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Urban governance and participatory revitalization in Montreal: Two case studies of the Integrated Urban Revitalization (RUI) policy

Supervised Research Paper

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June 2012

Abstract: Disadvantaged communities in North America have been at the center of many different types of policies over the past 50 years, most notably the urban renewal programs of the 50s and 60s. These policies focused heavily on the built environment, leading to their ineffectiveness in addressing the root causes of poverty and other types of social and economic disadvantages. Today, many policy makers and planning professionals recognize that integrating actions of stakeholders at different levels of intervention and across sectors can greatly help to maximize the efficiency of revitalization initiatives in disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

This research will explore dynamics among local actors in the implementation of a new approach to planning for disadvantaged areas of Montreal, integrated urban revitalization or RUI. Two neighborhoods – Ville St-Pierre and Côte-Saint-Paul – with different RUI structures and relationships to the local community councils, the *tables de quartier,* are examined. In particular, this research focuses on a triad associated with RUI and its implementation – the *tables de quartier*, the revitalization committee and local residents – and their relationships. The relationship of RUI to the borough and municipality is also studied. Based on key findings, it is argued that funding and public participation are major challenges of RUI, similar to other instances of integrated revitalization programs, and that the successful implementation of RUI is heavily dependent on local actors and contexts. Despite challenges, the RUI However, the RUI certainly has changed how community development actors interact and collaborate, and will continue to play a role in shaping future partnerships and the scope and success of interventions in revitalizing disadvantaged areas in Montreal.

Résumé:

Les communautés défavorisées en Amérique du Nord ont été au cœur de différents types de politiques au cours des 50 dernières années, plus particulièrement les programmes de rénovation urbaine des années 50 et 60. Ces politiques étaient fortement axées sur l'environnement bâti, conduisant à leur inefficacité dans la lutte contre les causes de la pauvreté et d'autres désavantages sociaux et économiques. Aujourd'hui, il est reconnu par plusieurs urbanistes et décideurs politiques que l'intégration des actions des parties prenantes à différents niveaux et secteurs d'intervention peut aider à maximiser l'efficacité des initiatives de revitalisation des quartiers défavorisés.

Cette recherche permettra d'explorer la dynamique entre les acteurs locaux dans la mise en œuvre d'une nouvelle approche de planification pour les zones défavorisées de Montréal, la revitalisation urbaine intégrée (RUI). Deux quartiers avec des projets RUI - Ville St-Pierre et Côte-Saint-Paul -, avec des relations aux tables de quartier et des structures différentes, sont examinés. En particulier cette recherche se concentre sur une triade associée à la démarche de RUI, à savoir les tables de quartier, le comité de revitalisation et les résidents locaux. La relation entre la RUI, l'arrondissement et la municipalité est également étudiée. Il est soutenu que le financement et la participation du public constituent des défis majeurs de la RUI, semblables à d'autres instances de programmes intégrés de revitalisation. La mise en œuvre réussie de la RUI dépend fortement des acteurs et des contextes locaux. Malgré les difficultés de mise en œuvre de la RUI, l'approche de la RUI a eu un impact sur les acteurs de développement communautaire et sur les modes de fonctionnement institutionnels. La RUI continue à jouer un rôle important dans la collaboration entre les acteurs locaux et dans le succès des interventions de revitalisation des zones défavorisées à Montréal.

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my gratitude to several people who made this research possible: to the faculty and students of the McGill School of Urban Planning for their contributions to my academic experience; to my supervisor, Lisa Bornstein, and second reader, Raphaël Fischler, for their support and insight; to my parents and husband for their constant support and help during the writing process; and, most of all, a heart-felt thank you to the interviewees who shared their time and insights with me.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to RUI

Disadvantaged communities in North America have been the focus of many different types of policies over the past 50 years, most notably the urban renewal programs of the 50s and 60s. These policies focused heavily on the built environment, leading to their ineffectiveness in addressing the root causes of poverty and other types of social and economic disadvantages.

This research will explore dynamics among local actors in the implementation of a new approach to planning for disadvantaged areas of Montreal, *Revitalisation Urbaine Intégrée (RUI),* or integrated urban revitalization. The RUI policy was launched as a pilot program in 2003, through an agreement between the provincial Quebec government and the City of Montreal, in order to revitalize disadvantaged neighbourhoods in the City of Montreal.

The City of Montreal established the RUI program in the context of decentralization and the shifting of certain powers and responsibilities to the boroughs in 2002. The creation of the RUI was also related to the delegation of responsibilities relative to the fight against poverty from the Province to the City of Montreal. In this context, the RUI program in Montreal was created to address the multiplicity of factors contributing to poverty and social exclusion by integrating diverse actors and resources from different spheres and levels of governance.

RUI is distinctive and unusual in planning practice with respect to its territorial and integrated approach to planning, its structure in relation to representative bodies and the role of resident participation. Whether these innovations result in better planning processes, more say for residents, and better outcomes for disadvantaged neighbourhoods is worthy of investigation.

My research examines (a) the three parts of a triad associated with the RUI program in Montreal and its implementation – the local neighbourhood councils or *tables de quartier*, the revitalization committee

and local residents – and (b) the relations among them, as well as (c) their relationship to the borough and municipality. In this study, two neighborhoods – Ville St-Pierre and Côte-Saint-Paul – with different RUI project structures and relationships to the *tables de quartier* will be examined.

1.1. Characteristics of RUI approaches

The RUI policy in Montreal is primarily based on a study by researchers at the *Institut national de la recherche scientifique* of revitalization initiatives in Europe and the United States (Bacqué et al., 2003). The report outlines common characteristics of urban revitalization programs, such as having a targeted territory for interventions that are to be realized in partnership with private actors and civil society representatives. These interventions are to be "integrated", in the sense of working across sectors and levels of intervention.

Common elements of different iterations of urban revitalization programs surveyed by Bacqué et al. (2003) include: mobilization of local administration and community, including citizens; specific revitalization programs together with sectorial programs; locally-defined interventions based on local need and universal interventions adapted to local context; complementary to existing activities; specific funding from different level of government; small target zones which correspond to a part of a larger disadvantaged sector organized around a community; and a team outside of municipal services which implements actions and ensures the mobilization and coordination of stakeholders.

This approach builds on integrated revitalization initiatives in Europe (Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy in England, *Politique de la ville* in France) and the United States (Community Development Block Grant, Empowerment Zones), as well as previous programs in Canadian cities including the *Quartiers sensibles et ciblés, Villes et Villages en santé* (VVS), *Revitalisation des quartiers centraux* and *Renouveau urbain* in the City of Montreal (funded through provincial partnerships). Thus the RUI program is based on previous policies which share a focus on neighbourhoods with high concentrations

of poverty, whose dynamics reinforce social problems and exclusion. These policies also share a multi-sector approach to neighbourhood revitalization which integrates physical, economic, and social interventions.

The best practices from the international revitalization case studies are cited in the City's call for proposals for the pilot project, demonstrating a direct link with the program as outlined in the City proposal.

For the City, RUI is "a concerted and integrated form of action across multiple sectors", whose aim is "to concentrate, coordinate and adapt the interventions of public, community and private resources" to ameliorate the socio-economic conditions in a given territory[1] (Ville de Montreal, 2003: 9; author's translation).

The RUI pilot program (2003) mandate is the following: to put in place local revitalization committees (*comités locaux de revitalization*) created through collaborative decision-making, or *concertation*, between the boroughs and local organizations; to produce local revitalization plans; to experiment with an integrated mode of organization and management; and to mobilize municipal, governmental, community and private partners in integrated actions likely to have a concrete impact on the situation in the designated territory.

The RUI approach "gives an important role to the involvement of the local population and their representative bodies in the planning and implementation of actions" [2] (Ville de Montreal, 2003:9; author's translation). Through its planning structure, the RUI approach aims to engage local stakeholders in planning processes at the locally-delineated territorial level of the neighbourhood, and

[1] « Elle [la RUI] agit de façon concertée et intégrée dans un grand nombre de domaines, en fonction des réalités rencontrées. » ; « Elle [la RUI] veut concentrer, coordonner et adapter l'action des ressources publiques, communautaires et privées, pour régler ces problèmes ou améliorer sensiblement la situation. »

[2] « Elle [la RUI] donne une large part à la population du territoire touché et aux instances qui les représentent, dans la planification et la mise en œuvre des actions ».

to enable local actors to take the revitalization of their neighborhood into their own hands through a collectively defined and implemented action plan.

1.2. RUI project zones

The RUI pilot program was put in place over a period of municipal restructuring: in 2002, several municipalities were merged with the City of Montreal to form a new City of Montreal composed of boroughs; however in 2005, several municipalities demerged to become independent again, leaving patches of independent municipalities throughout the island of Montreal.[3] Adding to the complexity, provincial agencies and other bodies operating in Montreal often define their territorial limits of intervention in different ways, creating overlaps between boroughs, political districts, historical parish-based neighbourhoods, and territories used by provincial agencies and other public institutions. In this context, the scale at which the RUI program operates is of particular interest in terms of its ability to group together different sectors and scales of activity by community development organizations, local organizations and public and private institutions.

Although the RUI is funded by the City of Montreal in conjunction with the *Ministère de l'éducation et des services sociaux* (MESS), the boroughs are primarily responsible for the implementation of RUI projects. Within this complex landscape, the RUI territory is defined by the boroughs and local stakeholders as part of their application to the revitalization program.

According to the RUI pilot program description, the proposed RUI projects will be evaluated using the following criteria: whether the project is situated within a priority zone and delineated on the map of priority zones defined by the City (*Zones prioriatires d'intervention concertées et de revitalization urbaine*) and whether the RUI project sector is recognized as a neighbourhood in a sociological sense,

[3] The political changes and policy discussions between 2002-2005 as relates to the background of the RUI will be explained in more detail in chapter two.

one around which community life is organized[4]. Each RUI project operates in a locally defined zone of intervention which is to be smaller than the borough it is a part of but larger than a few blocks, with the result that there is significant variation in the size of RUI territories in Montreal[5].

As will be shown in the case studies, the size of the RUI territory has an impact on the RUI's relationship to the borough. In addition, the scale of RUI territories plays a role in RUI's interaction with community groups and public institutions in the area, in particular in the relationship between the local neighbourhood council and the local revitalization committee.

Another key element of the RUI approach is coordination between the operational unit of the RUI (the local revitalization committee and the RUI project coordinator) and wider representative bodies for a given territory. The borough associated with each RUI project must either already have in place or plan to create a local collaborative or deliberative structure. Often, the structure is a *table de quartier*[6]. There are twenty-eight *tables de quartier* that are members of the *Coalition Montréalaise des tables de Quartier* (CMTQ). The *tables de quartier* are made up of local organizations, citizens and institutions; their mandate is to coordinate inter-sectorial work and enable local stakeholders to work together, as well as to provide a mechanism that allows the community to provide input on community development processes (Lachance and Bernier, 2004).

As will be described in the following chapters, the *tables de quartier* are institutionalized and supported through the *Initiative montréalaise de soutien au développement social local* and have a mandate which resembles that of the RUI revitalization committees. In many Montreal neighbourhoods, these *tables de quartier* are important avenues for public participation and community action. The *tables de*

[4] « Le projet pilote porte sur un secteur, un quartier au sens sociologique, autour duquel s'organise la vie communautaire" (Ville de Montreal, 2003 : 14).

[5] « Afin de donner une idée, une échelle de grandeur, et à titre indicatif seulement, le secteur d'intervention devrait s'avérer moins étendu qu'un arrondissement (sauf dans les petits arrondissements), mais dépasser l'échelle du voisinage; » (Ville de Montréal, 2003 :14).

[6] They are also sometimes referred to as *tables de concertation*, however the more general term used in this text is *tables de quartier*.

quartier are structured in different ways and have varying membership and representation, which, in turn, have an impact on how the orientations of the RUI are defined and implemented. This complicated network of representative structures and community-based associations, each with a different mode of functioning, is one of the main challenges of the RUI. The characteristics of the *tables de quartier* are presented in more detail in Chapter 2.

The role of the local consultation structure is to work in concert with the borough to form the local revitalization committee and hire a project coordinator. The local revitalization committee is the structure where the revitalization plan is produced, where actions are taken to implement it and which is responsible for mobilizing the local population and local partners. The borough is also represented within this structure, although its role varies depending on a number of factors addressed in the case studies. The RUI project coordinator – as the interface between the revitalization committee, citizens and other local stakeholders – also plays an important role in the implementation of RUI projects.

Divay et al. (2006) define the RUI approach as having several facets, namely: cross-sector integration and the integration of the territory into broader urban dynamics; consultation and dialogue (integrating different points of view through discussion); public integration (through citizen participation and empowerment) (Divay et al., 2006: 38). These processes – cross-sector planning and urban dynamics, consultation and dialogue, participatory processes – characterize the theory behind the RUI. Moreover, for Divay et al., the singularity of the RUI approach is that these factors are taken into account simultaneously and cumulatively, allowing for the maximum of results from interventions as well as the successful realization of the planning approach (Divay et al., 2006: 75).

Such a territorial- and civil society-based approach to revitalization is summarized by Quiéros in her definition of the RUI as "a set of territorially-based responses to concrete problems that draw on the cooperation between the public and private sectors and on the participation of the civil society"

(Quiéros, 2010: 51). This type of planning, in which bringing multiple stakeholders to the table and enlarging the number of voices and points of view in the debate are seen as paths to more open and community-oriented processes, can be analyzed as part of the communicative approach to planning.

1.3. Planning theory and urban governance[7]

Planning and city governance in general were affected by social movements of the 1960s, which called for the opening of decision-making and planning processes to greater public participation. Social movements called into question the legitimacy and representative nature of traditional decision-making processes, characterized by a top-down hierarchical structure. By questioning modes of decision-making, the 1960s social movements in Quebec – and internationally – contributed to the implementation of new modes of planning.

Faced with increasing inequalities in urban environments and the recognition of the complexity of poverty, policy-makers have turned to an integrated approach as a means of addressing the multiple factors responsible for creating pockets of disadvantaged communities.

The integrated approach to planning is, in part, a reaction to silo planning, where different sectors work independently of each other. Integration is also a response to top-down, centralized planning, which is seen as inefficient and unable to generate the local engagement and capacity-building needed to sustain revitalization efforts. The integrated approach of RUI is based on the idea that, through the collaboration of community, institutional and governmental stakeholders, the entirety of resources at the disposal of various sector-specific actors can be applied efficiently to common problems.

The RUI, as an integrated revitalization program, provides important potential for social innovation

[7] Le Galès (1995) defines governance as a notion whose roots are in the context of management and business administration which evolved to refer to "innovative forms of organizing collective action" and whose goal it is to overcome the lack of effectiveness and legitimacy in meeting new social needs (LeGalès 1995, cited in Quiéros: 52).

because it encourages actors to work across sectors and to combine resources in interventions as opposed to working in 'silos'. Additionally, integrated revitalization programs focus on vertical integration, which makes it possible for local and public actors to share the costs and burdens of the interventions. Although theoretically this integration is beneficial, an evaluation of integrated revitalization programs by Bacqué et al. (2003) underlines the difficulty of operationalizing their principles and the governance of partnerships and coordinated actions across sectors aimed at social, physical and economic development.

Many policy makers and planning professionals recognize that integrating actions of stakeholders at different levels of intervention and across sectors can greatly help to maximize the efficiency of revitalization initiatives in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. However, to be successfully implemented, such policies must be studied in practice and evaluated.

1.3.1. Communicative theory and collaborative planning

Within the field of planning, communicative theory emerged out of a critique of the rational planning model and the ideas of Jürgen Habermas. Healey (1992) argues that "the Habermasian conception of inter-subjective reasoning among diverse discourse communities, drawing on technical, moral and expressive-aesthetic ways of experiencing and understanding, can provide a direction for the invention of forms and practices of a planning behavior appropriate for societies which seek progressive ways of collectively 'making sense together while living differently'" (Healey, 1992: 143). For communicative planning theorists, urban planning is an interactive process which favors exchanges between professionals and social actors, and increases the role of the public's knowledge and informal information in planning processes.

Communicative theory draws attention to the importance of individual contexts and the power struggle between different social groups in shaping planning outcomes, as well as the ability of specific

planning experiences to "generate new examples and principles which have the power to transform or become absorbed into wider systems" (Healey 1997: 92).

Planning, seen through the lens of communicative theory, can be viewed as a form of social action through which the planner discusses, listens and debates with social actors in order to elaborate a means of responding to the needs of the community and other stakeholders (Cloutier, 2008: 24). For proponents of the theory, communicative planning views planning exercises as public forums which allow different representations of the city and situations to be expressed and debated. Cloutier describes deliberative, collaborative and integrated planning processes as communicative approaches, since they are based on communication and collaboration within urban planning processes (Cloutier, 2008: 43).

An important concept in RUI, *concertation* is based around the principle of collaborative action amongst stakeholders in the definition and implementation of actions. In a *concertation* process, the opinions of stakeholders are expressed and discussed together. *Concertation* is thus distinct from consultation; in *concertation*, stakeholders fully participate in building a common understanding of problems and actions to be taken. The consensus-building aspect of *concertation* is what distinguishes it most from other types of participatory or consultative actions.

Some authors (Healey 1997, 1998; Innes and Booher, 1999) argue that increasing the number of participating stakeholders in planning processes can improve the ability of planning to respond to community interests and enable stakeholders to position themselves in a larger context. However, the ability of communicative planning to address the "multi-dimensional power structure between different social groupings" depends on locally distinctive factors, including the main viewpoints and actors in a particular situation (Healey, 1998: 14).

Healey (1997) presents the turn towards communicative theory as part of the recognition of the

importance of collaborative consensus-building practices in planning practice. In her discussion of communicative theory, Healey considers that:

> … planning work is both embedded in its context of social relations through its day to day practices, and has the capacity to challenge and change these relations through the approach to these practices; context and practice are not therefore separated but socially constituted together.
>
> (Healey, 1997: 30)

Collaborative planning has been studied by a variety of authors, most prominently Innes and Booher (1999; 2003) and Healey (1997; 1998). According to Healey, collaborative planning approaches are extremely demanding and vary greatly depending on local context, and depend on "the range of stakeholders who get involved, the power relations among them and the institutional context of their involvement" (Healey, 1998: 14). Collaborative planning is also demanding in that it requires specific skills to manage consensus-building processes. The ability of specific areas to implement collaborative planning effectively will depend on a variety of conditions, such as organizational culture and mode of functioning of a particular context. As stated by Healey, "Some political cultures provide much more fertile ground for such approaches than others, because their institutional histories have allowed a store of 'institutional capital' to build up which encourages horizontal consensus seeking and fosters awareness of spatial issues" (Healey, 1998:14).

Collaborative planning can thus transform how actions are coordinated between different actors and how local knowledge is created and used. The interrelation of context-specific factors and the practical application of planning policy are particular themes of this research on the RUI policy in Montreal.

1.3.2 Public participation and engagement in practice

Citizen participation is at the heart of integrated revitalization initiatives which seek to transform communities by increasing capacity and engagement in planning processes. Additionally, this participation is to lead to a better neighbourhood and a planning approach that better responds to the

needs of the local population.

Some evaluations of the RUI program have pointed to common problems regarding public participation in integrated urban revitalization initiative. These problems have included the difficulty of mobilizing vulnerable populations, balancing public participation in the planning processes and working on establishing key partnerships between public, private and community sectors (Cloutier et al., 2010; Cloutier, 2009).

Since the development of communicative theory in the late 1980s, many authors, in particular Fainstein (2000), have criticized the ability of consultative or participatory approaches to effect change or truly take into account all voices:

> Ability to participate is one resource in the struggle for power, but it must be bolstered by other resources, including money, access to expertise, effective organization, and media coverage.
>
> (Fainstein, 2000: 461)

Most of the literature on public participation commonly refers to the difference in types of participation and refers to Arnstein's "ladder of citizen participation" (1969). In this classic text, Arnstein describes eight different levels of "participation", from manipulation to information to partnership and real citizen power. This model is important as it draws attention to the different degrees of participation. These include nonparticipation, aimed at educating participants; tokenism, in which citizens are allowed to voice opinions, without necessarily having their voices heeded, and hear the opinions of others; and citizen power, within which there are differing degrees of decision-making power. For example, in a partnership, citizens can negotiate with power holders, whereas at the top of the ladder, citizens hold the most decision-making and managerial powers (Arnstein, 1969).

Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation provides a framework for assessing how citizen participation is performed in the RUI projects. In addition, the research focuses on the role that resident input has in

various stages of the planning process and how information is shared with residents. With this information, it is possible to assess the ability of the RUI to engage meaningfully with local residents and effectively enlarge public participation processes.

1.4. Evaluations of RUI in Montreal

Recent evaluations of RUI projects in Montreal (CREXE, 2010; Divay et al., 2006) have highlighted broad similarities of different RUI projects to provide insight into the approach's ability to achieve its objectives and to tease out general conclusions on the functioning and success of the RUI program. While these evaluations have identified overall similarities between RUI projects' experiences, not enough attention has been paid to the role of the specific institutional and structural context of each RUI project as a factor in RUI project outcomes. Moreover, although individual RUI projects have produced evaluations for internal use in the form of an annual report on activities, a systematic evaluation framework for each RUI project does not exist.

A preliminary evaluation of the RUI program in Montreal by Divay et al. (2006) underlined the difficulties of coordinating the multiple actors and their multiple visions and interests. Divay et al. (2006) also draw attention to the differences in how the RUI committees are set up, particularly in terms of their attachment to the *tables de quartier* and the number and composition of subcommittees (Divay et al., 2006: 203). The authors also found that often the desire to not cause conflict in debating difficult topics lead certain members to postpone discussions on particular topics (Divay et al., 2006: 174).

Another evaluation of the RUI program in Montreal, broader and more comprehensive in scope, was completed in 2009 and published in 2010 by the CREXE. This study took into account five different RUI projects. One of its major findings was that people disagreed on the role of the borough in the RUI, with some RUI committees calling for more of a borough presence and others for more autonomy.

Researchers evaluating the RUI in Montreal from a general perspective have also drawn attention to the "broader issue of governance in the specific context of cross-sector projects, which are still very much in their youth in political and administrative terms and which require deeper and more democratic practices that enhance the 'voice' of the population" (Quiéros, 2011: 69). Sénécal et al. (2002) conclude that "partnerships and negotiations have largely taken place within the context of networks that were already in place, having been previously set up by community organizations such as the CDECs, which again bears testimony to the usefulness of the local associative fabric for the implementation of the RUI projects"; this particularly applies to older areas located near the city centre (63-65).

1.5. Research questions and methodology

The broad nature of the RUI mandate allows for substantial differences in the structure and content of RUI projects. In turn, the differences in how RUI projects have been implemented in specific contexts are worthy of study since these differences may (a) affect the ability of RUI projects to be effective within a given context and (b) provide information on how policies are adapted to or are constrained by a given environment.

My research on RUI projects in Montreal aims to answer questions concerning the practical applications of the policy and its effectiveness, specifically exploring how policy goals regarding governance changes have translated into practice. To orient the present study on the RUI in practice, I focus on three key aspects of the RUI: 1) Territorial governance and integration ; 2) Collaborative planning processes; 3) Public participation.

Drawing on the above analysis of literature on collaborative planning and evaluations of RUI, the following framework is used in this paper's analysis of two RUI case studies (see Table 1 for summary).

To analyze issues related to territorial governance and integration of RUI projects, attention is paid to the structures and actors in the RUI case studies. In particular, the RUI projects' relationships with the *table de quartier,* and with the borough are analyzed to understand what the role of these two local actors was in the functioning of the RUI projects. The role of these actors is defined through the contribution of resources and funding to support RUI projects. The potential for territorial and structural issues to arise between these actors and RUI projects will also be studied. For example, the similarity between the mandates of the RUI approach and that of the *table de quartier* (see chapter 2) creates the potential for overlap between organizations and inefficiency, as both mandates include providing a structure to enable collaborative work within a neighbourhood. One of the goals of this research, thus, is to examine how this potential for overlap is managed. The structure of the local revitalization committee in terms of representation from borough and local organizations will also be used to assess how the RUI projects have been integrated into the functioning of the borough and local community structures.

Another key aspect of RUI programs concerns the implementation of the principle of collaborative approaches to planning and decision-making. Drawing on the above literature on RUI programs, how has the collaborative approach of the RUI been integrated into the functioning of existing community stakeholder networks? Said otherwise, what changes has the RUI program brought to the process of community development, and what have been the perceived impacts? To analyze the collaborative planning processes at the heart of integrated revitalization policies, I use several elements of analysis, including the category of stakeholder involved in collaborative decision-making processes (e.g. community organizations, local government) as well as the type of partnerships created, in terms of ability to bring together new stakeholders and in what contexts (e.g. type of project or political orientations of a given borough council). An additional element of analysis is the perception of stakeholders regarding dependency and autonomy, particularly in relation to the involvement of the

borough and the *table de quartier* in deliberative processes.

A third component of the RUI studied in this research is local resident participation in the RUI. In the pilot project description, the City of Montreal suggests that representatives of citizens be included on the local revitalization committee of each RUI; representatives of the borough, local organizations and public institutions, City of Montreal and para-municipal organizations also sit on the committee. However, the form of resident participation in the RUI process is not well defined by the City. Given the explicit goal of the RUI of including local stakeholders in the designation of priority planning interventions and their implementation, it is important to determine the extent to which public participation is integrated in the RUI's consensus-building and decision-making processes. Thus, one must ask, how have RUI actors (the members of the local revitalization committee, the RUI steering committee and its constituent *table de quartier* and borough representatives) chosen to address the role of residents? To answer this question, I will analyze the structures for public participation in each RUI project, including the number of citizens on decision-making committees, as well as other means by which citizens are invited to participate in RUI (e.g. participation in committees). In addition, the role of the coordinator in facilitating meaningful participation will also be analyzed.

Table 1. Analytical Framework

Principal tenants of RUI	**Key facets of RUI based on literature/evaluations of RUI and Québec planning context**	**Elements of analysis used in case studies**
Territorial governance and integration (structures and actors)	Role of government/territorial coverage Reference to multiple scales of government and local action Cross-sectorial action and local community organizations	Definition of RUI boundaries (e.g. size of territory, historical boundaries) Relationship of borough to RUI (e.g. contribution of money and resources) Relationship of *table de quartier* to *RUI* (e.g. structural

		relationships, relationships through the mandate)
Collaborative decision-making or *concertation* (process)	Collaboration between different sets of actors Mechanisms to bring together stakeholders Role of local neighbourhood council structure's orientations in defining RUI's collaborative planning process Role of borough in collaborative processes	Who is involved (e.g. which types of organizations, institutions, government) Types of partnerships created (e.g. . type of project or political orientations of a given borough council, ability to form new alliances) Dependency and autonomy in relation to borough and *table de quartier* (e.g. stakeholder perceptions of power dynamics in collaborative processes)
Public participation	Representation versus direct participation Organizational structures and representation Means of mobilizing the local population	Weight of citizen input (e.g. representation of residents in decision-making) Other forms of public participation in RUI projects (e.g. participation on committees) Perspectives on the role of coordinator in citizen mobilization (e.g. skills needed)

1.6. Research approach

Two original RUI pilot projects, both in operation since 2003/2004, were selected for study, one located in Ville Saint-Pierre (Borough of Lachine) and the other in Côte-Saint-Paul (the South-West Borough). These two neighbourhoods were part of the RUI pilot program in 2003 and were in operation during the same trial period, making it easier to compare each program's evolution over time in the two neighbourhoods.

These neighbourhoods share a number of characteristics related to socio-economic and spatial challenges. Both neighbourhoods are situated close to major transportation infrastructure (Highway 20, Turcot interchange), and thus share certain negative environmental conditions, in addition to being enclaves. Focusing on two neighbourhoods made it possible to analyze in-depth the dynamics of local structures and socio-demographics in the evolution of two RUI programs.

To begin my research, I performed a literature review of the planning theory relevant to the themes of this research. I also performed a literature review of integrated revitalization programs in North America, and policies, programs and other local bodies in Montreal, such as the *tables de quartier*, that have attempted to increase citizen participation in planning.

Following the literature review, I collected data on the application of the RUI in the two case study neighbourhoods. When available, internal documents from the two RUI processes, including reports issued by the RUI local revitalization committee and various iterations of the official action plans were analyzed. These documents were used to understand major projects and outcomes, internal structural issues, and interactions with borough representatives over time. This review provided insights into the functioning and evolution of both RUI programs. Key findings from these documents informed the content of interviews with RUI participants.

I then completed ten semi-structured interviews with local stakeholders. The respondents included representatives of different levels of government and diverse sectors involved in the two RUI cases, including local residents, past and present RUI project coordinators, and borough officials, as well as a representative of the Coalition montréalaise de tables de quartier, to gain perspective on the how those in the *tables de quartier* view the RUI. The semi-structured interviews were used to assess participants' opinions on the ability of the RUI to engage local stakeholders, increase community capacity and mobilize local residents in community-based planning interventions (see Table 1). In analysis,

differences in how respondents evaluated the RUI project were contextualized using information on the respondents' experiences and role within the RUI project structure.

This combination of a literature review, review of internal documents and interviews made it possible to gain a better understanding of the complexities of the RUI process and the ability of the RUI to meaningfully engage and integrate diverse stakeholders.

1.7. Chapter roadmap

This chapter introduced the RUI policy in Montreal and presented literature on RUI theory, planning and urban governance relevant to the study, as well as the analytical framework used in this paper to assess its implementation. Chapter two provides context for the RUI program in Montreal by presenting a timeline of community development programs and policies in Montreal and an overview of local community development actors. The third and fourth chapters present two different RUI case studies. Each contains a description of the context, the finding on territorial governance, *concertation* and participation, and an analysis of the results. A synthesis of the findings of both case studies is presented in the fifth chapter. Conclusions on the Montreal RUI program and its implications for urban policy conclude the study.

Chapter 2: Local context and the Québec model

The RUI program emerges out of a series of efforts by government and other actors to address the multiple challenges of disadvantaged areas. The specific institutional and regulatory structure for planning in Montreal is likely to have both contributed to the definition of the RUI as a planning approach and affected its implementation. This chapter examines two aspects of the context for the RUI : the governance structure and the specific organizations and actors involved in community development.

2.1. Montreal's governance structure

The City of Montreal as a municipal structure is a complicated patchwork resulting from territorial mergers and demergers. Following the merger of independent municipalities on the island to the City of Montreal in 2002, the City was divided into boroughs, each managed by a borough mayor and elected officials. When a few years later, some of these municipalities reclaimed their independence, the result was an "amalgam of different territories that are not always contiguous" (Quiéros, 2011: 56). The City has delegated several powers to the nineteen boroughs and their borough councils whose budget allows them to "intervene in the areas of urban planning, housing, leisure, culture, green spaces, transports and social and community development" (Quiéros, 2011: 57). This municipal structure creates "multiple and often overlapping political and administrative jurisdictions with little integration" (Klein and Tremblay, 2009: 570). Quiéros (2011) further argues that the administrative fragmentation of the City contributed to problems of social fragmentation, providing the backdrop for policies such as the RUI.

2.2. Territorial distinctions and community development in Montreal

Territorial distinctions in Montreal affect community development. Montreal has a rich network of local associations which are called upon to directly engage in concerted planning exercises and/or to engage in those exercises created by different levels of government (Sénécal et al., 2008: 197). These associations have different territories of intervention, but there is some overlap: "Montreal has a multitude of actors and decision-makers with different and sometimes competing missions and fields of action" (Klein and Tremblay, 2009: 570). In addition, territories of intervention are often much larger than the neighbourhood and thus include both more and less disadvantaged areas; this heterogeneity makes concentrating resources on the most disadvantaged groups within a specific territory challenging.

Within this municipal framework, neighbourhoods[8] in Montreal have a particular history- they generally represent former municipalities annexed over time and have well-defined limits, in addition to having a name used both within and outside the neighbourhood (Morin and Latendresse, 2001). They often also have a distinct urban morphology and may have a relatively homogeneous social composition. However, these neighbourhoods do not necessarily reflect the territory used daily by residents and local actors, which often is a much smaller area, which Morin and Latendresse (2001) refer to as "microterritories" (184); still, many community organizations attach themselves at this neighbourhood level, which is not only the seat of collective action but also an increasingly important reference in the intervention of public actors in the context of decentralization (ibid).

Montreal's boroughs are not primarily historical boundaries but rather administrative perimeters which contain up to 150 000 people (ibid). However, the borough is an important territory of action as, since the creation of the City of Montreal, the boroughs have councils and certain inherited competencies in regards to planning and services.

Within the Montreal context, Sénécal et al. (2008) argue that the *quartier* in Montreal does not correspond to the traditional definition of a *quartier*, which is based on historic landmarks and distinctive traits, but rather refers to the concept of a space defined by an organizational network which defines situations and actions. In the latter definition, the *quartier* represents a transactional space, an "organizational network constituted of social actors mandated to manage heterogeneity and to produce unity" (author's translation[9], Sénécal et al., 2008: 192). In this view, the definition of a Montreal neighbourhood is that of a structure organized by social actors in interaction with one another, as well as a place of mobilization and collective action, a territory defined by the organizational network which objectifies it.

[8] In this paper, « *quartiers* » is translated as « neighbourhoods ».
[9] *« [Un] réseau organisationnel constitué d'acteurs sociaux chargés précisément de gérer l'hétérogénéité et de produire l'unité »*.

For important community development structures such as the *tables de quartiers* and the CDEC – which will be discussed further in greater detail – both the *quartier* and the *arrondissement* are important references for promoting a "transversal approach" to development to obtain funds, given that funds are distributed by several municipal and provincial ministerial bodies based on territorial distinctions (Sénécal et al.: 185-186). In addition, both the *quartier* and *arrondissement* have historically played different roles in the governance of local processes.

2.3. The development of the 'Quebec model' of governance

In this section, I will present the early manifestations of community development agencies in specific territories of Montréal and what is called the 'Quebec model'. The 'Quebec model' of governance is defined as follows: "a partnership-oriented governance approach aimed at bringing together private, public and civil society-based stakeholders and in which actors involved in the social economy play an important role"(Klein and Tremblay, 2009: 567). The 'Quebec model' is further characterized by "interconnections between the public, trade unions, and social economy actors, their contribution to the formulation of public policies, and partnerships between governmental and social actors involved in the economy and provision of public services" (Klein and Tremblay, 2009: 567).

According to Klein et al., the 'Quebec model' of governance is rooted in a historical concentration of power at the local level, based in part on the importance of parishes as a territorial delineation:

> In the 19th century, the local level was structured as a strong institutional framework based on a coalition between civil municipalities and religious parishes. Therefore, at least until the 1960s, the local level was the basis of a local power committed to the protection of the specificity of the civil society of Quebec in terms of language, religion and socials institutions.
>
> (Klein et al., 2009: 28)

The importance of the local level began to change in the early 1960s, during which time local movements reacted to attempts to modernize through centralization and began to "claim a power to act and participate in decision-making" (Klein et al., 2009: 29). This was the case for economic

development:

> In urban regions, (…) starting with the Fordist crisis in the late 1970s and its concomitant deindustrialisation, the urban social movement developed its own kind of vision of economic development, which emphasized the local level (the borough) as a basis for the creation of businesses and jobs as well as for democratisation (Fontan 1991). This led to what became the community economic development approach (Favreau et Lévesque 1996) and the Community Economic Development Corporations (CEDC[10]).
>
> (Klein et al., 2009: 29)

Throughout the 1980s, the Quebec government adopted policies which gave more power to local organizations as part of an overall trend towards decentralization. Thus, governance in Quebec developed as a distinctive form: a local partnership model where actions are led by community groups in conjunction with other actors who share the same territory, and with whom they had previous been in conflict, namely governmental and business actors[11] (Gaudreau, 2011: 84).

Gaudreau (2011) explains the rise of the Quebec model as part of a shift in the 1980s and 1990s towards a more consensual approach to action, in itself a reaction to conflict-based action of the 60s and 70s. Other factors include the economic crises of the 1980s, the technocratisation of planning practices and a feeling of disillusion regarding the political activism of the previous two decades. In this context, community groups felt the need to work with other actors concerned by poverty and unemployment, including unions and patrons, giving rise to the local partnership model which gave significant space to public participation (Gaudreau, 2011: 84).

The community movement gained legitimacy through its 'representativity', meaning its ability to represent the principal actors of a given community. The community development actors gained power through the formation of alliances. The turn towards an approach based on *concertation* was advantageous because it encouraged all community forces to take charge of their development as well

[10] This is the English name for the CDEC.

[11] « Les actions menées par des groupes communautaires conjointement avec des acteurs et actrices partageant le même territoire et avec lesquelles ils avaient jusqu'à maintenant eu l'habitude d'entretenir des rapports conflictuels, notamment les représentants et représentantes des différents paliers du gouvernement et du milieu des affaires ».

as produce consensus that resulted from equal participation (Gaudreau, 2011: 87).

Today, for both community organizations and the City of Montreal, the borough and its neighbourhoods are privileged spaces for individuals and community actors to participate in planning processes. Due in part to the disengagement of the State and a trend towards decentralized governance, there has been an increase in the number of associative organizations in Québec. These community organizations – called "*organismes communautaires*" in Québec – have become increasingly mobilized throughout the 80s and 90s (Morin and Latendresse, 2001). Furthermore, Montreal has a rich tradition of collective initiatives.

2.4. The Quebec model and economic development initiatives: the CDEC

One of the first realms where the Quebec model expressed itself was in economic development, notably through the creation of the Community Economic Development Corporations (*Corporations de développement communautaire*, CDEC). The CDEC "provide for the participation of actors around local economic development while assuming diverse community and social development responsibilities" (Klein and Tremblay, 2009: 570). The CDEC were among the first community development structures inspired by the ideal of participation and *concertation* (Gaudreau, 2011: 87). To begin, the CDEC, created by community organizations, intervened at the level of the neighbourhood but soon this territorial delimitation became too small to be effective on an economic level (Morin and Latendresse: 184). In 1990, the City of Montreal recognized the CDEC as borough-level actors. The CDEC is an important part of the Quebec model and also part of a general movement of locally-based initiatives which support the role of social organizations in development and the importance of the social economy.

> The link between local development and the social economy thus appears to be an essential element of the Quebec model. It incorporates a territorial movement that has roots in history but that develops new avenues supportive of a more participative notion of economic development and of community governance.

(Klein et al., 2009: 30)

The CDEC's insistence on participation is based on the argument that to improve the quality of life for all, different points of view within a community must be brought together[12]. Still, the CDEC is a representative structure. Public participation is often limited to the opinions represented by those local organizations that provide direct input; organizations which directly deal with the local populations are not always consulted. Despite such criticisms, the CDEC continues to play a vital role in the social economy and the community economic development network in Montreal.

2.5. Neighbourhood councils in Montreal: *tables de quartier*

The Quebec model of associative involvement in local neighbourhoods is perhaps best represented by A second form of community development structure based on collaboration, the *tables de quartier,* of which there are 29 in Montreal today. Some of the *tables de quartier*, such as the NDG Community Council, have been operating for almost 70 years, and were thus formed independently of newer policies which have led to the proliferation and recognition of this form of community organization and development.

There are two models of *tables de quartier*, one based on the *Vivre Montréal en santé (VVS)* program and another, referred to as the autonomous model, typical of some older neighbourhood structures. The VVS model began in 1990 as a means of recognizing and funding local *tables de quartier* (Sénécal et al., 2008: 198). In the VVS model, the *table de quartier* is a multi-network, multi-sector structure where public organizations and institutions are present in proceedings and are allowed to vote on decisions (Sénécal et al., 2008: 200-203).

In the autonomous model, the *tables de quartier* are a network of community organizations where

[12] « Le modèle d'action concertée et partenariale privilégié par les CDEC propose donc de rendre la société québécoise plus équitable en offrant à tous et à toutes la possibilité d'exprimer son point de vue et, de cette manière de profiter autant que les autres des bénéfices qu'elle peut offrir » (Gaudreau, 2011 : 90-91).

public institutions are represented at meetings but do not have the right to vote; thus community actors remain autonomous and at a critical distance from public organizations and institutions, which are also often their sources of funding. The type of *table de quartier* present in a neighbourhood is determined, in part, by preexisting conditions: in areas with stronger community resources and/or networks, there is less institutional or governmental presence and a more autonomous *table*, and where there are fewer community resources there is a stronger institutional presence in the *table* structure, following the VVS model (Sénécal et al., 2008: 203).

The model of the *tables de quartier* is important to the RUI programs, which will be implemented a decade later. Various studies have looked at the *tables de quartier* in Montreal: a monograph of a particular *table de quartier*'s development (Bujold, 2001), a study of the *tables de quartier*'s ability to effectuate concrete improvements (Germain et al., 2001), an analysis of the *tables de quartier*'s contribution to participative democracy (Morin et al., 2000) and an exploratory study (Lachance et al., 2004) to identify the main weaknesses and strengths of the *tables de quartier's* structure. More recent studies (Cloutier, 2009; Sénécal et al., 2008) use the *tables de quartier* to look at the creation of neighbourhood identity through community development processes.

For Lachance et al., the *tables de quartier* function as a place where actors from different horizons with different interests and different expertise converge at the neighbourhood level to address local issues through a consultation/discussion process:

> The *Tables [de quartier]* address local issues by means of a multidimensional and multiproblem approach, in an integrated neighbourhood development perspective.
>
> (Author's translation[13], Lachance et al., 2004: 198)

The *tables de quartier* structure allows for intersectorial action[14] based around consultation and

[13] « *Les tables [de quartier] abordent les enjeux locaux en recourant à une approche multidimensionnelle et multiproblématique, dans une perspective intégrée du développement social du quartier.* »

collaboration on community development[15]. Lachance et al. also underline the importance of the process of collaborative action, a "*processus de concertation*", which is defined as: "the ties, the exchanges, the negotiations, the sharing together and the creation of a common vision of development" (author's translation[16], Lachance et al.: 5). This emphasis on process is sometimes criticized by funders who wish to see more focus on concrete results and evaluations of *tables de quartier's* work. Thus, the *tables de quartier* represent, along with the CDEC, the first instances of integrated community development planning in Montreal.

Since 1995, the *Coalition montréalaise des tables de quartier (CMTQ)* has brought together the *tables de quartier* of Montreal in an effort to support their work. The CMTQ allows the 29 different *tables de quartier* coordinators to share their experiences and insights. The CMTQ also publicizes information on the *tables de quartier* and also provides a broader interface for community development actors to interact with the City of Montreal, such as submitting briefs to public consultations in the name of the *tables de quartier*. The CMTQ has also played a role in the expansion of the RUI policy in Montreal, which is discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

[14] See Lachance et al. (2004) for a discussion of collaboration and partnership, as well as a review of the literature on intersectorial partnerships.

[15] *La « dynamique particulière » créée par les tables est un autre élément que l'on retrouve dans les écrits sur l'action intersectorielle. Il est précisé que l'action intersectorielle va au-delà d'un meilleur arrimage entre les services pour viser la création d'un effet de synergie favorable au développement global des communautés. (Mercier, 2003 cited in Lachance et al., 2004: 5)*

[16] *« …les liens, les échanges, les négociations, la mise en commun et la création d'une vision commune du développement »*

3. Case study of Opération Galt: Ville-Émard/Côte-Saint-Paul

Opération Galt is a RUI project in the neighbourhood of Ville-Émard/Côte-Saint-Paul, part of the South-West borough. As of the 2001 census, roughly 3400 residents lived in the area covered by the RUI. Ville-Émard/Côte-Saint-Paul is enclaved by the Montreal viaduct and the Lachine canal; the territory of Opération Galt is also blocked to the north by highways 15/20. Originally a bedroom community for Canal Lachine industries, the decline of the heavy industry had a large impact on the vitality of the community.

The challenges faced by the neighbourhood of Côte-Saint-Paul include the following: the aging and impoverishment of the population; the deterioration of the built environment, infrastructure and commercial services; and the exodus of heavy industries and employers.

3.1. Neighbourhood Context

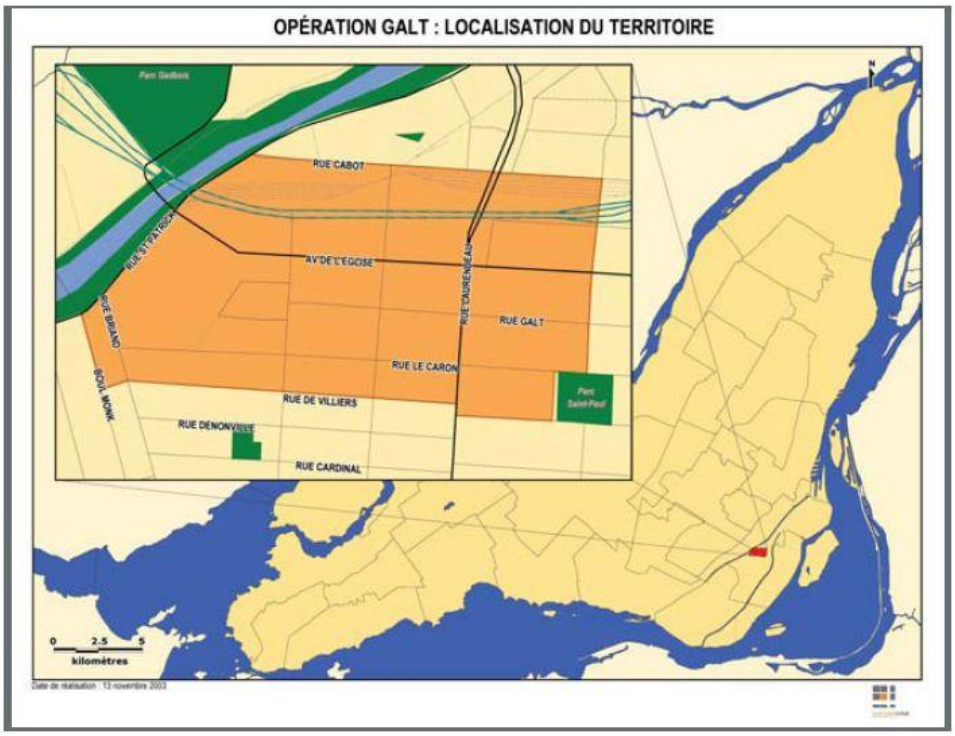
Overall, the neighbourhood of Côte-Saint-Paul/Ville-Émard is characterized by great socio-economic variation, with pockets of residents living in poverty. Partially as a result of higher unemployment, the Galt sector itself has consistently lower household incomes than other parts of the neighbourhood and the City of Montreal.

Between 1967 and 1988, 20 000 industrial jobs were lost in the South-West Borough (Convercité, 2004: 2). In the 1980s, with the economic recession and the closing of several large businesses in the area, many people left the sector. Today, roughly 50% of residents are still employed in the industrial sector. Changes in the types of employment opportunities in the area (e.g. new economy jobs in the area north of Cabot Street just north of the RUI project sector – see Figure 1) have also had an impact

on unemployment since the local workforce is not necessarily trained for the new types of jobs coming into the sector.

To address these changes, a vast consultation and planning project began in 2000 entitled Opération quartier des pistes d'intervention (Opération quartier). This two-year project aimed to engage local groups and populations in revitalization. Opération quartier identified a number of challenges to be addressed such as slowing down the social and economic degradation of the neighbourhood, maximizing positive benefits from the development of the Lachine canal, and participating more actively in changes in the area rather than being subjected to them (Convercité, 2004:2). This project allowed for the mobilization of diverse local actors and stakeholders and began the process of defining a common vision and plan for the development of the neighbourhood.

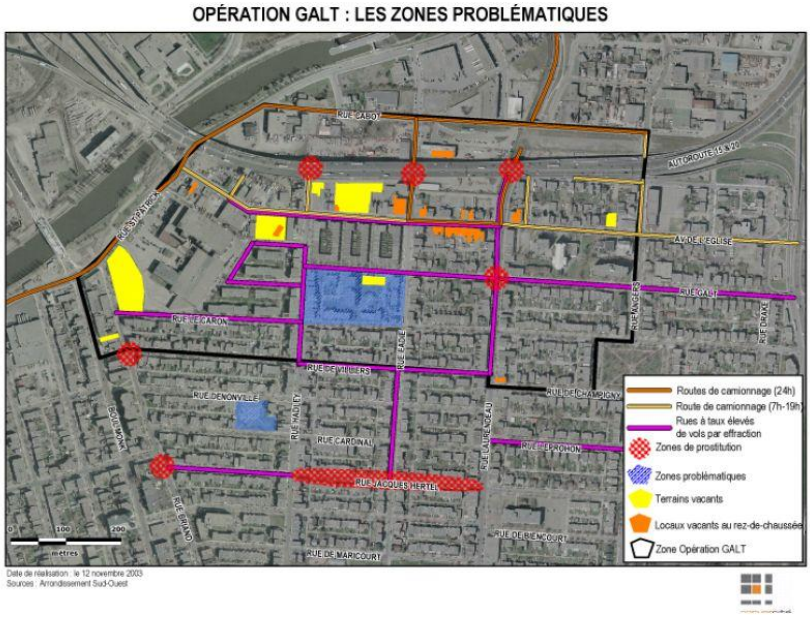
Figure 1. Context map of Opération Galt.



(Source : Convercité 2004)

The Galt sector is marked by a lack of services and poor accessibility, as well as by various health and safety issues such as drug sales and use, the presence of organized crime, prostitution, theft and break-ins, vandalism in public parks and spaces, and food insecurity. Other negative quality of life factors include environmental degradation and pollution left over from industrial uses, high numbers of trucks passing through the sector, and noise and air pollution from the highway (Convercité, 2004).

Figure 2. Problem Zones of Opération Galt.



(Source: Convercité, 2004)

3.2. Evolution of Opération Galt

The Opération Galt RUI proposal was developed under the supervision of the Director of the Department of culture, sports, recreation and social development of the South-West borough. A committee was created, composed of members of community groups, institutions and the borough administration. This committee submitted a project proposal for the Galt sector entitled Opération Galt, based in part on the aforementioned community development project Opération Quartier. In June 2003, the Galt sector was accepted, along with Sainte-Marie (Ville-Marie Borough) and St-Pierre

(Lachine Borough), as a pilot project for the new integrated urban revitalization program.

3.2.1. Initial structure and functioning

The first step consisted in the creation of a coordination committee, the Comité de coordination du projet Galt (COCO). COCO's primary mandate was twofold. For one, it was to take care of administrative and legal affairs related to the implementation of the RUI project; secondly it was to shape the RUI project within the local urban revitalization committee, the Comité de revitalisation urbaine (CRU). The COCO was made up of seven people, namely the municipal councilor of the district, the director of the borough's Department of culture, sports, recreation and social development, the head of the *Permis et Inspection* division of the borough, the coordinator of *Concertation Ville-Emard/Côte Saint-Paul* (*VÉCSP*) (which is the *table de quartier* who was the fiduciary organization responsible for the RUI), a community organizer from the CLSC (the local community service centre), the general director of the Centre Monseigneur Pigeon (a local activity center), and the project coordinator from Convercité who had no voting rights).

Members of the COCO also were part of the CRU, a larger committee, whose mandate was to develop and adopt the RUI plan. The twenty-two members of the CRU included the following: one political representative from the borough; four administrative representatives of the borough (from four different divisions); four institutional representatives (CLSC, local employment centre, police station, school board (CSDM)); five representatives of community groups; four representatives of local economic actors; two para-municipal representatives (OMH, SHDM); one representative from the environmental sector; and two citizens. Other observers who participated in the CRU meetings include representatives of the Quebec Ministry of Transport (MTQ), the Fondation Chagnon[17], and local *Groupe de Ressources Techniques (GRT)*[18]. The coordinator of Concertation VÉCSP moderated these

[17] The Fondation Chagnon is a charitable foundation which funds educational and anti-poverty programs.
[18] Technical resource group in English, these are non-profit organizations for community housing development, whose role

meetings with assistance from the Convercité project manager.

3.2.2. Assessment and action plan

COCO also had the mandate to select an outside consultant to launch the assessment and planning process. Convercité was thus hired to work with local organizations for the purpose of organizing consultations, performing a neighbourhood assessment and creating the RUI action plan.

Stakeholders from a variety of institutions and community groups not represented in the CRU were consulted in the data collection process. Their opinions on the major challenges, goals and actions to be prioritized were collected through brainstorming sessions on the following themes: housing; environment; sports and recreation; culture and heritage; health and community development; economic development and employment; and transportation and urban planning. The seven sector-specific roundtables brought together members of the CRU as well as experts and residents; the objective of the roundtables was to enlarge the debate and support the CRU.

In addition, four focus groups were organized with the following populations: fifth grade students, adolescents living in *Habitations à loyers modiques (HLM)* [19], parents and elderly. The objective of the focus groups was to get a sense of residents' main concerns and how they viewed their neighbourhood. Overall, more than 100 people participated in the various meetings (Convercité, 2004).

Convercité used the information gathered through consultations, interviews, field observations, statistical analysis, and the Opération quartier plan to outline a preliminary diagnosis of the Galt sector. This diagnostic was first presented to the CRU for validation, after which point the 7 sector-based roundtables met to discuss the themes identified, with the objectives of prioritizing objectives and proposing projects.

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is to enable citizens to form cooperative housing by acting as intermediaries and providing technical resources. They also work with organizations interested in renovating and acquiring buildings to create community and day care centres.

[19] Social housing for low-income residents.

Drawing heavily from the results of the sector-based roundtables and focus groups, the CRU members created a plan which put forward five main objectives:

- "To support education and training;
- to stimulate the employment market and socio-professional insertion;
- to improve the community living environment and living conditions;
- to support the construction of social and affordable housing as well as access to homeownership and improve the appearance of the housing stock and stabilize rental costs;
- to support the improvement of physical living conditions and quality of life" [20].

(Convercité, 2004; (author's translation).

However, despite the broad consultations leading up to the action plan, the time constraints in the realization of the Opération Galt action plan negatively affected it in two ways: first, not enough time was spent on prioritizing objectives; second, not all projects could be analyzed in detail or assessed in terms of cost and feasibility, which resulted in considerable uncertainty regarding the path to follow (Convercité, 2004: 12). Yet, in April 2004, the action plan for Opération Galt meant to guide the pilot project's orientations and actions over the next 10 years was submitted to the South-West Borough council.

3.2.3. Accomplishments of the RUI project: 2004-2009

In its initial years, Opération Galt funded several successful actions. Following a year spent on the initial assessment and creation of an action plan, the first projects were implemented in 2004. In the three-year evaluation of the RUI Opération Galt written by borough officials to help re-engage the borough in the RUI, 31 projects are cited as having been realized or in the process of being completed

[20] « *Valoriser la scolarisation et la formation; Stimuler l'employabilité et l'insertion socioprofessionnelle;- Améliorer les conditions de vie et l'environnement sociocommunautaire; Favoriser la construction de logements sociaux et abordables ainsi que l'accès à la propriété. Améliorer l'aspect visuel des bâtisses ainsi que la stabilisation des prix des loyers; Soutenir l'amélioration des conditions environnementales et du cadre de vie.* »

in the sector (Arrondissement Sud-Ouest, 2006: 5). These 31 projects – including after school programs aimed at improving educational performance, the creation of a community garden, and the planning of new social housing projects in the neighbourhood – were not solely funded or enacted by the RUI. These projects are included in the borough's report due to the timing of their completion and their impact on the Opération Galt territory. Moreover, the initial "successes" of the RUI came about in part because the RUI associated itself with projects that were already in process such as the *HLM de L'Eglise* in 2005-2006, which made it appear that the RUI project had rapidly accomplished major projects.

Of the 31 projects mentioned above, 17 were directly aimed at improving the lives of residents of the Galt sector; four were presented to other financing organisms which increased the total amount spent on these projects by 75% (Arrondissement du Sud-Ouest, 2006: 6). In sum, 67% of the 31 projects were financed by the City of Montreal. Other projects included the local neighbourhood festivals and various ecological initiatives, both of which were partially funded by outside sources. With these external sources of funding, the total investment in the 31 projects and their planning and implementation over three years was $15,933,700.56, all of which was focused on the Galt sector (Arrondissement du Sud-Ouest, 2006: 6).

3.2. Structural and territorial limitations in the program's early years

Although the RUI project was initially piloted by a newly formed Comité de Revitalisation Urbaine (CRU) and a Comité de Coordination (COCO), in 2005 the RUI project governance structure was transferred to the Comité de Vie de quartier[21] of the neighbourhood *table de quartier,* Concertation VÉCSP. Housing the RUI project in the Comité de Vie de quartier caused several problems of which the most important was that the Comité de Vie de quartier was concerned with the entire neighbourhood of Concertation VÉCSP, i.e. a much larger territory than the Opération Galt sector. As a

[21] "Neighbourhood life committee".

result, the members of the committee and of Concertation VÉCSP felt that the RUI was taking up too much space within the functioning of Concertation VÉCSP. Secondly, according to respondents, the structure of the RUI project, namely as part of a sub-committee of the *table de quartier*, meant that the functioning and decision-making of the RUI was tied to and limited by the *table de quartier*.

A further point of contention concerned the choice of RUI neighbourhoods within the South-West Borough itself. Many interviewees who were associated with the RUI thought that the Opération Galt area was not the most appropriate area of the South-West Borough for a RUI project, as it was seen as not the area most in need; several respondents also felt that the Opération Galt territory was not an appropriate scale for a RUI project, as a small sector of the Côte-Saint-Paul neighbourhood. Several people interviewed even considered that the small size of the territory chosen for the initiative was in fact an obstacle to the vitality of Opération Galt for two important reasons: first, the Galt sector's very high concentration of disadvantaged residents within a larger more heterogeneous neighbourhood poses greater obstacles to participation, and second, because the Galt sector is not a 'real neighbourhood' because its boundaries do not include places residents frequented such as local businesses, public services, or local community associations and organizations.

All of these concerns were addressed in the restructuring of Opération Galt in 2010-2011, which will be presented later on. In the following section I will describe some of the characteristics of the early phases of Opération Galt and the mode of functioning which progressively emerged and developed.

3.2.1. A lack of collective vision: Functional limitations and the project selection process

From its beginnings, the functioning of the RUI was characterized by a lack of collective action and a project-oriented approach to planning. The bulk of the RUI annual budget from the City-MESS

agreement[22] was spent on staff and human resources, and the remaining funds, just under $100 000, was spent on projects submitted by members organizations. Instead of using a collectively-defined, long-term vision or action plan for the selection of projects, organizations submitted separate projects which were selected against each other. This approach led to competition between organizations and inter-organizational tensions regarding the allocation of funds and project selection. Several respondents saw this as the result of the lack of priorities in and lax direction of the original action plan. The project-oriented nature of the Opération Galt RUI was further exacerbated by the way in which the RUI funding was transferred: after project selection by an appointed committee, the borough gave the funds directly to the organization that put forward the project. Collaborative planning was not a part of the project selection or budget allocation processes.

3.3. Restructuring: evaluation and moving forward

In 2009, six years after the RUI had been accepted as a pilot project and five years after it had been put into operation, the Concertation VÉCSP and the RUI member organizations decided to call upon an outside consultant to perform an evaluation of the functioning of the RUI and provide direction for the remaining years.

The impetus to restructure was largely due to the sentiment that the RUI took up too much importance in the Comité de vie de quartier, a general agreement among members that there was a need to rethink the structure and format of the RUI, and relative instability in the coordinator positions of the Table and the RUI.

3.3.1. Evaluation by an outside consultant: the 2010 report

To help improve the functioning of the RUI, an outside consultant, Coopérative de travail Interface,

[22] The Ministry of education and of social services (MESS) signed an agreement with the City of Montreal regarding joint funding for the RUI pilot program in Montreal. Funding for RUI projects is also available from philanthropic organizations, such as the Fondation Chagnon mentioned above, or Centraide of Greater Montreal.

was hired to perform an assessment and evaluation of the RUI project. According to the consultant's report, members of Opération Galt agreed on the urgent need to improve the functioning of the RUI (Coop de Travail Coopérative de travail Interface, 2010: 10-12). Members of Opération Galt also agreed on lacking a common understanding of the nature of RUI as a process. The lack of clarity regarding the RUI approach was mentioned by interviewees in 72 of the interviews performed by Coopérative de travail Interface (2010).

The Coopérative de travail Interface report divides the major problems of Opération Galt as seen by local actors into two categories: issues related to the RUI process and approach and the strengths and weaknesses in the organization of Opération Galt. Issues related to the RUI included: a lack of shared understanding of what is the RUI process, a lack of a common global vision regarding Opération Galt in particular, and a lack of motivation to participate in a RUI approach. Other problems identified as part of the functioning of Opération Galt in terms of its structural aspects included: too many working groups; the sentiment that Opération Galt had been poorly framed from its beginning in the initial action plan; a general difficulty with prioritizing interventions; and inadequate resources allocated to help citizen participation in prioritizing actions, be it through mobilization, information sessions, or other representation mechanisms. The report further identifies several strengths, displayed with the main weaknesses in the table below.

Table 2. Strengths and Weaknesses of Opération Galt

Strengths	**Weaknesses**
Generation of ideas	Poor knowledge of RUI principle
Previous successful actions	A lack of collective global vision
The current desire for change	Small actions versus structural projects
Perseverance by RUI committee members and the importance of RUI for partners	More focus on RUI structure than on the project's objectives

The opportunity the report presents to move forward	A need to work on general atmosphere and communications within the RUI

(Reproduced from Coopérative de travail Interface, 2010; author's translation)

Unlike the year-end reports on the RUI project produced by the coordinator, such an evaluation could be considered as a neutral assessment, thanks to the critical distance expected of an outside consultant. In the view of a previous coordinator, the coordinators' role, which is to unify the RUI members and participants, also limits their ability to evaluate issues within the group. In general, all the members of Opération Galt agreed with the majority of the analysis of the Coopérative de travail Interface report.

3.3.2 Resulting structural changes

Based on this report and its recommendations, a restructuration process began and was completed in 2011. Major changes included a change in how the funds are transferred, and greater decision-making autonomy given to Opération Galt.

A triennial action plan prioritizing interventions in Opération Galt was created to address the need for a common vision. Its five axes are much less action-oriented than the original action plan and more focused on common understandings. The five axes are: understanding of RUI in general; redefinition of the Opération Galt territory; development a common vision of Opération Galt in terms of the issues and themes of intervention; responding to the organization's structural needs; and, the preservation of the successful aspects as well as anticipation of future needs (Coopérative de travail Interface 2010). These new orientations address the major issues described in the development of Opération Galt and, according to one respondent, have already begun to have an impact on the RUI's functioning. However, it is not yet possible to assess how successful this new action plan has been, given its very recent adoption.

Another major change concerns the distribution of funds. Instead of being distributed from the

borough to the organizations heading up projects, the totality of the funding is now allocated by the South-West Borough (who receives it from the City) directly to Concertation VÉCSP, which distributes it to Opération Galt. This procedure contrasts with the previous project-based funding directly to organizations, and is similar to how other RUIs function.

Other important changes included the creation of an independent local revitalization committee with autonomous decision-making powers (separate from the Comité de Vie de quartier) and of a coordination committee to provide more support and feedback to the coordinator. The revitalization committee was also restructured, based in part on how other RUI projects function. The new structure makes room for the participation of two to three citizens, and, depending on the nature of the projects, the coordinator may be asked to mobilize other local stakeholders[23]. The composition of the revitalization committee is seen in Table 3 below. As a result of these structural changes, it was possible to lower the number of general Opération Galt meetings and concentrate work in subcommittees, thereby avoiding committee fatigue.

Table 3. Composition of the Opération Galt Revitalization committee post-2011

Category	Examples	Number of representatives
Economic	SDC (merchant association), RESO (a CDEC), credit union, local merchants	2-3
Community	Monseigneur Pigeon (local community centre), Prévention Sud-Ouest (non-profit working on security issues), Maison d'entraide St-Paul-Émard (non-profit food security initiative)	10-13
Institutional	CSDM (Francophone Montreal School Board), OMHM	4-6

[23] Members of the committee are decided upon each year for a one year mandate, and membership changes based on the prioritized themes.

	(Municipal Housing Office), CSSS (Social and health services), PDQ (local police station), CLÉ (local employment office)	
Municipal services	Social development division, parks department, urban planning division	1-2
Elected official (municipal)		1
Citizens		2 – 3
Other	Religious groups, foundations, social clubs, school commissioner (elected official)	3 – 4
Total		**Max : 32**
Note: The employees of Concertation Ville- Émard/Côte-Saint-Paul (table coordinator, RUI employees) are ex-officio members but without voting privileges.		

(Source: Reproduced by the author, taken from Coopérative de travail Interface 2011)

3.4. Assessment

Although Opération Galt experienced several challenges, especially in its early development phase, this RUI project was able to contribute to community development initiatives in the Galt sector of Côte-Saint-Paul. Specifically, Opération Galt funded several social development programs such as after-school educational programs and immigrant services, and collaborated with partners on a few larger projects, including community gardens and a social housing project. I will now assess the RUI using the three principle characteristics described in the framework for analysis (see section 3.6).

3.4.1. Territorial governance

The role of the borough in the functioning of Opération Galt was a concern in the first 3-year assessment of Opération Galt. In their report, the borough planners made several recommendations

regarding the role of the borough in Opération Galt, including:

- the re-engagement of borough directors in Opération Galt through the identification of two joint directors of the project;
- the participation of at least one elected borough councilor in the RUI project;
- the creation of an internal borough working committee to provide input for the RUI and propose solutions to problems related to different actors' roles and responsibilities;
- the prioritizing of the Galt sector in the action plans of different borough divisions;
- the presence of borough employees on different RUI working committees (Arrondissement du Sud-Ouest, 2006).

Some of these recommendations, such as the continuing presence of borough employees on different working tables, have since been implemented (see the above Table of the composition of the Opération Galt revitalization committee). Others are less concrete and more difficult to implement.

In addition, there appears to be variation in the solutions proposed by different borough employees regarding the borough's role in the RUI process. For one respondent from the South-West Borough, the Borough's role should be to suggest or support ideas for projects in the local revitalization committee meetings so that they become shared priorities agreed upon by members. According to several respondents, although the borough employees may be present on committees, they are not necessarily engaged in the RUI process and their role can be very personality-dependent. Indeed, presence at meetings is not automatically indicative of active participation in the RUI.

In theory, the borough is supposed to dedicate part of its funds to the RUI sector to support the improvement of the sector, or at least prioritize it in its budgets for major interventions. In Opération Galt, the borough representative most involved in the RUI is attached to the Department of Culture, sports, recreation and social development, which does not have the same budget as the urban planning department or the ability to make structural improvements to the built environment. According to the

one respondent, if the RUI were "carried" by the Borough Director, the RUI would have more influence and be more of a priority. Thus, which administrative department is chosen to manage the relationship of the borough with the RUI will limit both inter-departmental collaboration within the borough and the scope of the RUI.

One respondent stated that the RUI has had an impact on borough functioning; the Division of Culture, sports, recreation and social development (tied to the RUI) and public works department are beginning to collaborate. Recently, money left over in the RUI budget was allocated to a new playground to be installed in conjunction with improvements to the de la Vérendrye Park by public works. Borough participation in the revitalization committee and coordination with other departments made it possible for the RUI stakeholders and the borough to integrate their priorities and actions in this park renovation. However, this type of coordination across borough offices is quite recent and, according to one respondent, not yet a very good example of general collaboration across sectors.

3.4.2. Collaborative planning and local stakeholders

Several issues were raised in regards to collaborative planning in Opération Galt. To begin with, the institutionalization of community development positions in Québec was seen by some respondents as leading to a lack of dedication and engagement by some members of the *table de quartier*. Although certain stakeholders were on the list of committees as members, they were not routinely present or engaged at meetings.

According to one respondent, RUI and other forms of *concertation* are "*à la mode"*, and there has been increased funding for this type of intervention. However, although this type of integrated work may be popular amongst policy makers, institutions are not used to working in this way. Many institutions and organizations find the presence of other community stakeholders at the same table challenging. For some stakeholders, the loss of autonomy that results from the adoption of a multi-stakeholder

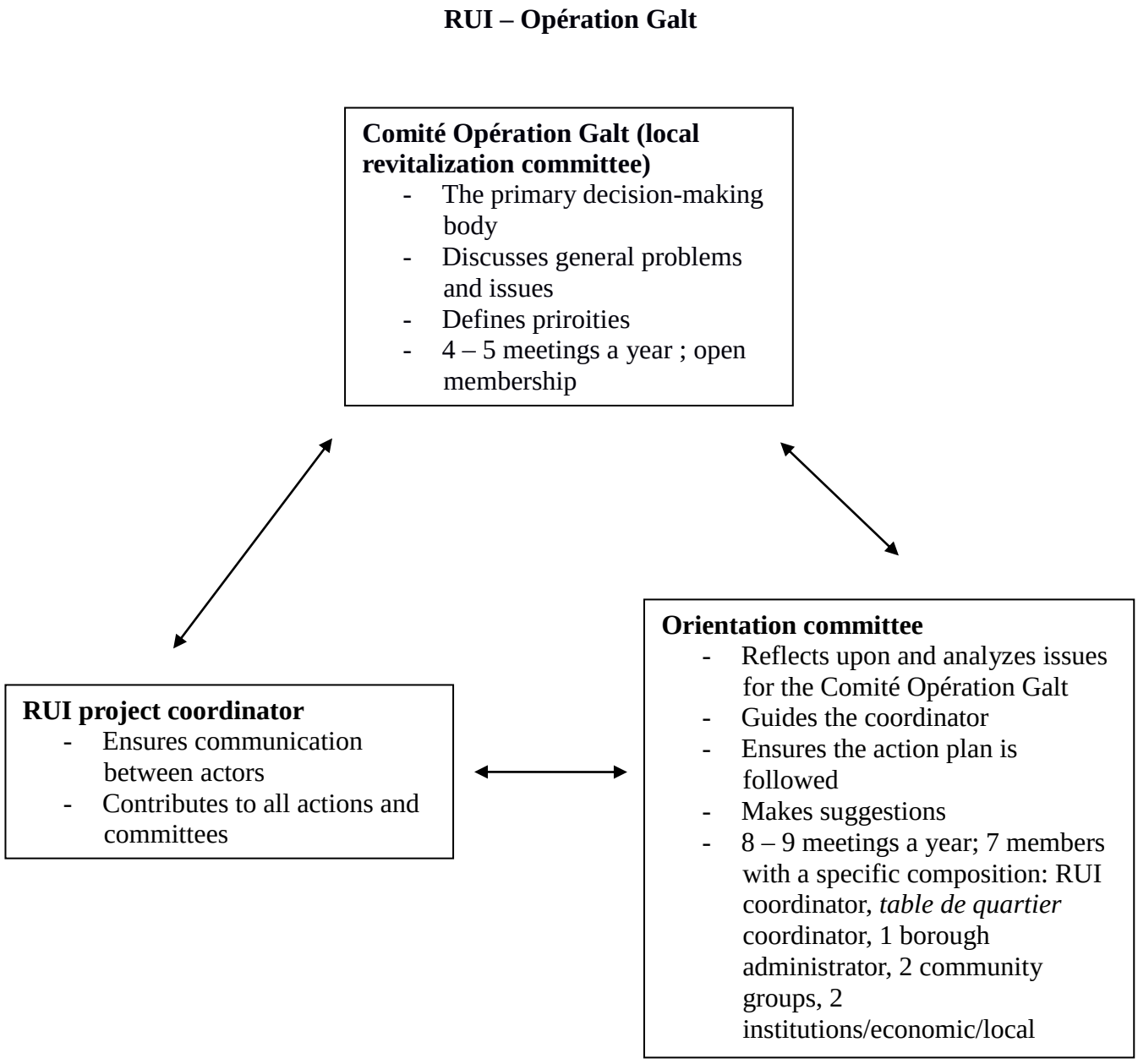
consensus-building approach is a tough adjustment to make.

Overall, all Opération Galt respondents saw the coordinator as playing a pivotal role, particularly in the mobilization of stakeholders. In the words of one respondent, the coordinator must "pull on the right strings at the right time". Respondents stressed the need for good leadership qualities and an ability to project a vision that enables and encourages stakeholders to move beyond their own agendas and work collaboratively. However, as one previous coordinator stated it, in practice the role of coordinators and their accountability to various RUI project stakeholders is ambiguous; although employed by *Concertation VÉCSP* to coordinate the RUI project specifically, one previous coordinator felt accountable to each *table de quartier* stakeholder. This may have been due to the initial structure of the committees and the project-oriented approach to the RUI project mentioned above.

An equally crucial role is attributed to the structural relationship and distribution of responsibilities within the RUI. In regards to the role of the *table de quartier* Concertation VÉCSP in the Opération Galt RUI, there was general consensus that the *table de quartier* provided a great deal of administrative and financial support, such as being the fiduciary organization responsible for RUI funding. However, financial and administrative reliance on the *table de quartier* was seen by some as making the RUI project too dependent, and the RUI actors less engaged and involved in the process.

The evolution of Opération Galt reflects both the lack of clear directives for how the RUI should function as a structure in relation to other existing community actors, and the need for clear definition of roles and responsibilities of participating structures, institutions, and stakeholders from the very beginning of RUI. This lack of clarity of the relationship to the *table de quartier* Concertation VÉCSP and the unclear responsibilities of the coordinator were issues addressed in the restructuring of the RUI project in 2011. The organizational diagram below outlines the specific tasks of different RUI committees' and their relationship to each other.

Figure 3. Opération Galt structure post-2011



(Adapted by author and reproduced from Coopérative de travail Interface, 2011)

Another recurring theme related to collaborative planning is the role of funding in defining interaction between RUI stakeholders and in affecting the deliberative consensus-building processes. Every respondent agreed that there is not enough funding, and that the little funding available is primarily

used to pay the human resources necessary for the coordination of the RUI program. The remaining money is enough for a few small projects per year or one larger project. In the view of several stakeholders, the majority of projects have been temporary or have been social interventions and have generally not lead to structural changes in the Galt sector. Moreover, as mentioned previously, the initial project-oriented approach to funding led to a dispersion of funds into many sector-based projects, instead of the collective vision and cross-sector planning initially intended.

Given the limited financial resources of the City of Montreal-MESS Entente, other RUI actively use the City funding as a basis to seek out funds from outside sources. However, in Opération Galt, in part due to how members chose projects, member organizations did not use the RUI money from the City as a catalyst for other funds and projects, and instead relied heavily on the RUI Galt money itself. This reliance on limited funds by Opération Galt members increased competition between members and also limited what the RUI project could accomplish.

Regarding the funding of the RUI program, a borough representative who had worked on the Quartiers sensible program, a territorialized revitalization program which preceded the RUI from 2000-2002, stated that the RUI program funding is not enough to create substantive, structural changes in the neighbourhood, unlike the substantial financial investment seen in the Quartiers sensibles program. In addition, because the borough planner functioned as the interface between the community sector and elected officials as opposed to there being a separate coordinator in charge of running the program – which is another main difference between RUI and the Quartiers sensibles program – much less emphasis was given to collaborative planning processes.

3.4.3. Public participation

Public participation and engagement in Opération Galt appears quite minimal overall. The primary forms of participation in RUI processes include participation in specific project committees by a few

citizens, with little direct involvement of citizens in the functioning of the RUI[24]. For one respondent, the lack of community engagement may also be due to the functioning of the RUI project in its early stages and the model whereby community organizations led projects, with little direct participation from residents.

In response to the idea that the membership of community groups and associations in Opération Galt was a form of indirect participation, several respondents commented that given the institutionalization of community development work in Québec, the internal functioning of these organizations is often much less 'grass-roots' than one would think. For one respondent in particular, the neighbourhood elected officials are often more aware of the needs of local residents than community groups who work in the area.

If, in general, there has been little participation or direct involvement of citizens on committees, there is general consensus that this is at least in part due to the resources needed for effective community participation. Moreover, citizens also need to have the capacity to be productive members of committees; several coordinators commented that the citizens who did show up to committee meetings were not necessarily competent or representative of the community, and often had a specific agenda for being there. While in theory the RUI process makes it possible to increase public participation in decision-making and planning processes, residents do not necessarily have experience in consensus-building or other skills required to fully participate in the views of one respondent. Moreover, the integration of citizens within the functioning of the RUI project has not always been easy; one coordinator recounted an experience where citizens who had come to participate on the project selection committee had their opinions steamrolled by other members of the committee, thus discouraging public participation.

[24] This was also true of the local *Table de quartier, Concertation VÉCSP,* which was more of a collaborative body among service-providers than a forum for citizen engagement.

In addition, it is difficult to mobilize around RUI projects in general, due to their process-oriented nature. Broad consultations and increased time spent on making the RUI approach more visible and less abstract would be a positive contribution to the RUI; however, these activities would require more resources and hiring personnel with specific skills. Many respondents described the skills for public participation and mobilization as requiring hiring an experienced professional. In several respondents' opinions, the best way to mobilize is through specific projects; in particular, residents are most interested in mobilizing around the issues which are most pressing for them, including economic and employment issues and integration and social exclusion.

Coordinators as mobilizers

The role of coordinators in public mobilization is ambiguous. In the past, the coordinator of Opération Galt was hired to focus on engaging and mobilizing residents, although at other points in Opération Galt's history a separate community outreach agent was hired to work with the coordinator to fulfill this function. Given the small size of the territory, mobilization efforts in Opération Galt have been focused in the *HLM*, which is also the most disadvantaged area and home to a large percentage of the local immigrant population.

Moreover, there have been periods of high turnover in the position of the RUI coordinator as well as within the *table de quartier*. This turnover has had a negative effect on public participation since each coordinator has had to establish a relationship of trust with community stakeholders and residents. In addition, the many administrative tasks leave little time for coordinators to engage in mobilization efforts, which is why most of the mobilization which has occurred through Opération Galt has been done in conjunction with the hiring of an additional staff member for whom this was the main responsibility.

As part of the changes effectuated after the RUI restructuring, a greater emphasis was placed on public

participation, in part through the hiring of a mobilization agent in the summer of 2011. A communications strategy for Opération Galt to inform the public of what the RUI project is and what it does was also part of this approach post restructuring; still, it is too soon to tell how effective these efforts have been.

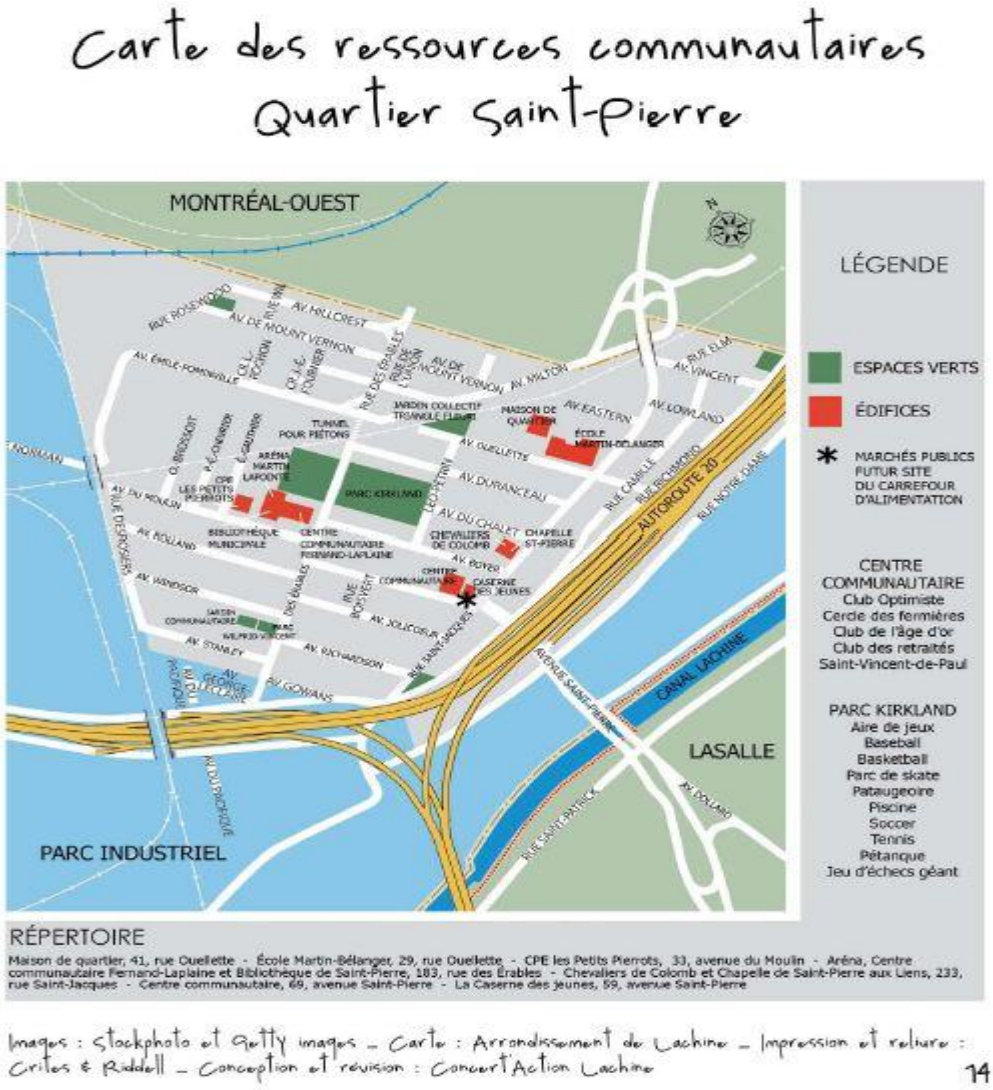
Chapter 4: RUI Ville St-Pierre

Ville St-Pierre was an independent municipality in what is sometimes referred to as the former suburbs of the City of Montreal until 2000, when it was annexed to the City of Lachine. Only two years later, the City of Lachine became a part of the City of Montreal, as a borough. This rapid transformation from autonomous "village" to sub-neighbourhood of a borough as part of the City of Montreal has shaped the implementation of the Ville St-Pierre RUI.

4.1. Context of Ville St-Pierre : *From independence to annexation*

The neighbourhood of Ville St-Pierre (VSP) is an enclave, situated between railroad tracks and Autoroute 20 in south-western Montreal; its main commercial street is rue Saint-Jacques, which is in need of revitalization. These features have helped to foster the self-sufficient, independent municipality which managed the area for many years. However, they are physical barriers to annexation, as VSP is physically detached from Lachine. Moreover, transportation routes and the habits of residents of VSP orient them towards the centre of Montreal (to the east), not towards Lachine (to the west) for grocery shopping and other services. Thus, the links to the greater borough of Lachine are very weak. In addition, roughly a third of the population of VSP is separated from the rest of VSP by train tracks that cross the neighbourhood. Although more permeable than the barriers which surround and enclave the neighbourhood, these train tracks nonetheless represent a barrier for residents.

Figure 4. Map of Ville St-Pierre



4.1.2. Major challenges

Prior to annexation, VSP was a very homogenous area, with a majority of French-Canadians and a smaller Canadian-born Anglophone population. Many long-time residents and people who worked in VSP when it was an independent municipality which provided services to the approximately 4000 residents living in the area, describe the neighbourhood as a "village". According to a respondent who has worked in the neighbourhood for 40 years and has lived there for more than a decade, VSP was a small village people felt connected to and invested in, in part because of its homogeneously French-

Canadian origins. VSP provided services to its residents such as hair salons, a bank, a credit union, a bowling alley, and stores; more than one respondent referred to independent VSP as "*un petit village gaulois"*, a phrase referencing both an ancestral village mentality due to isolation from the centre of Montreal and the French-Canadian origins of residents.

This "suburban village" was home to a number of local associations such as the Cercle des fermières, the Club des retraités, the Club Optimiste, the Club de l'Âge d'Or, and the Conseil des Chevaliers de Colomb. These associations, or social clubs, made up most of community life and have continued to be active following the merger, though many refused to join with branches of the associations located in Lachine. There were no other community development organizations in the neighbourhood; according to several respondents including a long-time resident, there had never been a need for them, given the small size of the municipality. Following the merger, health institutions (CLSC) and economic development organizations (CDEC) became responsible for this territory; however, bringing services to this population is made difficult by physical isolation.

Over the past decade, with changes in employment opportunities and annexation to the City of Montreal, many recent immigrants of visible minority status have begun to move into the neighbourhood. These new residents are perceived by former residents as less attached to the neighbourhood and as people who live in VSP solely because rent is relatively cheaper than in other areas of Montreal. Given the previous homogeneity of the neighbourhood, the arrival of visible minorities in the area, in particular immigrants from the Caribbean, has made for a difficult coexistence; xenophobia was also cited as an issue in the neighbourhood.

The annexation of VSP into the Borough of Lachine has also posed some neighbourhood identity challenges for long-term residents. For example, people who have lived in the neighbourhood for many years find it difficult to associate themselves with Lachine and to feel connected to the borough,

and prefer to retain a sense of identity tied to being residents of Ville St-Pierre. By contrast, newer residents who have arrived in the past decade since the merger consider Ville-St-Pierre as a part of Lachine. This difference in the sense of belonging, or "*sentiment d'appartenance",* creates a considerable divide between citizens. These and other demographic changes will be mentioned again later on in terms of their impact on the RUI and public participation.

4.2. Creation of the Ville St-Pierre RUI

The director of the Department of Culture, sports, recreation and social development of the borough collaborated with representatives of the newly formed Concert'Action, the *table de quartier* of Lachine, representatives of Centraide and the CLSC to write the project proposal in response to the 2003 call for RUI pilot projects

At the time, there were two disadvantaged neighborhoods within Lachine which qualified for the RUI program: VSP and Duff Court. Given the emergence of a local community development group in Duff Court, as well as the physical isolation of VSP, there was general consensus that VSP would be a better choice to implement a RUI project. The strong sense of identity among VSP residents was also seen as a factor in making it a better choice for the RUI pilot program.

On the other hand, from the borough's point of view, the merger of VSP into Lachine and of Lachine into the City of Montreal had not yet been physically implemented or resulted in planning interventions, which further contributed to a sense that VSP had not been truly integrated into the borough. Thus, for the Lachine Borough, the RUI project was considered a means for integrating this new part of its territory into Lachine, or in the words of one respondent: "to create a real merger"[25].

4.2.1. Initial structure and functioning

[25] « *pour faire une réelle fusion* » (author's translation).

As mentioned previously, there was no *concertation* body or neighbourhood council in the neighbourhood of VSP in part because of its past as a small city with a strong municipal government. Instead, a number of social clubs organized events for their members and for the community. The lack of a strong community organization to head up the RUI project combined with some citizen support for the project made it possible for the VSP RUI project to be, from the very beginning, strongly influenced by citizen participation.

According to one respondent, although the borough had initially thought that the newly formed *table de quartier* Concert'Action would house the RUI project, given the youth of Concert'Action (formed in 2002), the *table de quartier* was not a solid enough structure take on that responsibility. In addition, a Lachine-based community *table de quartier* did not have the same local presence as the VSP social clubs. Another respondent stated that other possible ways of structuring the RUI project, besides the *table de quartier*, had been studied, including placing the RUI under the Lachine CLSC or the Lachine CDEC. However, neither the local CLSC nor the *table de quartier* generally led this type of project, due to the nature of their mandate. Thus, given the strong desire among local residents to be implicated in the RUI and the nature of existing local structures, a non-profit, autonomous and citizen-based revitalization committee structure seemed to be the logical choice. In 2004, this revitalization committee became an incorporated non-profit able to receive and manage RUI funding.

Ville St-Pierre is the only RUI project of the eight currently in operation in Montreal which has an autonomous structure and is incorporated as a non-profit[26]. The VSP local revitalization committee, called the Comité de revitalisation urbaine intégrée Saint-Pierre (CRUISP), is made up of citizens, elected and administrative borough officials, and institutional representatives. All decisions go through the Board of directors, which has the particularity of being the only RUI Board of directors with a majority of citizen representatives. The initial RUI committee included 6 seats for community and

[26] In Québec, OBNL or « *Organisation à but non-lucratif* ».

borough institutions, and 7 seats for citizens[27].

In addition, the CRUISP has working committees to work on the themes of the initial action plan; these committees are not all active, but depend on priorities determined annually. I will now present some of the main themes of activity of the VSP RUI project.

4.2.2. First steps of the RUI

The first steps of the RUI program include the creation of a diagnostic portrait of the neighbourhood and an action plan. In VSP, to begin the RUI process, a broad consultation was organized in 2004 over a period of ten days, which managed to reach 10% of the population. Based on the results of the public consultations, an action plan was elaborated around the theme of the 'village' and neighbourhood strengths.

The main axes of the action plan are:

- to create a real Main street (rue Saint-Jacques);
- to ameliorate recreational opportunities ("*Quartier des loisirs"*);
- to launch the Festival of marionettes;
- to create a general store.

The first axis focused on the revitalization of rue Saint-Jacques by bringing together merchants and working to bring new businesses and important local services to the community. The second axis, *Quartier des loisirs*, aimed to make the neighbourhood more attractive to families and create more spaces for youth, in addition to expanding the offer of recreational and cultural services to residents, including community gardens, cultural programming, a youth centre, and a number of community festivals. The Festival of marionettes was intended to be an event that would attract people to the

[27] The total number of committee members has decreased, however the proportion of citizens to other members has remained the same.

neighbourhood, contribute to its renown, and jumpstart the festive traditions of the neighbourhood. This project has not been as successful the borough had hoped. The creation of a general store aimed at providing a variety of fresh products to residents at a reasonable cost and thus addressing food desert issues. It also had the long-term goal of contributing to local employment and enhancing the neighbourhood sense of identity. While this axis has been very popular, it was also slow getting off the ground and the VSP RUI project has encountered difficulties in recent years finding human resources to manage the Ville St-Pierre market.

4.2.3. Evolution of the RUI project

The first several years of the RUI project were marked by substantial momentum and energy amongst stakeholders which resulted in increased partnerships with local actors. A number of the short term goals were achieved in 2004-2005, in part due to substantial borough investments in recreational improvements.

Since the beginning of the RUI VSP, a significant amount of funding has been put aside to launch the St-Pierre market, one of the most large-scale and visible projects of the VSP RUI.

Figure 5. Saint Pierre Market

While the RUI funding alone is insufficient to fund projects, the partnerships between local actors created through the RUI program have resulted in shared project responsibility and funding.

For example, to revitalize rue Saint-Jacques, the main street, the RUI project actors created a working committee composed of local business owners, social clubs such as the Knights of Columbus, the local school, the chapel, the market, and the pharmacy. The actions proposed by this committee included small projects such as renovating the school yard and adding flower boxes. This project thus created new partnerships between actors unaccustomed to working together such as the Knights of Columbus and school officials. Further projects to revitalize the Saint-Jacques streetscape have led to collaboration between the local church and the Desjardins credit union on use of the street, and to partnerships on urban design components with Groupe de recherche appliquée en macro-écologie (GRAME), an ecological non-profit organization active in the area, and the local Ecoquartier, an environmental action community organization funded by the City of Montreal.

In addition, VSP RUI coordinators and project managers – hired to lead specific projects – have been successful in seeking out and obtaining funds from other sources than the City. According to one former coordinator, 80% of the RUI funding from the City of Montreal-MESS entente is used on human resources who in turn have the responsibility to 'lobby' for the RUI and find other sources of funding.

4.3. Assessment

VSP has a very different structure and territorial context than other Montreal RUIs. These differences have affected the evolution of the VSP RUI, including the creation of new partnerships. Although not all of the VSP RUI projects have been successful, overall the VSP RUI has participated in enacting visible and meaningful changes in VSP.

4.3.1. Territorial governance

All respondents agree that the Lachine Borough has been a positive element of the RUI, and has greatly contributed to the RUI project as an integral part of the revitalization process.

The borough is involved in the RUI program via its elected and administrative borough officials who have had representation in all committees and thus have been aware of proposed actions. Borough representatives have generally played the role of providing technical and administrative support in terms of contributing their opinions on projects and assessing project feasibility. For local stakeholders, the presence of borough representatives in meetings and discussions is important since they provide a direct means of communication with the borough Director. In the view of one respondent, the RUI is a 'lobby' for the VSP neighbourhood and thus functions as a means of drawing municipal attention to the neighbourhood through the relationship between the borough and the RUI project.

The turnover of elected borough representatives was cited as a significant factor in the dynamics between the RUI project actors and elected officials in terms of the latter's orientations and motivations. However, the administrative borough representatives associated with VSP RUI have remained relatively unchanged compared to those in the community sector and the elected borough representatives; this difference was seen by one respondent as contributing to the borough's administrative control over RUI projects. Overall, the strong borough presence in VSP RUI has been perceived as positive.

The borough's support and contribution of significant resources to the RUI program have played a decisive role in the RUI's successes. One of the major ways in which the borough has supported the RUI project is through the investment of part of its triennial infrastructure budget. This money was used to renovate Wilfred-Vincent park, create community gardens, transform the previous City Hall into a community center, create a youth centre in the former fire station, and renovate the local pool,

basketball courts, and children's playground. These investments reflected a general need to integrate VSP into the borough's functioning and represented a major investment by the Lachine borough in VSP. The presence of the RUI project was also a determining factor in these major renovations, since part of the borough's engagement in the RUI project consists in investing its own funds to support the overall development of the area. The most frequently cited example of borough support is that of the Saint-Pierre market space, located in a public building (the old city hall) for which the CRUISP does not pay rent but only electricity.

Major renovations and new spaces created by the borough to support the development of the RUI program greatly contributed to the overall momentum of the VSP RUI in its beginning stages, as did the political alliances and orientations of borough officials involved in the RUI project. Many of the Lachine officials and bureaucrats involved in the RUI have had political connections to the City of Montreal. In the view of one respondent, the privileged relationship between certain Lachine Borough actors and City of Montreal decision-makers made it easier for the CRUISP to access funding and support from the City. Moreover, the political savvy of borough administrators and their ability to navigate the bureaucracy of the City of Montreal also affects positively RUI outcomes.

4.3.2. Collaborative planning and local stakeholders

One of the major successes of the VSP RUI project has been to create new partnerships. For many respondents, the RUI approach has changed the work of local community actors by creating partnerships and enabling collaboration on specific projects.

A unique aspect of the VSP RUI is the presence of a number of strong local social clubs. For some respondents, the mandate of these local social clubs has limited their contribution to RUI processes since the actions they are primarily engaged in are often limited to social activities, including neighbourhood festivals with events like corn-husking and a soap-box race. The lack of community

development organizations in VSP has further meant that the CRUISP has been the primary actor responsible for carrying projects forward. This differs from other RUI neighbourhoods which benefited from more support from local community development organizations or the local *table de quartier*.

However, partnerships between social clubs and other community development actors have been effective in garnering local support for projects. In the opinion of one coordinator, the existence of the RUI project has changed the type of actions in which local social clubs participate and increased their potential to participate in community development.

The RUI program has the power to create new partnerships because it is perceived in VSP as having a neutral role, namely to enable local organizations to work together to improve the neighbourhood. For several respondents, the impartiality of the RUI is one of its greatest strengths. The increasing visibility of VSP and its ability to open the horizons of local stakeholders to other ways of organizing has made the RUI a neutral 'springboard' between the services offered by the borough and the community which mobilizes around specific issues. One respondent, in particular, insisted on the importance for neighbourhood social clubs to learn to work collaboratively with other groups via the "neutral" RUI program.

At the same time, the RUI's neutral role as creator of partnerships can function as a limitation by making the RUI approach appear vague and/or passive. This vague nature of the RUI program as an actor causes ambiguity in its relationships with different stakeholders, leaving open the extent to which the RUI should lead actions or facilitate them. In addition, the RUI's role in facilitating neighbourhood change is often further obscured by the complexity of the partnerships that have been established.

The RUI and the table Concert'Action

In VSP, the RUI approach has been heavily centered on citizens. However, the RUI VSP does work with many of the same organizations as the Lachine *table de quartier*, Concert'Action, as they work on essentially the same issues, although at different scales. The similarity in terms of membership and general orientations between the RUI project and the *table de quartier* can also lead to inefficiency. The size of the territory and the population represented in these two representative bodies varies greatly: the Borough of Lachine has roughly 40 000 residents, whereas the VSP RUI has only 5000 residents. In this sense, the RUI is a "micro-*concertation*", compared with Concert'Action Lachine.

According to one respondent, Concert'Action has not been very focused on citizen mobilization, compared to some *tables de quartier* in Montreal. Instead, Concert'Action is primarily institution-based, with little citizen representation on its committees. Thus, although they collaborate with some of the same partners, unlike the RUI, Concert'Action does not see its mandate as to create the needed synergy between organizations in order to enable revitalization.

Concert'Action underwent a restructuring process in 2010, partly out of the need to expand its mandate. Upon its creation in 2002, the three main axes of Concert'Action were education, the fight against poverty, and housing. With time, new issues emerged in the community (which were not represented in the three initial axes of Concert'Action), leading to the creation of a number of new subcommittees. The multiplication of committees created a burden for the coordinator of the Table and for local organizations and associations, who now had to attend many meetings in order to stay involved. Thus, after a period of reflection amongst community actors, the structure of Concert'Action was altered to include all the working tables and committees. This restructuring led to the creation of nine thematic committees within Concert'Action.

The restructuring of the Table into thematic committees reduced the work of the RUI coordinator in the *table de quartier* committees by making it possible for the RUI coordinator to attend only committee

meetings of relevance to VSP. Restructuring also reduced the number of meetings and overall inefficiency of committee structures for community partners and institutions active in both the CRUISP and Concert'Action, giving them more time to participate in RUI activities.

The autonomy of the CRUISP from Concert'Action is seen by participants as an important contributor to the RUI's success in VSP. According to several respondents, awareness of difficulties experienced by other RUI due to their relationship to the *table de quartier* has confirmed the importance of the VSP RUI's independence as an incorporated group.

However, independence adds to the responsibilities of RUI project staff. For other RUI projects linked to a *table de quartier*, the *table*'s main role is to provide for collaborative and participatory decision-making by local stakeholders. Thus, in instances such as VSP where the RUI project is not attached to an outside participatory and deliberative structure, the RUI project and structure must fulfill this role, adding extra responsibilities.

4.3.3. Public participation

The CRUISP Board of directors has a majority of citizen seats, which privileges citizen participation. Although there are no grass-roots community development organizations in VSP, there are social clubs which are well connected to long-time residents and which have the power to organize activities, mobilize residents, and access funds. Though these social clubs do not have designated seats, they are represented on the RUI local revitalization committee through the participation of citizens who are members. However, many newer residents are not a part of these community local clubs.

For one resident who has worked for 40 years as a pharmacist in VSP, the small village culture makes it possible to meet local residents and get a sense for their needs and desires. In particular, the pharmacy is used by everyone at some point or another; thus, those who work there will meet many residents and

can take the "pulse" of the community.

For some, the strong presence of citizens in the VSP RUI committees is a weakness of the RUI approach. They worry that given the high number of seats for citizens on the Board of the CRUISP, if a citizen feels strongly about something there is a possibility for one to become involved in the RUI process just to push one's agenda.

Obstacles to public participation

There are a number of challenges to successful public participation. One often-mentioned challenge is that of having informed and capable citizens on committees. In VSP, the most active committee with the most citizen participation is the recreation working committee, whose main responsibility is to organize the community fair. This working committee has much less difficulty attracting residents to participate than, say, the committee for the revitalization of the main street. Also, participants do not always stay motivated for the long term. For example, a great number of resident were interested in the working table for the St-Pierre market at the beginning of the RUI project, but that initial energy and interest waned after a few years.

Another obstacle to citizen participation is the intimidating nature of general assemblies and other public meetings. To help residents who attend RUI functions truly participate, the coordinator must possess facilitation skills. Moreover, citizen participation working committees requires a fair amount of administration. The coordinator has to ensure that participation runs smoothly, call people to remind them of the meeting date and time, booking a room for the meeting, and preparing meeting agendas and minutes. Thus, the difference between being merely present and greater participation depends in part on the coordinator's actions. However, real participation requires more than coordinators facilitation and organizational skills; residents must be encouraged to be involved in their communities and be able to contribute to decision-making in tangible ways.

Several respondents described the coordinator as responsible for ensuring that those who participate are involved in committees where their capacities allow them to fully contribute; otherwise, the citizen will feel useless and stop participating. The challenge is thus to gauge a residents' capacities and find a suitable role for each participants' abilities; this is a skill which coordinators often learn in the field. Overall, several respondents emphasized that the goal should not be quantity of participants but quality of participation. An additional difficulty faced by RUI coordinators in VSP stems from the xenophobia of some community members towards new visible minority residents.

Despite these challenges, several respondents considered that the RUI provides citizens with a privileged platform to communicate with the borough and to make decisions regarding the evolution of their neighbourhood.

Lack of communication and resident awareness of the RUI project

On major criticism of the RUI VSP is that citizens are not generally aware of what the RUI project is or what it has done in the neighbourhood. This lack of awareness is in part due to the complexity of partnerships and the vague and passive nature of the RUI approach.

All respondents are aware that there are problems with communication and the engagement of residents. VSP RUI coordinators expressed the desire and need to do another large-scale consultation, in part to communicate the RUI successes and in part to bring the information back to residents. However the funds and organization needed for such a feat are enormous and would have taken away from other projects, such as the creation of a market.

There is a definite need to improve communication with residents, especially regarding the organization of community or neighbourhood events. According to one respondent, putting up posters in local businesses to advertise community events or activities is not an effective communications

strategy. Instead, the better way to advertise would be to use a bullhorn and drive through the neighbourhood on the day of a particular event, reminding people to come to the neighbourhood festival -- the mode of communication about neighbourhood events used previously in VSP. This anecdote underlines the nostalgia many residents still feel for village-style functioning of VSP.

Chapter 5: Synthesis

This chapter brings together the results of the two case study analyses. Similarities and differences between them are highlighted with respect to territorial governance and integration, collaboration processes, and community participation, the three axes that structured the research.

Key conclusions from this comparison are presented: structural relationships between those involved in the RUI and other local actors (such as the borough and the *tables de quartiers*) are important to the outcomes of the RUI initiatives; collaborative and participatory decision-making has been pursued in different ways in the two cases, with implications, for example, for the responsibilities placed on local actors; funding has been insufficient to make structural changes, however the RUI structure promotes mobilization of outside funds for the local area; leadership matters, however territorial context and political struggles may outweigh the importance of individual leadership skills to project outcomes; and obstacles to public participation are not sufficiently acknowledged, or addressed, in RUI outreach approaches.

5.1. Territorial governance and integration: Structures and actors

The two case studies present different models of territorial governance and integration in the implementation of the RUI program (see Table 4). Analysis of the relationships between the borough and community development actors, in particular the *tables de quartier*, reveals how the context of RUI implementation has affected outcomes.

Table 4. Case study synthesis: Territorial governance

	Opération Galt	Ville St-Pierre
Territorial context	Enclave neighbourhood with a strong *table de quartier, Concertation VECSP*	Formerly independent municipality with a strong 'village' culture and social clubs
	Very small section of Côte-Saint-Paul initially targeted; territory enlarged with restructuring to correspond to a more complete neighbourhood	Enclave, physically isolated from the Borough of Lachine
	Was a part of the *Vie de quartier* committee within the *table de quartier*	An autonomous, incorporated local revitalization committee
	Initial lack of autonomy; post restructuring, became an independent committee though still part of the *table*	Autonomy from *table de quartier* Concert'Action
Structure	Initial RUI guiding structures (COCO and CRU) were replaced by the *table de quartier* as the managing organization	Strong citizen representation on the Board of directors
Actors	Not a strong borough implication on committees (elected and administrative officials); *table* had a strong presence	Strong presence and contribution from borough representatives (particularly administrative)

5.1.1. Relationship between the borough and RUI

The borough, represented in RUI committees by both planners (administrative positions) and elected councilors, has played an important role in both case studies. This role includes the designation of a RUI territory (decided on with community group consultation) and the investment of borough funds in RUI sectors. For example, in the case of VSP, the Borough of Lachine has invested substantial funds in

the area in the form of infrastructure renewal as well as through the use of public buildings for RUI activities. The financial support and resources the borough can offer often result in larger interventions; the limited RUI funding often restrains interventions to the socio-cultural sphere.

The borough also manages the distribution of public funds designated for the RUI project. From the beginning of the VSP RUI, the Lachine Borough transferred the entirety of public funds to the VSP revitalization committee. In contrast, at the beginning of Opération Galt, local organizations received money directly from the South-West Borough for specific projects. As direct recipients of funds, these individual organizations had to submit reports to the borough, increasing paperwork and administrative tasks for local organizations. However, with the restructuring of Opération Galt, the funding structure was changed; the borough now transfers the totality of the RUI funding from public funds to the local revitalization committee to be used at their discretion.

This change suggests that less borough management of RUI funds is generally seen as a better mode of functioning, both for the borough and for the RUI revitalization committee. Control over funds gives the RUI committee members more impetus to build consensus and collaborate on the use of funds; however, local control over funding decisions raises the question of accountability to government funding sources. To address accountability of RUI stakeholders to borough and municipal funding sources, yearly evaluations are extremely important. However there is no standardized mode of evaluation of RUI projects in Montreal, leading to a great deal of variation between evaluations of different RUI projects.

Borough representatives still participate in the RUI committee that decides on the use of funds. However, membership of borough representatives on committees which receive important funding from the borough can also create an unhealthy situation; the ability to fulfill both roles (RUI stakeholder and borough funding decision-maker) without a conflict of interest depends on the

individual involved.

Overall, in both case studies, the nature the relationship between the borough and the RUI appears to vary, depending on the personal orientations of the borough representative on the revitalization committee and the department or function they represent, in addition to the orientations and priorities of the borough council and mayor.

5.1.2. Relationships between the local revitalization committee of the RUI and the *table de quartiers*: territorial distinctions and structure

The two case studies demonstrate two different structural relationships between the RUI local revitalization committee and the *tables de quartier*. In VSP, the RUI project began as an incorporated, autonomous revitalization committee due to the youth of Concert'Action, the local *table de quartier*, and strong resident mobilization. Autonomy from local institutions is manifested in the strong citizen presence on the VSP RUI committee. The committee structure also reflects the history of the area as an independent municipality with clearly delineated territorial boundaries whose long-term residents have a strong sense of identity and have been very involved in the VSP RUI project from its beginning. These factors are responsible for the autonomous, citizen-based approach of the VSP RUI.

The difference in committee composition between the two case studies is particularly obvious; the Opération Galt local revitalization committee has a strong presence of community development organizations, unlike VSP which has greater citizen representation. During the first year of Opération Galt the local revitalization committee was established as a separate entity. However, the local revitalization committee was soon integrated into Concertation VÉCSP and placed within an existing committee, the Comité de vie de quartier. This change made the RUI project structurally dependent on Concertation VÉCSP and resulted in tensions amongst stakeholders regarding the overall orientations of Concertation VÉCSP and those of the small section of the VÉCSP territory covered by the RUI

sector. Indeed, the modification of the Opération Galt structure in 2011, based in part on the example of other Montreal RUI projects, demonstrates the importance of autonomy for the local revitalization committee in terms of making decisions and orienting actions.

Autonomy played a particularly crucial role in Opération Galt, as it made it possible to differentiate its smaller territory from the larger territory of the *table de quartier*. Since RUI territories are usually smaller than the area represented by *tables de quartier*, there is a risk for conflict between the organizations active on the territory covered by two territories, that of the RUI project and that of the Table. This potential for conflict could be avoided by creating an independent committee distantly linked to the Table. Ultimately, differences in the size of territory between Concertation VÉCSP and Opération Galt led not only to the restructuring of the RUI local revitalization committee but also to the enlargement of the actual territory of Opération Galt.

The relationship between the *table de quartier* and RUI projects is also part of a larger debate in the City of Montreal. The fact that six of the eight RUI currently in place in Montreal are associated with a *table de quartier* demonstrates that the *table de quartier* appears to be the recognized collaborative and participatory consultation structure to implement the RUI program; the original pilot project description of the deliberative consultation (*concertation*) structure to be associated with RUI also suggests that the project was originally conceived by City of Montreal officials as being attached to the *tables de quartier*. However, not all the *tables de quartier* originally had in their mandate the responsibility to carry projects like the RUI. In the view of a former coordinator, CMTQ and City of Montreal officials have affected the discourse surrounding the role of the *tables de quartier* in community development to portray the *tables de quartier* as the natural complement to RUI projects at the expense of other *concertation* bodies (e.g. CDEC). The privileged position of the *tables* may be another limitation of RUI projects in Montreal; the identification of the RUI approach with the *tables de quartier* may be less appropriate in certain contexts (e.g. neighbourhoods where the local CDEC is very active and may

have more resources than the local *table de quartier*), and thus limits the flexibility of RUI project implementation. This difference in the understanding of the mandates of local community development actors reflects the larger debate within Montreal as to the role of local actors and institutions which affect RUI.

5.2. *Concertation*, Collaboration and Process in RUI projects

The two case studies demonstrate different models of *concertation*, or participatory decision-making and collaboration amongst stakeholders (see Table 5). *Concertation* is defined as a collective process where a group of local stakeholders consult and collaborate with each other to identify strategic objectives to be worked on together. In contrast, partnerships are defined as the collaboration between organizations on a project. Thus, while partnerships can be part of collaborative action, true *concertation* involves more than partnerships as stakeholders collaborate to define and implement objectives in a long-term perspective.

Table 5. Case study synthesis: Participatory and collaborative processes

	Opération Galt	**Ville St-Pierre**
Actors involved	Members of the *table de quartier*	Social clubs, local institutions, community stakeholders
Type of partnerships	Primarily project-oriented with little consensus-building or visioning among stakeholders in early years	*table de quartier* part of the RUI local revitalization committee RUI as partnership-enabler amongst local stakeholders unaccustomed to working together
	Lack of common vision in part due to poor definition of key issues;	Independence from *table de quartier*/borough orientations and limited number of themes of

		intervention facilitates RUI consensus-building
Impact of table de quartier and borough orientations (Dependency/autonomy)	*Concertation* limited by the structure of RUI as part of the *table de quartier* Funding primarily limited to initial RUI budget	Substantial funding from outside sources, although borough contributes important resources

5.2.1. Models of collaboration

Opération Galt was structured in theory according to the *concertation* model of consensus-based decision-making where local stakeholders and actors work together to define objectives and priorities. While this approach may have characterized the beginning of the RUI project, in practice, Opération Galt members approached the RUI project as a means to fund organization-backed projects which resulted in competition between member organizations.

By contrast, the VSP RUI has been more of a partnership model in practice, where local stakeholders and actors were solicited to participate in specific working committees and projects based on areas of intervention. This difference is partially due to the structure of the VSP revitalization committee which is composed of a majority of citizens. Overall, the VSP RUI project has been very successful in creating new partnerships with local stakeholders unaccustomed to working together.

5.2.2. Impact of RUI *concertation* process on local stakeholders

In terms of its impact on the *tables de quartier*, the RUI approach is seen as adding another level of collaborative decision-making processes and ends up adding to the work of local actors and stakeholders by increasing both the number of meetings and the amount of administrative work such as managing budgets, preparing yearly evaluations and sitting on a variety of committees.

However, the RUI approach and structure also forces local actors to become more responsible.

Revitalization committee members no longer just receive funds to implement predetermined projects, they must now make decisions on how to use them, and thus carry the responsibility for how the funds are used. Involvement in collective collaborative planning can also increase the group's maturity and help stakeholders see other partners truly as partners and not as competitors for funds. The RUI approach also helps local organizations increase their community development capacity by allowing local organizations to be a part of the process and not simply subjected to it.

5.2.3. Funding

The impact of funding on the RUI process was a common theme in both case studies. In particular, the lack of funding was cited as the RUI's major weakness. All respondents agreed that the amount of funding allocated to the RUI projects is not sufficient. In the words of one respondent: "The problem with RUI is that one must do everything with nothing"[28]. The lack of funds has led to competition between projects for small amounts of money, and a prioritizing of social and community activities (e.g., neighbourhood parties) unlikely to lead to structural changes in disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

However, RUI projects can be a powerful force for getting funding from other sources. *Tables de quartier* which have RUI projects in their territory appear to have access to more funding opportunities. In VSP, the RUI has sometimes been used as a 'lobby' to obtain investment from the borough and from external sources of funding. In this sense, the VSP RUI has been a tool to give autonomy back to VSP within the framework of Lachine. In the case of Opération Galt, few funding proposals to seek outside funding were developed. This is partly due to the project-based allocation of funds, and to a mentality in which members tended to rely on RUI funds to support their organisation's projects. Thus, it can be said that the *concertation* process was weakened by the minimal funding available and the mode of distribution of funds.

[28] « *Le problème de la RUI, c'est qu'il faut tout faire avec rien.* »

5.2.4. Role of the Coordinator in consensus-building and RUI outcomes

Throughout the case studies, the importance of the coordinator in influencing RUI processes and outcomes was a prominent and recurrent theme. In theory, the RUI coordinator's primary role is to provide the leadership needed to bring stakeholders together and help to focus group activities. In practice, the primary role of the RUI coordinator has varied from coordinator to coordinator and in the course of the evolution of the RUI project, although all coordinators perform the tasks associated with RUI project coordination. This variation is project focus has often been related to the coordinator's interests or main skills, or to the dynamism of the RUI process. While the case studies have shown that both the coordinator and the revitalization committee to which coordinators are accountable play an active role in deciding the main RUI orientations annually – such as focusing on providing services to residents, lobbying the borough for more investment, improving collaboration between stakeholders, or actively pursuing community engagement and resident mobilization – the orientation outcomes are sometimes strongly contingent on the coordinator, as well as on the RUI steering committee (to which the coordinator is accountable). This may mean that the deliberative process is not working well, or that the minimal human resources available for RUI projects may tend to centralize decision-making processes.

The coordinator in the VSP appears to have had substantial control over the orientation of the RUI. However, this does not seem to have been the case as much in Opération Galt (prior to restructuring), since Opération Galt was part of Concertation VÉCSP; thus, the RUI project Opération Galt was affected by the orientations of Concertation VÉCSP. Thus the structural constraints of Opération Galt may have limited the freedom of the coordinator. In contrast, the independence of the RUI project revitalization committee from pre-existing institutionalized community development actors in VSP may have allowed a stronger role for the coordinator.

The other important consideration is the variety of skills the coordinator must possess in order to respond to the demands of the position. Finding experienced, well-trained facilitators and coordinators able to juggle various roles – especially coordinators who know how to "pull on the right strings at the right time" – appears to be a difficult task.

The demanding nature of the coordinator position is seen in a high turnover in both RUI projects. In both RUI case studies, there have been as many as four different coordinators in one year; most coordinators stay roughly a year or two in the position. Since collaboration and consultation involve a great deal of face-to-face interaction, in may be that high turnover may also be due to personality clashes. This raises the question of whether the coordinator position needs more support or guidance from the borough or the revitalization committee, especially in light of the fact that a certain amount of stability in RUI staff and structure is necessary for building partnerships and trust in order to encourage and facilitate collaboration. Remaining in the position for one year only does not seem conducive to creating the dynamics needed for effective collaboration among stakeholders.

5.3. Public participation and the RUI

One of the objectives at the heart of the RUI process is to engage residents in revitalization processes and to empower them to participate in improving their own living environment. The form this participation should take is not specified in the RUI pilot project description; citizens are only directly mentioned as possible members of the revitalization committee. Many different forms of resident participation were observed in both case studies, including participation on the Revitalization committee, on subject-specific sub-committees or working groups, and in initial consultations on the RUI action plan and neighbourhood assessment. Another form of citizen participation is involvement in activities such as neighbourhood festivals or information sessions.

Table 6. Case study synthesis: Public participation

	Opération Galt	Ville St-Pierre
Means of public participation	Thematic working committees, local revitalization committee	Local revitalization committee, working committees for each of 4 themes
Direct/indirect representation)	1-2 seats for public citizens on the revitalization committee; little public participation in *table de quartier*	Majority of citizens on revitalization committee; heavy representation in project selection
Communication with public	Limited/poor	Limited/poor

Several important limitations to public participation were evoked in both RUI case studies. The vague nature of the RUI approach is one of the major obstacles to citizen participation and mobilization, as it makes it difficult to make citizens understand what the RUI is. Residents are more likely to mobilize around an issue or concrete problem rather than around something abstract. Thus, presenting RUI objectives and projects as clearly as possible may help to garner public support and participation on specific projects.

Another obstacle to participation demonstrated by the case studies is the lack of resources in the RUI budget to support citizen mobilization efforts, which require both administrative work and field work. Due to their many responsibilities, coordinators are not always able to assume this task. Even VSP, whose revitalization committee has strong citizen representation, has struggled with communicating with and mobilizing residents. Moreover, it has been particularly hard to mobilize disadvantaged residents, who, in the case of Opération Galt and VSP, have often been immigrants.

A common concern is that citizens who do participate are often present for very specific reasons and are not interested in more general neighbourhood issues or in the RUI process. But, even when citizens are mobilized, their potential lack of knowledge or ability may prevent them from contributing fully to

the RUI processes. Citizen mobilization indeed requires a distinct set of skills that not all coordinators have. Given the lack of time and resources for mobilization, some RUI project committees have chosen to hire additional staff to lead mobilization efforts. Minimal public funding often means that RUI actors must choose between dedicating funds to broad community mobilization efforts or to supporting projects or initiatives.

The case studies thus raise important questions such as whether the RUI policy's emphasis on public participation is simply too idealistic, and whether more weight should be given to representative and indirect participatory structures in the RUI policy. Although one might argue that the *tables de quartier* are representative of public needs and opinions, the diverse composition and orientations of the twenty-eight *tables de quartier* in Montreal do not allot the same weight or place for direct citizen input. Thus, more concise directives from the city policy-makers regarding representation on RUI committee structures may be a means of ensuring more direct public participation in the RUI approach.

5.4. Lessons

Through the comparison of the two case studies, a number of lessons regarding the implementation of RUI processes become apparent. To begin, territory affects relationships; this applies to the size of the RUI territory within the borough, and the size of the RUI territory compared to surrounding neighbourhoods represented by local community councils. This territorial aspect may be the greatest challenge for the integration of stakeholders in terms of ensuring that stakeholders responsible to territories of different sizes are able to balance their involvement in RUI projects and their responsibilities to the larger territories they serve.

Secondly, the characteristics of local community development stakeholders play a large role in shaping the implementation and outcomes of RUI projects. This is clear in the analysis of the borough's role in RUI and the relationship to existing community council structures, in terms of shaping orientations and

outcomes.

Third, the most difficult part of the RUI mandate is that of citizen mobilization and participation. For the numerous reasons mentioned above, citizen mobilization is often elusive. Increased resources to allow for an additional staff member devoted to this part of the RUI approach is one way of addressing this major gap in these two RUI case studies.

6. Conclusions

The two cases reviewed in this study are among the first integrated revitalization experiences in Montreal. According to those familiar with other RUI projects in Montreal, the first three RUI projects, including VSP and Opération Galt, experienced much greater challenges, especially in their early phases, than the RUI projects initiated later. The evolution of urban revitalization in Montreal demonstrates the learning and adaptation that took place in the program in response to realities on the ground.

Both RUI projects studied show adaptation throughout their implementation. For Opération Galt, important changes included the restructuring of the RUI, in relation to the *table de quartier* and the redefinition of its territory. For VSP, the initial strains of being an independent RUI in an enclaved neighbourhood created a need to develop relationships with the borough and partner with organizations to fund projects.

Indeed, both VSP and Opération Galt have experienced challenges to effective revitalization that are possible to avoid: for example, to allow the RUI committee to make decisions without interference from other local actors, it is important to create a certain degree of structural autonomy between the RUI committee and the *table de concertation*. Moreover, to overcome funding challenges and dependency on borough funding, RUI stakeholders must collaborate to create partnerships to help

finance RUI initiatives and facilitate revitalization.

In contrast with the first three pilot projects, the two RUI projects added to the city's RUI portfolio in 2004 (Saint-Michel and Montréal Nord) were based upon integrated revitalization programs already in place; the City's RUI pilot project basically recognized them, and formalized them, for what they were already doing. The three RUI zones added in 2005/2006 were immediately attached to the *tables de quartier* and have generally had less difficulty getting off the ground. Thus, it appears that the experiences of VSP and Opération Galt have also served other tables or boroughs in the implementation of their own RUI program.

Major obstacles

Most of the major challenges associated with urban revitalization policies by Bacqué et al. (2003), hold true for the RUI in Montreal. One of the most complicated obstacles for RUI is the "inherent interorganisational friction" due to differences in budgets and decision-making mechanisms, in the face of which collective efforts are needed to overcome resistance and engage actors in common actions (Bacqué et al., 2003: 97). The case studies have demonstrated the complex factors that make for successful collaboration, from the structures that frame interaction to personalities that can provide leadership or create additional tensions. Indeed, the outcome of the struggle for power and leadership of RUI projects, between the revitalization committee, the *table de quartier* and the borough, appears to be essentially personality dependent. Thus, in some cases a RUI coordinator with a strong personality and experience in collaborative planning was necessary to manage the demands put upon the RUI projects by various stakeholders and to bring stakeholders together; at other times, strong personalities amongst leaders on multiple key stakeholder bodies of the RUI projects created conflict and tensions that prevent collaborative and participatory decision-making and action.

The case studies also demonstrate that the most difficult part of the RUI program to implement is

community engagement; the latter is also the part of the RUI approach which is most often compromised due to a lack of funds. To address the difficulty of funding both a coordinator and an outreach agent, some coordinators have been hired to focus on mobilization and outreach, depending on the needs of the RUI at a given time; however, this task prevents the coordinator from attending to the other responsibilities of the position. This situation is a major flaw of the RUI program as currently resourced, in which public mobilization and engagement are essential principles but resources must be stretched to cover related activities. While public participation may occur through committee participation and attendance at RUI events, the true citizen mobilization and engagement aimed for through the RUI approach does not appear to be a success.

In addition, the overlap between community development stakeholders is a problem with RUI. Competition for funding (intra- and inter neighbourhood) has meant less collaboration between stakeholders and has limited the scope of interventions. In addition, the multiplication of committee meetings and overlapping projects has exhausted paid RUI personnel, those seconded or assigned to the project from other entities, and volunteers. The involvement and representation of RUI actors on the RUI board of directors and cross-institutional funding relationships (e.g., RUI funding transferred to fund a *table* program) can create complicated tangles of accountability and dependence between community stakeholders. The presence of borough actors further adds to the complex relationships of accountability and contribution of resources. In particular, the political and bureaucratic borough representatives' involvement in RUI projects is a determining factor in the outcomes of RUI projects, in terms of the types of projects and success of RUI initiatives. However, this involvement can be perceived as an intrusion by community organizations or other actors in RUI. Although one of the main goals of the RUI approach is to build capacity among local organizations through collaboration and *concertation*, this goal is limited by the borough's privileged position as the gatekeeper to major projects (through planning controls) and distributor of funds. Thus, the role of the borough in RUI is

often seen as unclear by local stakeholders and also varies according to the different context. The extent to which the City of Montreal should provide firmer guidelines for RUI stakeholders regarding the participation of borough administrators, elected officials and structural relationship to the *tables*, appears to be a subject needing reflection.

Improving or expanding RUI projects?

The RUI projects have gone from numbering three in 2003 to eight in 2011; in May 2012 the City of Montreal announced that two more sectors will be funded as RUI projects. The proliferation of RUI projects is not what current RUI project stakeholders strive for, as they would prefer having more financing for the existing RUI projects rather than expanding the number of RUI projects (with existing low funding levels). However, the CMTQ and the *tables de quartier* have pushed for more RUI, in part to provide equal resources to different neighbourhoods. The CMTQ's official position on RUI projects is that RUI projects should be integrated into a local *table de quartier*, as the *table de quartier* is the legitimate collaborative and participatory structure. Moreover, the RUI's relationship to the *tables* have sometimes caused jealousy and tensions, for example in areas where there are two *tables de quartier* and only one RUI.

It is difficult to gauge how the RUI program has been able to impact institutional modes of action, although several respondents stated that in general, the integrated approach to revitalization and community development has been making headway and influencing borough bureaucrats and institutional actors alike. Two organizations at the municipal and provincial scale, the Coalition montréalaise des tables de quartier and the Réseau Québecois de Revitalisation Intégrée, provide support for the RUI program; they lobby officials in support of the approach and are a forum for sharing information and resources. It would thus seem that RUI projects have been appropriated into the mission and discourse of the CMTQ and the *tables de quartier*. The RUI, as a program and

process, is seen as a tool for community development, an additional source of funding with a similar mandate and approach to those of the *tables de quartier,* which, as such, can boost the *tables de quartier's* ability to effect change. Although some respondents questioned the privileged position of the *tables de quartier* in relationship to the RUI program in Montreal, given the difference between the *tables de quartier* mandates and their experience (or lack thereof) leading projects as compared to other community organizations, the *tables de quartier* in Montreal have become the preferred structure for RUI.

Funding challenges and RUI outcomes

One major factor affecting outcomes is the amount of funding required versus funding acquired. In the RUI, in particular, there is often an unrealistic expectation of being able to 'revitalize' neighbourhoods with limited funding on a short-term spending cycle (Bacqué et al., 2003). This expectation leads stakeholders to feel pressure to create visible change in the short term, thus leading to short-term projects that are the opposite of the long-term revitalization sought, namely transforming a sector through collaborative interventions around a shared, long-term vision. Unlike previous renovation and revitalization programs in Montreal (Quartiers sensibles, Renouveau urbain), the RUI funding primarily covers the human resources to coordinate and apply for outside funding; the RUI budget, based on an entente between the City of Montreal and the MESS, is not sufficient to support projects. An annual salary of a RUI coordinator and at least one other employee (to coordinate citizen mobilization or manage specific projects) accounts for the majority of RUI funding. Thus, to be able to make structural changes, RUI project coordinators must create partnerships and apply for outside funding.

In addition, the ability of the RUI project to obtain additional funding from the borough is dependent on the political will of elected officials, in part because the RUI are usually supervised by the

department of Culture, sports, recreation and social development, a department that tends to have a smaller budget and fewer connections than the department of urban planning or public works. Although support from elected officials can overcome this structural disadvantage within the borough administration, the RUI projects likely would carry more political weight and would more easily create cross-sector collaboration were RUI projects more often headed by the borough Director (liaison between elected officials on borough council and departments) or located in a more influential department.

In some instances, as seen in the two case studies, the RUI has been able to be an instigator in cross-departmental collaboration at the borough level. While several respondents stated that people are starting to think differently, institutions take a long time to change. The gradual shift towards more integrated planning at the borough level has not yet provided a strong example for RUI stakeholders in terms of integrating actors and working across silos. However, the RUI certainly has changed how community development actors interact and collaborate, and will continue to play a role in shaping future partnerships and the scope and success of interventions in revitalizing disadvantaged areas in Montreal.

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