern of the City of Montréal (Sandercock, 2004). Since the mid-1980s, local authorities established an Intercultural Affairs Bureau, under the authority of the Mayor (Sandercock, 2004). The objective of this institution is to support sports and recreational programs that foster sociability and inclusion across different cultural groups (Sandercock, 2004).

Despite municipal efforts in creating welcoming places, the urban vitality of Montréal's public spaces has been exposed to challenges in the last four decades. One of these concerns is the criminalization of street activity performed by vulnerable groups (visible minorities, youth and homeless people), which was declared a public nuisance (Sylvestre, 2010). As a result, in the mid-1990s, the City of Montréal transformed public places into parks to control their opening hours, which made it possible for the police to enforce curfews (Sylvestre, 2010). For example, in 1996, city officials transformed Berri Square into Place Émilie-Gamelin to allow the police to stop youths from gathering and staying overnight (Sylvestre, 2010). Baillergeau (2014) considers that this criminalization of behavior has become a tactic for responding to the presence of visible minorities and other marginalised groups in Montréal's public spaces. Another issue that has negatively affected Montréal's linguistic diversity and urban vitality is the persecution of youth

and visible minorities that practiced public gathering or loitering at public places, especially in parks, streets and subway stations (Sylvestre, 2010). An example of this situation is found in Chinatown. Here, the blurry boundary between cultural behaviors and 'social disorder' is hard to define. The criminalization of particular behaviors in streets and public spaces has fostered a sense of exclusion among visible minorities (Sylvestre, 2010). Chinese immigrants, particularly seniors, prefer to perform community events in their own language within the boundaries of Chinatown. In doing so, these performances are perceived by visitors as 'exotic' or another tourist attraction (Croucher, 2008). Montréal police authorities consider public gathering a 'social disorder' that needs to be prevented from happening (Sylvestre, 2010). This has caused a loss in the organic life of streets and other public spaces, affecting people's possibilities for interaction (Sylvestre, 2010). Baillergeau (2014) and Sylvestre (2010) agree that these security concerns need to be addressed in the place-making process if the City of Montréal has the intention to develop welcoming public spaces for a diverse audience. Acknowledging the diversity of Montréal's linguistic landscape is an important step in developing public spaces that are welcoming by considering the needs of those who are struggling to adapt and use French in their daily lives.

3.6. Montréal's linguistic landscape

An alternative way to address multiculturalism in public spaces is through urban design (Strickland, 2010) and the study of Montréal's linguistic landscape (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). In the 1990s, Montréal implemented a transformation of its built environment (Affleck, 2008). Like many other North American cities, Montréal embraced the 20th century project of cleansing and repurposing its industrial past (Affleck, 2008). This was done in order to draw tourists and locals into some of the city's most popular public places, such as parc du Mont-Royal, place Jacques-Cartier and Place des Arts. The idea behind this project was to position urban plazas as the centre of public life (Strickland, 2010). In addition, urban design for contemporary public squares in Montréal shifted from a 'more' to a 'less' pattern (Affleck, 2008). The City's decision to create minimalistic public squares is based on the assumption that humans and not objects should be the centre of attention in public spaces (Affleck, 2008). By bringing people instead of monuments

to the centre of contemporary public squares, it is expected that sociability and inclusion can be fostered through the public realm (Affleck, 2008).

Whether they are traditional or contemporary, the main streets and public squares in Montréal are accompanied by a diverse linguistic landscape (LL) (Lamarre, 2014; Rantisi & Leslie, 2010). Montréal's LL is the result of Québec's struggle to overcome a social class divide in which a Francophone majority was under the authority of an Anglophone minority (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009).

In this struggle, the province launched a progressive campaign to bring French to the centre of public life (Croucher, 2008; Veronis, 2013). The push for language legislation came in the 1960s with the *Révolution tranquille* to bring changes to Québec's power relations (Fishman, 2001; Lamarre, 2014). Such regulations aimed to improve the status of French as the language to be used in public life (Fishman, 2001).

Language on signage acquired a symbolic function in Québec (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Linguistic regulations aimed not only to preserve Québec's linguistic heritage, they also served as a way to show the new shift on power relations in regards to French as the official language of Québec (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009; Szabó Gilinger et al., 2012). Landry and Bourhis (1997) have found in their research that the absence or presence of one's own language on public signs has an effect on how one feels as a member of a language group within a bilingual or multilingual setting. Having one's own language treated in a specific manner on private and government signs contributes to the feeling that one's language is valued or not in relation to other languages in the built environment (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Exclusion of a visible minority language from public signs can convey the message that such language has little status within society (Landry & Bourhis, 1997).

Language negotiation in Québec is based on the principles of the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101, Chapter VII, Art. 58). Public signage, posters and commercial advertising must be in French only (Québec, 1980). In some cases, the text in French can also be accompanied by another language as long as the text in French is markedly predominant in size. An exception is made for messages of religious, political, ideological or humanitarian nature, which can be

exempt from providing signage in French (Québec, 1980). However, the Government has the final decision on the cases where public signs, posters and commercial advertising must be in French only, French and another language or in another language only (Québec, 1980). Ironically, Québec's efforts to position French as the dominant language have resulted in a growing number of bilingual Montréalers who are able to understand the complex dynamics of the LL (Lamarre, 2014). The existence of a growing bilingual population that is able to read signs in English and French is a representation of the success of Québec's *projet de société* (a societal project launched during Québec's *Révolution tranquille* to improve the status of French and French speakers) that differentiates the province from the rest of Canada (Veronis, 2013).

In order to understand the role of language in the development of welcoming public spaces in Montréal, it is helpful to view the linguistic landscape as a space of human activity involving the presence, dominance and vitality of languages and the struggles that take place over public space (Lamarre, 2014). A two-fold approach that focuses on the actors who control the linguistic landscape and the communities that receive the message is helpful in understanding the struggle over public space between different linguistic groups (Marten, Van Mensel, & Gorter, 2012).

Bilingual wordplay has emerged as a result of Québec's language policy. Bilingual wordplay is observed in the form of 'winks' that portray a comic, yet interesting, relationship between French and other languages (Lamarre, 2014). Bilingual winks in Montréal have different features depending on the landscape where they are found (Lamarre, 2014). Signs on federal government buildings are meant to meet informational and symbolic functions. They inform the audience in the two official languages while providing a symbolic recognition of the two language communities. The story is different for commercial signage, which is sometimes the consequence of humorous wordplay as a response to Québec's linguistic regulations. For example, during her site observations in Westmount, Lamarre found a shoe store named *Chouchou*, which is translated along the lines of 'sweetiepie' and is pronounced as 'shoe-shoe' (Lamarre, 2014). This is a bilingual wink that plays with pronunciation. Another example is from a store named T & Biscuits, which can be read *thé et biscuits* or tea and biscuits (Lamarre, 2014). Other locations go further and play with letters as symbols. Another store is named *Niü dentisterie esthétique*

(Lamarre, 2014). Here, the umlaut is used as a happy face. As a culturally diverse neighbourhood, the Mile End also offers some examples of 'bilingual winks'. For instance, during site observations on avenue du Parc, a shoe store is named M.E.K., an abbreviation for 'Mile End Kicks' (Fig. 2). This sign is not violating language regulations because it is displaying a store name in French (MEK is a homophone for *mec*, which means guy). Most of the bilingual winks are located on boulevard Saint-Laurent towards the west. 'Bilingual winks' are a contestation of Québec's language legislation but also an expression of a new bilingualism in 'Anglophone' neighbourhoods (Lamarre, 2014). Interestingly, Lamarre (2014) did not find bilingual winks or wordplays in signage from provincial authorities. In regards to the federal government, the authorities display English and French as equals but separately. Lamarre believes that language dynamics in Montréal's built environment have evolved from "language as a battlefield" to "language as a playing field." (2014).

The history and diversity of Montréal's linguistic landscape can also be found throughout three of the main streets of the city: rue Notre-Dame, rue Sainte-Catherine and boulevard Saint-Laurent. These three roads depict signs in buildings, plazas and boutiques that are a reminder of how language has shaped Montréal's built environment. Rue Notre-Dame is a public space of contested memories. Historical monuments, squares and other places found along the street are a remnant of the competition between major linguistic groups to shape perceptions of history (Gordon, 2001). Being one of the oldest streets, it is possible to find signs in English and French through the architecture of its historic buildings that depict Montréal's colonial and industrial past (Gordon, 2001).

Another important road is rue Sainte-Catherine, which became the new centre of commerce and entertainment activity in Montréal, particularly in the 20th century (Linteau, 2010). Lastly, boulevard Saint-Laurent has historically been the dividing line between English- and French-speaking Montréal (Charlebois & Linteau, 2014). The street depicts commercial activity that was once identified as part of Montréal's red district of cabarets and bars (Charlebois & Linteau, 2014). Streets are not the only public spaces that contain information about Montréal's linguistic heritage. Public squares, parks, historic buildings and commercial signs contain traces of old and new identities in Montréal's neighbourhoods.

Fig. 2. Boutique MEK: Mile End K!cks, avenue du Parc

Source: Author.

To the east of Mont-Royal, the Mile End is home to a Portuguese plaza and residential units that display Catholic symbols in Portuguese; butcheries with names in Hebrew; hair salons with names in Greek and Mandarin; and Greek food restaurants with posters in Arabic (Rantisi & Leslie, 2010).

Public spaces contribute to make Montréal more competitive when it comes to attracting social capital. In a globalized world, cities rather than States, are the main actors competing for investment and social capital (Zwicker, 2015). The race of innovation is a never-ending challenge and in this competition, public spaces play an important role. When planned and managed

efficiently, public spaces can turn into magnets to attract and retain the creative class that is needed in a knowledge economy (Hannigan, 2010) (Zwicker, 2015). Furthermore, in the discussions for developing welcoming public spaces it is important to consider inclusion of linguistic minorities (Fuentes-Calle, 2010).

3.7. Summary

This chapter presented the findings from the literature on public spaces and language. In the study of welcoming public spaces, the literature review informs that there are three dimensions that people use to analyze language in the city: behavior settings, bilingual winks and linguistic landscape. A 'behavior setting' dimension contributes to develop a better understanding of how people are attracted and relate to the functions of their environment (Mehta, 2009). On the other hand, bilingual winks provide information on the existence of bilingualism and the ways in which language is negotiated in the community (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). A deeper understanding of the linguistic character of public spaces is possible through a 'linguistic landscape' approach, which highlights the historic character of a neighbourhood, how language regulations have shaped the built environment and the relationship between linguistic minorities and the official majority group (Gorter, 2006; Landry & Bourhis, 1997; Shohamy, Ben Rafael, & Barni, 2010; Shohamy & Gorter, 2009).

These three dimensions are the basis to prepare a checklist on planning for inclusive multilingual public spaces (Appendix E). The checklist provides a qualitative approach to identify the features in terms of public space and language that characterize welcoming public spaces. The categories of the checklist are: tolerance, safety, gathering places and activity settings, access to nature, community image and identity, land tenure, and accessibility. Below is a brief description of each category and their relationship to the dimensions that people use to analyze language in the city.

The behavior setting comprises the study of human relations to the built environment (Mehta, 2009). It also analyzes the presence of affordances in places. The categories identified within this first dimension are tolerance, safety, and gathering places and activity settings. Tolerance evaluates if a person feels welcome in the public space, regardless of the person's

linguistic background (Driskell, 2002; Qadeer, 2000)). Tolerance also takes into account if people interact with other linguistic and cultural groups and if there is a sense of belonging and being valued (Driskell, 2002). In regards to safety, the checklist analyzes if people are able to move around the area on their own, without fears of being attacked (Driskell, 2002; Sylvestre, 2010). In addition, safety takes into account if the public space is used by different groups of people, if it contains elements that foster a feeling of safety (street life, street watchers, overlapping functions of space and time) (Birenbaum & Sagarin, 1973; Esses, 2012; J. Jacobs, 1961) and if people feel protected against unpleasant sense experiences (noise, rain, snow, cold, heat, pollution, among others) (Appleyard, 2005; Gibson, 1979).

In the case of gathering places and activity settings, a welcoming public space offers a variety of activity settings, including places where people can meet friends, talk, or be part of recreational or sports activities (American Planning Association, 2014; Driskell, 2002). People can also get involved in community work, shopping activities at adjacent businesses or simply become observers of action on public places (Birenbaum & Sagarin, 1973).

Bilingual winks involve those categories that provide information on the role of multilingual signage to foster a feeling of inclusion and develop welcoming public spaces. In addition, the existence of bilingual signage facilitates social interaction and the negotiation of language in linguistically diverse communities (Gorter, Marten, & Mensel, 2012; Landry & Bourhis, 1997). The categories related to this dimension are safety; access to nature; accessibility; land tenure; and community image and identity. For the first four categories, a welcoming public space offers bilingual signage that guides people around the area, ensuring safety while facilitates people's access to natural amenities, means of transport and inviting visitors to community activities (American Planning Association, 2014; Driskell, 2002; Shohamy & Gorter, 2009; Wunderlich, 2008). In the case of land tenure, the checklist takes into account if there are signs indicating threats of relocation of displacement from authorities, private developers or landowners (Driskell, 2002; Dyer & Ngui, 2010). This category also evaluates if there are residential and non-residential properties with signs in different languages (Dyer & Ngui, 2010).

Lastly, the linguistic landscape dimension analyzes the relationship between language and social interaction to the built environment (Bourhis & Landry, 2002). The linguistic landscape is viewed as a space of human activity involving the presence, dominance and vitality of languages and the struggles that take place over public space (Lamarre, 2014). A two-fold approach that focuses on the actors who control the linguistic landscape and the communities that receive the message is helpful in understanding the struggle over public space between different linguistic groups (Marten, Van Mensel, & Gorter, 2012). The two categories that belong to this dimension are community image and identity; and land tenure. The existence of heritage sites in the area and the incorporation of public art are evaluated as part of community image and identity (Affleck, 2008; American Planning Association, 2014; Driskell, 2002; Project for Public Spaces, 2014). The presence of commercial activity in the community that caters a diverse linguistic clientele is included under land tenure (Project for Public Spaces, 2014).

The information obtained from the literature review on public spaces and language, and the implementation of the checklist (Appendix E) set the foundations to analyze the results from research surveys, site visits and photo exercises. These results are analyzed in Chapter Four.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis

This chapter presents an analysis of the findings obtained from the research survey, photo exercise and site observations. Participants were twenty French-language students from YMCA International Language School (YMCA) and Milton Park Recreation Association (ARMP). The results from the survey and photo exercise provide information on how these students understand the relationship between language and public spaces in Montréal. These results reflect the perspective of the participants and they are not intended to reflect the overall perspective of French-language students in Montréal. Participants were invited to take photos of those spaces that they perceived as welcoming and unwelcoming for linguistic diversity. Participants who agreed to submit photos provided a more personal view of these places. These photos are presented after analyzing the findings from the research survey. Lastly, site visits were performed to those public spaces identified by participants as welcoming and unwelcoming. The places that were selected were the three most mentioned for each category. Chapter Four concludes with an overall summary of the research findings.

4.1. Findings from surveys and photos

Twenty participants were asked to complete a survey with two sections. Section One contains 31 questions related to people and the use of public spaces. Section Two contains a photo exercise in which participants are invited to take pictures of at least one welcoming and one unwelcoming public space in Montréal. Participants are French language students from ARMP and YMCA. From these 20 participants, 12 are enrolled at ARMP: 7 from French Intermediate level, 5 from French Beginner level. The other 8 students are enrolled at YMCA: 6 from Conversation 4 (Intermediate-Advanced level) and 2 from Conversation 5 (Advanced level).

The survey was conducted in two days. On the first day, participants were asked to answer the 31 questions of Section One. They were also given the instructions to complete Section Two (the photo exercise), which was conducted on the second day. Participants submitted their photos via Google Drive. The survey was conducted in English at ARMP and French at YMCA. In the event that participants were not able to understand the meaning of the sentence, translation

support was available in English, French and Spanish. The next paragraphs analyze the results from the survey responses, as well as the photo exercise and site visits.

4.1.1. Analyzing the personal profile of the participants

Twenty people participated in the survey. Participants are mostly women (80%) and 13 of them are between 19 and 35 years old. 80% of the participants were not born in Canada. Only 25% of them have English as their native language, while 75% have non-official languages as their native language. The two most common non-official languages are Spanish and Portuguese, spoken by 25% and 20% of the interviewees respectively.

4.1.2. Communication in public spaces

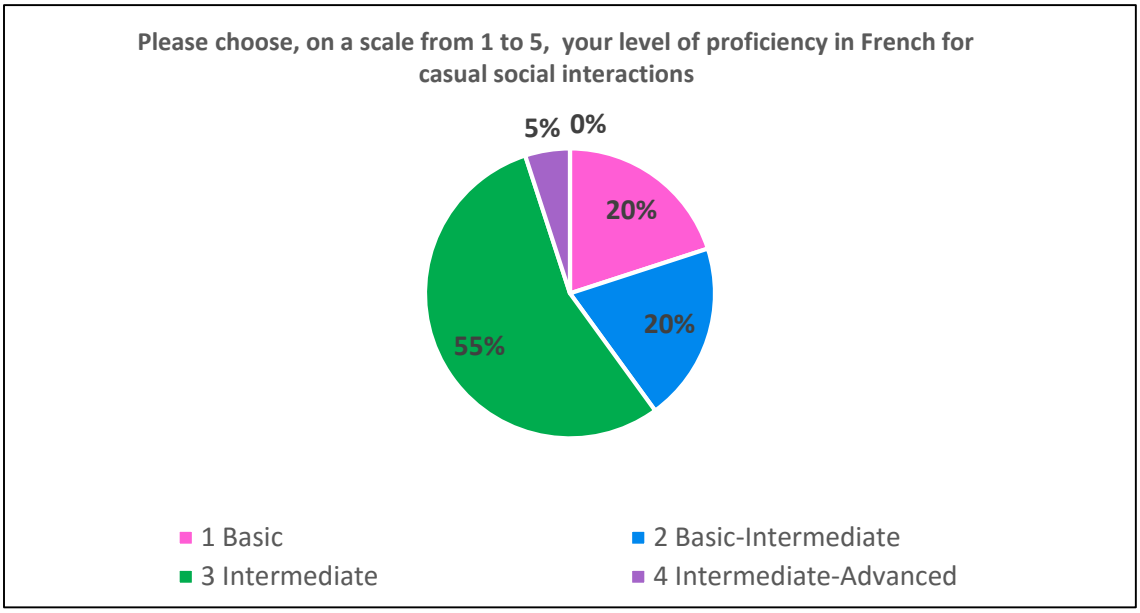
When it comes to casual social interactions, 55% of the participants (11 out of 20) have an intermediate level of French, while 20% of the participants (4 out of 20) have a basic-intermediate level. None of the participants reported having an advanced level of proficiency in French (Chart 1.). This is an interesting result because, although the YMCA reported six students registered at Intermediate-Advanced level, and two at Advanced level, only one student felt comfortable enough to choose an Intermediate-Advanced level of proficiency in French for casual social interactions. In addition, when unable to communicate effectively in French, 14 of the 20 participants use English or employ a combination of different methods together with English to communicate ideas: gestures, use of the native language or use of known words in French.

In question 3, participants identified the most linguistically diverse public space in Montréal (regardless of its condition as welcoming or unwelcoming). Participants provided an extensive list of 13 places. From this list, frequency is calculated to obtain the top three linguistically diverse public spaces in Montréal (Table 1).

The results show that language has an impact on people's level of comfort in Montréal's public spaces. The survey asked about people's level of comfort with particular linguistic groups in public spaces. 65% of participants feel more comfortable surrounded by Anglophones, whereas only 5% reports to feel more comfortable surrounded by Francophones. Additionally, 4 out of 5 students enrolled at French Beginner level mentioned that they feel comfortable

surrounded by English speakers. All the students from Intermediate level agreed that being surrounded by English speakers is more comfortable for their daily lives. The only student that feels more comfortable with Francophones is a student from Advanced level.

Chart 1. Level of proficiency of French language students.



Source: Prepared by author with information obtained from survey results.

Table 1. Linguistically diverse public spaces in Montréal.

Code	Response Item	Frequency	Percent
1	McGill/Concordia Campuses	4	20%
2	Parc du Mont-Royal	5	25%
9	Downtown (rue Sainte-Catherine)	3	15%

Source: Prepared by author with information obtained from survey results.

There is no clear consensus whether or not having a good grasp of French is necessary to enjoy public spaces in Montréal (55% said yes versus 40% who said no). During the implementation of the survey at ARMP the students explained that the importance of French in enjoying public spaces depends on the specific context of the activity being performed.

The same lack of consensus occurred when participants were asked if their comfort level with French communication determines which public spaces they use. Eight participants agreed on this issue, while 12 participants mentioned that their comfort level with French communication does not determine which public spaces they use. Sixteen participants said that the presence of speakers of their native language does not influence their decision of where to go in the city. It is interesting to compare this answer with the actual selection of welcoming public spaces between participants in Montréal. Although half of them mentioned that their comfort level with French communication is not a determinant, the reality is that the three public spaces that participants identified as the most welcoming ones have a presence of English and other languages such as Chinese, Arabic and Spanish interacting with French in the linguistic landscape. The presence of English speakers is another factor affecting participant's feeling of security and inclusion at public spaces.

The results also show that 16 out of 20 participants (80%) feel comfortable speaking their native language in public spaces. However, this trend changes when participants are asked if they use their native language for casual social interactions at welcoming and unwelcoming public places. At unwelcoming places, the use of native languages is almost non-existent, whether for social interactions with strangers or acquaintances. The linguistic features of welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces are presented in the next sections.

4.1.3. Identifying welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces for a linguistically diverse audience

This section presents the main findings in regards to the use of language at welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces. Fig. 3 identifies the location of welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces, as well as additional relevant features such as linguistically diverse public spaces and welcoming or unwelcoming boroughs. A comparative table is available in Appendix F to summarize the survey findings on language at welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces. In analyzing this section of the findings, it is important to keep in mind that the concept of 'native language' is used to identify the native language of participants whose mother tongue is neither English nor French.

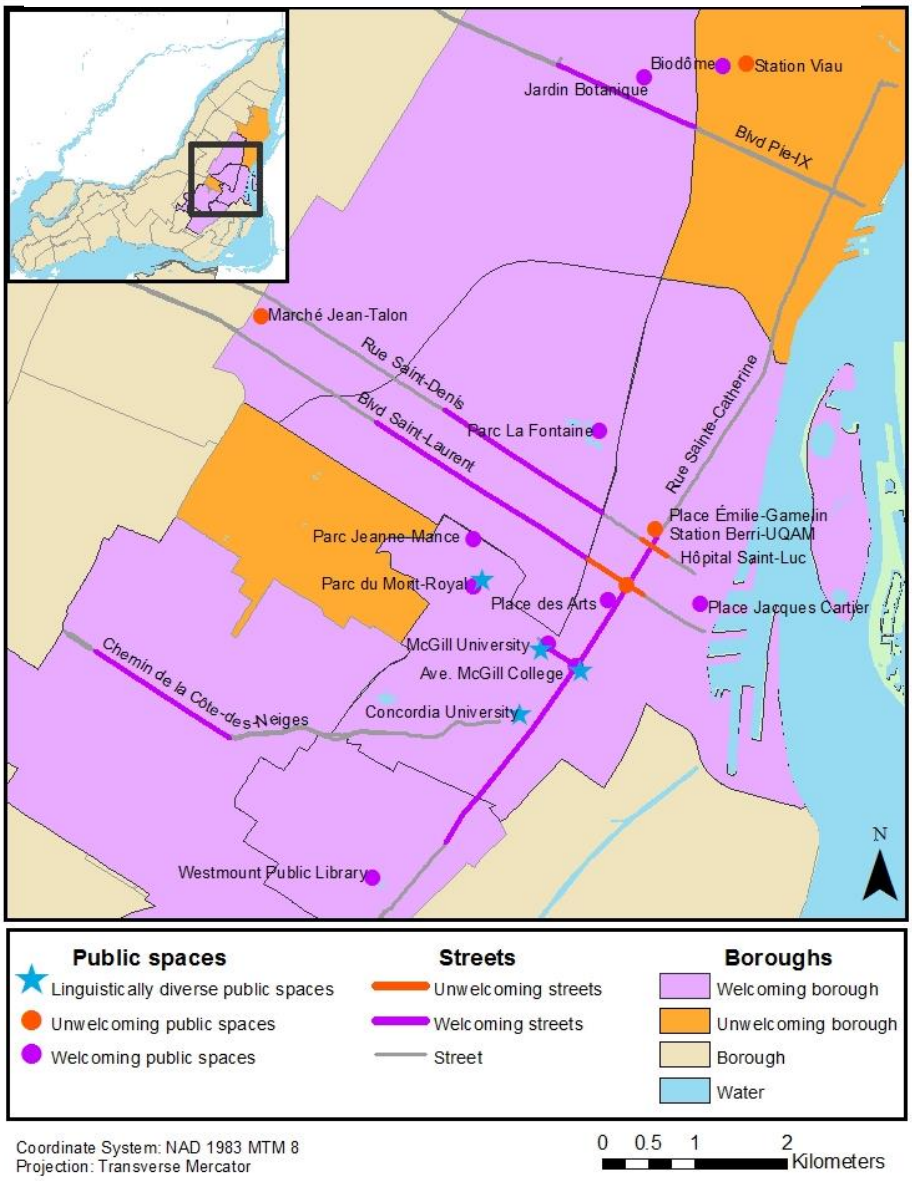
4.1.3.1. Welcoming public spaces

Participants were asked to provide the names of the three most welcoming public spaces for a linguistically diverse audience in Montréal. Participants mentioned a total of 19 public spaces. Their top choices were the corner of avenue McGill College with rue Sainte-Catherine, parc du Mont-Royal (specifically the tam-tams), Vieux-Montréal, Westmount and McGill University (downtown campus). In the case of Westmount and Vieux-Montréal, site visits were performed to Westmount Public Library and place Jacques-Cartier based on the comments from the participants. Fig. 3 shows the location of the most mentioned public spaces, boroughs and streets. The welcoming public spaces for a linguistically diverse audience are located within the following boroughs: Le Plateau-Mont-Royal; Ville-Marie; Rosemont-La-Petite-Patrie; Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce; and within the municipality of Westmount. These public spaces include streets, parks, plazas, libraries and heritage sites. The designation of welcoming and unwelcoming boroughs and streets in the map is based on the responses provided by participants. Instead of mentioning specific welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces, some participants mentioned the names of boroughs or streets.

The places identified as linguistically diverse public spaces are depicted with a blue star. The names of these places are: the downtown campuses of both McGill and Concordia University, avenue McGill College and parc du Mont-Royal.

Participants were asked about the language they use to communicate with strangers and acquaintances at welcoming public spaces. When communicating with strangers, participants use either English (8 participants) or French (6 participants). A few of them use English and French (4), while only 2 of them use their native language. The results change when participants are asked how much they mix French with another language when they talk to strangers at welcoming public spaces. In this case, none of the participants communicate only in French and 11 participants communicate mostly in another language (predominantly in English, 10 participants) and a few times in French. There were 6 participants who communicate mostly in French and a few times in another language (predominantly in English, 5 participants).

Fig. 3. Welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces in Montréal



Source: Prepared by author with information obtained from survey results.

When communicating with acquaintances at welcoming public spaces, the results change in regards to the role played by French because none of the participants communicate only in French. Participants were also asked how much they mix French with other languages when communicating with acquaintances at welcoming public spaces. None of the participants communicate only in French and 17 participants communicate mostly in another language (predominantly English, 13 participants) and a few times in French. The number of people who

communicate with acquaintances, in a language other than French at welcoming places, is higher than those who communicate with strangers. When people communicate with acquaintances, their native language plays a bigger role since English falls from 17 to 13 participants, while native languages rise from 2 to 7. The native languages that participants used to communicate with acquaintances at welcoming places were Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic and Turkish.

The language dynamic changes when participants communicate with strangers and acquaintances at unwelcoming public spaces. When communicating at unwelcoming public spaces, the use of participant's native language is almost non-existent, while there is a slight increase in the use of French. These results are found when interacting either with acquaintances or strangers. Section 4.1.3.2 presents the findings at unwelcoming public spaces.

4.1.3.2. Unwelcoming public spaces

In addition to identifying welcoming public spaces, participants were asked to identify those public spaces that they perceive as unwelcoming for a linguistically diverse audience. Some participants identified boroughs instead of specific public spaces. The three most popular unwelcoming public spaces are: boulevard Saint-Laurent corner with rue Sainte-Catherine, place Émilie-Gamelin and rue Saint-Denis from rue Sainte-Catherine to boulevard René-Lévesque. Participants also mentioned hôpital Saint-Luc as an unwelcoming public space because there is a lack of staff willing to help patients in a language other than French.

When communicating with strangers at unwelcoming public spaces, the use of English is more common, while the use of the participants' native language is non-existent. Five participants use French to communicate with strangers at unwelcoming public spaces, 9 participants use English, and 5 participants use English and French. An interesting point is to analyze how much participants mix French with other languages. While there are no participants who speak only in French at welcoming places, 4 participants mentioned that they only communicate in French at unwelcoming places. In the case of interacting with acquaintances, the results differed between welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces. None of the participants use French to communicate with acquaintances when in welcoming public spaces, whereas when in unwelcoming public spaces, 3 participants use French. The number of participants who use

English is the same in both cases. The number of participants who use their native language diminished from 5 for welcoming public spaces to 3 for unwelcoming public spaces. The number of participants who speak English and a native language remains slightly the same (3 participants), as does the use of the combination of French, English and a native language (2 participants).

Participants mix French into the conversation at different levels when they communicate with acquaintances at unwelcoming public spaces. Contrary to what happened in welcoming public spaces, one person reported communicating only in French with acquaintances at unwelcoming public spaces, despite lack of full proficiency with the language. The number of participants who communicate mostly in French, with a few additions in another language, increased from 1 (welcoming public spaces) to 3 (unwelcoming public spaces). In addition, the number of participants who communicate with acquaintances mostly in another language and a few times in French decreased from 15 at welcoming public spaces to 11 at unwelcoming public spaces. The "another language" that was mentioned by participants was predominantly English (11 participants out of 18). Four non-official languages that participants identified as their native languages were Portuguese, Spanish, Arabic and Turkish.

The last section of the survey contains 8 questions related to participants' recent experiences at unwelcoming public spaces. This section was not answered by 7 out of 20 participants who said they had not experienced a situation that made them feel unwelcome in a public space. Therefore, the responses of these questions are based on the 13 participants who provided an answer. Participants were invited to think of the last time that they felt uncomfortable in a public space. They identified 12 public spaces which are listed in Table 2.

Participants went to these places for different reasons. In the case of the metro stations, participants went there for transportation purposes. In other cases, participants went to these places for recreational purposes (meet with friends, shopping, brunch) or to see a performance. Other participants went to these places to receive a public service (medical check-up). These are all daily activities situated in different settings. Some of these activities are related to language, some of them are not. For instance, one of the participants explained that she felt very

unwelcome when she went to the hôpital-Dieu because she was feeling ill and the people working there refused to communicate in English.

Table 2. Public spaces where participants experienced a recent unwelcoming experience

1. Place Émilie-Gamelin
2. Parc Maisonneuve
3. Hôtel-Dieu
4. Berri-UQAM Metro Station
5. Metro Pie IX
6. Laurier metro Station
7. Hôpital Saint-Luc
8. Restaurant in the Plateau
9. Avenue du Mont-Royal
10. Rue Rachel
11. Longueuil
12. Green line between Guy-Concordia and Atwater stations

Source: Prepared by author with information obtained from survey results.

On the contrast, a participant recounted going to view a performance in place Émilie-Gamelin where he felt very unwelcome and uncomfortable because people were consuming alcohol and drugs. In this case, safety –among the various social aspects shaping the character of public space - played an important role in determining whether the space was seen as welcoming or not. Six out of 13 participants reported that unilingual signage in French is a key issue that contributed to make their experiences unwelcoming.

There is no clear finding on the impact of being alone versus accompanied as a determinant of a welcoming or unwelcoming experience at a public space. Of the 13 participants who reported an unwelcoming experience at a public space, 6 participants were in company of someone, while 8 were alone. For half of these participants the main language spoken during that experience was English (7), followed by French and a mix of English (4) and French (2). Finally, the results of the survey show that for 10 out of 13 participants, the majority of the people at the unwelcoming public space were not speaking the same language as the participant. A comparative view of participants' responses in relation to language at welcoming and

unwelcoming places is presented in Appendix F. Special attention must be given to the size of the sample in this study (20 participants). While it is true that it is not a big sample, small variations may be indicative of different practices in and perceptions of public spaces. For this reason, Appendix F is as specific as possible in regards to the responses provided by participants. The next section includes the results on the social and spatial elements that make public spaces welcoming.

4.1.4. Social and spatial elements that make public spaces welcoming

One of the main objectives of this survey is to identify the elements of social life that make public spaces welcoming. Participants were asked to rank a list of features in order of importance, with 1 being the most important feature and 6 being the least important one.

Based on the information collected from the surveys, the six most important social features that make public spaces welcoming are, from 1 to 6: safety, everyone is allowed to visit this public space, sociability (tied with availability of a professional staff for public services), diversity of people and availability of community events. Participants also identified the spatial elements that account for welcoming public spaces. The structure of this question was the same as for the previous one. Participants were provided a list of 8 features and they were asked to order them from 1 being the most important to 8 being the least important one. The list goes in the following order: easy access by public transit and walkable streets, clean and well-maintained environment, fields and playground that can be used year-round, aesthetic beauty through landmarks or art (monuments, ornaments, planting strips), possibilities for sitting, (tied with street lighting), access to natural settings and signs in more than one language.

Signage in more than one language played a minor role in determining if a public space is welcoming. Participants were more concerned with other physical features where language plays an indirect role such as access by public transit and a clean and well-maintained environment.

While conducting site visits, it was possible to identify in the built-environment the top 3 social and spatial features that participants chose as the main elements for welcoming public spaces. The results of these site observations are discussed in section 4.2, after presenting the results from the photo exercise (section 4.1.5).

4.1.5. Photo Exercise

A total of 8 out of 20 participants answered the second section of this survey, which involved a photo exercise. It was expected that a reduced number of participants would be willing to complete the exercise since it required that participants have a device to take photos and be able to transfer them electronically. Participants delivered their photos through Google Drive and submitted their comments in person during the second day of the survey.

4.1.5.1. Welcoming public spaces

The following photos illustrate participants' perception of welcoming public spaces for linguistic diversity. Fig. 4 shows a street crossing on rue Sainte-Catherine and rue Drummond. This area is frequented by students and professionals. The street intersection is close to two universities: McGill and Concordia. The participant mentioned that this is a welcoming public space because it is possible to move throughout the area without experiencing safety concerns. In addition, the participant highlighted the existence of signage in more than one language and the willingness of store employees to communicate in English and French as positive aspects of the site.

Fig. 4. Intersection of rue Sainte-Catherine and rue Drummond

Source: Anonymous participant.

The presence of signage in more than one language and the possibility to communicate in English and French are two factors mentioned by two other participants who provided pictures of McGill University. Fig. 5 is located near the intersection of rue Sherbrooke and rue McTavish. Fig. 6 was taken from an office building on rue University and rue Sherbrooke. Participants also mentioned that the diversity of people that could be seen at McGill University campus and the opportunity for anyone to visit this place are elements that make of McGill University a welcoming place for linguistic diversity.

Fig. 5. Intersection of rue Sherbrooke and rue McTavish

Source: Anonymous participant.

Fig. 6. View of McGill downtown campus from office building on rue University

Source: Anonymous participant.

Two other participants submitted photos of public spaces characterized by their heritage value. To the left, Fig. 7 shows the église Saint-Enfant-Jésus du Mile End. To the right, Fig. 8 is a photo of place Jacques-Cartier. Located in two different neighbourhoods, participants mentioned that it is the heritage and cultural value of these spaces that makes them welcoming sites for linguistic diversity. In addition, participants noticed the diversity of people that could be found in these sites: youth and seniors, locals and tourists. Despite the Francophone heritage of the surrounding buildings, participants mentioned that these two squares are gathering places for people of different linguistic backgrounds.

The photos of the following public spaces show sites where people can interact with an altered version of nature that provides possibilities for relaxation. To the left, Fig. 9 is a photo of the botanical gardens, while Fig. 10 shows a path to a green alley in the Plateau. The presence of

a diverse patronage and the possibilities for social interaction are two additional positive elements mentioned by respondents.

Fig. 7. Église Saint-Enfant-Jésus du Mile End

Source: Anonymous participant.

Fig. 8. Place Jacques-Cartier

Source: Anonymous participant.

The next section contains participants' photos of unwelcoming public spaces. A summary on the results of the photo exercise is presented in section 4.1.5.3.

Fig. 9. Botanical gardens

Source: Anonymous participant.

Fig. 10. Alley in the Plateau

Source: Anonymous participant.

4.1.5.2. Unwelcoming public spaces

Unwelcoming public spaces identified by survey respondents share common elements. Urban decay, graffiti and emptiness are shown in Figures 11 to 13. For example, Fig. 11 shows an empty corner on boulevard Saint-Laurent and boulevard René-Lévesque. The site is at the entrance of Chinatown. The participant mentioned that the lack of benches, street lighting and aesthetic value make this place an unwelcoming setting. Another participant took a picture of Bonaventure metro station (Fig. 12), which also shows emptiness and lack of spaces for sociability.

Fig. 11. Intersection of boulevard Saint-Laurent and boulevard René-Lévesque

Source: Anonymous participant.

The lack of overlapping functions in space and time, and the overall lack of public life made participants feel insecure in these places. Fig. 13 shows the corner of rue Saint-Urbain and rue Sherbrooke. According to the respondent, homelessness and the lack of benches were two issues that made this street intersection an unwelcoming place. Fig. 14 shows the entrance to a building on boulevard Robert-Bourassa, near place Bonaventure. This area lacks of street life in the evenings and during the weekends because of the predominance of office buildings. In addition, participants mentioned that the area along boulevard Robert-Bourassa lacks of easy access to natural settings.

Fig. 12. Bonaventure metro station

Source: Anonymous participant.

Fig. 13. Intersection of rue Saint-Urbain and rue Sherbrooke

Source: Anonymous participant.

4.1.5.3. Summary

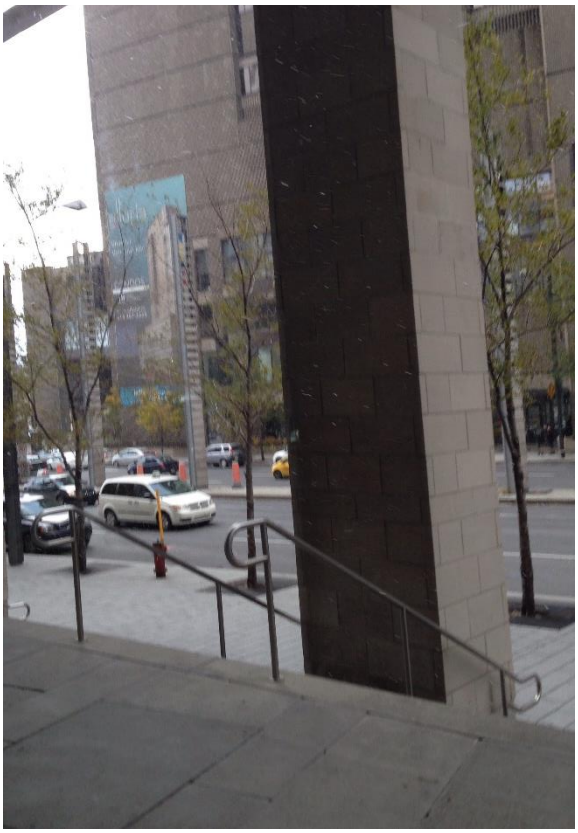
Although not every participant submitted a picture, the photographs collected provide information from the user's perspective, specifically on perceptions of welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces. The public spaces presented in the photo exercise share the following social and spatial features:

- **Welcoming public spaces:** aesthetic beauty, possibilities for social interaction, signage in more than one language, safety, diversity of people, access to nature.
- **Unwelcoming public spaces:** lack of street furniture (benches, street lights), graffiti, emptiness, lack of overlapping functions in space and time, insecurity.

In order to understand the social and spatial features that make public spaces welcoming for a linguistically diverse audience, site visits were performed to public spaces identified as welcoming and unwelcoming in the survey. The next section provides information on the notes

taken from these site visits conducted on May 2 and 3 between 11:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m., with sunny weather conditions and a temperature of 18 degrees Celsius on average.

Fig. 14. Entrance to a building on boulevard Robert-Bourassa



Source: Anonymous participant.

4.2. Findings from site observations

This section discusses the results of site observations at three welcoming and three unwelcoming public spaces. The information concerning each public space is presented in the way of a site profile.

Each site observation was conducted through a checklist titled 'Planning for inclusive multilingual public spaces' (Appendix E).

4.2.1. Welcoming public spaces

Site visits were made to three of the most popular sites identified by participants in the surveys and photo exercise. For each public space, notes were taken in regards to the languages heard in the site, the types of users who frequented these areas, the natural elements and the linguistic landscape of these places. In addition, detailed attention was put into elements that affect people's perception of safety such as homelessness, graffiti and the preservation of the built environment. Notes were also taken on special occasions where social interactions that deemed to be reported were taking place. No conversation was held with the people found in these public spaces.

Section 4.2.1 presents the findings from site visits to the following welcoming public spaces: Westmount Public Library, corner of avenue McGill College and rue Sainte-Catherine, and parc du Mont-Royal. Section 4.2.2 shows the findings for the following unwelcoming public

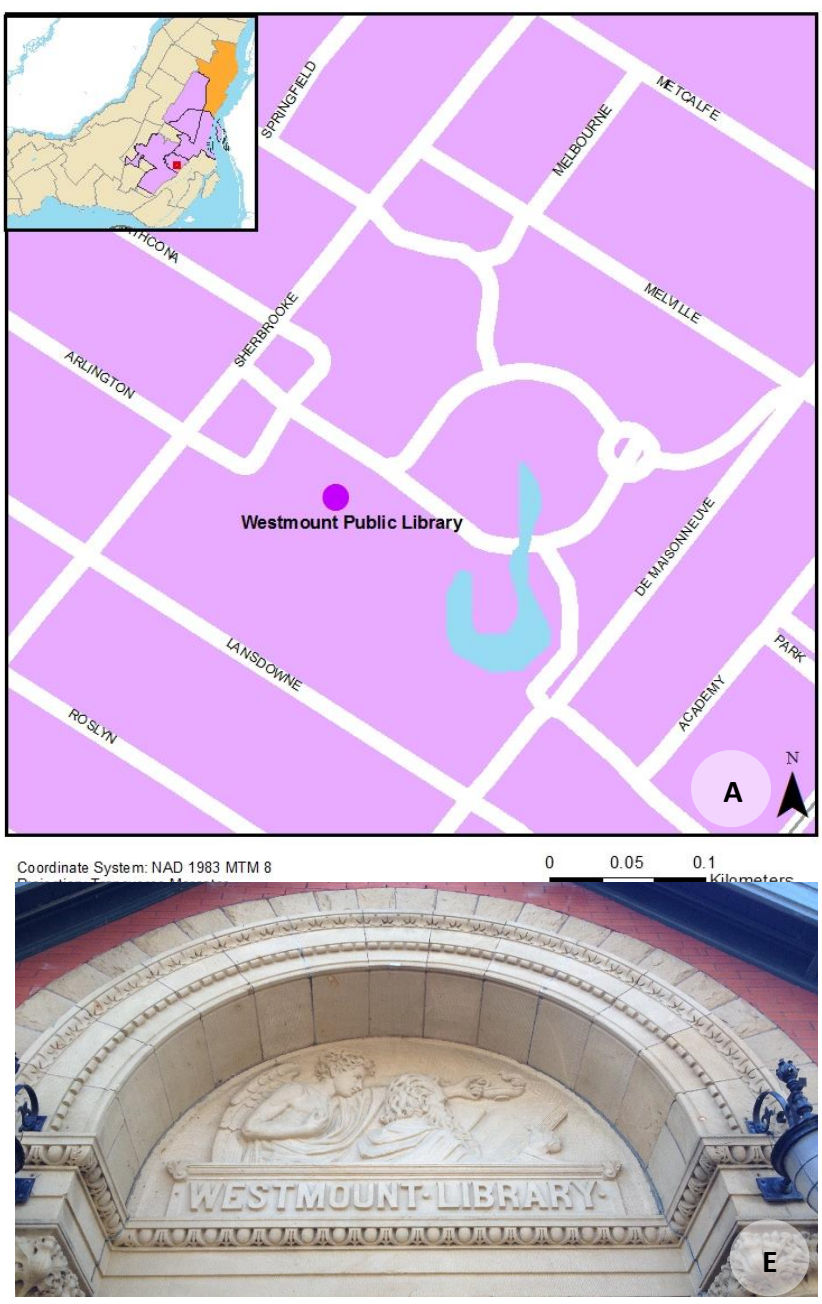
spaces: corner of boulevard Saint-Laurent and rue Sainte-Catherine, rue Saint-Denis from boulevard de Maisonneuve to boulevard René-Lévesque, and place Émilie-Gamelin.

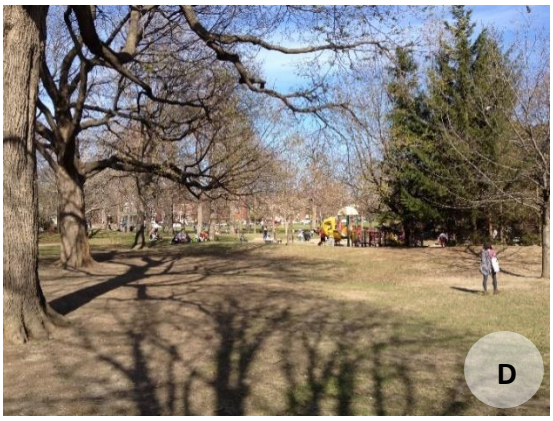
In each of these public spaces, the information is presented in three parts. Part One discusses the history of each public space. It also includes their origins, design, evolution and adaptations over time. Part Two contains a brief description of the public space. Part Three includes the main functions of each public space. The notes of each site visit were obtained from the implementation of the checklist for site visits: planning for inclusive multilingual public spaces (Appendix E).

Once the findings from site visits are presented, a general summary of Chapter Four is included in Section 4.3 to compare the findings from surveys and photos, as well as to highlight the diversity of routes to welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces and the persistent role of certain public or private actors.

4.2.1.1. Westmount Public Library

Fig. 15. Westmount Public Library: Site overview





A. Site location. **B.** Westmount Park. **C.** Westmount Public Library. **D.** Westmount Park. **E.** Entrance to the library.

Source: Author.

History

The library was founded in 1897 to commemorate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee (Sweeney, 1995). Its mission is to enrich the community by providing a welcoming environment in which to read, learn and discover (City of Westmount, 2015). Westmount Public Library was the first municipal library in Québec. Since there were not many library models in Canada, New England was the source of inspiration for the construction of the building (Sweeney, 1995). At the time the library was built, most of the people in the neighbourhood had English and Scottish roots. The community wanted their heritage and their high esteem for education to be reflected in the architecture of the library (Sweeney, 1995). Later on, during the 1995 restoration, symbols of French heritage and culture were incorporated to reflect the diversity of Westmount's population (Sweeney, 1995).

The ravine that runs through Westmount Park was incorporated as part of the natural landscape surrounding the library (Sweeney, 1995). The library was erected on a site of 10,000 square feet in the park (Sweeney, 1995). The project was financed with money obtained from a court case that the Town won against the Coates Gas Company for failing to provide contracted services (Sweeney, 1995).

The library went through four major expansion projects before the renewal project of the 1990s. The first one was the creation of the Children's Library pavilion. It was followed by a south reading room in 1924, new workspace and extensive interior work in 1936 and a three-storey annex in 1959 for stacks and the children's department (Sweeney, 1995). The 1959 annex was demolished in 1995 as part of the library's renewal project (City of Westmount, 2015). Rose Building and a courtyard were built in the space where the 1959 annex was located (Sweeney, 1995). The focus of the renewal project in 1995 was to restore the library to its Victorian heritage (City of Westmount, 2015).

Description of the space

The library is located in a residential area of the municipality of Westmount. The space promotes possibilities for interaction by being located in an area with low traffic noise levels. The library is surrounded by Westmount Park, which provides possibilities for sitting. There are paths

surrounded by trees that provide an atmosphere of discovery and protect visitors against unpleasant heat experiences during the summer. In addition, the library contains a public greenhouse that provides people with access to green spaces during winter. There are open spaces for playgrounds and other outdoor activities. There are many people outside the library, which provides the feeling that there are eyes watching the streets (J. Jacobs, 1961). When the library is closed, there are still people playing outside, having a picnic or biking. As a result, this place has overlapping functions in space and time.

Most of the library halls still preserve an architecture from the 19th century. The architecture of the library building is by itself a piece of public art, providing contemplation and inspiration for the audience. The library staff provide service in English and French. Signage is available in both of the official languages and there is a board for posting ads for community events and programs in English and French. The space is clean and well-preserved. There are garbage bins inside and outside the building. There is almost no graffiti in the area.

Participants expressed that this is a welcoming public space because people from different ages, ethnic groups and linguistic backgrounds are welcome to visit this building. The library is equipped with ramps to facilitate access for people with disabilities. Although there is a fee to become a member of the library (if not a resident of Westmount), everyone is allowed to visit the building and consult the library's collection.

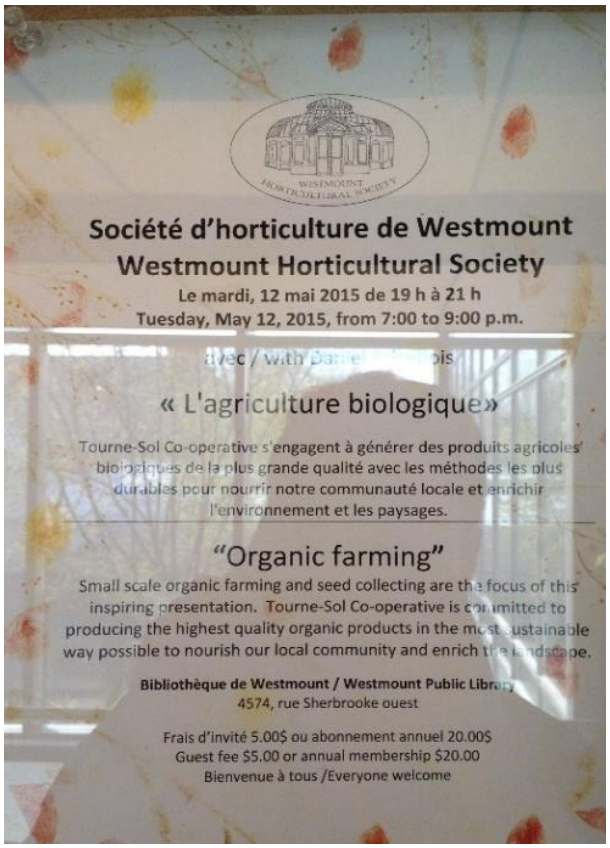
Main functions

There are entertainment activities scheduled in the building (Figures 16, 17). The library has managed to stay up to date with technology advancements: there are DVD loans and computer rooms for people to consult the library's database. In 1996, the library launched its own website and self-check system (City of Westmount, 2015). The library online resources are designed for different audiences: adults, children and youth (City of Westmount, 2015).

Fig. 16. Dance lessons

Source: Author.

Fig. 17. Organic farming



Source: Author.

4.2.1.2. Corner of avenue McGill College and rue Sainte-Catherine

Fig. 18. Corner of avenue McGill College and rue Sainte-Catherine: Site overview

A. Avenue McGill College. **B.** Rue Sainte-Catherine. **C.** Site location.

Source: Author.

History

The street intersection was built during the second stage of development of rue Sainte-Catherine, between 1820 and 1860 (Linteau, 2010). The crossing of the two streets occurred until the 1840s (Linteau, 2010). The names of these streets have a peculiar history. There is no official consent on where the name Sainte-Catherine came from. There are four possibilities. A first explanation suggests that the name was used to copy that of Côte Sainte-Catherine (Linteau, 2010; Ville de Montréal, 1961). A second version considers that the street is named after Catherine de Bourbonnais, an illegitimate daughter of Louis XV who lived in Montréal and died

in 1805 (Linteau, 2010). A third explanation claims that Jacques Viger, the inspector of roads as of 1813 chose the name of one of his daughters-in-law, Catherine Elizabeth (Linteau, 2010). Lastly, a fourth explanation suggests that the name comes from the religious calendar: St. Catherine's Day on November 25 each year (Linteau, 2010). In the case of avenue McGill College, the terrains for the construction of the road were transferred to the City of Montréal on 1856 from local landowners (Ville de Montréal, 1961). Its name was given by the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning since the avenue leads to McGill University. A section of the avenue was previously named rue Sainte-Monique (Ville de Montréal, 1961).

The intersection of rue Sainte-Catherine and avenue McGill College is located within the area that used to be the Saint-Antoine Ward. This was one of Montréal's largest wards and it was home for the rich bourgeois, mostly Anglo-Scottish businessmen (Linteau, 2010). Among them were John Redpath and Thomas Phillips, who proposed the adoption of a new plan for Saint-Antoine, inspired by urban development trends in Britain during the 19th century (Linteau, 2010). These development plans brought a new type of construction that was a novelty in Montréal. The units were named Terrace Houses and they became popular along rue Sainte-Catherine and notably on avenue McGill College (Linteau, 2010). These dwellings were rows of identical single family houses with a common facade (Linteau, 2010). The first ones were built in the 1850s, but the architecture boom of the 1920s reshaped the neighbourhood's landscape (Linteau, 2010). New office buildings were erected and these houses were demolished. An iconic example of the new high-rise architecture is the Confederation building which was built between 1927-1928, and it is still standing in this corner (Linteau, 2010).

One of the most ambitious projects in the area was the construction of Place Ville Marie in the 1960s (Linteau, 2010). The building can be seen from avenue McGill College. However, in the same decade, the City also demolished heritage sites of the film industry. An example is the demolition of the Capitol, one of Montréal's most remarkable movie theatres (Linteau, 2010). The Capitol, along with other movie theatres such as Strand / Pigalle and Loew's were replaced by retail and office space (Linteau, 2010). Contemporary examples of retail space are place Montréal Trust and the Eaton Centre, each of them located on each side of avenue McGill College. These malls can also be accessed through the underground system.

Description of the space

This street intersection provides pleasant visual experiences. McGill University and Mont-Royal can be seen from the corner of avenue McGill College and rue Sainte-Catherine. There is also an interesting view towards Place Ville Marie. There are a couple of heritage sites close to this intersection. One of them is McGill University Campus. Another heritage site is Christ Church Cathedral. The area also offers a variety of restaurants and there is a Scotiabank Theatre nearby. The site can be accessed by metro and public transit. In addition, there are bike racks and Bixi stations available a few blocks away from this site.

The street displays linguistic diversity when it comes to signage. It is possible to find signs in more than one language. Most of the signs are in English and French. English is also used to advertise new retail stores (Fig. 19).

Fig. 19. Signage in English, rue Sainte-Catherine

Source: Author.

Anyone can visit this street intersection. The staff at the businesses along the street is generally willing to attend costumers in English and French. The site does not provide many possibilities for sitting. People find their own seats in floral pots that were originally conceived for ornamental purposes. The available benches are located inside the Eaton Centre and place Montréal Trust. The site provides possibilities for hearing although the lack of seats for pedestrians limits opportunities for social interaction. Some of the elements that make this section of rue Sainte-Catherine and avenue McGill College welcoming are the diversity of commercial activity in the area, as well as the presence of performers and street vendors that attract patronage from different linguistic and age backgrounds.

The space is clean and well-preserved, although the presence of skateboarders and cyclists in the area shows that there is a lack of space for recreational activities. For instance, skateboarders were using floral pots for doing skate jumping (Fig. 20).

Fig. 20. People skateboarding on sidewalk

Source: Author.

People are able to move around the area without concerns of their safety since there are traffic lights that help them cross the street. During the daytime the high number of people creates a feeling of safety since the space looks lively. One of the negative aspects of this site is that people do not have access to natural settings since this street intersection is located in a business area. There are no fields for organized sports (the closest facilities are located at McGill campus through Roddick Gates).

Main functions

This area, particularly along rue Sainte-Catherine, contains a variety of commercial activities that encourage shopping and entertainment. The intersection of avenue McGill College and rue Sainte-Catherine is also an important route to link McGill University and the stores on rue Sherbrooke to the retail spaces available on rue Sainte-Catherine and the adjacent malls.

4.2.1.3. Parc du Mont-Royal

Fig. 21. Parc du Mont-Royal: Site overview

A. Site location. **B.** Tam-tams: Monument to Sir George-Étienne Cartier. **C.** View of Mont-Royal from parc Jeanne-Mance. **D.** Organic street signage: parc du Mont-Royal.

Source: Author.

History

The mountain is the inspiration for the name of Montréal (Beveridge, 2009). The first European to climb the mountain was Jacques Cartier, guided by the native inhabitants of Hochelaga. The cross on top of the site is a monument that remembers how in 1643, Paul de Chomedey erected a cross on this place as a sign of gratitude to God for saving the colony from a flood (Les amis de la montagne, 2015). The first proposal to create a park on the mountain was made by Sir James Alexander between 1840 and 1850 (Les amis de la montagne, 2015). In 1869 an amendment of the Charter of the City of Montréal was created to allow for a $350,000 loan to acquire the land necessary for the creation of a park on Mont-Royal (Les amis de la montagne, 2015). The expropriations occurred in 1872 on the properties of 16 landowners (Les amis de la montagne, 2015). The expropriation and the work costed one million dollars, an expensive price at that time (Les amis de la montagne, 2015). To protect the park from future development, an article was added to the Charter of the City of Montréal in 1874, which became the first law voted to protect a natural site in Québec (Les amis de la montagne, 2015). In the same year, Frederick Law Olmsted was hired by the City of Montréal to prepare the site plans. The park was inaugurated on Victoria Day: May 24, 1876 (Beveridge, 2009). At Mont-Royal, Olmsted wanted to emphasize the mountain aspect of the site, and urged the citizenry to abandon their expectations for a park with floral and horticultural displays (Beveridge, 2009). Olmsted based the aesthetics of the park on its own natural setting, while providing greater variety of landscape experience and vistas that existed by natural growth (Beveridge, 2009). He also created a coherent circulation system to facilitate access by carriage, on foot, and by wheelchair. The terrain and vegetation were slightly changed in order to achieve visual effects and psychological experiences that were more distinctive, than those that nature unassisted could offer (Beveridge, 2009).

The first half of the 20th century witnessed the inauguration of a variety of attractions in the park. The monument to Sir George-Étienne Cartier was inaugurated in 1919 (Les amis de la montagne, 2015). In 1924 the cross was illuminated for the first time. It was erected by the Saint-Jean Baptiste Society (Les amis de la montagne, 2015). The incandescent lights were replaced in 1992 by a fibre-optics system. The Chalet of the mountain, designed by architect Aristide

Beaugrand-Champagne, was inaugurated in 1932. Two significant changes occurred in the second half of the 20th century. In 1962 the park was enlarged when the City acquired land along boulevard Mont-Royal (Les amis de la montagne, 2015). In 1987 the portion of the mountain situated in Montréal was declared a heritage site. Another important change occurred in 2001 when the Clifton Apartments were acquired and demolished by the City of Westmount (Les amis de la montagne, 2015). The site was reincorporated to the mountain in 2002. In 2005 a Mont Royal Historic and Natural District was created to protect the mountain (Les amis de la montagne, 2015; Ville de Montréal, 2009). In 2009 the City of Montréal adopted the Mont-Royal Protection and Enhancement Plan to protect and enhance the mountain while making it an accessible and welcoming space (Ville de Montréal, 2009).

Description of the space

People in this public space were interacting with one another in more than one language and in an organic manner. Drummers, musicians and performers gathered around the monument to Sir George-Étienne Cartier and played different instruments. These performances are called 'tam-tams' and they occur every Sunday during the summer. In addition to the music performances, there are people who paint or dance in the site. Visitors also socialize by organizing picnics or playing sports. The crowd was very diverse, with people from all ages, ethnicities and linguistic backgrounds. The natural landscape of parc du Mont-Royal provides a pleasant visual experience. The monument to Sir George-Étienne Cartier is very close to a path covered by trees that guides visitors to the mountain. Children, seniors, families and students were all interacting in the same place. Everyone is allowed to visit this public space. The freedom to make use of public areas for sitting, eating and street painting encourage people to visit this place. In addition, the performances and the availability of street vendors encourage people to socialize (Fig. 22). Public signs are in French but there are also bilingual signs from vendors. Garbage is an issue in this site. On a Sunday afternoon, trash cans are full as the result of the high volume of visitors. The active street life, the existence of street watchers and overlapping functions in space and time, with performances during the daytime and people playing outdoor activities day and night, provide a safe atmosphere.

Fig. 22. Street vendors, parc du Mont-Royal

Source: Author.

Parc du Mont-Royal is within a short walking distance, allowing people to have access to natural settings. In addition, parc Jeanne-Mance provides fields for organized sports and recreational activities. The area is illuminated at night. Public art is incorporated in an organic manner through street performances or paintings made with chalkboards on the sidewalks. This is a natural setting surrounded by a mixed-use neighbourhood: the Plateau-Mont-Royal. The site provides easy access by public transit, cycling, walking and driving. Its location (immediately outside of the downtown area) makes it easy for people to visit and engage in social activities.

Main functions

The park offers different amenities such as environmental conservation activities (workshops, walking tours), guided hikes, concerts, and summer camps, among others. During the winter, the park offers the possibility of practicing ice-skating, skiing and snowboarding. The park also serves as a tourist attraction and a recreation spot for picnics during weekends.

4.2.2. Unwelcoming public spaces

The next section presents the findings from site visits to unwelcoming public spaces on May 2, between 11:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m. The following sites were chosen by survey

participants: corner of boulevard Saint-Laurent and rue Sainte-Catherine, rue Saint-Denis from boulevard de Maisonneuve to boulevard René-Lévesque; and place Émilie-Gamelin.

4.2.2.1. Corner of boulevard Saint-Laurent and rue Sainte-Catherine

Fig. 23. Corner of boulevard Saint-Laurent and rue Sainte-Catherine: Site overview

A. Bar on boulevard Saint-Laurent. **B.** Site location. **C.** Corner of boulevard Saint-Laurent and rue Sainte-Catherine.

Source: Author.

History

The history of rue Sainte-Catherine began in 1736 at the intersection with rue Saint-Laurent or 'La Main' (now known as boulevard Saint-Laurent) (Anctil, 2002). This place was part of the Saint-Laurent suburb, one of the oldest and most populous suburbs of Montréal, which was later named the 'Red Light' district for its brothels and its gambling scene (Charlebois & Linteau, 2014). In the beginning, the homes in this area were aligned on both sides of rue Saint-Laurent. As the population increased, parallel streets appeared on both sides, followed by perpendicular streets stretching east and west. One of these roads was rue Sainte-Catherine (Linteau, 2010). The Saint-Laurent suburb underwent rapid expansion. By 1825, its population had reached 7500 inhabitants, or a third of the city's total (Linteau, 2010). It was mostly inhabited by craftsmen and workers because the cost of housing was lower than in the Old City (Anctil, 2002). Montréal's residents started to see a distinction between the eastern and western sections of the suburb, separated by rue Saint-Laurent. In 1825, Francophones formed a majority in both areas, but most of them lived in the east. The west had a larger Anglophone minority (Anctil, 2002). As time passed, Francophones became a minority in the neighbourhood, accounting for less than 30% of the ward's population by the end of the 19th century (Anctil, 2002). In the same period of time, the intersection of rue Saint-Laurent and rue Sainte-Catherine was one of the busiest in Montréal (Linteau, 2010). Several grocery stores could be found at this corner (Linteau, 2010). Business activity was usually limited to the ground floor, with workers living on the upper floors (Linteau, 2010).

The landscape of the neighbourhood changed in the second half of the 20th century. During the 1950s and 1960s, low-income dwellings were demolished and its residents displaced to make space for contemporary buildings (Charlebois & Linteau, 2014). The inhabitants of the 'Red Light' district during these decades were predominantly French Canadians and immigrants from Eastern Europe (Charlebois & Linteau, 2014). The 'Red Light' district was one of Montréal's low income neighbourhoods that disappeared during the period of the *Révolution tranquille.* (Charlebois & Linteau, 2014). Nowadays the area along boulevard Saint-Laurent encompasses an entertainment scene with an artist community.

Description of the space

During the site visit, boulevard Saint-Laurent offered two different stories. In the Plateau area, boulevard Saint-Laurent is a vibrant spot. However, the corner of this street with rue Sainte-Catherine shows buildings on decay. Shoppers were walking on rue Sainte-Catherine, while boulevard Saint-Laurent was mostly empty from rue Sainte-Catherine to boulevard René-Lévesque. The few pedestrians on boulevard Saint-Laurent were construction workers and homeless people. There is a small square named place de la Paix, which remained almost empty. On the eastern side of the square, there is a condo project with ads in French and a small dépanneur with signage in Mandarin. The Monument-National is on the western side of the square. This building is a heritage site that has been transformed into a venue for performing arts and home of the National Theatre School of Canada (NTSC). Participants mentioned that the presence of homelessness made them feel unwelcomed in this public space. The presence of these users made people feel threatened. The architecture of the site is not pleasant for visitors since there are no possibilities for sitting and there is a lack of street furniture (water fountains, bike racks, street lighting). Floral pots were used as seats by the homeless. There is a considerable amount of graffiti on top of displays of public art (Fig. 24).

Fig. 24. Street art covered with graffiti

Source: Author.

There is no access to natural settings. Place de la Paix lacks of green spaces. There is no access to playgrounds and fields for organized sports. The condo project is adjacent to a neighbourhood that exhibits contradictory forms (real estate development versus urban decay) and it could be an example of the process of gentrification that is happening in this area of boulevard Saint-Laurent. One block north of place de la Paix, near the corner of rue Saint-Dominique and rue Charlotte, there is a mosque which is completely hidden from public view by the condo project (Fig. 26). In addition, the buildings on boulevard Saint-Laurent (particularly Société des Arts Technologiques (SAT) and Vitrine Culturelle Montréal) contribute to hide this religious building from public sight on boulevard Saint-Laurent and rue Sainte-Catherine. There are no signs of posters inviting the community to public meetings and community events (although there are a couple of posters at Monument-National that advertise the work of the NTSC).

Fig. 25. Men's club, boulevard Saint-Laurent

Source: Author.

Main functions

The economic activity on the corner of rue Sainte-Catherine and boulevard Saint-Laurent is diverse and it includes different types of entertainment venues: bars, clubs, theatres, sex shops and places dedicated for the performing arts. At the same time, there are fast-food restaurants

that cater all sorts of budgets. Boulevard Saint-Laurent remains an important street that connects the Plateau with Place des Arts, Chinatown and Vieux-Montréal.

Fig. 26. Mosque near place de la Paix

Source: Author.

Fig. 27. Dépanneur with signage in Mandarin, place de la Paix

Source: Author.

4.2.2.2. Rue Saint-Denis from boulevard de Maisonneuve to boulevard René-Lévesque

Fig. 28. Rue Saint-Denis from boulevard de Maisonneuve to boulevard René-Lévesque : Site overview

A. Site location. **B.** Street signage *"À louer"*, rue Saint-Denis. **C.** Église Saint-Jacques, adjacent to UQAM, rue Saint-Denis.

Source : Author.

History

Rue Saint-Denis was built at the beginning of the 19th century. The construction of the street was possible because the lands where the street was constructed were donated by the families Viger and Papineau (Linteau, 2010). This street became one of the most important roads during the 19th century because it served as a link between Vieux-Montréal and the affluent

residents in the Plateau (Linteau, 2010). The section of the street from rue Sherbrooke to avenue du Mont-Royal became a residential area for wealthy French-Canadian families (Linteau, 2010; Patrimoine canadien, 2010b). The segment of rue Saint-Denis south of rue Sherbrooke was the heart of the Quartier Latin, with a bohemian vibe nourished by the academic and religious institutions in the neighbourhood (Patrimoine canadien, 2010b). The neighbourhood owes its name to the presence of these institutions which provided an atmosphere similar to that found at the Quartier Latin in Paris (Patrimoine canadien, 2010b). The first universities that arrived during the 19th century were Université de Laval à Montréal, École des Hautes Études Commerciales, École Polytechnique, École le Plateau, Collège Mont-Saint-Louis, École des Beaux-Arts, among others (Patrimoine canadien, 2010b). Some of the religious communities that installed in the Quartier Latin were the Soeurs du Bon Pasteur, Soeurs de la Miséricorde, Soeurs de la Providence and the Frères des Écoles chrétiennes (Patrimoine canadien, 2010b). The presence of religious and academic institutions in this section of rue Saint-Denis created a vibrant street life. In the second half of the 19th century the French Canadian elite moved to the area around square Saint-Louis and luxurious residences were built in close proximity to this public space (Patrimoine canadien, 2010b). In the early 1900s-1920s, the economic recession had a negative impact on the Quartier Latin, as French Canadian elites decided to move to Outremont (Patrimoine canadien, 2010b). In the same decades, three academic institutions abandoned the Quartier Latin. The Université de Montréal, École des Hautes Études Commerciales and École Polytechnique moved to the other side of the mountain (Patrimoine canadien, 2010b).

The neighbourhood looked empty and with a lack of vitality. During the administration of Jean Drapeau, new facilities were built for UQAM downtown campus. In 1975, the église Saint-Jacques was incorporated to UQAM, after the church was victim of numerous fires (Patrimoine canadien, 2010b). The remnants of the temple's structure are designed to be part of the downtown campus. The recovery of part of the church's structure and its incorporation to UQAM is of special significance (Linteau, 2010). Église Saint-Jacques was the first Catholic cathedral in Montréal and it was built with the support of the French Canadian bourgeoisie (Linteau, 2010). The rescue of part of the temple was of great importance to bring back the bohemian vitality of the Quartier Latin.

Description of the space

Despite its history as a vibrant street with numerous restaurants, academic institutions and heritage buildings, some sections of rue Saint-Denis lack of adequate street furniture. There are also sections that are frequented by the homeless and mentally-ill people.

Participants described a feeling of insecurity caused by homelessness and the lack of street lighting. During the site visit, there were no people socializing. Pedestrians were walking and did not stop to spend time in the street. At least 3 people, within a period of 20 minutes, approached to ask for money or a lighter for their cigarettes.

There are few possibilities for sitting. The benches located on rue Saint-Denis, from rue Sainte-Catherine to boulevard René-Lévesque, are made of concrete and they are placed within a considerable distance from one another (each bench is separated by approximately 4 meters) (Fig. 29). The benches are not comfortable for sitting. Compared to the busy spot at the corner of rue Saint-Denis and rue Sainte-Catherine, the section between rue Saint-Denis and boulevard René-Lévesque looked more abandoned than the section between boulevard de Maisonneuve and rue Sainte-Catherine. The presence of graffiti and garbage was a common denominator during the site visit. It was common to see pedestrians, cyclists and skateboarders making improvised uses of street furniture. Pedestrians were sitting on floral pots instead of the concrete benches. Cyclists and skateboarders were using the stairs and sidewalks of the adjacent buildings as spaces for recreation.

The area along rue Saint-Denis on this segment from boulevard René-Lévesque to boulevard de Maisonneuve serves commercial and institutional purposes (education). There is a high volume of students from UQAM. There was another square, place Pasteur, which was visited by homeless people and students. Contrary to place de la Paix on boulevard Saint-Laurent, place Pasteur provides green spaces. However, there is an atmosphere of decay because of homelessness and the excessive graffiti on adjacent buildings. It is difficult to differentiate between displays of public art and vandalism. Signage is exclusively in French. There are posters inviting to music and cultural performances. Such displays are often covered in graffiti. There are no big box stores but there is retail activity within a short walking distance at rue Sainte-Catherine

and Berri-UQAM metro station. The area is easily accessed by public transit (metro, bus), as well as by walking, cycling and driving.

Fig. 29. Concrete bench, rue Saint-Denis

Source: Author.

Main functions

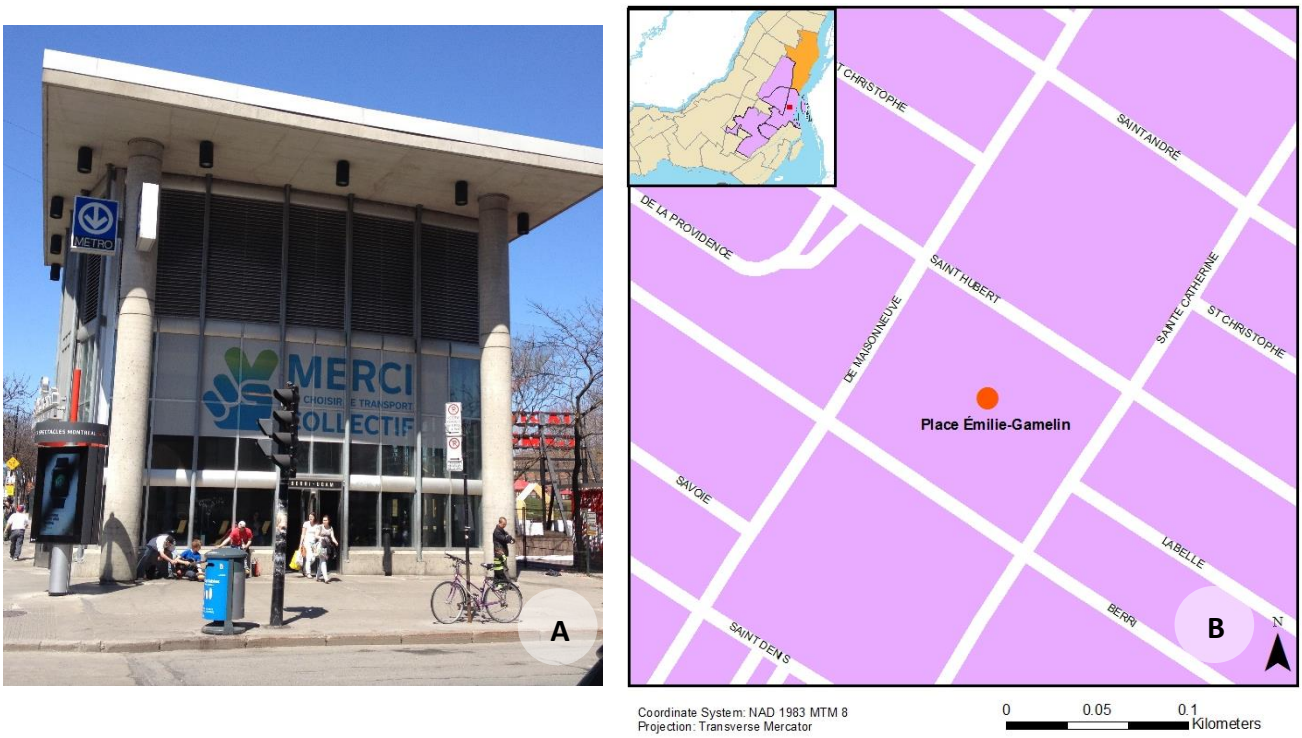
The street caters a diverse market. Students, professionals, tourists and artists are some of the main visitors of rue Saint-Denis. The Quartier Latin is well-known for its active street life at different periods of time. However, the section that was visited is characterized for its lack of urban vitality. This segment of rue Saint-Denis, from boulevard de Maisonneuve to boulevard René-Lévesque is occupied mostly by UQAM and a few restaurants. The street serves as a link between the vibrant street life north of the intersection of rue Saint-Denis and boulevard de Maisonneuve, and UQAM located south of this intersection.

Fig. 30. Private signage: “This space is neither a garbage bin nor a bedroom. Please respect it, this is a private space”, rue Saint-Denis

Source: Author.

4.2.2.3. Place Émilie-Gamelin

Fig. 31. Place Émilie-Gamelin: Site overview



A. Berri-UQAM metro station. **B.** Site location. **C.** Place Émilie-Gamelin.

Source: Author.

History

Place Émilie-Gamelin is a public space located in a neighbourhood of historic value to Montréal, situated between the Quartier Latin and le Village. Traces of Montréal's history are found through the neighbourhood's mixed architecture, dating from the 19th century to the present time (Patrimoine canadien, 2010a). The name of this site is in honour of the founder of the Sisters of Providence, owners of the entire block since the 19th century (Linteau, 2010). Before the construction of place Émilie-Gamelin, the site contained a collection of buildings run by the Sisters that the City demolished around 1962, after having bought the land (Patrimoine canadien, 2010a). During the 1970s, the whole site was used for the construction of Berri-UQAM metro station (Linteau, 2010). Once construction was finished, the land was turned into a parking lot in the hope of attracting interest from an eventual developer, who never appeared (Linteau, 2010). In 1985, there were plans of building the concert hall for the Orchestre symphonique de Montréal, but the project did not succeed (Linteau, 2010). In 1988 the City decided to build a public park, opened in 1992 (Patrimoine canadien, 2010a). The opening of this public space was one of the main changes in the neighbourhood's built environment since the arrival of UQAM in 1979 (Patrimoine canadien, 2010a).

Place Émilie-Gamelin is nowadays a space that welcomes all sorts of cultural venues. For example, the square is one of the locations used for performances during Fierté Montréal, which happens every summer in August. This place was also used as a meeting point during the 2012 student protests (Linteau, 2010). The area around Place Émilie-Gamelin has a variety of commercial activities. It is common to see bars operating next to small Vietnamese and Middle Eastern restaurants, as well as sex shops, particularly on rue Sainte-Catherine (Linteau, 2010).

Description of the space

Homelessness and alcohol abuse were two problems highlighted by participants. These two issues made participants feel threatened. The site also lacks of street furniture. The few benches available are on the northern side of the square (in front of the old Gare de Autocars), at the corner of rue Berri and boulevard de Maisonneuve. These benches were mostly used by homeless people to store their belongings. At the time of the visit, Place Émilie-Gamelin was

fenced and access to it was prohibited because of a revitalization project managed by the City of Montréal. The name of the project is *Jardins Gamelin* and its purpose is to bring back pedestrians and urban vitality. Seating, foot vendors and cultural performances are part of the agenda proposed by this public project that will be available from May 7 to October 4.

There are interesting attractions nearby. Le Village is situated to the east of rue Sainte-Catherine. The Grand Bibliothèque de Montréal is located within a short-waking distance, as well as the Quartier Latin. Place Émilie-Gamelin is situated close to a variety of retail stores and restaurants that can be found mostly along rue Sainte-Catherine. However, the site lacks of adequate lighting when dark, which creates a feeling of insecurity. The presence of garbage is a major issue; there is a lack of garbage bins. The site does not provide many possibilities for talking. Place Émilie-Gamelin does not offer possibilities for recreational activities. Public art is incorporated through a series of sculptures and small fountains located in the northern part of the square. There are boards that display photo exhibitions in the area facing rue Sainte-Catherine. There are no signs inviting residents to public meetings. The space can be accessed through Berri-UQAM metro station, as well as by bus, driving, cycling and walking. Berri-UQAM station provides elevators that facilitate access to people with disabilities.

Main functions

Place Émilie-Gamelin is located at a strategic area, connecting users from the Gare de Autocars de Montréal, Berri-UQAM station, rue Saint-Denis (Quartier Latin), le Village and rue Sainte-Catherine. This site is a meeting point for a variety of users from different ages. The main access to Berri-UQAM station is at place Émilie-Gamelin, attracting a high volume of visitors. From May 7 to October 4, the square provides recreational features as a result of municipal efforts during the summer of 2015 to incorporate talkscapes, food trucks and public art to make place Émilie-Gamelin more welcoming.

4.3. Summary

The findings from surveys, photo exercises and site visits provided information to understand people's perception of language and public space. Twenty French language students participated in the survey, eight of them agreed to complete the photo exercise. Six site visits were conducted. The sites that were visited were chosen based on the responses from participants in regards to their top three places that they considered welcoming or unwelcoming for non-native French speakers.

Survey results show that participants are concerned about having public spaces that are safe and that everyone is allowed to visit. Sociability is also an important factor when it comes to identifying welcoming public spaces. Another observation from the surveys and site visits is that participants are interested in visiting public spaces that promote engagement through recreational activities. Despite participants' opinion that signage in more than one language is not an important spatial element that makes public spaces welcoming, the sites that they classified as welcoming are filled with bilingual signage, particularly at the corner of rue Sainte-Catherine and avenue McGill College.

Participants expressed contradictory opinions of the welcoming and unwelcoming spaces. For example, in the case of the Plateau, 3 respondents mentioned that the area is not welcoming because service in English is not available in some restaurants. However, when looking at the pictures from the photo exercise, one of them shows a site in the Plateau: the église Saint-Enfant-Jésus du Mile End and parc Lahaie, located at the intersection of boulevard Saint-Laurent and boulevard Saint-Joseph (Fig. 7). This church is frequented by a French Canadian Catholic community. Engravings in the facade of the temple are in French and the services are offered only in French. The participant considered this site to be a welcoming public space. This is one of the few welcoming places located in a historically Francophone neighbourhood. The site shares some features with those welcoming public spaces identified in historically Anglophone neighbourhoods: green spaces, public art, heritage buildings, talkscapes, street lighting, and accessibility by public transit.

There is a lack of consensus whether or not having a good grasp of French is necessary to enjoy public spaces in Montréal: 55% of participants said yes versus 40% of participants who said no. Additionally, 12 participants mentioned that their comfort level with French communication does not determine which public spaces they use. This is an interesting response because, with the exception of Fig. 7 and 8, when participants identified unwelcoming public spaces, most of them chose sites in historically Francophone neighbourhoods, such as place Émilie-Gamelin and rue Saint-Denis. At least 3 participants identified the borough of Hochelaga as an unwelcoming public space, even if the borough is not by itself a public space. Based on the photo exercise and site visits, the places identified as unwelcoming share the following features: lack of green spaces, street lighting, garbage bins and talkscapes. Participants also expressed a feeling of insecurity because of the existence of graffiti, homelessness and emptiness (few people using the public space). At unwelcoming public spaces, none of the participants reported to speak only in their native language, either with strangers or acquaintances.

Overall, 55% of the participants expressed that they have an intermediate level of proficiency in French for casual social interactions. In these interactions, English was the language being mixed with French when participants wanted to communicate their ideas. When looking at the sites that participants identified as welcoming, all these places are located near Anglophone institutions such as McGill University. Some of these sites are within neighbourhoods that have historically been home of Anglophone Montréalers or non-Francophone immigrants: the slopes of Mount Royal (Linteau, 2010); the surroundings of McGill University, including the area along avenue McGill College that was inhabited by Anglophone businessmen (Linteau, 2010); and Westmount Public Library, which was founded by English and Scottish immigrants (Sweeney, 1995). The pictures from the photo exercise also depict images of places located in historically Anglophone neighbourhoods (Fig. 5, 6: McGill University). In all these places, the linguistic landscape shows traces of an Anglophone heritage, particularly in those historic constructions such as Westmount Public Library, which has engravings in English inside and outside the building.

The site visits provided additional information that was not possible to obtain from surveys and photo exercise. One of these results was the understanding of the role of private and

public actors in the creation of public spaces in Montréal. Private owners have acted in different ways throughout this process. For example, the six public spaces that were visited are located on sites that the City obtained from private owners. Developers and store owners have also played an important role in bringing urban vitality or urban decay to each site. Avenue McGill College is nowadays surrounded by retail stores and two major shopping centres: the Eaton Centre and place Montréal Trust. At the same time, the sex industry and bars on boulevard Saint-Laurent have contributed to its negative reputation from rue Sainte-Catherine to boulevard René-Lévesque (Charlebois & Linteau, 2014). Public actors have also been responsible for the creation of urban vitality or urban decay in each of the sites visited. Avenue McGill College and rue Sainte-Catherine are a popular destination with a variety of shopping alternatives. However, the City of Montréal is still criticized for its decision to demolish heritage sites of Montréal's film industry, to make space for retail activity (Gyulai, 2015). On the other hand, place Émilie-Gamelin is an example of municipal efforts to rescue a public space from blight, with the installation of street art, talkscapes, street lights and community events (Semenak, 2015).

The following chapter presents a discussion on the findings from Chapters Three (literature review) and Four (research survey, site visits) to provide a better understanding of the relationship between language and public spaces in Montréal. This analysis is based on the following frameworks: behavior setting, linguistic landscape (including bilingual winks) and multicultural urban planning in Montréal's public spaces.

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1. Discussion

Results from the fieldwork and surveys confirm that language plays a direct and an indirect role in the way participants interact with the public sphere. Discussion in this chapter addresses the following issues: linguistic landscape in the Montréal study, the behavior setting of Montréal's public spaces and urban policy and linguistic diversity in Montréal's public spaces. The analysis of each of these issues involves findings from the fieldwork, surveys, and literature review on language and planning.

5.2. Linguistic landscapes in the Montréal study

The results show that the linguistic landscape of public spaces in Montréal is filled with a diversity of languages. Such diversity is generally more notorious at welcoming public spaces. The next two sections analyze the main findings on the linguistic landscape for welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces and relate them to what was discussed in the literature review.

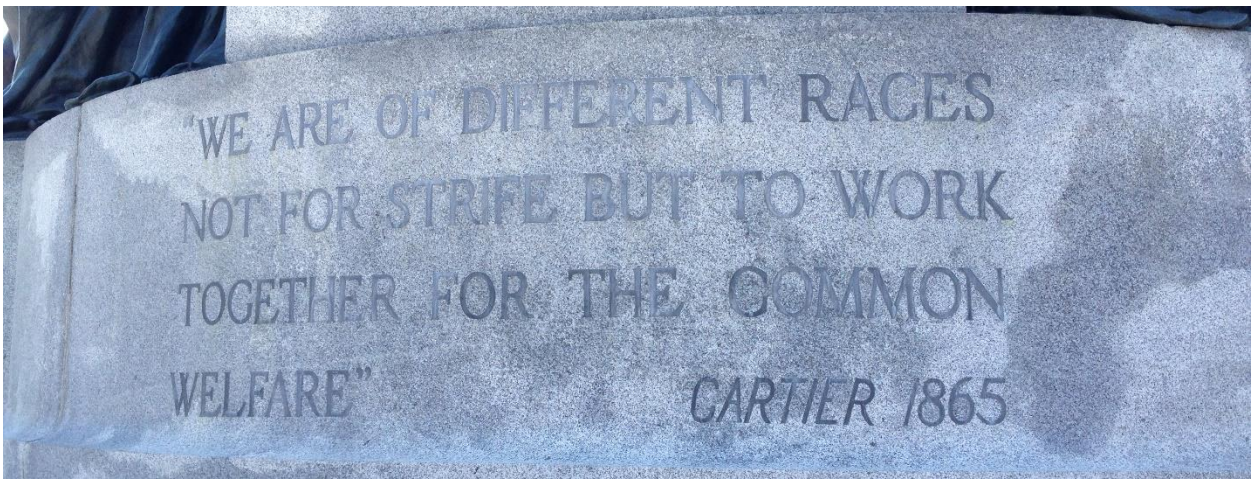
5.2.1. The linguistic landscape of welcoming public spaces

The presence of English signage and speakers of different languages were common features observed at welcoming public spaces. For instance, during the site observation at the intersection of avenue McGill College and rue Sainte-Catherine, it was common to hear people speaking English and other languages. Despite the strictness of language legislation, which prohibits the use of signage that does not include French, some signs were only in English (Québec, 1980). They were used to advertise the opening of new retail stores (Fig. 19).

Parc du Mont-Royal is an interesting case of diversity in the linguistic landscape. The monument to Sir George-Étienne Cartier, inaugurated in 1919, contains engravings in English and French (Les amis de la montagne, 2015). One of the engravings has the following text: "We are of different race, not for strife but to work together for the common good. Cartier, 1865". (Fig.

32). This message conveys a symbolic function by communicating a quote of unity in English at one of the most popular sites of Montréal.

Fig. 32. Engraving on monument to Sir George-Étienne Cartier, parc du Mont-Royal



Source: Author.

The monument is the meeting point for Sunday 'tam-tams'. During this event, visitors were writing texts in the sidewalks with chalks. One of the texts said 'You are beautiful'. Another text said *Paix + Amour* (Fig. 21D). The linguistic landscape is presented here in an organic manner, where visitors appropriate of the space to communicate their thoughts either by music or by writing messages on the sidewalks.

Signage at Westmount Public Library is available in English and French. The site was founded by the English and Scottish communities in the 19th century to commemorate the anniversary of Queen Victoria (Sweeney, 1995). The linguistic landscape is also observed in the architecture of the building which incorporates engravings in English. Some sections of the library also incorporate engravings in French as part of the restoration works from the 1990s. During the library restoration, the administration decided to include engravings in French to represent the linguistic diversity of Westmount (Sweeney, 1995). Community events are advertised in English and French at the entrance of the library.

5.2.2. The linguistic landscape of unwelcoming public spaces

The unwelcoming public spaces identified by participants are characterized by incorporating less linguistic diversity in the built environment. The linguistic landscape is also a reflection of social and spatial problems on the site, and of the power relations between the dominant language and non-official languages (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Linguistic diversity is sometimes hidden from the main street views. Buildings that display signage in a non-official language do not face the sidewalks of the main street or if they do, they are located in a section of the street with low patronage. Most of the signage at the intersection of boulevard Saint-Laurent and rue Sainte-Catherine is in French. Signage that is not located on rue Sainte-Catherine is in poor conditions, damaged by graffiti and lack of maintenance. There are two buildings that are hidden from the main view of boulevard Saint-Laurent. These properties are a dépanneur with signage in Mandarin standing on the southeast corner of place de la Paix, and a mosque near the northeast side of the same square. The mosque is covered by buildings and it is difficult to see it from boulevard Saint-Laurent or rue Sainte-Catherine. The linguistic landscape of this site is also showing the transformations of the built environment through signage that sells condos at a project being built east of place de la Paix, facing the Monument-National.

The linguistic landscape is predominantly Francophone on rue Saint-Denis from boulevard de Maisonneuve to boulevard René-Lévesque. It is common to see political propaganda in French against austerity measures (Fig. 33). There is also signage in private properties that alerts about the safety of the site. For instance, Fig. 30 displays a sign that asks people to stay away from the door because it is neither a dormitory nor a garbage bin. There were two exceptions to the homogeneity of the linguistic landscape: a Vietnamese and a Japanese restaurant on rue Saint-Denis displayed signage in Vietnamese and French, as well as Japanese and French. These restaurants were located at an area with low patronage. No signage in English was found at place Émilie-Gamelin. However, signage in some restaurants on rue Sainte-Catherine was found in French and Arabic. On the north, east and west sides of the square, the restaurants and stores displayed signage in French only. Public signage in the site made reference to the STM.

5.3. The behavior setting of Montréal's public spaces

The behavior setting is one of the key frameworks of this research. Its contributions in the understanding of language and urban design are crucial for the development of welcoming spaces. When there is coherence between the layout of a public space and the recurrent activities, public spaces can turn into areas of inclusion and sociability (Mehta, 2009). The following sections discuss the situation and the elements that characterize the behavior setting at welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces.

Fig. 33. Political propaganda, rue Saint-Denis

Source: Author.

5.3.1. The behavior setting of welcoming public spaces.

The behavior setting at welcoming public spaces was characterized for a congruent relationship between the built environment and the recurrent actions. Overall, welcoming public spaces satisfied participants' needs for spaces that are safe and provide possibilities for social interaction.

Westmount Public Library provides visitors with possibilities for relaxation both inside and outside the building. The interior of the library has a 19th century architecture that highlights the English and Scottish heritage of Westmount (Sweeney, 1995). The layout of the library contains halls for different types of audiences: children, students, seniors. Outside of the library, Westmount Park provides possibilities for social interaction in proximity to green spaces. Benches in the space afford sitting, green fields afford picnics, sports games and gatherings.

The intersection between avenue McGill College and rue Sainte-Catherine includes a variety of shopping destinations where people have the opportunity to view the different products that the stores have to offer. Despite being identified as a welcoming public space, there was a lack of talkscapes and possibilities for sitting. The lack of benches forced people to sit on sidewalks, building stairs and flower pots. If participants want to find a bench, they need to either go to a restaurant or enter place Montréal Trust. Social interaction depends on people's desire to buy products, since the intersection does not offer public amenities where they can socialize in a more organic manner. The area also lacks of access to recreational spaces. For instance, during the site visit there were teenagers using flower pots and sidewalks as spaces for skateboarding (Fig. 20).

Parc du Mont-Royal offered more possibilities for social interaction and for participants to appropriate of the public space. Although there were a few benches, the majority of the audience was sitting in the grass or around the monument. People were allowed to make use of the site amenities as they found most convenient to satisfy their needs. The only controlled activities were the vending sites and the food trucks. The permits for these commercial activities are regulated by the City of Montréal. Any commerce can apply for these permits as long as the

owners are residents of Montréal and as long as the application is submitted at least one week in advance (Ville de Montréal, 2009). People were using the sidewalks as sites to express their creativity through different activities: dancing, painting and street performances.

5.3.2. The behavior setting of unwelcoming public spaces

Unwelcoming public spaces lack of adequate street furniture to foster a congruent relationship between the layout and the recurrent activities that occur in the area. Homelessness was a prevalent issue in all of these places, which fostered a feeling of insecurity among survey participants. Another element is the lack of spaces that foster sociability and the need to incorporate features to the built environment that attract a linguistically diverse patronage (specific sports facilities that go along with the interests of the community, loose regulations regarding language on street signs, enhancement of heritage of linguistic minorities in the public space) (Fuentes-Calle, 2010; Mehta, 2009; Qadeer, 2000).

The lack of talkscapes is a recurrent issue in the intersection of boulevard Saint-Laurent and rue Sainte-Catherine. Homeless people were sitting on the floor of place de la Paix, a square in front of Monument-National that lacks of adequate street lighting, with no benches, no garbage bins and no green spaces. The abandoned buildings were damaged by graffiti and broken windows. An environment with these features fosters emptiness and blight. Survey participants mentioned that they felt insecure in this site.

The institutional buildings that belong to UQAM, located along rue Saint-Denis, have almost no patronage using the sidewalks. Despite the availability of concrete benches for visitors to sit and socialize, people prefer to talk while they walk or to have a conversation standing up or sitting on the stairs of the surrounding buildings. The benches along rue Saint-Denis are empty and they are not protected against unpleasant weather experiences. There are not enough trees to provide shadow during the daytime. The lack of garbage bins is another issue, which explains why there is garbage on the floor. Homelessness and people who suffer mental illness are frequent visitors to this site. Pedestrians are gathered in large numbers on rue Sainte-Catherine but not on rue Saint-Denis.

During the site visit, the behavior setting of Place Émilie-Gamelin was influenced by the temporary closure of part of the square due to a restoration project. However, a couple of traces were obtained from this fieldwork. Homeless people were using the few benches located north of the square as areas to store their belongings. The few visitors opted to use flower pots and sidewalks as places for sitting. Pedestrians avoided walking through the section of the sidewalk where homeless people gathered. Since most of the square was closed because of the restoration project, people opted to sit and talk in the seats of the bus stops. This behavior is showing that there is a need of spaces to socialize.

5.4. Urban policy and linguistic diversity in Montréal's public space

This section analyzes the findings in urban policy and linguistic diversity that are responsible for creating welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces, as well as the policy weaknesses and gaps in the case of Montréal based on the results from the literature review and site visits.

5.4.1. Main findings from research

The literature review and the fieldwork on language and public spaces provided information in regards to urban policy and linguistic diversity. With the intention of attracting tourists and locals into the city's most popular public places, the City of Montréal positioned urban plazas as the centre of public life (Strickland, 2010; Ville de Montréal, 2004). This project is supported by a perspective on urban design that shifted from a more to less pattern, giving preference to minimalistic designs that focus on people rather than objects as the centre of attention in public spaces (Affleck, 2008). The intention behind this is to foster inclusion and sociability in the public realm.

In regards to public spaces, the Master Plan of the City of Montréal seeks to preserve the distinctive features of Montréal's public spaces and to promote excellence in architecture (Ville de Montréal, 2004). The City supports the idea that a coherent planning of public places will ensure a safer and more comfortable pedestrian experience in any season (Ville de Montréal, 2004). The City also specifies the physical requirements that public spaces should have in order

to be appealing to the public and meet municipal standards. (Ville de Montréal, 2004). These basic principles reflect the importance of pedestrians in the creation of public spaces.

The guidelines for streets specify that wideness of sidewalks must be uniform to allow for safe and comfortable pedestrian traffic. In addition, streets must be equipped with adequate traffic signals, street furniture, public art and greenery (Ville de Montréal, 2004). All these amenities must be organized in a manner that favors pedestrian traffic and sidewalk maintenance (Ville de Montréal, 2004). In regards to public spaces, the City supports the need to emphasize the heritage character of those public spaces that incorporate historic sites. In addition, the City recognizes its character as a cultural metropolis (Ville de Montréal, 2004). For this reason, public art is seen as a positive element to the quality of life of streets and other public spaces. The City supports that the design of the public realm must include different forms of artwork, both temporary and permanent (Ville de Montréal, 2004). An example of municipal efforts on public spaces that lack of street life is the case of *Jardins Gamelin*. According to the latest reports, this project has contributed to transform place Émilie-Gamelin into a space for engagement between visitors, residents and the homeless population (Semenak, 2015). The layout of this public space offers live music, street art, food vendors and talkscapes.

5.4.2. Policy weaknesses and gaps

Despite the City's intentions to transform itself into a pole of innovation and creative development, municipal plans do not acknowledge linguistic diversity as part of the components for public spaces (Ville de Montréal, 2004). The City is not considering the elements related to diversity (behavior setting for multicultural audiences, engagement of visible minorities in public consultation, protection of the diversity of the city's linguistic landscape) that make public spaces welcoming to linguistic minorities (Amin, 2010; Barni & Extra, 2008; Gemzøe, 2006; Kihato, 2010; Lorinc, 2006; Mehta, 2009; Sandercock, 2004; Shohamy & Gorter, 2009). No documents were found on how the City is incorporating linguistic diversity into the public realm.

Another issue that deserves attention is mentioned by Sylvestre (2010) in regards to the criminalization of street activity performed by vulnerable groups, which was declared a public

nuisance. Sylvestre mentioned that, since the 1990s, municipal regulations have changed to criminalize certain attitudes such as public gatherings. The author's concern is focused on how these regulatory changes affect vulnerable groups such as newcomers, youth and the homeless. In the case of newcomers, when they are gathering at public parks and behave in a manner that is not common for Western societies, such as Muslim women covering their faces, or immigrants who are culturally accustomed to gather in big groups, they are perceived by the police as a threat and can be detained for behaving in an 'inappropriate manner' (Sylvestre, 2010). The same occurs for youth and homeless people who are gathering in squares and are seen as potential troublemakers.

5.5. Summary

The findings discussed in this section provide a better understanding of the relationship between language and public spaces in Montréal, as well as some policy weaknesses and gaps to be addressed in order to develop welcoming places for a linguistically diverse population. The literature review has also provided important information on two approaches to understand the relationship between language and public space (linguistic landscape and behavior setting), while the results from surveys, photo exercise and fieldwork incorporate the perspective of 20 French language students on this issue. The next chapter presents the conclusions on the role of language in the use of public spaces in Montréal and the importance of incorporating diversity into the planning agenda.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The objective of this project was to understand how language affects the use of public spaces in Montréal. The following questions were posed: Which are the welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces in Montréal for a linguistically diverse public? What are the social and spatial elements that account for welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces? What lessons can be learned to best design public spaces for a linguistically diverse audience?

Review of three different approaches (linguistic landscape, behavior setting and multilingual urban planning), led to identification of research methods and likely attributes of welcoming places, informing field research. The results of the literature review were compared with those obtained from the implementation of a research survey with twenty French language students in Montréal. Both results provided information on the social and spatial features of welcoming public spaces. The next section discusses these features in detail.

6.1. Main findings: Creating welcoming public spaces

The results of the research survey helped to understand the perspective of participants on the relationship between language and public spaces. Six site visits were performed to places identified as either particularly welcoming or unwelcoming.

Fieldwork analysis was conducted through a checklist that outlined the social and spatial features of welcoming public spaces. The checklist was prepared with information obtained from the literature review on language and public spaces (Driskell, 2002; Dyer & Ngui, 2010; Fuentes-Calle, 2010; Gehl & Svarre, 2013; Gemzøe , 2006; Mehta, 2009; Qadeer, 1997; Shohamy & Gorter, 2009; Zeisel, 1981), planning organizations (American Planning Association, 2014; Canadian Institute of Planners, 2015; Project for Public Spaces, 2014), as well as the Master Plan of the City of Montréal (Ville de Montréal, 2004). The combination of theory in the study of the linguistic landscape and behavior setting; and the practical experience obtained from surveys and field work; contributed to enrich the analysis of results.

Welcoming and unwelcoming spaces were identified as follows:

- **Welcoming public spaces:** Westmount Public Library; intersection of avenue McGill College and rue Sainte-Catherine; parc du Mont-Royal.
- **Unwelcoming public spaces:** Intersection of boulevard Saint-Laurent and rue Sainte-Catherine; rue Saint-Denis, from boulevard de Maisonneuve to boulevard René-Lévesque; place Émilie-Gamelin.

Common elements emerged among public spaces for each category. Two main features of the linguistic landscape foster welcoming spaces: signage in more than one language and inclusion of the community's linguistic heritage. Two public spaces are a good example of incorporating these features to their layouts: Westmount Public Library and parc du Mont-Royal. Another example is parc Lahaie, a public space mentioned in the photo exercise, which incorporates a historic building (église Saint-Enfant-Jésus du Mile End) as part of its layout.

Language legislation has shaped Montréal's built environment and its public spaces. For instance, unilingual signage in another language is not allowed, while bilingual signage must show the visual predominance of French. Based on participants' responses, welcoming public spaces are all located in sites with an Anglophone heritage. These places are also characterized by the presence of English in the linguistic landscape. At welcoming public spaces, participants expressed that they feel comfortable mixing French with their native language when communicating with strangers and acquaintances. In contrast, none of the participants reported using their native language when communicating with strangers or acquaintances at unwelcoming public spaces. Sites identified as unwelcoming are all in areas with a Francophone heritage, and French as the dominant language in the linguistic landscape. This set of responses suggest that Montréal faces a fundamental challenge in increasing the number and geographic spread of welcoming spaces. Québec privileges the French language, by legal decree and popular support, but such linguistic regulations are at odds with the lived experience of immigrants and other non-French speakers.

Figuring out how to make places of Francophone heritage more welcoming to a wider range of users, and doing so within the existing language laws, requires the involvement of community groups, as well as public and private actors, to ensure that those spaces take into

account the linguistic diversity of Montréal. Based on participants' comments, there were two sites in Francophone heritage neighbourhoods which were considered welcoming: Place Jacques-Cartier and parc Lahaie. Both areas incorporate an active street life that caters to a diversity of users. Particularly in the case of place Jacques-Cartier, the site is a famous tourist attraction with bilingual signage and services in more than one language. Further research could be implemented to identify the lessons to be learned from these two places to make Francophone heritage sites more welcoming to diverse users.

The literature on behavior setting provided information on features that foster a congruent relationship between layout and recurrent activities: tolerance (there is a sense of belonging and being valued); safety (street life, street watchers, overlapping functions of space and time); and gathering places and activity settings (talkscapes, benches, recreational areas, sports fields, playgrounds, community events). Parc du Mont-Royal is an excellent example of a welcoming public space that has congruence in its behavior setting. The site provides a variety of gathering places and activity settings: sports fields, green spaces, bike paths, hiking spots, playgrounds. In addition, Sunday tam-tams provide visitors with the opportunity to join the music groups that gather in an organic manner. By having an informal structure, tam-tams remain open to anyone. There is a sense of safety since the park has multiple activities in space and time (music performances, food vendors, people playing sports, picnics, community events). Such example suggest that not all welcoming spaces are a product of 'planned' or 'regulated' activities, as discussed by Rantisi & Leslie (2010), Roca (2010); and reviewed in Chapter Three.

This research on multicultural urban planning provided information on Montréal's regulatory framework for language and public space. Municipal guidelines on public spaces are part of Montréal's Master Plan. In this document, the City highlights its commitment to create public spaces that place people at the centre of every project. The City promotes sustainable public spaces that take advantage of the different seasons of Montréal, especially winter. For the City of Montréal, welcoming public spaces must be available all year round and they must be accessible to residents by public transit (Ville de Montréal, 2004). Public spaces must also provide adequate green areas that enhance the importance of the tree in creating a sustainable

landscape (Ville de Montréal, 2004). In these guidelines, diversity is only mentioned to highlight that public art should remain open to a diversity of styles and cultural perspectives. Multiculturalism is associated in the Master Plan to current revitalization projects at the 'Quartier International'. Such projects seek to promote Montréal as Canada's hub for international activities (Ville de Montréal, 2004). However, it is not clear how the City incorporates multiculturalism in public spaces. No municipal documents were found that addressed language and public places or linguistic diversity in Montréal. Furthermore, there is a gap between the perceptions of the city on what makes a 'welcoming' public space and how immigrants identify themselves as parts of society. Most Canadian cities were built at a time when the society was not as heterogeneous as it is now (Qadeer, 1997). How cities organise and create welcoming spaces for diverse communities is a subject that needs to be considered in municipal planning regulations. These gaps should be addressed as Canadian cities are becoming more multicultural. A multidisciplinary approach on linguistic landscape, behavior setting and multilingual urban planning can contribute to create 'welcoming' spaces for diverse communities. The following section presents the limitations of this project in regards to concepts and data.

6.2. Limitations

The availability of information for the specific case of Montréal is one of the main limitations to this research. Although there are studies on language and public spaces, these two fields are often found separately. In addition, these studies are usually difficult to relate to the Montréal context. Most of the material on language and public spaces is focused on cities in Europe. As an official unilingual (French) city, but in practice a multilingual city within the Francophone province of North America, Montréal is a very particular case that is difficult to compare with cities in other regions.

Other limitation relate to the quality, comprehension, and representativeness of respondents. There were not many French language students at the selected institutions at the language levels and appropriate time period for participation. Language was a limitation in that during survey implementation, students, especially among participants from Beginner level, lacked the language skills to answer the questions in English or French. The participants who did

not speak English were all Spanish-speakers and the student-researcher translated each question. Another limitation was that half of the survey participants had been living in Montréal for less than two months, and they said they were unfamiliar with Montréal's public spaces. Lastly, a fifth limitation is the small sample size of the study (20 participants). Therefore, the opinions expressed by participants do not represent the opinions of all French language students in Montréal. The last section of this chapter identifies possible areas for future research as well as the significance of this project.

6.3. Implications for the future

Further research could be done in understanding how welcoming public spaces can help to facilitate inclusion of immigrants and linguistic minorities. Another area for future research is the study of the behavior setting of public spaces at linguistically diverse neighbourhoods to determine if the layout of the site meets the needs of the community. Lastly, another area is to identify public spaces with a heritage character to analyze how the neighbourhood's population has changed over time and how the new linguistic background of the current population is observed in these historic sites.

By integrating the linguistic diversity of Montréal into the planning process, the City can help provide its citizenry with spaces that are attractive. Attractive spaces work for immigrants and visitors. They also cater to the 'creative class' of artists and entrepreneurs who are argued to be essential for the knowledge economy (Florida, 2002; Hannigan, 2010). Given the multicultural character of Montréal and its potential as an international metropolis, public spaces with adequate features to make them welcoming sites for linguistic diversity is important. The creation of welcoming public spaces can be complemented by ensuring that public spaces serve as sites that foster a sense of community pride about the past and present heritage of the neighbourhood, addressing the contributions of Montréal's linguistic communities in the creation of a multicultural city.

This project highlighted the importance of language in the use of public spaces, and the creation of welcoming places for an increasingly linguistically diverse population. The research

on specific public spaces also highlighted that creative design, attention to detail, and the confluence of 'planned' and 'bottom up' forces contributed to the emergence of welcoming spaces for a diverse population. However, the creation of well-functioning public spaces requires attention. An urban agenda that involves linguistic diversity in the creation of public spaces could help fill the gaps in regards to language and planning in Montréal's public spaces. New mechanisms to create inclusive public spaces must also consider the involvement of local communities in the financing and management of public spaces (Zwicker, 2015). A city that includes linguistic minorities in the place-making process is a democratic city (Amin, 2010; Marcuse, 2006). By creating welcoming public spaces for a linguistically diverse community, the city is ensuring that public spaces serve as sites of inclusion and democracy.

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Appendices

***Note regarding Appendices A to D:** The following appendices are examples of the documents provided to YMCA and ARMP to conduct the survey. The same information was delivered to each language school. A minor change was made only for the name of the language school (YMCA, ARMP) in every document. Each of these appendices was available in English and French.

Appendix A. Consent letter to language schools*

Name and title: _____
E-mail: _____
Please read this consent agreement carefully before you decide to participate in the study.

I am requesting the permission of YMCA International Language School to conduct a research survey with YMCA students at your facilities. The purpose of this research is to understand how language affects the use of public space in Montréal. This research may help YMCA to identify patterns that should be considered in class in order to provide students with the necessary skills to deal with real life situations in a Francophone environment.

The lead researcher is a student in the Master of Urban Planning (MUP) program at McGill University, working under the supervision of Professor Lisa Bornstein. The study is conducted as part of the Supervised Research Project which is a requirement of the School of Urban Planning.

A research survey with two sections will be conducted to 20 participants who will be French language students in intermediate (10 students) and intermediate-advanced level (10 students). **All participants must be 18 years of age or older.** Section One should last no more than 15 minutes and it could be conducted before class, during class break or after class. Section Two contains a photo exercise that is answered through Google Drive and it should last no more than 30 minutes. The contribution of each participant would be to accept to answer sections one and two of the survey. Surveys will be administered and collected by the student researcher only.

The identity of the respondents will be treated confidentially, and no information will be given in any research report or paper that may disclose the identity of each participant. Participants will be identified only by a unique identifier number. All responses will be treated as personal opinions that do not express the official position of YMCA International Language School. The information gathered will be securely stored and may be accessed only by the researcher and supervisor. Data will be stored for seven years before destruction, as required by McGill's Policy on the Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Human Participants. The research report will be accessible at the library of McGill University. It may also be shared with planners, municipalities, and community organizations. The research may also be published in articles for professional or scholarly journals. Only the researcher and the supervisor will have access to identifiable study materials.

If you have questions about the study, please contact:
Student Researcher: Jorge Garza
School of Urban Planning
Suite 400, Macdonald Harrington Building. 815 Sherbrooke Street West. Montréal, Quebec H3A 0C2.
Tel: 514-804-0050. E-mail: jorge.garzarodriguez@mail.mcgill.ca

Faculty Supervisor: Lisa Bornstein
School of Urban Planning
Suite 400, Macdonald Harrington Building. 815 Sherbrooke Street West. Montréal, Quebec H3A 0C2

Tel: 514-398-4075 Fax: 514-398-8376. E-mail: lisa.bornstein@mcgill.ca

If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a participant institution in this research study, please contact the McGill Ethics Officer at 514-398-6193 or deanna.collin@mcgill.ca

Agreement: I have read and understand the information provided to me and I agree to participate in the research study described above.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix B. Consent letter to survey participants*

UID# _____

Name and title: _____
Email: _____

Please read this consent agreement carefully before you decide to participate in the study.

Note: You must be 18 years of age or older in order to participate

You are invited to participate in a research survey being undertaken at YMCA International Language School. The purpose of this research is to understand how language affects the use of public space in Montréal. The lead researcher is a student in the Master of Urban Planning (MUP) program at McGill University, working under the supervision of Professor Lisa Bornstein. The study is conducted as part of the Supervised Research Project which is a requirement of the School of Urban Planning.

You will be asked to complete a research survey with two sections. Section One should last no more than 15 minutes and it could be conducted before class, during class break or after class. Section Two contains a photo exercise that is answered through Google Drive and it should last no more than 30 minutes. Your contribution to the research would be to agree to answer sections one and two of the survey. You are free to refuse to answer any question and to stop the survey at any time. Surveys will be administered and collected by the student researcher only.

Your identity will be treated confidentially. No information will be given in any research report or paper that may disclose your identity. Your responses will be coded, stored and presented in a manner that protects your identity. You will be identified only by a unique identifier number. The information gathered will be securely stored and may be accessed only by the researcher and supervisor. A minor risk exists that data transmitted via the internet could be intercepted. Data will be stored for seven years before destruction, as required by McGill's Policy on the Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Human Participants.

Photos: Please select whether you agree with the following statement:
I agree to have the photos I submit used in research reports, presentations and publications. I agree not to be credited as photographer. The photos I submit will be listed as "respondent #___".

☐ **Yes** ☐ **No**

Right to withdraw from the study: Your participation is voluntary. You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. The researcher will assign you a unique identifier number. Only you, the researcher and the supervisor will have access to this information. You must keep track of your unique identifier number in case you want to withdraw from the study.

Dissemination: The research report will be accessible at the library of McGill University. It may also be shared with planners, municipalities, and community organizations. The research may also be published in articles for professional or scholarly journals or be presented at professional or academic conferences. Only the researcher and the supervisor will have access to identifiable study materials.

If you have questions about the study, please contact:
Student Researcher: Jorge Garza
School of Urban Planning
Suite 400, Macdonald Harrington Building. 815 Sherbrooke Street West. Montréal, Quebec H3A 0C2.

Tel: 514-804-0050. E-mail: jorge.garzarodriguez@mail.mcgill.ca

Faculty Supervisor: Lisa Bornstein
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Tel: 514-398-4075 Fax: 514-398-8376. E-mail: lisa.bornstein@mcgill.ca

If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a participant in this research study, please contact the McGill Ethics Officer at 514-398-6193 or deanna.collin@mcgill.ca

Agreement: I have read and understand the information provided to me and I agree to participate in the research study described above.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix C. Letter to solicit potential participants for research survey*

Note: You must be 18 years of age or older in order to participate.

My name is Jorge Garza. I am a Master of Urban Planning candidate at McGill University and I am currently doing research on how language affects the use of public space in Montréal, under the supervision of Professor Lisa Bornstein from the School of Urban Planning. The research project will analyze the social and spatial features that foster welcoming and unwelcoming spaces in Montréal, as well as the lessons to design public spaces for a multilingual public.

I would like to invite you to answer a survey as part of my research on the effects of language on people's use of public space in Montréal. The survey consists of two sections. Section One should last no more than 15 minutes and it could be conducted before class, during class break or at the end of your class. Section Two contains a photo exercise that is answered through Google Drive. You are invited to take pictures of at least two different public spaces in Montréal, one picture per place. You will also be invited to describe your thoughts about each place, an exercise that should last no more than 30 minutes.

Your contribution to the research would be to accept to answer sections one and two of the survey. The two sections are about your perception of welcoming and unwelcoming spaces in Montréal for individuals whose mother tongue is not French, and the impact of language in determining your use of public spaces for recreation, work or any other social activity. Your participation in this research would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,
Jorge Garza
Master's Candidate
McGill University School of Urban Planning

If you have any concerns regarding this research, please contact:

Student Researcher: Jorge Garza
School of Urban Planning
Suite 400, Macdonald Harrington Building. 815 Sherbrooke Street West. Montréal, Quebec H3A 0C2.
Tel: 514-804-0050. E-mail: jorge.garzarodriguez@mail.mcgill.ca

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Tel: 514-398-4075 Fax: 514-398-8376. E-mail: lisa.bornstein@mcgill.ca

Appendix D. Research survey*

Section 1: Language and the use of public spaces in Montréal

UID#_____ (for researcher use only)

Thank you for your interest to participate in this research. Please answer the following questions. You are free to provide as much information as possible for each question.

Participant information

Age: _____; Sex: Male____ Female____; Were you born in Canada? Yes___ No___

What is your native language? _____

What languages do you speak? _____

In which YMCA language course and level are you currently enrolled? (ex. French, Intermediate 2)
_____

For the purpose of this research, **public spaces** are defined as: "…**a place that anyone may enter freely- young or old, rich or poor. Public spaces belong to everyone and to no one in particular**." (ex. streets, parks, public libraries, public schools, public buildings).

Introduction

1. Please choose, on a scale from 1 to 5, your level of proficiency in French for casual social interactions.

Basic		Intermediate		Advanced
1	2	3	4	5

2. How do you communicate your ideas when you are unable to speak French? What do you do?
_____
_____

3. In your opinion, what is the most linguistically diverse public space in Montréal? Please answer below.
_____
_____

4. What is the linguistic group with which you feel comfortable in everyday life?

☐ Francophones ☐ Anglophones ☐ Other : _____

5. Is the presence of speakers of your native language a factor that you consider when you choose to visit a public space?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ I prefer not to answer

6. Do you think having a good grasp of French is necessary to enjoy public spaces in Montréal?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Other : _____

7. Does your comfort level with French communication determine which public spaces you use?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Other : _____

8. Do you feel comfortable in public spaces where French is the main language spoken?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Other : _____

Please answer the following questions based on a scale from 1 to 5, where **1** is "**Strongly disagree**" and **5** is "**Strongly agree**":

9. I feel very uncomfortable speaking French in public spaces.

Strongly disagree		No opinion		Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

10. I feel very comfortable speaking my native language in public spaces.

Strongly disagree		No opinion		Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

11. My level of proficiency in French is important in deciding where to live in Montréal.

Strongly disagree		No opinion		Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

This section is about welcoming public spaces

Note: A **welcoming public space** is a place that **everyone is allowed to visit**, regardless of their age, sex, ethnicity and linguistic background. **People feel safe** in a space that supports **diversity** and **social interaction**.

12. Which public spaces do you find **most welcoming** for non-native French speakers in Montréal? Please name at least 3 spaces. (Ex. streets, parks, neighbourhoods, etc.)

1._____ 2._____ 3._____

Note: A **stranger** is a person whom one does not know or with whom one is not familiar.

13. What language(s) do you use to communicate with **strangers** at **welcoming public spaces**? (Please select all that apply)

☐ French ☐ English ☐ Native language ☐ Other:_____

14. When communicating with **strangers** at **welcoming public spaces**, how much do you mix French with another language? *(Please select your answer)*

☐	I only communicate in French.

	I communicate mostly in French and a few times in another language(s): _____
	I communicate equally in French and in another language (s): _____
	I communicate mostly in another language (s):_____ and a few times in French.
	I only communicate in another language(s):_____

Note: An **acquaintance** is a person you know and/or you spend time with (ex. friends, family, colleagues).

15. What languages do you use to communicate with **acquaintances** at **welcoming public spaces**? (Please select all that apply)

☐ French ☐ English ☐ Native language ☐ Other:_____

16. When communicating with **acquaintances** at **welcoming public spaces**, how much do you mix French with another language? *(Please select your answer)*

	I only communicate in French.
	I communicate mostly in French and a few times in another language(s): _____
	I communicate equally in French and in another language (s): _____
	I communicate mostly in another language (s):_____ and a few times in French.
	I only communicate in another language(s):_____

17. What are the elements of **social life** that make these public spaces **welcoming**? Please rank each of the following features in order of importance, with **1** being **the most important** feature to **6** being **the least important** feature. You may also add your own.

	Sociability (the space brings people together).
	Availability of community events.
	Diversity of people.
	Everyone is allowed to visit this public space.
	Safety
	Availability of a professional staff for public services.

Other(s):

_____

18. What are the **spatial elements** that make these spaces **welcoming**? Please rank each of the following features in order of importance, with **1** being **the most important** feature to **8** being **the least important** feature. You may also add your own.

	Signs in more than one language.
	Possibilities for sitting (benches).
	Street lighting (when dark).
	Clean and well-maintained environment.
	Easy access by public transit and walkable streets.
	Access to natural settings.
	Aesthetic beauty through landmarks or art (monuments, art, ornaments, planting strip).
	Fields and playgrounds that can be used year-round.

Other(s):

_____

This section is about unwelcoming public spaces

Note: An **unwelcoming public space** is a place that **not everyone is allowed to visit**. It may also be a space that is officially open to everyone but in reality there are constraints that affect **vulnerable groups** such as **ethnic or linguistic minorities**. These constraints might be lack of services in more than one language, discrimination, lack of adequate street lighting, etc. **Not everyone feels safe** in this kind of spaces.

19. What **public spaces** do you find **least welcoming** for non-native French speakers in Montréal? Please name at least 3 public spaces. (Ex. streets, parks, neigbourhoods, etc.)

1._____ 2._____3._____

Note: A **stranger** is a person whom one does not know or with whom one is not familiar.

20. What language(s) do you use to communicate with **strangers** at **unwelcoming public spaces**? (Please select all that apply)

☐ French ☐ English ☐ Native language ☐ Other:_____

21. When communicating with **strangers** at **unwelcoming public spaces**, how much do you mix French with another language? *(Please select your answer)*

	I only communicate in French.

	I communicate mostly in French and a few times in another language(s): _____
	I communicate equally in French and in another language (s): _____
	I communicate mostly in another language (s):_____ and a few times in French.
	I only communicate in another language(s):_____

Note: An **acquaintance** is a person you know and/or you spend time with (ex. friends, family, colleagues).

22. What languages do you use to communicate with **acquaintances** at **unwelcoming public spaces**? (Please select all that apply).

☐ French ☐ English ☐ Native language ☐ Other:_____

23. When communicating with **acquaintances** at **unwelcoming public spaces**, how much do you mix French with another language? *(Please select your answer)*

	I only communicate in French.
	I communicate mostly in French and a few times in another language(s): _____
	I communicate equally in French and in another language (s): _____
	I communicate mostly in another language (s):_____ and a few times in French.
	I only communicate in another language(s):_____

Think of the last time **you felt uncomfortable in a public space** and answer the following questions.

24. Where did you go?

_____

25. Why did you go there?

_____

26. Please mention one element of **social life** that made you feel uncomfortable in this public space.

_____

27. Please mention one **spatial element** that made you feel uncomfortable in this public space.

_____

28. How often do you go there?

Most days	Most weeks	About once a month	2 or 3 times a year	Hardly ever
1	2	3	4	5

29. The last time you felt uncomfortable in a public space, were you in company of someone?
    ☐ Yes ☐ No

30. What language(s) did you speak at that time? (Please select all that apply).
    ☐ French ☐ English ☐ Native language ☐ Other:_____

31. Was the majority of the people speaking the same language as you at that time?
    ☐ Yes ☐ No

Section 2: Photo Exercise. Identifying welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces

I. Please read the following information carefully before you begin:

The objective of this photo exercise is to take pictures to identify the physical features that characterize welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces for multilingual interaction.

Please note that this exercise **is not** about taking pictures of **people** using these spaces. **Photos with minors are not allowed.** If a place is too crowded, you are invited to take the picture from a distance that makes it difficult to recognize people's faces.

For the purpose of this research, **public spaces** are defined as: "…**a place that anyone may enter freely-young or old, rich or poor. Public spaces belong to everyone and to no one in particular**." (ex. streets, parks, public libraries, public schools, public buildings).

II. Instructions :

1. Over the next week, please take pictures of public spaces that you pass by on your daily activities. Please note if these public spaces are welcoming or unwelcoming for a multilingual and non-Francophone audience.

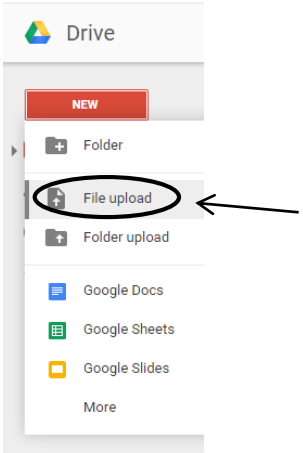
2. Please take at least one picture for a welcoming public space, as well as for an unwelcoming public space.

3. These pictures may show **streets, sidewalks, natural features, playgrounds, sports fields, street furniture, signage in different languages, etc**.

4. Explain the reasons why you chose each public space.

5. Your notes from this photo exercise will be collected in person at YMCA on **_____.** Your photos will be collected through Google Drive.

6. Please **upload** your photos in **.jpg** format to the **Google Drive account: _____, password: _____** You can upload each photo by clicking on **NEW, FILE UPLOAD,** and choose the pictures to be attached. Each picture must be named according to their public space number (**Ex. : 1.jpg, 2.jpg, etc.**). If you add more pictures of the same public space, you may identify them in the following format: 1.1.jpg, 1.2.jpg, etc. (the first digit indicates the public space number and the second one the order each picture appeared This way we ensure that each picture is referred to its specific public space).



UID#_____ (for researcher use only)

Participant information

Age: _____; Sex: Male____ Female____; Were you born in Canada? Yes___ No___

What is your native language? _____

What languages do you speak? _____

In which YMCA language course and level are you currently enrolled? (ex. French, Intermediate 2)
_____

Welcoming public spaces

Public space # **1**: _____
Brief explanation:
_____
_____
_____

Unwelcoming public spaces

Public space # **2**: _____
Brief explanation:
_____
_____
_____

Appendix E. Checklist for site visits: Planning for inclusive multilingual public spaces

Site No. _____ Site name: _____ Date and time of visit: _____

Location: _____

Element	Yes	No
Tolerance		
1. Visitors feels welcome in this public space, regardless of their linguistic background.		
2. People interact in more than one language and in formal or informal activities.		
3. People are respected when they speak a language other than French.		
Gathering places and activity settings		
4. The space provides possibilities for sitting (zones for sitting, benches for resting).		
5. The space provides possibilities for hearing/talking (low noise levels, bench arrangements, talkscapes).		
6. The space provides interesting visual experiences, vistas and lighting (when dark).		
7. There is an atmosphere of discovery or pleasant surprise.		
8. This public space provides activities that make it attractive and encourage social interaction.		
Safety		
9. There is bilingual or multilingual signage to guide people around the area.		
10. This public space is clean and well-preserved (no graffiti, no garbage)		
11. People are able to move around the area on their own, without fears or concerns about their safety.		
12. This public space is used by different groups of people.		
13. This public space contains at least one of the following elements that foster a feeling of safety: street life, street watchers, overlapping functions in space and time.		
14. People are protected against unpleasant sense experiences (i.e. wind/draft, rain/snow, cold/heat, pollution, dust, glare, noise).		
Access to nature		
15. People have access to natural settings.		
16. There are fields for organized sports (day and night, summer and winter).		
17. There are parks and play areas (day and night, summer and winter).		
Community image and identity		
18. There is a heritage site or historic area nearby.		
19. There are bilingual or multilingual posters inviting to community activities and cultural life.		
20. This public space incorporates public art (murals, sculptures, etc.)		
Land Tenure		
21. There are local businesses nearby that cater a diverse linguistic clientele.		
22. There are no signs indicating threats of relocation or displacement from authorities, private developers or landowners.		
23. There are residential and non-residential properties with signs in different languages.		
Accessibility		

24. This public space accommodates linguistically diverse visitors who access by transit, bicycles or other means (there is adequate signage, room for walking, interesting facades, bike paths, bike racks, metro stations or bus stops).		
Total		

Notes:

_____
_____
_____
_____

Appendix F. Language at welcoming and unwelcoming public spaces

Welcoming public spaces			Unwelcoming public spaces		
Language participants use to communicate with strangers					
Code	**Response Item**	**Frequency**	**Code**	**Response Item**	**Frequency**
1	French	6	1	French	5
2	English	8	2	English	9
3	Native language*	2	3	French and English	5
4	French and English	4	4	No answer	1
	Total	**20**		**Total**	**20**
Native language*					
Code	**Response Item**	**Frequency**			
3	Spanish	2			
	Total	2			
How much do participants mix French with another language when they communicate with strangers?					
Code	**Response Item**	**Frequency**	**Code**	**Response Item**	**Frequency**
1	I only communicate in French	0	1	I only communicate in French	4
2	I communicate mostly in French and a few times in another language*	6	2	I communicate mostly in French and a few times in another language*	3
3	I communicate equally in French and in another language*	1	3	I communicate equally in French and in another language*	2
4	I communicate mostly in another language* and a few times in French	11	4	I communicate mostly in another language* and a few times in French	10
5	I only communicate in another language*	1	5	I only communicate in another language*	0
6	No answer	1	6	No answer	1
	Total	**20**		**Total**	**20**
What is this another language*?					
Code	**Response Item**	**Frequency**	**Code**	**Response Item**	**Frequency**
1	English	17	1	English	15
2	Spanish	1	2	Spanish	0
3	Portuguese	1	3	Portuguese	0
	Total	**19**		**Total**	**15**

Language participants use to communicate with acquaintances					
Code	**Response Item**	**Frequency**	**Code**	**Response Item**	**Frequency**
1	French	0	1	French	3
2	English	6	2	English	6
3	Native language*	5	3	Native language*	3
4	French and English	3	4	French and English	2
5	English and native language*	4	5	English and native language*	3
6	French, English and native language*	2	6	French, English and native language*	2
7	No answer	0	7	No answer	1
	Total	**20**		**Total**	**20**

Native language*					
Code	**Response Item**	**Frequency**	**Code**	**Response Item**	**Frequency**
1	Spanish	3	1	Spanish	2
2	Russian	1	2	Russian	1
3	Portuguese	3	3	Portuguese	3
4	Arabic	1	4	Arabic	1
5	Turkish	1	5	Turkish	1
	Total	**9**		**Total**	**8**

How much do participants mix French with another language when they communicate with acquaintances?					
Code	**Response Item**	**Frequency**	**Code**	**Response Item**	**Frequency**
1	I only communicate in French	0	1	I only communicate in French	1
2	I communicate mostly in French and a few times in another language	1	2	I communicate mostly in French and a few times in another language	3
3	I communicate equally in French and in another language	2	3	I communicate equally in French and in another language	2
4	I communicate mostly in another language and a few times in French	15	4	I communicate mostly in another language and a few times in French	11
5	I only communicate in another language	2	5	I only communicate in another language	2
6	No answer	0	6	No answer	1
	Total	**20**		**Total**	**20**

What is this another language?					
Code	**Response Item**	**Frequency**	**Code**	**Response Item**	**Frequency**
1	English	13	1	English	11
2	Spanish	2	2	English and native language*	4
3	Portuguese	3	3	Native language*	3
4	Other	2	4	Other	0
	Total	**20**		**Total**	**18**
			Native language*		
			Code	Response Item	Frequency
			1	Spanish	1
			2	Russian	1
			3	Portuguese	3
			4	Arabic	1
			5	Turkish	1
				Total	**7**

Source: Prepared by author with information obtained from survey results.