

Municipal Interpretations of Indigenous-Settler Reconciliation in Planning for Urban Redevelopment and Regeneration

by

Margaret Ellis-Young

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Examining Committee Membership

The following served on the Examining Committee for this thesis. The decision of the Examining Committee is by majority vote.

External Examiner	Dr. David Hugill Department of Geography and Environmental Studies Carleton University
Supervisors	Dr. Janice Barry & Dr. Brian Doucet School of Planning University of Waterloo
Internal Member	Dr. Martine August School of Planning University of Waterloo
Internal-external Member	Dr. Nancy Worth Department of Geography & Environmental Management University of Waterloo
Other Member	Dr. Stéphane Guimont Marceau Centre Urbanisation Culture Société Institut national de la recherche scientifique

Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

Municipalities in settler-colonial countries such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are placing new emphasis on improving Indigenous-settler relations and addressing colonial injustices in the city, in discourse if not in practice. In Canada, municipalities increasingly identify comprehensive planning projects that define future change and (re)development in the city as a space through which to advance these ‘reconciliation’ objectives. However, such projects are also intertwined with gentrification outcomes, outcomes that include Indigenous displacement, dispossession, and erasure. While a growing body of scholarship underlines these settler-colonial dimensions, it is unclear if such connections are made in practice as municipal planners turn their attention to both advancing Indigenous-settler reconciliation and mitigating gentrification-induced displacement.

This dissertation deepens emerging dialogue between gentrification scholarship and literature on settler-colonial urbanism and Indigenous recognition as it examines tensions between gentrification, reconciliation, and displacement mitigation within municipal comprehensive planning. To identify the continuity and/or disruption of colonial-capitalist relations therein, I interrogate 1) how reconciliation discourses are translated into area redevelopment plans, 2) how municipal planners represent reconciliatory planning practice, and 3) how planning responses to gentrification concerns address the colonial dimensions of displacement. The research looks at comprehensive planning projects in cities across Canada, with a particular focus on Vancouver and Montréal. I draw on critical discourse analyses of both project documents and interviews with municipal planning staff and other relevant actors.

The findings reveal that municipal planners negotiate multiple colonial-capitalist ‘boundaries’ at the nexus of redevelopment and reconciliation: those of Indigenous recognition, existing planning structures, and status quo regeneration objectives. While these boundaries are often reproduced as planners look to advance reconciliation and mitigate displacement within their constraints, more transformative policies, approaches, and mentalities are also beginning to emerge. The research expands on the (im)possibilities of state-led reconciliation through a planning lens, nuances the dynamics of Indigenous recognition in planning within a new context, and provides insight into discursive and policy shifts regarding gentrification and displacement, including limitations therein. It also underlines the importance of building planners’ motivations and capacities to disrupt colonial-capitalist planning relations.

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Dedication

To my beautiful children, Henry and Alexander, who helped me maintain perspective throughout the PhD process.

Table of Contents

EXAMINING COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP	II
AUTHOR’S DECLARATION	III
ABSTRACT	IV
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	V
DEDICATION	VI
LIST OF FIGURES	XI
LIST OF TABLES	XII
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	1
1.1 State-led reconciliation in the Canadian context	3
1.2 Inequitable urban change in Canadian cities	5
1.3 Overlapping displacements: State-led gentrification and settler-colonial urbanism	6
1.4 Gentrification as (settler) colonialism? (edited excerpt from Ellis-Young, 2022, p. 2, 4-7)	8
1.5 Planning for reconciliation? (De)colonial possibilities within a “real estate state”	14
CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS	17
2.1 Research Philosophy & Questions	17
2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis	19
2.3 Phase 1: Examining the dialogue between municipal reconciliation strategies and municipal redevelopment plans across Canada	22
2.3.1 Case selection	22
2.3.2 Data collection and analysis	23
2.4 Phase 2: Approaches to planning for urban change in an era of municipal reconciliation	24
2.4.1 Case selection and description (multiple-embedded case study)	24
2.4.2 Data collection and analysis	36

2.5	Study limitations	39
2.5.1	Lack of direct perspectives from local Indigenous communities	39
2.5.2	Breadth of cases and sample size	40
 CHAPTER 3 (MANUSCRIPT 1): DISCURSIVE (DIS)CONNECTIONS BETWEEN MUNICIPAL RECONCILIATION STRATEGIES AND AREA REDEVELOPMENT PLANS IN FIVE CANADIAN CITIES		 41
3.1	Introduction	41
3.2	Literature Review	43
3.2.1	Conceptualizing the limitations and possibilities of municipal-led reconciliation	43
3.2.2.	State-led planning as a settler-colonial process	45
3.2.3.	State-led planning toward reconciliation?	47
3.3	Context and methodology	49
3.4	Tracing the dialogue between reconciliation and redevelopment planning in five Canadian cities	52
3.4.1	Making time and space for (a selective) Indigenous presence	53
3.4.2	Indigenous absence through discourses of unity and inclusion	57
3.4.3	Discourses of relationship-building, collaboration, and decision-making	59
3.5	Discussion and Conclusion	60
 CHAPTER 4 (MANUSCRIPT 2): PLANNERS' REFLECTIONS ON LAND USE PLANNING AS A SPACE FOR INDIGENOUS-SETTLER RECONCILIATION IN TWO CANADIAN CITIES		 64
4.1	Introduction	64
4.2	State-led approaches to reconciliation	66
4.3	Planners as reconciliation actors	68
4.4	Reconciliation and land use planning in Vancouver and Montréal	71
4.5	Methodology	73
4.6	Land use planning as a space for reconciliation: foundational but also “beyond the scope”?	75
4.6.1	“Moves to innocence” versus moves to responsibility through the identification of reconciliation barriers	76
4.6.2	“Moves to innocence” versus moves to responsibility through the definition of reconciliatory planning practice	79
4.7	Toward more expansive approaches to (reconciliation through) land use planning?	82

CHAPTER 5 (MANUSCRIPT 3): (DE)COLONIAL DIMENSIONS OF ANTI-DISPLACEMENT PLANNING IN SETTLER-COLONIAL CITIES	84
5.1 Introduction	84
5.2 Gentrification, displacement, and planning responses	86
5.3 Gentrification as a settler-colonial process	88
5.4 Situating Montréal and Vancouver as cases	89
5.5 Methodology	93
5.6 (De)colonial dimensions of municipal anti-displacement discourses in planning for urban change	94
5.6.1 Generalized versus nuanced housing solutions	95
5.6.2 Protecting existing sense of place	98
5.6.3 Support for urban spatial appropriation	100
5.6.4 From discourse to practice: Colonial-capitalist planning norms as a limiting factor	103
5.7 Discussion and Conclusion	104
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION	107
6.1 Reflections on municipal planning at the nexus of redevelopment and reconciliation	107
6.2 Future research possibilities	110
6.3 Theoretical contributions	112
6.3.1 (Im)possibilities of state-led reconciliation in planning: toward settler planners’ “moves to responsibility”?	112
6.3.2 Indigenous recognition at the nexus of redevelopment (gentrification) and reconciliation	114
6.3.3 Discursive turns in state-led gentrification	115
6.4 Implications for settler planning practice	116
6.4.1 High-level reflections	116
6.4.2 Practical recommendations	118
REFERENCES	120
APPENDIX A: PHASE 1 DOCUMENTS	132
APPENDIX B: PHASE 2 DOCUMENTS	133

APPENDIX C: INFORMATION LETTER AND CONSENT FORM

136

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW GUIDE

148

List of Figures

Figure 1: Situating the Montréal case	26
Figure 2: Indigenous identity by census tract, City of Montréal (2021)	27
Figure 3: Situating the Vancouver case	29
Figure 4: Indigenous identity by census tract, City of Vancouver (2021)	30

List of Tables

Table 1: Cases and sub-cases for Phase 2	32
Table 2: Case selection	73

Chapter 1: Introduction and Theoretical Framework

Municipalities in settler-colonial states such as Canada and Australia are turning attention toward reconciliation with Indigenous peoples, a process grounded in relationship-building through settler recognition and reparation of colonial injustices (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). Comprehensive planning processes, which define the long-term evolution of an area or entire city across a range of policy areas (land use, housing, economy, transportation, heritage, public realm, and more) are increasingly positioned as a means through which to implement municipal reconciliation objectives (e.g., City of Montréal, 2020; City of Vancouver, 2021). However, these processes have also long been recognized as a vehicle of state-led gentrification, wherein planners imagine or (unintentionally) facilitate more exclusive urban spaces through objectives of redevelopment and regeneration (e.g. Slater, 2006; Stein, 2019). In settler-colonial contexts, gentrification reflects not only the prioritization of capitalist real estate interests at the expense of lower-income residents' ties to place, but also the reproduction of settler possession through the erasure, displacement, and denial of Indigenous spatial ties (e.g. Coulthard, 2014; Ellis-Young, 2022; Grandinetti, 2019; Quizar, 2019; Toews, 2018). Accordingly, as municipal planners look to ostensibly address colonial inequities, they are doing so through a mode of planning traditionally structured to reproduce them.

Further, municipal planners face new pressures not just to advance reconciliation within comprehensive planning processes, but also to mitigate gentrification outcomes amid growing (middle-class) concerns surrounding housing affordability and displacement (e.g., Tolfo & Doucet, 2021). Given that gentrification reproduces settler-colonial relations of dispossession, planners' parallel efforts to advance reconciliation and mitigate gentrification impacts are evidently intertwined. While reconciliation underlines imperatives to address displacement in support of Indigenous peoples' place in the city, it remains unclear if and how these connections are being made in practice, particularly in the face of persisting capitalist interests.

This dissertation examines this unexplored tension between municipalities' emerging positions as 'actors of reconciliation' and 'actors of displacement mitigation' and their established position as 'actors of gentrification' within comprehensive redevelopment planning in Canadian cities. In doing so, it draws together the literature on gentrification, settler-colonial urbanism, reconciliation, and Indigenous recognition in planning. Through this lens, it

interrogates the assertion, as advanced by many critics of state-led reconciliation, that “settler regimes continue to reproduce the colonial relation of displacement/replacement even while purporting to care for Indigenous peoples and rights” (Tomiak et al., 2019, p. 4). Employing critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003), I investigate the following questions:

1. How are reconciliation discourses recontextualized (reproduced, transformed, abandoned) within municipal area redevelopment plans in interaction with planning discourses, and to what extent does this interdiscursivity indicate shifts to settler-colonial planning relations?
2. How do municipal planning staff engaged in comprehensive planning processes represent reconciliatory planning practice and how do these representations align with or diverge from settler-colonial planning norms?
3. To what extent do discursive and policy responses to concerns of gentrification-induced displacement within reconciliation-era municipal comprehensive planning address the colonial dimensions of these displacement outcomes?

In responding to the first question, I draw on area comprehensive plans and municipal reconciliation strategies or frameworks from five pertinent cases: Vancouver, Edmonton, Regina, Hamilton and Montréal. To explore the second and third questions, I focus more deeply on the Montréal and Vancouver cases, where I include city-wide comprehensive planning projects as additional units of analysis and draw on interviews with key informants, primarily municipal planning staff involved in the projects of interest.

Across the three questions, I reveal the negotiation of multiple colonial-capitalist boundaries in grounding reconciliation within spaces of redevelopment planning: boundaries of Indigenous recognition (e.g. Porter & Barry, 2015, 2016), boundaries of planning “as it is done” (e.g., normative frameworks and procedures), and boundaries of status quo redevelopment objectives. While I identify important instances where these boundaries are tested, they are more often reproduced as planners attempt to implement reconciliation objectives within their limits. These findings provide theoretical contributions to three bodies of literature. First, the research builds on existing discussions on the (im)possibilities of state-led reconciliation through the lens of settler planners’ motivations to reconcile. Second, they add nuance on Indigenous recognition in planning within this new context of intertwined reconciliation and gentrification objectives. Third, they contribute to the gentrification literature in providing insight into discursive shifts in

state-led redevelopment and regeneration, particularly in terms of the engagement of anti-displacement discourses. This research also underlines the importance of building and supporting planners' capacities to approach both reconciliation and gentrification-induced displacement mitigation in more transformative and nuanced ways.

This article-based dissertation is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 presents the theoretical framework for the research, while Chapter 2 outlines my research philosophy, approach, and methods. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 are stand-alone manuscripts that each address one of my research questions, following the order they are presented above. Chapter 6 provides concluding reflections on the overarching findings of the research and its implications for both theory and practice.

1.1 State-led reconciliation in the Canadian context

As a settler-colonial state, Canada is founded on the elimination of Indigenous peoples (First Nations, Inuit, and Métis) as a means to claim and reimagine Indigenous land for settler interests, including capital accumulation (e.g. Coulthard, 2014; Wolfe, 2006). This “logic of elimination” (Wolfe, 2006) has taken different forms, including modes of territorial dispossession and assimilation that are reproduced in the “settler colonial present” (Veracini, 2012). The dispossession of Indigenous territory was originally justified through declarations of “terra nullius” (empty land), that is to say, land that is not defined by settler life and colonial property relations (Blomley, 2004; Porter, 2010). In Canada, a large proportion of Indigenous land is covered by treaties, while the remainder is ‘unceded’. While Indigenous peoples signed treaties assuming the initiation of a harmonious sharing of land, settlers structured them as “land transactions” (Starblanket, 2023). These treaties, and other modes of dispossession, have dramatically shrunk Indigenous peoples' land base to small areas (e.g. First Nations reserves) physically and/or conceptually removed from “settler” cities. However, Indigenous peoples continue to express their rights to territory and self-determination beyond settler-defined “Indigenous space” (Tomiak, 2016; Tomiak et al., 2019).

It is such Indigenous resistance that has pushed the deep injustices of the settler-colonial process into public discourse in recent decades, forcing a reckoning on the part of Canadian settler society and its institutions, including the state (Snelgrove & Wildcat, 2023). Here, as in other settler-colonial countries such as Australia, this process of reconstructing “the truth of the

nation” (Jacobs, 1997, p. 207) and redefining relations with Indigenous peoples “by making apologies, providing individual and collective reparations” and demonstrating “real societal change” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a, p.16) is conceptualized as *reconciliation*. However, in practice, this reckoning has been largely contained to discourse. State-led reconciliation has been heavily critiqued for not moving beyond apologies and symbolic gestures of Indigenous recognition toward this “real societal change” wherein settler-colonial relations are more profoundly transformed (e.g. Clark et al., 2016; Corntassel, 2023; Craft, 2023; George, 2020).

Canada’s reconciliation process has been focused on the work of the national Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which specifically sought to reveal and seek reparations for the colonial violence experienced by Indigenous children in Canada’s residential schools (1834 to 1996), designed to “kill the Indian in the child” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). In 2015, the TRC released their final report and 94 Calls to Action (2015b). The latter includes calls for municipal governments to “repudiate concepts used to justify European sovereignty over Indigenous peoples and lands” (p. 5) and to “provide education to public servants on the history of Aboriginal peoples” and “skills-based training in intercultural competency, conflict resolution, human rights, and anti-racism” (p. 7). Indeed, while colonial imaginaries suggest otherwise, Canadian cities are both “Indigenous places” (Tomiak, 2017) and places where colonial (dis)possession and assimilation are reproduced in a contemporary context (Toews, 2018; Tomiak et al., 2019). They contain vibrant urban Indigenous communities and are sites where, particularly in Western Canada, First Nations are regaining control over certain parcels of their territory as land claims are settled (Tomiak, 2017, 2019).

Within this context, and in response to the work of the TRC, an increasing number of Canadian municipalities are now developing and implementing reconciliation plans, frameworks, or strategies. Here, municipalities are looking to address different colonial inequities and improve relations with local Indigenous nations and urban Indigenous communities, including in and through their planning work. For instance, the City of Montréal requires that all of its new “policies and action plans” include “specific chapters or measures for Montréal’s Indigenous population” (City of Montréal, 2020, p. 27). In Vancouver, “reconciliation has been prioritized throughout every single plan that has come forward by the City of Vancouver since the reconciliation framework was launched” (former City of Vancouver Indigenous relations staff,

personal communication February 6, 2023). However, as I will argue throughout this dissertation, questions of contemporary coloniality and/or contemporary rights-based Indigenous presence often remain sidelined, including challenges of gentrification and displacement therein.

1.2 Inequitable urban change in Canadian cities

In their introduction to *In Defense of Housing*, Madden and Marcuse (2016) assert that “[s]egregation and poverty, along with displacement and unaffordability, have become the hallmarks of today’s cities” (p. 1). While their analysis does not focus on the Canadian context, per se, this depiction of inequitable urban change certainly resonates with concerns raised across the country. Processes of gentrification in Canadian cities, wherein urban space is redefined for and by those with capital (e.g., investor-developers, higher-income residents) (Kern, 2016), is consistently identified and critiqued in local and national media, albeit increasingly through a middle-class lens (Tolfo & Doucet, 2021). Municipal-led or facilitated urban regeneration is prevalent in large and mid-sized centres in Canada, including the redevelopment of former industrial sites, the transformation of social housing into mixed-income communities, and the intensification of new transit corridors. Such projects have been linked to the displacement of existing, lower-income residents amid a growth in services, spaces, and housing options oriented to a more affluent clientele (August, 2014; Doucet, 2021; Ellis-Young & Doucet, 2021; Jolivet et al., 2022). Even if residents are not directly displaced from their homes, this reconceptualization of space can contribute to other experiences of exclusion or loss of belonging, as well as an increase in an areas’ desirability - and housing prices (see Davidson, 2008 for a more in-depth discussion of “new-build gentrification”).

While (newly) desirable neighbourhoods in Canada’s largest cities (Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver) may be the epicentre of growing housing affordability challenges, the phenomenon is also more widespread, with rents increasing dramatically in the past two decades across Canada (Gaudreau et al., 2020). Rising rental prices have been accompanied by a growth in non-fault evictions, including lease terminations for major renovations, demolition or (alleged) occupation by family members of the landlord. These evictions often displace residents paying significantly below-average rent in order to turn around new or “improved” units marketed toward much higher-income residents (Wachsmuth et al., 2023). For low-income residents with

few other options, this displacement is devastating, as captured by Doucet et al. (2022) in the Kitchener-Waterloo (Ontario) context.

While urban Indigenous experiences and socio-economic situations are diverse, Indigenous residents are more likely to experience evictions, displacement and housing discrimination (Wachsmuth et al., 2023) as a function of the coloniality and anti-Indigenous racism that permeates urban life, structures and processes (Dorries, 2019; Tomiak, 2019). Indigenous people in Canadian cities are also disproportionately unhoused, a direct product of hundreds of years (and counting) of colonial policies and practices seeking Indigenous dispossession, repression and assimilation (Montreal Indigenous Community Network, 2024). In comparing the unhoused versus total population identifying as Indigenous, the difference is marked: 12 percent versus less than 1 percent in Montréal (Quebec) (Montreal Indigenous Community Network, 2024; Statistics Canada, 2021), 24 percent versus 2 percent in Hamilton (Ontario) (City of Hamilton, 2024; Statistics Canada, 2021), 39 percent versus 2 percent in Vancouver (British Columbia) (City of Vancouver, 2023; Statistics Canada, 2021), 54 percent versus 6 percent in Edmonton (Alberta) (Homeward Trust Edmonton, 2023; Statistics Canada, 2021), and 79 percent versus 10 percent in Regina (Saskatchewan) (Docherty, 2021; Statistics Canada, 2021). This colonially produced housing precarity accentuates the particular displacement risks that Indigenous residents face amidst settler-capitalist spatial reimagining (i.e. gentrification), processes that also perpetuate the denial of Indigenous nations' rights to territory (e.g. Porter et al., 2019; Tomiak et al., 2019). It also underlines the imperative need for Canadian municipalities to support culturally safe Indigenous housing and spaces in cities, as well as to address colonial dimensions of urban redevelopment, as part of municipal reconciliation processes. As municipal planners increasingly look to both establish more equitable urban redevelopment and regeneration policies and advance municipal reconciliation objectives, this research investigates the extent to which these two directions overlap.

1.3 Overlapping displacements: State-led gentrification and settler-colonial urbanism

Gentrification, once depicted as a gradual, individual-led process of neighbourhood upgrading (e.g., Clay, 1979), is now more accurately conceptualized as the creation of exclusive

landscapes on a global scale through state-led or state-facilitated capital reinvestment in the built environment (Blomley, 2004; Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Lees et al., 2016; Stein, 2019). Since the 1990s, municipal planning activities have increasingly served real estate interests under the guise of improved “liveability” (Tolfo & Doucet, 2022) and urban “revitalization”, strategically engaging neighbourhood rebranding exercises, public realm investments, and land use policy changes to encourage the redevelopment of “underutilized” spaces (Blomley, 2004; Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Slater, 2021; Stein, 2019). This emergence of state-led gentrification in the Global North and South aligns with an expansion of the neoliberal state, which has both pushed municipalities to adopt more “entrepreneurial” approaches to urban governance and discouraged (both ideologically and financially) a focus on social infrastructure and policies supporting collective well-being (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Harvey, 1989; Madden & Marcuse, 2016; Slater, 2021; Stein, 2019).

While gentrification is a global process, its displacement impacts are felt by individuals and communities at a local scale. Beyond forced relocation from one’s home due to, for instance, large rent increases or upscale property redevelopment, these displacement impacts include emotional experiences of exclusion and “loss of place” associated with an area’s changing social composition, amenities, and spaces (e.g., Atkinson, 2015; Davidson, 2008; Ellis-Young & Doucet, 2021; Marcuse, 1985; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). Elliot-Cooper et al. (2019) underline the violence of these experiences of rupture “between people and place” (p. 492), be they gradual or sudden, as marginalized residents that inhabit gentrifying neighbourhoods are implicitly and explicitly denied belonging within its reconceived spaces and “rhythms of everyday life” (Kern, 2016). In ‘settler-colonial’ cities, including all of Canada’s urban centres, the violence of gentrification overlaps and intersects with the colonial violence of Indigenous dispossession and displacement that both underpins these cities’ existence and is perpetuated through processes of spatial reimagining (Porter et al., 2019; Tomiak, 2017; Tomiak et al., 2019).

Cities are instrumental to the settler-colonial project, establishing the “material presence and organizational shape” of settler society through their development on Indigenous land (Porter & Yiftachel, 2019, p. 177, see also Hugill, 2017). Nevertheless, settler control of Indigenous land is perpetually tenuous, both within and beyond urban settings (Blomley, 2004; Hugill, 2017; Porter et al., 2019; Tomiak et al., 2019). While settler society persistently represents Indigeneity (and Indigenous rights) as incongruous with urbanity (Peters & Anderson,

2014; Stanger-Ross, 2008; Tomiak, 2019), so-called ‘settler-colonial’ cities are places where vibrant Indigenous communities continue to assert spatial claims in refusal of colonial erasure (Dorries, 2019; Peters & Lafond, 2013; Toews, 2018; Tomiak et al., 2019). Accordingly, settler actors and institutions engage in a range of “discursive, material, and socio-economic practices” to redefine urban space and urban life in support of the “political and moral coherence of settler colonial society” (Dorries, 2019, p. 27; Porter et al., 2019; Toews, 2018).

These practices of settler-colonial urbanism, which include placemaking, comprehensive planning, and urban redevelopment, leverage different modes of (in)visibility (Baloy, 2016; Porter et al., 2019). On the one hand, their seeming banality or acceptability obscures the ways in which they reproduce colonial power relations (Blomley, 2004; Porter et al., 2019). At the same time, accompanying narratives and imagery often reveal a stigmatized Indigenous presence while concealing a “flourishing” one (Dorries, 2019) in an effort to justify settler interventions in Indigenous spaces. While the media plays a central role in making “hypervisible” (Toews, 2018) stigmatizing portrayals of Indigenous degeneracy or deprivation in the city (Dorries, 2019), settler society also reveals and conceals through planning narratives and renderings that strategically represent existing urban conditions and imagined urban futures (Halpin, 2017; Toews, 2018). As municipal planning documents and developers’ promotional materials envision the renewal of “dead, sick, or empty” (Indigenous) spaces (Toews, 2018, p. 191), these discursive reprisals of “terra nullius” logic seek to legitimize not just settler claims to the city, but also its capitalist remaking (Coulthard, 2014). This dynamic underlines the multi-dimensional violence of gentrification in settler-colonial contexts, as planning narratives and practices of urban regeneration work to displace “Indigenous sovereign presence” and spatial connections (Coulthard, 2014, p. 176), alongside other forms of rupture (Elliot-Cooper et al., 2019).

1.4 Gentrification as (settler) colonialism? (edited excerpt from Ellis-Young, 2022, p. 2, 4-7)

As settler society continues to remake the Indigenous land it violently claims (Tuck & Yang, 2012; Wolfe, 2006), gentrification, a process that assigns space new meanings, uses and users in ways that privilege whiteness and white capital (e.g. Shaw, 2007; Valli, 2015), is thus implicated in the reproduction of settler possession and Indigenous dispossession. The core

dynamics of gentrification – the transformation of physical and social landscapes for and by (typically white) higher-income groups and the displacement of (often racialized) lower-income residents through forced relocation and/or a loss of belonging (e.g. Davidson, 2008; Lees et al., 2008; Stein, 2019) - thus gain an additional dimension in settler-colonial cities. So too do the motivations of those planning and enacting gentrification (e.g., the state). Echoing Jackson (2017), this point emphasizes the need for approaches to gentrification research that are attentive to settler-colonial relations and engage with Indigenous presence and agency. Conceptions of gentrification, its impacts, and its resistance must account for these dynamics in settings that occupy stolen Indigenous land to avoid reproducing Indigenous erasure and settler dominance over urban futures in scholarship and on the ground. This direction builds on efforts toward more intersectional understandings of gentrification, including with respect to race (e.g. Lees, 2016; Moore, 2009), and aligns with similar demands for critical urban scholarship more generally (e.g. Hugill, 2017; Porter & Yiftachel, 2019; Tomiak, 2016).

A few studies in Australia and New Zealand (e.g. Freeman & Cheyne, 2008, Gordon et al., 2017) do identify distinct impacts of gentrification on Indigenous people and communities, including loss of access and/or proximity to their land and disrupted connections to cultural practices, without explicitly relating them to settler colonialism. However, “centring the colonial relation” (Hugill, 2019, p. 85) ties these specific dispossessions to the specific power dynamics that produce them. It responds to a need to reflect on connections between “the production of settler prosperity and advantage” and “the production of Indigenous privation” (Hugill, 2019, p. 85) and to interrogate “the foundational and ongoing role of Indigenous dispossession in the production of urban space” (Tomiak, 2019, p. 111). It is these (dis)possessory power relations and the intent of Indigenous elimination that distinguish settler-colonial gentrification, as well as its distinct impacts. However, gentrification literature that does engage with concepts of settler colonialism often does so in ways that elude recognition of Indigenous connections to and dispossession from urban space in a contemporary context. Here, I identify three ways settler-colonial dynamics are applied to gentrification analyses: to metaphorically represent class change, to examine white emplacement in (non-Indigenous) racialized neighbourhoods, and to implicate gentrification in the reproduction of (dis)possessory settler-Indigenous relations (alongside other linked oppressions). In doing so, I underline the tendency of the first two approaches to draw parallels between gentrification and settler colonialism in abstraction from

contemporary Indigenous existence and spatial claims, limiting the extent to which academic discourse on gentrification challenges settler-colonial rationalities.

First, and most established, is the use of settler-colonial dynamics to describe the nature of class changes in gentrifying locales, constructing the “metaphorical indigenization” (Quizar, 2019, p. 114) of lower-income residents. Second is the application of settler-colonial concepts to examine white emplacement in (non-Indigenous) racialized neighbourhoods facing gentrification in ways that often sustain the metaphorical elements of the first category. Finally, there is an emerging literature that directly implicates gentrification in the ongoing drive for Indigenous elimination, with linkages to other forms of racialized oppression. However, the persistence of the first two approaches, which often use settler-colonial cities as case studies, suggests the ways in which gentrifying spaces overlap with contemporary Indigenous life, claims to space, and dispossessions may continue to be overlooked or erased. As Quizar (2019) notes, popular abstractions of gentrification as “the new colonialism” in US anti-gentrification activism historicize settler colonialism and are contested by Indigenous voices such as Waánataŋ (2017). The displacement of (non-Indigenous) residents from their neighbourhoods and the dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their land “may have similar geneses and affects but are not commensurate”, with the latter being “tantamount to cultural genocide” (Hern, 2016, p. 31). These points underline the need to build on existing non-metaphorical engagement with settler-colonial dynamics in the gentrification literature while moving away from decontextualized applications.

As mentioned above, much of the literature on gentrification that engages with settler colonialism continues to do so metaphorically (also noted by Kent-Stoll, 2020; Launius & Boyce, 2021; Quizar, 2019). When gentrification is positioned as “the new urban colonialism”, as per Atkinson and Bridge (2004), it is ultimately in abstraction from an urban Indigenous presence or ongoing Indigenous dispossession. Instead, gentrification scholars persistently invoke settler-colonial terminology to speak of middle class “pioneer gentrifiers” and their “colonization” of low-income residents in “frontier” neighbourhoods (e.g. Atkinson & Bridge, 2004; Lees, 2003; Schlichtman et al., 2017). This tendency follows earlier work conceptualizing the different stages of gentrification, which initiated the use of “pioneer” terminology to refer to those that are among the first to move into and start “revitalizing” disinvested neighbourhoods (e.g. Clay, 1979). Smith (1996) also engages this language in his analysis of the “urban frontier”

dynamics of gentrification in New York City. While in part a critique of this framing, Smith's concern is with problematizing how such terminology devalues working class inhabitants and with clarifying the economic logic by which the gentrification frontier is defined. In unpacking these arguments, Smith continues to reproduce settler-colonial metaphors while positioning Indigeneity and Indigenous dispossession firmly outside contemporary urban processes, as critiqued by Jackson (2017).

Settler-colonial theory has also been applied to studies of gentrification in racialized neighbourhoods. While most do so to centre the endurance of inequitable processes of white possession, emplacement, and wealth accumulation, these applications often retain metaphorical elements and ultimately overlook questions of Indigenous land and the (re)production of Indigenous dispossession. For instance, Addie and Fraser (2019) abstract settler-colonial dynamics to trace the trajectory of gentrification in a primarily black neighbourhood in Cincinnati, which they refer to as “excavating a genealogy of settler colonialism” (p. 6). However, by focusing on the displacement of “indigenous others” and framing now-gentrified neighbourhoods as places where “the settler colonial project has reached near completion” (Addie & Fraser, 2019, p. 9), central aspects of the settler-colonial relation are diluted. As Quizar (2019) asserts, “metaphorical indigenization” (p. 114), including of non-Indigenous racialized communities facing gentrification, washes over Indigenous claims to and production of urban space.

Other studies more concretely link contemporary gentrification processes to certain aspects of settler colonialism but still evade the specific violence of sustained Indigenous dispossession from spaces where other racialized groups' claims are now under threat. Building on Latino residents' assertions of exclusion from “ancestral” commons amidst the tech-led gentrification of San Francisco, Maharawal (2017) positions gentrification and settler colonialism as “comingled and similar historical projects” (p. 36) connected through the capitalist logic of enclosure. Miller (2020) similarly situates 21st century gentrification-induced displacement as a continuation of white settler assertions of power and possession in tracing cycles of racialized displacement along the Gowanus Canal in New York, beginning with the original dispossession of Indigenous people. Like Miller (2020), Montalva Barba (2020) also contends that gentrification reiterates the hierarchical dynamics of settler colonialism in his study of white emplacement in a Boston streetcar suburb. However, while these examples do implicate

gentrification in sustained white settler possession, they do not speak to gentrification's role in the settler-colonial project's ongoing drive to eliminate Indigenous ties to urban space.

There is, however, an emerging literature that does examine gentrification as a contemporary mode of denying Indigenous land and Indigenous people's ties to this land. Grandinetti (2019) positions upscale redevelopment in Honolulu as an ongoing "settler-colonial project of erasure and accumulation through Indigenous dispossession" (p. 227), displacing both Indigenous bodies and spatial claims. As Coulthard (2014) explains, this repeated cycle of Indigenous dispossession draws once more on a "blank slate" rationale, positioning "[n]ative spaces in the city...as *urbs nullius* – urban space void of Indigenous sovereign presence" (p. 176, emphasis in original). Here, the construction of gentrified space, including through state-led revitalization, aligns maxims of "highest and best use" with narratives of vacant land and the stigmatization of existing Indigenous communities to justify (dis)possession and secure settler futures (Blomley, 2004; Launius & Boyce, 2021; Shaw, 2007; Toews, 2018). As Toews (2018) elaborates, those who actively engage with new, upscale amenities are positioned as "suitable settlers" (p. 239) while existing Indigenous residents are deemed out of place and a barrier to settler enjoyment. While stigmatization, depreciation and/or discursive erasure of existing communities by urban elites are common elements of gentrification projects (e.g. Blomley, 2004; Kallin & Slater, 2014), these devices hold new meaning and represent a different sort of power relation in settler-colonial contexts.

A few scholars bring additional insight on the specificities of settler-colonial gentrification in Canada and Australia. Place branding narratives that glorify a colonial past are employed to draw new investment and uncomplicate a white "gentrifying present", hiding Indigenous connections to, struggles for, and dispossession in urban space (Jackson, 2017; Shaw, 2004, p. 71). Similarly, Alexander & Berbary (2021) argue that placemaking is entangled with (re)defining settler spaces of accumulation, driven by notions of "progressive revitalization" (p. 13) that simultaneously seek to "unmake" Indigenous claims to urban space. McGaw et al. (2011) exemplify this in the Melbourne context, where municipal efforts to reconceptualize a valued neighbourhood meeting place to match its gentrifying surroundings removed its meaning and utility to the local Indigenous community. Through a formal placemaking initiative on the street corner, which included a failed attempt to represent Indigeneity, the municipality

ultimately re-enacted the settler-colonial logic of “erasing the [Indigenous] past to make the [settler] future” (p. 307).

Gentrification also remains part of the continued remaking of space in support of settler dominance over Indigenous land even if Indigenous people are not being as visibly or directly displaced in this iteration of (dis)possession (Kent-Stoll, 2020). As Whyte (2018) notes in the context of the US Midwest, gentrification works to reinforce settler imaginaries by eradicating “any traces of Indigenous origins of the area” as it commodifies “highly selective memories and legacies” of those (often non-white) residents who have just been displaced (p. 138). A few scholars are recognizing this complexity by positioning gentrified space as a product of “intersecting racial and colonial logics” that all seek to “maintain white control of urban space” (Kent-Stoll, 2020, p. 12). As Quizar (2019) argues, the moralistic celebration of projects to revalorize “empty” or “unruly” urban space in Detroit demonstrates ongoing settler-colonial impulses that engage “racial stereotypes, racial logics and stratifications for both Black and Indigenous people” (p. 116). While Indigenous people are once again discursively eliminated from the urban landscape, as well as physically disconnected through gentrification-induced displacement, anti-Black narratives are reframed through a lens of “nonproductivity” to re-secure white settler possession of Black-occupied Indigenous land (Quizar, 2019). Importantly, this work frames gentrification as a mode of settler possession in ways that maintain recognition of the ongoing drive for Indigenous elimination alongside other interconnected dispossessions (e.g. Launius & Boyce, 2021), unlike other studies of white emplacement in racialized neighbourhoods discussed above.

To conclude, drawing parallels between gentrification and settler occupation as asynchronous processes and/or in abstraction from a contemporary Indigenous presence in “settler cities” masks ongoing anti-Indigenous articulations. As demonstrated by a small but growing body of literature, gentrification is one way the settler-colonial project continues to attempt to eliminate Indigenous ties to Indigenous land. In making this connection, gentrification theory is better positioned to recognize ongoing Indigenous dispossessions and centre Indigenous claims to urban space in questions of resistance. However, this connection remains somewhat overshadowed by metaphor, as other studies of gentrification continue to apply settler-colonial dynamics in ways that are decontextualized from contemporary settler-Indigenous relations.

Thus, there is need for more precision in conceptualizing gentrification as a settler-colonial process (e.g., *settler state*-led gentrification), as well as more empirical work that examines gentrification impacts – and responses to these impacts – as a reflection of ongoing settler-colonial relations. For instance, from collective action against urban elite imaginaries to protecting inhabitants’ ability to shape their surroundings, agency over spatial futures is a common focal point of responses to gentrification (e.g. Lees & Ferreri, 2016; Novy & Colomb, 2013; Velásquez Atehortúa, 2014). As such, Indigenous claims to and aspirations for urban space are very much relevant to how such responses are conceptualized in settler-colonial contexts, as well as their potential to challenge existing power structures. Coulthard argues (in Hern, 2016) that anti-gentrification strategies, namely the community-driven transformation of land, may reproduce settler-colonial relations if they fail to situate “Indigenous sovereignty and land struggles...at the fore” (p. 184) of their activities. This understanding requires work on gentrification alternatives that centre around “community self-determination” (Bunce, 2018, p. 414) to clarify how such notions of “community” account for Indigenous specificity in settler-colonial contexts. The potential for settler-led anti-gentrification practices to sustain (or disrupt) Indigenous dispossession and erasure thus requires further attention from gentrification scholars (Coulthard in Hern, 2016). This lens is particularly pertinent as settler municipalities place discursive focus on both responding to concerns of gentrification-induced displacement and ‘reconciling’ colonial injustices in the city.

1.5 Planning for reconciliation? (De)colonial possibilities within a “real estate state”

As Canadian municipalities increasingly approach their planning activities through a ‘new’ reconciliation lens, this lens can be seen as an extension of previous attention to addressing colonial relations within and through planning. In recent decades, municipal planning authorities in settler-colonial contexts such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand have pursued the “Indigenization” of planning processes (e.g., Fawcett et al., 2015) and city spaces (e.g. McGaw et al., 2011; Walker, 2013; Wall, 2016) in an apparent effort to disrupt the dominance of settler interests, narratives, and knowledge within both place-making and decision-making spheres. Nevertheless, “reconciliatory” planning emerges as a contested space through which “new

dimensions of oppression and new possibilities for decolonization” may be realized (Porter & Yiftachel, 2019, p. 179).

Framed by broader debate on the (de)colonial possibilities of state-led reconciliation (see 1.1), the uncertain promise of ‘reconciliatory’ planning stems in large part from settler planning’s track record of discounting Indigenous rights and presence outside of certain scenarios that are relatively non-threatening to the colonial order. Porter and Barry (2015, 2016) identified this “bounded recognition” across planning processes in Canada and Australia, noting a near-complete absence of recognition at that time within urban planning documents and urban planners’ reflections. They trace how state planning has limited Indigenous planning authority and interests to spaces and themes that fit within the realm of the “traditional”, including issues of cultural heritage in “conservation zones far from metropolitan areas” (Porter & Barry, 2016, p. 154). Similarly, state-initiated Indigenous placemaking projects have often been criticized for reproducing historicized, non-place-specific representations of Indigeneity in the city rather than upholding contemporary, grassroots Indigenous spatial practices (e.g. Baloy, 2016; George, 2020; McGaw et al., 2011; Nejad et al., 2019; Porter et al., 2019). However, these outcomes are continually altered as Indigenous communities refuse the boundaries of colonial recognition and reassert their claims to the city, including as a space for resurgent practices and knowledges (Grandinetti, 2019; Simpson, 2014; Tomiak, 2016; Tomiak et al., 2019). At the same time, constrained Indigenous recognition in state planning is gradually challenged by certain settler planners’ individual-level efforts to shift the language through which projects are framed, strategically interpret planning legislation, and expand existing spaces of engagement as they build their own capacities to think and act differently (Porter & Barry, 2016). Given the growth in municipal reconciliation discourse and policy actions in Canada over the past decade, are planners’ efforts to practice outside of normative boundaries also increasing at the municipal scale?

State-led planning’s efforts to constrain Indigenous authority and visibility in urban areas, including through discourses and projects of Indigenous recognition, act in service of private property (Blomley, 2004; Porter & Barry, 2016). Thus, in an era where municipal governance in Canada is structured by both real estate interests - the “real estate state” (Stein, 2019) – and new (discursive) attention to reconciliation and displacement mitigation, it is unclear “[w]hose futures are [to be] imagined, emplaced, and made im/possible in and through the city” (Tomiak, 2017, p.

931). Here, the colonial-capitalist foundations of state-led planning sit in tension not just with a shift toward more equitable policy approaches amid growing anti-gentrification resistance (e.g. Busá & Lees, 2024), but also a move toward decolonial possibility as municipalities' reconciliatory turn produces a "moment of colonial reconfiguration" (Snelgrove & Wildcat, 2023, p. 158). My research explores how this tension unfolds within Canadian municipal comprehensive planning processes that seek to (re)define the future of cities or particular neighbourhoods. These processes hold the potential to advance status quo redevelopment and regeneration and/or address anti-displacement and reconciliation imperatives (including in overlapping ways), depending on how the projects are approached and the orientations of the resulting policies. My research design, outlined in the following chapter, is framed by this tension between the persistence and disruption of colonial-capitalist planning mentalities.

Chapter 2: Research Design and Methods

The following chapter outlines my research framework, moving from the overarching qualitative research approach to the specific data collection and analysis methods used to respond to my three research questions. As I outline below, the project was divided into two phases. The first phase, responding to my first research question (RQ1), centred a critical discourse analysis of reconciliation and planning documents from several Canadian municipalities. Here, the inclusion of multiple, diverse cases contributed to a broader picture of the relationship between municipalities' reconciliation objectives and redevelopment-oriented plans in Canada. The second phase, responding to my second and third research questions (RQ2 & RQ3), narrowed the focus to two cases (Vancouver and Montréal) in order to explore this relationship in greater depth, including through interviews with municipal planning staff.

I begin the chapter by presenting my research philosophy and research questions, followed by discussion of the theories and methodologies of critical discourse analysis that inform my approach. I then detail the two research phases, including decisions surrounding case selection, case descriptions, and methods of data collection and analysis. I conclude by reflecting on the study's limitations, as well as efforts made to mitigate these limitations.

2.1 Research Philosophy & Questions

My qualitative approach to investigating these tensions and possibilities at the nexus of municipal-led reconciliation and municipal comprehensive planning is grounded in the critical research paradigm. A critical ontology perceives the existence of “[m]ultiple realities situated in political, social, and cultural contexts”, wherein “one reality is privileged” and others are marginalized (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 12; see also Lincoln et al., 2024). A critical epistemology, then, recognizes that knowledge is shaped by these dominant ideologies but also has the ability to transform them (Kincheloe et al., 2011; Lincoln et al., 2024). Accordingly, critical research seeks to interpret “people’s understandings of their world” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 10) through a lens that positions these understandings as “mediated by power relations that are social and historically constituted” (Kincheloe et al., 2011, p. 164). As Merriam & Tisdell (2016) underline, it is pursued with an intent to “critique and challenge, to transform, and

to analyze” (p. 59) inequitable power relations and the “structures in society” (p. 61) that reproduce them.

This research interrogates settler-colonial-capitalist power relations in municipal planning discourse, recognizing the extent to which colonial inequities are reproduced through enabling status quo urban redevelopment and regeneration that prioritizes capital accumulation. With a view toward transformative possibility, the research examines the extent to which these power relations evolve (or not) in a context of municipal-led reconciliation through three research questions. The first research phase (see 2.3) investigates the dialogue – “interdiscursivity” (Fairclough, 2003, see 2.2) – between municipal reconciliation documents and municipal redevelopment plans across Canada and is framed by the following question:

- RQ1: How are reconciliation discourses recontextualized (Fairclough, 2003) – reproduced, transformed, abandoned – within municipal area redevelopment plans in interaction with planning discourses, and to what extent does this interdiscursivity indicate shifts to settler-colonial planning relations?

In the second research phase (see 2.4), I explore two different issues related to comprehensive planning in an era of municipal reconciliation, using Montréal and Vancouver as my cases:

- RQ2: How do municipal planning staff engaged in comprehensive planning processes represent reconciliatory planning practice, and how do these representations align with or diverge from settler-colonial planning norms?
- RQ3: To what extent do discursive and policy responses to concerns of gentrification-induced displacement within reconciliation-era municipal comprehensive planning address the colonial dimensions of these displacement outcomes?

In approaching these questions, my positionality as a white settler planning scholar underlines my commitment to challenging and transforming – or identifying the transformation of – colonial norms, structures and institutions in my domain. Both this overarching position and my specific research questions point to the centrality of settler state discourse to this research. Thus, alongside critical insight from municipal reconciliation documents and staff, the analysis focuses primary on municipal planning documents and the perspectives of planning staff and officials. Given that myself, as the researcher, and municipal staff and officials, as participants, are both engaged within the research process as actors in colonial institutions, the research is not shaped by the same colonial power differentials that frame settler-led planning research with

Indigenous communities. However, I recognize that this research nevertheless risks reproducing colonial power relations as a function of its focus on settler state discourse. In an effort to address this risk, I draw throughout on Indigenous perspectives on reconciliation and settler-colonial urbanism in the literature, as well as concerns voiced by Indigenous residents and representatives in relevant municipal planning engagement processes, toward more nuanced analyses. In undertaking these analyses, I adopt a critical discourse lens in alignment with the critical research paradigm and my discourse-focused research questions. Given the centrality of critical discourse analysis to this research, I expand on this approach in the following section before further detailing my research design.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

My approach to conceptualizing and interpreting meaning within the context of this research draws primarily on the theories and methodologies of critical discourse analysis articulated by Fairclough (e.g. Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 2003). In doing so, I align my work with other scholars who have engaged Fairclough's concepts in the gentrification literature and the literature on Indigenous-settler planning relations. Porter and Barry (2015), for instance, draw on Fairclough in their analysis of the discursive construction of "contact zones" between settler state planning and Indigenous interests. Within the gentrification literature, Lees (2003) and Mullenbach (2022) apply Fairclough's critical discourse framework to identify and critique, respectively, the discourse of "urban renaissance" within UK urban policy documents (Lees, 2003) and dominant discourses in urban public space development (Mullenbach, 2022).

Critical discourse analysis is grounded in the "reality-shaping power of meaning" (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 3). Accordingly, processes of change can be seen to have both discursive (linguistic) and non-discursive (non-linguistic) dimensions, with the latter "substantially shaped" by the former (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 4). Here, meanings conveyed and interpreted through 'texts' shape how people understand the social and material landscapes upon which they act, and the types of changes they effect (Fairclough, 2003). This influence is multi-directional, as these textual meanings that shape society are themselves defined by social structures ("sets of possibilities" and implied impossibilities) and social actors, who are structurally constrained but maintain a certain agency (Fairclough, 2003). Thus, while discourse (i.e. language in use) can be transformative, it can also uphold hegemonic "relations of power, domination, and exploitation"

(Fairclough, 1989, 1995, 2003, p. 218; Wagenaar, 2011), such as those of capitalism and settler colonialism. A central goal of critical discourse analysis is to illuminate how discourse works to maintain these relations, while also identifying disruptions and possibilities for change therein (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1989; Wagenaar, 2011).

More specifically, discursive practices within a particular sphere of activity (e.g., municipal planning) can reproduce and/or transform the “order of discourse” that frames that domain (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Following Fairclough (2003), the order of discourse is the social construction of certain linguistic genres (e.g., report, plan, presentation), discourses (“ways of representing”), and styles (“ways of being”) as universal or standard, and thus others as (implicitly) marginal or invalid. While the order of discourse reinforces status quo ideologies and power relations as it structures (discursive) practice, it also remains open to change as new possibilities emerge and are incorporated through practice (Fairclough, 2003). In the context of this research, municipal planners’ discursive practices sit in tension between comprehensive planning as typically conceived and represented – i.e. according to settler-colonial, capitalist ideologies – and reconciliation imperatives that demand a shift in these structuring ideologies.

Of the three dimensions that constitute an order of discourse (genres, discourses, and styles), this research is particularly focused on discourses. Discourses are particular ways of characterizing existing dimensions of the world, as well as imagined possibilities, which can be identified through different representations encountered in texts (Fairclough, 2003). For instance, within a broader policy context of neoliberal governance and state-led gentrification, the articulation of certain representations of urban life as “renaissance” within policy documents constitutes the discourse of “urban renaissance” as a metaphor for gentrified urban futures (Lees, 2003). Certain ways of representing the social or material world can also be “recontextualized” across domains and between texts, “appropriated and transformed in diverse and unpredictable ways” within another social practice (Fairclough, 2003, p. 45, see also Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). This concept of “interdiscursivity” frames Porter and Barry’s (2015) analysis of the interaction and combination of discourses from the domains of “Indigenous recognition” and “urban planning” within state planning texts to delimit an Indigenous-settler “planning contact zone” that replicates “preestablished power relations” (p. 37).

For my research, an emphasis on interdiscursivity draws attention to the potential transformation of municipal planning’s order of discourse in interaction with discourses of

reconciliation. This includes, as I explore through both research phases, the transformation of both normative redevelopment and regeneration discourses (RQ1) and recontextualized anti-gentrification discourses that seek to challenge them (RQ3). At the same time, attention to interdiscursivity within this research also points to the potential for reconciliation discourses to themselves be altered or diminished through their translation into municipal planning activity, whose status quo “ways of representing” (Fairclough, 2003) are grounded in colonial-capitalist ideologies (RQ 1). Alongside this focus on the recontextualization of discourses, styles – “how people identify themselves and are identified by others” – are also reproduced and transformed across domains (Fairclough, 2003, p. 159). Within the second phase of this research (RQ2), I consider how contemporary municipal planners frame their practices and construct their roles in alignment with normal roles and practices structured by the existing colonial-capitalist order of discourse and/or new possibilities associated with the field of Indigenous-settler reconciliation. However, across both research phases, I recognize that municipal reconciliation discourse mediates these possibilities as it recontextualizes Indigenous perspectives to present “reconciliatory” approaches to representing and being.

In terms of its components, critical discourse analysis has a contextual piece, a textual piece (i.e., analysis of the texts), and a reflective piece (i.e., how to address challenges identified through the analysis, see in particular Chapter 6) (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). The contextual piece involves an examination of the social context (structures, practices) within which the discourse to be analyzed is situated (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). For this project, the growth in municipal practices oriented toward reconciliation (including municipalities’ translation of national and local reconciliation imperatives into specific frameworks and intentions), alongside the reproduction and continued expansion of the real estate state, frames the analysis (as detailed in Chapter 1). The analysis of the texts (planning documents, interview transcripts) begins with the identification of prominent themes and then examines the lens through they are described or discussed (Fairclough, 2003). Different discursive elements (concepts, categorizations, metaphors, assumptions, absences, implied meanings, associations, specific vocabulary) are gathered to identify how planners represent “parts of the world” in planning documents, and position their practices, in relation to or in deviation from the prevailing order of discourse in their field (Fairclough, 1995, 2003, p. 129; Hajer, 2006; Yanow, 2000). For instance, the policies in municipal comprehensive plans are analyzed not just in terms

of the outcomes they aim for, but also in terms of the language that is used, what is emphasized or obscured, and patterns therein across the different documents. This critical discourse approach is central to my research design, which I expand upon in the following sections.

2.3 Phase 1: Examining the dialogue between municipal reconciliation strategies and municipal redevelopment plans across Canada

2.3.1 Case selection

The first research phase, which addresses RQ1, examines the recontextualization of reconciliation discourses within municipal redevelopment planning in Canada. I identified relevant cases as Canadian cities with both 1) sufficient municipal discourse on reconciliation to support a robust analysis, including a reconciliation strategy or framework, and b) a recent municipal-led redevelopment or regeneration project whose planning process followed or occurred alongside the creation of the reconciliation strategy or framework. When the cases were selected in late 2021, I included all five cities that met both criteria – Vancouver, Montréal, Edmonton, Hamilton, and Regina – to investigate the topic across diverse contexts. The cities are diverse both geographically, located in five different provinces across Canada, and in terms of their population size. Montréal and Vancouver are two of Canada’s largest cities with metropolitan populations of over four million and two million, respectively, while Edmonton and Hamilton sit just above and below one million and Regina at 250,000 (Statistics Canada, 2021).

There are other variations among the five cases that are of particular relevance for this research. For instance, the five cities have proportionally different Indigenous populations, from approximately one percent in Montréal and two percent in Hamilton and Vancouver to around six percent in Edmonton and 10 percent in Regina. This difference contributes to variation with respect to Indigenous visibility and Indigenous-settler relations that pre-exists and shapes municipal reconciliation efforts (the City of Edmonton, for instance, signed an Urban Aboriginal Accord with local Indigenous communities outlining relationship-building principles in 2005). Additionally, Edmonton, Hamilton, and Regina are on Treaty territories (Treaty 6, Between the Lakes Treaty, No. 3, and Treaty 4) whereas Montréal and Vancouver occupy unceded Indigenous territories. While this difference doesn’t change realities of colonial dispossession, it does impact how municipalities frame their reconciliation work. The five-case approach also captures

“maximum variation” (Flyvbjerg, 2006) in terms of municipal reconciliation strategy or framework timelines. Here, the presence of reconciliation discourses in municipal redevelopment planning is likely to be most developed in Vancouver, where the City has been implementing its reconciliation framework since 2014. In comparison, the other four municipalities adopted their reconciliation strategy or framework between 2019 and 2021.

As part of the case selection process, I also identified examples of area redevelopment planning on which to focus the analysis: the transit-oriented redevelopment of Vancouver’s Broadway area, the transformation of Montréal’s Lachine-Est into an eco-neighbourhood, the redevelopment of Edmonton’s Exhibition Lands, the regeneration of Hamilton’s Bayfront Industrial Area, and the revitalization of Regina’s downtown core. Despite their different planning contexts, each of these projects are large-scale, municipal-led, touch on multiple policy areas (e.g., land use, heritage, the public realm, transportation, housing), and are contemporary to the relevant municipality’s reconciliation strategy or framework. In instances where more than one project met all of these criteria, I made my selection based on the availability of planning documents published in the years following (rather than in the same year as) the adoption of the reconciliation strategy or framework to maximize the likelihood of reconciliation discourses being incorporated into the planning realm. However, even when the planning documents were released only months after the reconciliation ones, as in the Edmonton case, municipalities’ recognition of its planning activities as key sites for advancing reconciliation-related policy actions (identified across the reconciliation documents) underlines the likelihood that connections were made between the two processes. The recontextualization of reconciliation discourses within the context of these selected area redevelopment planning projects is also supported by their particular relevance to reconciliation. In addition to remaking Indigenous territory – as with any planning activity in settler-colonial states such as Canada – each of these projects have been referenced in municipal reconciliation discourse, are located on sites that are significant to Indigenous-settler relations, and/or are in proximity to neighbourhoods with some of the proportionally largest Indigenous populations in the city (Statistics Canada, 2021).

2.3.2 Data collection and analysis

For each of my five cases, I gathered the respective reconciliation framework or strategy and associated updates, as well as all publicly available draft and final plans, implementation

strategies, and other final texts associated with the respective area redevelopment planning project. A full list of the 19 documents, retrieved via municipal websites, is provided in Appendix A. To interrogate the interdiscursivity of municipal redevelopment plans amidst growing municipal dialogue on reconciliation, I followed the critical discourse analysis framework outlined in 2.2. As Fairclough (2003) emphasizes, this approach provides insight into how structural “continuity and change” (p. 3) is reflected within specific texts. I first identified how municipal reconciliation texts represent a) urban land, urban life, and the presence and claims of Indigenous communities’ therein (past/present/future), b) Indigenous-settler relations (past/present/future), and c) (planning-related) reparative actions. I then examined how these “ways of representing” (Fairclough, 2003) are reproduced, transformed, contradicted, and/or erased in planning documents in interaction with the order of discourse that structures typical redevelopment planning processes. More specifically, I identified how the planning documents address the same broad themes that framed my analysis of the municipal reconciliation texts, while also paying particular attention to ways of representing existing conditions, spatial claims and aspirations, and processes of transformation that reflect settler-colonial-capitalist planning norms. To make sense of this recontextualization and its implications for hegemonic planning relations, I drew on debates and discussions in the literature on a) discourses, limitations, and possibilities of state-led reconciliation and b) colonial-capitalist planning mentalities and their evolution in settler-colonial cities. This analysis was completed in MAXQDA, a qualitative analysis software that facilitates the organization of different codes and their associated text segments. For additional detail on this research phase and its findings, see Chapter 3.

2.4 Phase 2: Approaches to planning for urban change in an era of municipal reconciliation

2.4.1 Case selection and description (multiple-embedded case study)

The second research phase addresses RQ2 and RQ3 through a more in-depth exploration of municipal approaches to planning for urban change in an era of municipal reconciliation. I do so through a multiple embedded case study (Yin, 2018), wherein each of the cases comprise more than one unit of analysis. I focus specifically on the City of Montréal and the City of Vancouver as primary cases, with four different planning projects as units of analysis. Montréal

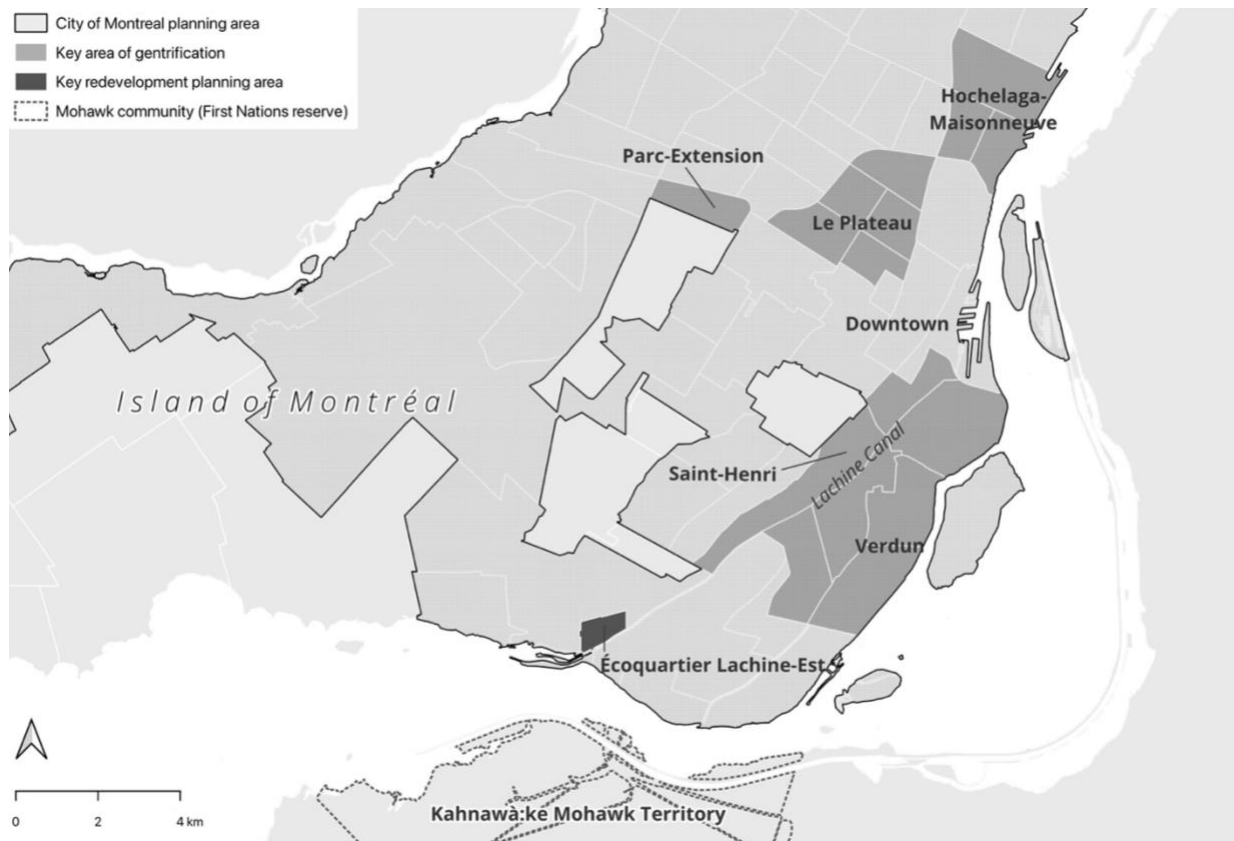
and Vancouver were selected as cases given their important similarities and differences within the context of this research. Both are comparably sized major centres facing joint planning pressures of addressing rampant gentrification and displacement (e.g., Drimonis, 2024; Li, 2018; Tolfo & Doucet, 2021) and advancing reconciliation imperatives, which is an important baseline for this research.

At the same time, selecting cases that have followed different timelines in terms of the initiation and progression of reconciliation work supports more robust findings and conclusions (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Yin, 2018). Here, I draw on Flyvbjerg's (2006) thinking on critical cases, which emphasizes the use of cases that are either "most likely" to capture a particular phenomenon (e.g., if not here, then nowhere), or "least likely" (e.g., if here, then everywhere). The City of Montréal follows a typical post-Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) report progression, making a "City of Reconciliation" declaration in 2016 (Guimont-Marceau, 2020) and publishing their strategy in 2020. This timeline broadly mirrors that of other Canadian municipalities who had recently completed a reconciliation framework or strategy when the research was designed in late 2021. Montréal also becomes a "least likely" case (Flyvbjerg, 2006) in comparison to certain other municipalities (e.g. Regina, Edmonton) that have followed similarly typical reconciliation timelines but nevertheless engaged in dialogue on Indigenous-settler relations prior to the TRC report as a function of their proportionally larger urban Indigenous population. The City of Vancouver, in contrast, is a more exceptional, "most likely" case (Flyvbjerg, 2006), having made its "City of Reconciliation" declaration and published an associated framework in 2014, prior to the TRC's report in 2015. Thus, among the municipalities that had already developed reconciliation frameworks or strategies by late 2021, this combination of cases captures both ends of the spectrum, allowing for important insight into the range of potential planning responses (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Yin, 2018).

Montréal, traditionally one of Canada's more affordable large centres, has experienced increased gentrification and displacement pressures over the past decade (Gaudreau et al., 2020). These pressures, long present in certain, more central neighbourhoods (e.g., Le Plateau), have more recently moved further afield, including Hochelaga-Maisonneuve to the east (Ghaffari, 2020), Parc-Extension to the north (Jolivet et al., 2022), and south-west along the Lachine Canal, including Saint-Henri and Verdun (Léouzon, 2024; Twigge-Molecey, 2014) (see Figure 1). Prices for existing rentals units have increased dramatically alongside a surge in evictions, with

apartments in newly “trendy” or “desirable” neighbourhoods being listed for as much as 70 percent more than the average rent reported by CMHC (RCLALQ, 2021). At the same time, Montréal has seen many large-scale residential, mixed-use, and institutional redevelopment projects, whether on isolated sites or as part of broader, municipal-led area redevelopment processes, which have also contributed to the gentrification of certain neighbourhoods. For instance, Jolivet et al. (2022) identify the transformation of a Parc-Extension-adjacent brownfield site into a new university campus and laboratory for sustainable, mixed-use development, a collaboration between the City of Montréal and the Université de Montréal (City of Montréal, 2023a), as a key contributor to growing displacement pressures in this traditionally low-income, immigrant neighbourhood.

Figure 1: Situating the Montréal case

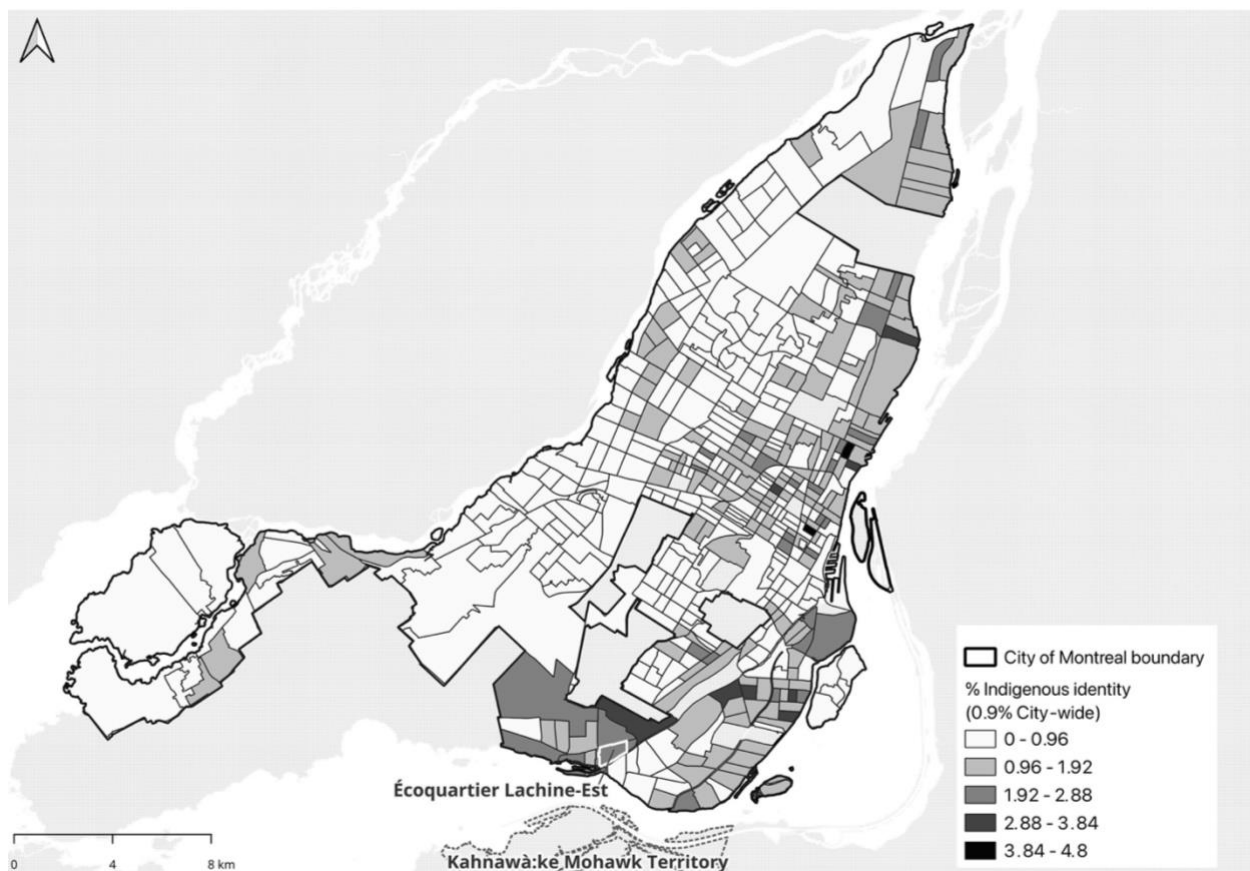


Sources: City of Montréal Open Data, Government of Canada Open Data, Statistics Canada

This trajectory of urban change in Montréal has sparked concern not just from scholars, but also from local residents, activists, and community organizations. The conservative-majority provincial government, having weakened existing rental protections in recent years (Belot et al.,

2024), temporarily limited “renovictions” in 2024, while also extending eviction protections for lower-income seniors (Éducaloi, 2024; Morris, 2024). However, tenants may still be evicted for the purpose of demolition and reconstruction with minimal compensation (Éducaloi, 2024). Similarly, despite its role in advancing gentrified urban redevelopment, the City of Montréal has sought to address certain inequitable outcomes of these transformation through its 2020 *Bylaw for a Diverse Metropolis*. Originally promoted as the “20-20-20” bylaw, ostensibly mandating new developments over a certain size to include 20 percent each of social, affordable, and family (3+ bedroom) units, the actual contribution requirements vary more substantially by project type and location and often falling below this threshold, particularly in the wake of recent modifications (City of Montréal, 2025a; Magder, 2024). Additionally, these contributions can be, and often are, satisfied through monetary payment, rather than providing units in situ, leading to critiques from local housing advocates (FRAPRU, 2024).

Figure 2: Indigenous identity by census tract, City of Montréal (2021)



Sources: City of Montréal Open Data, Government of Canada Open Data, Statistics Canada

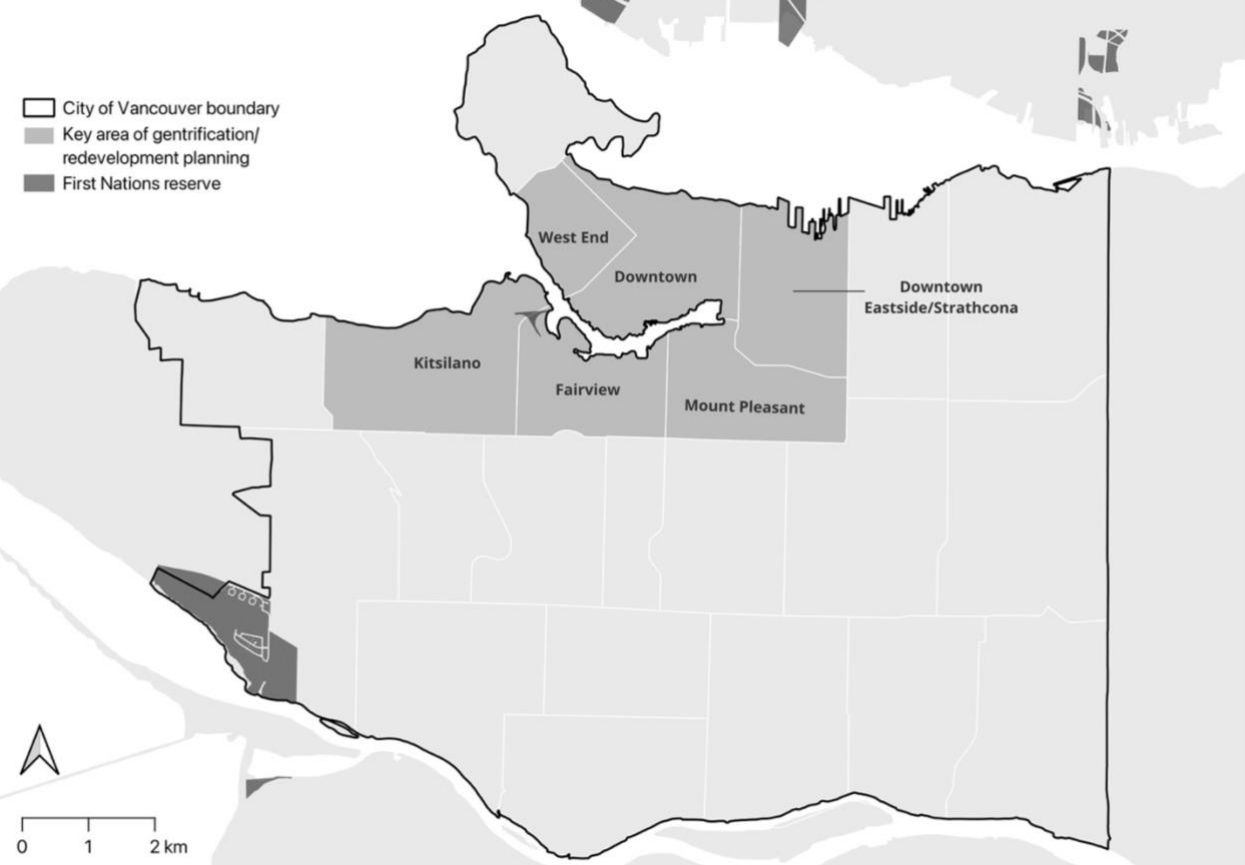
In the same year that it adopted its *Bylaw for a Diverse Metropolis*, the City of Montréal also presented its first reconciliation strategy. Here, the City recognizes its “central role in reconciliation with Indigenous peoples through...its urban planning” and “its municipal policies and plans of action” (City of Montréal, 2020, p. 33), citing attention since 2017 to the inclusion of “specific chapters or measures for Montréal’s Indigenous population” (p. 27). The strategy contains seven key directions: fostering government-to-government relations with local Nations (1), increasing Indigenous visibility in the city (2), supporting the urban Indigenous community (its organizations and events, as well as culturally-supportive gathering places and housing) (3), increasing Indigenous peoples’ sense of security in the city (with particular reference to homeless Indigenous residents) (4), supporting Indigenous economic and cultural development (5, 6), and engaging Indigenous knowledge within environmental protection efforts (7).

The City of Montréal occupies unceded Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk) territory and is located in close proximity to two Mohawk communities: Kahnawá:ke (Figure 2) and Kanehsatà:ke (located north-west of the Island of Montréal). The urban Indigenous population includes representation from many different First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities and doubled between 2006 and 2021 from 7,600 people (0.05 percent of the total City population) to 15,315 people (0.9 percent of the total City population) as a result of both migration and reconnection (RÉSEAU, 2025; Statistics Canada, 2006, 2021). Importantly, a number of the neighbourhoods with a higher proportion of Indigenous residents (Figure 2) are those that are already gentrifying (e.g. Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, Verdun) or are at risk of gentrification (e.g., further south-west along the Lachine Canal where former industrial spaces have not yet been fully exploited for redevelopment). While the City’s reconciliation strategy does not explicitly reference tensions related to gentrification, urban redevelopment and limited affordable housing, these dynamics underline the importance of objectives within the strategy that support new Indigenous housing projects and gathering places.

While challenges of housing affordability and displacement have intensified in Montréal over the past decade, Vancouver has long been identified as one of the most unaffordable cities in the world with respect to housing. The city has been intensely redeveloped since the 1980s alongside the construction of new rapid transit lines and in the lead up to the 2010 Winter Olympics, archetypally as towers with wider, mid-rise podiums (Beasley, 2019). Alongside this proliferation (now steady stream) of upscale urban redevelopment, speculative property

investments have also played a key role in shrinking Vancouver’s affordable housing stock, leading to the adoption of vacant property taxes at both the provincial and municipal levels (City of Vancouver, 2025; Province of British Columbia, 2025). While these challenges are widespread, a number of traditionally low-income areas have faced increased gentrification pressures in recent years, including the West End and the Downtown Eastside (Figure 3), in connection to new planning visions and policies (Bula, 2025; Chapple et al., 2021; Ma, 2023; Naamani, 2014; Tolfo & Doucet, 2022). At the same time, “moderate/mixed income” neighbourhoods such as Kitsilano, Fairview, and Mount Pleasant (Figure 3), which largely overlap with the new Broadway redevelopment planning area, are increasingly “at risk of becoming exclusive” through continued gentrification (Chapple et al., 2021).

Figure 3: Situating the Vancouver case

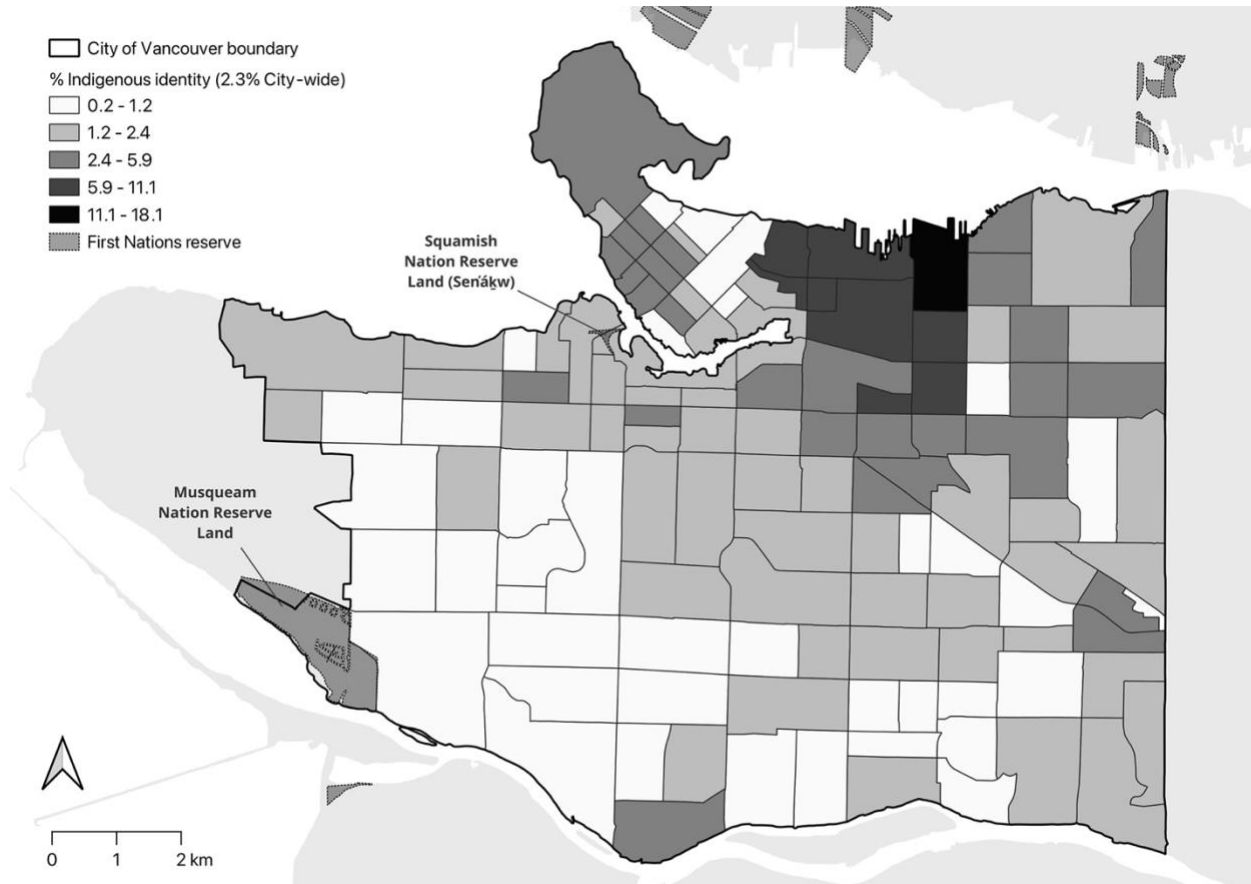


Sources: City of Vancouver Open Data, Government of Canada Open Data, Statistics Canada

Indeed, as much as Vancouver’s approach to urban transformation (“Vancouverism”) is touted by some as an inspirational “ethos for how to think about a livable, sustainable city”

(Beasley, 2019, p. 38), Tolfo and Doucet (2022) underline how this livability discourse is engaged in exclusionary ways within City planning documents, minimizing affordability and existing place meanings in favour of new “livable” futures. Further, this approach to urban redevelopment has supported an identity as an elite “city of glass” rather than “daylighting Indigenous identity”, a perspective shared by someone who has been involved in the City’s reconciliation work (personal communication, February 6, 2023).

Figure 4: Indigenous identity by census tract, City of Vancouver (2021)



Sources: City of Vancouver Open Data, Government of Canada Open Data, Statistics Canada

Like Montréal, Vancouver occupies unceded Indigenous land: the traditional territories of the Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh Nations (MST). All three Nations have reserve land within the Greater Vancouver area, including (unlike in Montréal) within the City’s boundary (Figure 4). The City is also home to a diverse urban Indigenous community, which has grown steadily from 11,145 in 2006 (1.9 percent of the total City population) to 14,660 in 2021 (2.3 percent of the total City population) (Statistics Canada, 2006, 2021). As in Montréal, there is

a notable overlap between neighbourhoods facing (further) gentrification pressures and those with a higher proportion of Indigenous residents (Figure 4). The particularly exorbitant housing costs across Vancouver also exacerbate the challenges that local Nations face in housing their members on very small parcels of colonially defined reserve land (Musqueam Indian Band, 2023). These points underline once again the importance of addressing themes of gentrification and housing affordability within a context of municipal-led reconciliation.

The City of Vancouver released its reconciliation framework in 2014 prior to the TRC's 94 Calls to Action, having hosted a national reconciliation event and initiated a number of preliminary changes during the 2013-2014 Year of Reconciliation (former City of Vancouver Indigenous relations staff, personal communication, February 6, 2023). The reconciliation framework focused actions to three areas: building the "cultural competency" of City staff and officials, including through developing their awareness of colonial histories and realities; deepening relations with local Indigenous communities; and revising existing policies and practices as needed to uphold reconciliation objectives (City of Vancouver, 2014; former City of Vancouver Indigenous relations staff, personal communication, February 6, 2023). The framework directed "every single department" to develop "their own reconciliation goals" and continues to be applied across different areas of municipal activity, including planning (former City of Vancouver Indigenous relations staff, personal communication, February 6, 2023). The City also recently adopted an UNDRIP Strategy (2022) and Action Plan (2024). However, given that the Strategy had only just been released at the time of field work, and it remained unclear how it would shape planning processes, these documents were not considered within this research. Indigenous-led development projects within City boundaries (e.g., Squamish Nation's *Señákw* development, see Figure 4) or planning processes conducted in partnership with the MST Development Corporation (e.g., Jericho Lands, Heather Lands) were also beyond the scope of this research, given that it focuses specifically on settler municipalities, how they address reconciliation within "typical" comprehensive planning processes, and tensions between reconciliation and urban regeneration objectives therein.

Accordingly, for this second research phase, I selected two long-range, comprehensive planning processes as my units of analysis for each case (see Table 1). Collectively, the four units of analysis represent two different scales of municipal planning – area-level and city-level – for a more nuanced picture of planning for urban change against a backdrop of municipal

reconciliation. Both scales of comprehensive planning are grounded in regulating land use (and, thus, pathways for (re)development) while also shaping urban change through vision statements and policy directions across a range of themes, from housing to the regeneration of the public realm. However, the city-wide comprehensive plans determine broader strategies and policies that then shape, and are fleshed out within, the policy actions of area-level plans. To build on the first research phase, I selected the Lachine-Est eco-neighbourhood in Montréal and the Broadway Plan in Vancouver as the two area-level projects. The city-level units of analysis are the Vancouver Plan and the Montréal’s 2050 Land Use and Mobility Plan (PUM 2050), both of which are the municipalities’ first city-wide comprehensive planning processes following the development of their respective reconciliation frameworks/strategies.

Table 1: Cases and sub-cases for Phase 2

Case	Unit of analysis	Planning scale	Project timing	Relation to municipal reconciliation timeline
City of Montréal	Écoquartier Lachine-Est (Lachine-Est eco-neighbourhood) project	Area-level	Final plan adopted in 2023	Planned alongside and subsequent to the creation of the City’s 2020 reconciliation strategy.
	2050 Land Use and Mobility Plan (PUM 2050) project	City-wide	Draft plan released in 2024	Planned alongside efforts to implement the City’s reconciliation strategy.
City of Vancouver	Broadway Plan project	Area-level	Final plan adopted in 2022	Planned alongside continued efforts to implement municipal reconciliation goals, in alignment with the 2014 City of Reconciliation framework.
	Vancouver Plan project	City-wide	Final plan adopted in 2022	

Adopted in 2022, the Broadway Plan is a 30-year municipal comprehensive area plan covering 860 hectares south of downtown Vancouver, including parts of the neighbourhoods of Mount Pleasant, Fairview and Kitsilano. While it addresses a range of policy areas, including arts and culture, social infrastructure, and the public realm, the plan was initiated primarily to leverage opportunities for transit-oriented (re)development afforded by the new Broadway Subway, which is set to open in 2027. The provincial-led Broadway Subway project extends Vancouver’s existing SkyTrain transit network west along Broadway Avenue, adjacent to a substantial proportion of Vancouver’s older, more moderately priced rental housing stock. Thus, planners faced the challenge of responding to pressures to facilitate residential and commercial

intensification in proximity to new station areas without also instigating widespread displacement. Aware that rezoning for higher densities would open the floodgates to speculative redevelopment, planners devised tenant protection policies that expand on existing City-wide protections. These new, Broadway-specific policies allow forcibly relocated tenants to return, at the same rent, to an “appropriate” unit in the redeveloped building, as well as to receive a rent top-up from the developer in the interim (City of Vancouver, 2022a). However, Vancouver City Council voted in 2023 against a “pace of change” policy that would have capped the annual number of redevelopment projects that touch existing rental units; it is estimated that up to 2,000 will be displaced annually without such restrictions (St. Denis, 2023). Combined with low vacancy rates across the City, housing advocates and displaced tenants are questioning the efficacy of the tenant protection measures, which also do not address the emotional trauma of being displaced or at risk of displacement (CityHallWatch, 2024; Ryan, 2025).

While the Broadway Plan is intertwined with the Broadway Subway project and possibilities for transit-oriented development, it is also shaped by the City of Vancouver’s focus on advancing reconciliation with Indigenous peoples. The Broadway Plan’s first guiding principle is to “support reconciliation with First Nations and urban Indigenous peoples” (City of Vancouver, 2022a, p. 30), positioning reconciliation as a central thread rather than a separate policy area. The Broadway neighbourhoods overlay a number of sites of significance to the local Nations, including an area that was, prior to colonial dispossession and development, a flourishing estuary “known as Skwácháys to the Squamish Nation” (City of Vancouver, 2022a, p. 262). The Mount Pleasant neighbourhood in particular is also home to important urban Indigenous spaces, including the Native Education College. During the Broadway Plan engagement process, urban Indigenous community members identified significant challenges and concerns related to affordable housing access in the area, including as a function of gentrification and speculation (City of Vancouver, 2020). The Plan does address Indigenous housing needs to a certain extent, including policy support for the “renewal of existing and creation of additional trauma-informed and culturally appropriate housing” (City of Vancouver, 2022a, p. 361). However, the bulk of its reconciliation-related policy actions focus on increasing the visibility of Indigenous knowledge, cultures, and connections to place, another priority area that emerged in conversation with urban Indigenous residents and Tsleil-Waututh Nation.

The Lachine-Est plan, adopted in 2023, directs the long-term redevelopment of 70 hectares of predominantly industrial lands bordering the Lachine Canal in south-west Montréal (Figure 1) (City of Montréal, 2023b). It envisions a well-connected and environmentally innovative mixed-use neighbourhood that serves as a form of living laboratory for new ways of planning and new forms of development in alignment with the socio-ecological transition. It positions this direction as a continuation of the area's history as a site of industrial innovation, emphasizing the importance of preserving and highlighting industrial heritage through redevelopment. Recognizing local interest in the future of the area, the project also centres on a “participatory collaborative approach”, including through thematic workshops combining subject experts and local actors and by creating avenues for continued citizen engagement as the redevelopment progresses (City of Montréal, 2023b, p. 6).

While the redevelopment itself largely reimagines former industrial uses, local community organizations and others have raised concerns throughout the engagement process regarding the project's gentrification impacts on surrounding lower-income neighbourhoods (e.g., Concert'Action Lachine, 2020c; OCPM, 2022b). In response, planners have emphasized the creation of public spaces and social infrastructure welcoming to the broader community, negotiating with developers to provide required social and affordable housing on site (rather than via monetary contribution), and tasking a local organization with leading efforts to mitigate gentrification impacts in the implementation phase (City of Montréal planner, personal communication, February 7, 2024). The two clusters of existing dwellings within the planning area, many of which house Indigenous industrial workers (City of Montréal planner, personal communication, February 13, 2024), are also vulnerable to (gentrified) redevelopment, although this issue has received less attention (OCPM, 2022c). Unlike the Broadway Plan, the Lachine-Est eco-neighbourhood plan does not explicitly mention reconciliation, despite the planning area's location across the river from the Mohawk community of Kahnawake and in a census tract with a higher-than-average proportion of Indigenous residents (see Figure 2). This difference is perhaps a function of the smaller gap between the development of the municipal reconciliation strategy and development of the plan in comparison to the Vancouver case. Nevertheless, the final plan (City of Montréal, 2023b) does include multiple policy directions related to “Indigenous presence” in the public realm (e.g., p. 45) and identifies paying “homage to the Indigenous past” as an area for “citizen mobilization” (p. 120).

The final two units of analysis – the Vancouver Plan and the PUM 2050 – both seek to shape long-term urban change and development at a city-wide scale. In doing so, both plans include broad policy directions that (implicitly and explicitly) respond to concerns of gentrification, housing affordability, and displacement in the respective cities. The Vancouver Plan was adopted in 2022 and includes an overarching land use strategy as well as 11 specific policy areas: housing; economy; climate; ecology; transportation; childcare; community infrastructure; arts, culture and heritage; public space; watersheds and water resources; and food systems. It is the City’s first comprehensive plan since the 1928 Bartholomew Plan and includes reconciliation as one of its three “foundational principles”, alongside “equity” and “resilience” (City of Vancouver, 2022b). Here, as with the Broadway Plan, reconciliation is addressed across the document rather than as a distinct chapter. However, while reconciliation-related policies are still more prevalent under certain themes (e.g. public space) than others (e.g. the land use strategy), the Vancouver Plan places greater discursive focus on reconciliation on the whole, including the use stronger language (“genocide”, “ongoing dispossession and colonial violence”) in outlining its reconciliation commitments (City of Vancouver, 2022b, p. 32). Indeed, as a higher-level plan, more resources were dedicated to relationship-building with local Nations and urban Indigenous communities, including specific funding for the Nations to facilitate their engagement in the process (City of Vancouver planners, personal communications, December 2022).

The PUM 2050 was adopted in 2025 and provides a vision for Montreal’s growth and development over the next 25 years toward “inclusive and resilient neighbourhoods”, a “renewed urban experience”, and a “city supported by a sustainable transportation network” (City of Montréal, 2025b, p. 32). Here, the plan lays out policy areas related to urban intensification, housing affordability and quality, economic and commercial revitalization, street design, public space access, heritage, biodiversity, sustainable development, and expanding active and public transportation networks. Unlike the Vancouver Plan, the PUM 2050 does not engage reconciliation as a central principle. However, it does include related policy actions under the themes of housing, public space, heritage, and biodiversity, recognizing that:

...urban planning and mobility are not neutral in the process of reconciliation...the PUM has a decisive role to play in *rebalancing narratives* and powers during urban planning and development processes. It must guide and support inclusive developments that

contribute to reconciliation between Indigenous communities and Montréal’s non-Indigenous population” (City of Montréal, 2024a, p. 15, emphasis in original)

2.4.2 Data collection and analysis

For this second research phase, I relied on multiple data collection methods. Similarly to Phase One, I retrieved draft and final plans for the four sub-cases from the municipalities’ websites, as well as any publicly available transcripts or reports from planning workshops or consultations (see Appendix B for the full list of documents). For RQ3, these sets of documents provided important insight into how municipalities discuss and address concerns of gentrification, housing affordability, and displacement within their planning processes and policy actions. However, the engagement transcripts were also relevant in responding to RQ2 as they provided direct insight into municipal planners’ concerns, positions, and use of language within the context of the projects. Engagement documents were also reviewed to identify any Indigenous perspectives and voices included within, and well as for insight into public discourse on gentrification and concerns (including intersections with reconciliation).

Key informant interviews were also crucial for this phase of the research, particularly given the explicit focus on planners’ perspectives and experiences in RQ2 but also as a way to gather additional data on discursive planning responses to gentrification concerns for RQ3. Here, I was interested in insight from all municipal planning staff with a substantial role in at least one of the four sub-cases, regardless of whether or not their work was explicitly tied to reconciliation objectives. I also included as key informants staff and officials who hold (or have held) reconciliation-related positions within one of the two municipalities in order to contextualize municipal planners’ perspectives. I identified 29 potential participants for the Vancouver case and 20 potential participants for the Montréal case - names and contact information – through a combination of news articles and project/municipal documents and websites. I also identified and/or was connected with five additional relevant actors through snowball sampling. When I initially contacted or was put in touch with potential participants via email, I included a detailed information letter outlining study goals and participation requirements to ensure informed consent.

I ultimately conducted 18 interviews with 20 key informants: 11 were City of Vancouver planning staff, six were City of Montréal planning staff, and three were other relevant

(former) staff and officials with the two municipalities (two for City of Vancouver, one for City of Montréal). Additional breakdowns by sub-case are provided in Chapters 4 and 5. The Vancouver interviews took place between December 2022 and February 2023, while the Montréal interviews took place between February and May 2024. I conducted a mix of in-person and virtual interviews (Microsoft Teams) for both cases. Those who participated in virtual interviews completed a digital consent form, while those interviewed in-person signed a paper version (see Appendix C for the information letter and consent form). In both cases, I reiterated key points from the information letter, answered any questions, and confirmed their consent statements prior to commencing the interviews. Per my ethics protocol, I do not distinguish participants on the basis of Indigenous versus non-Indigenous identity but recognize that the majority of municipal planners in Canada are non-Indigenous while those holding municipal positions explicitly related to reconciliation and Indigenous relations are more likely to be Indigenous.

The interviews were semi-structured to ensure a certain level of consistency while also providing the opportunity to follow-up and build on participants' responses. Conversations with participants ranged between 25 and 60 minutes, took place in English and French, and were recorded where consent was granted. I asked planning staff associated with the four sub-cases a range of questions, beginning with more general reflections on the planning process and their role therein, as well as the project's key objectives, priorities, and standout aspects, before moving to more specific inquiries regarding perceived connections between municipal reconciliation commitments and planning practice, how reconciliation considerations have been part of the specific planning project, and if and how concerns of gentrification, displacement, and housing affordability have been addressed (both generally and in relation to reconciliation). My intent in structuring the interviews as such was to capture how planners might (implicitly) frame different aspects of the projects, and their work, in relation to questions of reconciliation and gentrification before I explicitly raised these themes myself. For the other municipal staff and officials interviewed, I asked questions related to municipal reconciliation work, perceived connections between planning and reconciliation (including questions of gentrification), and similar project-related questions addressed to planning staff depending on their specific roles. The different interview guides can be found in Appendix D.

Interview recordings were transcribed using an automatic transcription software (Sonix.ai) and then verified by myself. I then returned the transcripts to participants to confirm their accuracy, giving them thirty days from receipt to make any necessary edits or change their preferences regarding the use of quotes. This step was important given that the limited number of individuals associated with the projects and roles of interest slightly elevates the risk of identification despite the removal of names, specific position titles, and other identifying details. Participants were also able to fully withdraw from the study up until the end of the transcript review period, as stated in the information letter, although this did not occur.

Once finalized, I analyzed the transcripts alongside the previously described planning documents (Appendix B) in MAXQDA, once again following the critical discourse approach outlined in 2.2. As mentioned there, I am particularly interested in exploring through the second research question the interdiscursivity contained within planners' "ways of identifying" (Fairclough, 2003) their roles and their approaches to planning practice in a context of municipal reconciliation. This approach recognizes that subjects move "through various, and at times conflicting, discursive positions...torn between competing discourses" (Green & Sonn, 2006, p. 384). In the context of this research, municipal planning staff are in a position of power within settler planning institutions, encountering discourses of reconciliation within a system that privileges settler possession and white capital accumulation. Accordingly, I am interested in how these actors represent reconciliatory planning practice in ways that "reproduce institutions" (Green & Sonn, 2006, p. 384), as well as challenge them.

In responding to the third research question, my analysis has two components. First, I focus on identifying and coding representations of anti-displacement discourses in both the planning documents and participants' reflections, drawing on the gentrification literature in order to do so. Second, I analyze how the anti-displacement discourses engaged within the context of these comprehensive land use planning projects account for (or not) the particular, non-metaphorical settler-colonial ideologies and inequities of gentrification (and, potentially, anti-gentrification responses) in settler-colonial cities (Ellis-Young, 2022). For further detail on the methodology and findings associated with this second research phase, please see Chapters 4 and 5.

2.5 Study limitations

2.5.1 *Lack of direct perspectives from local Indigenous communities*

My overarching goal in approaching this research was to examine settler municipalities' parallel, seemingly contradictory roles as actors of reconciliation and actors of redevelopment and regeneration (gentrification). I framed my research questions to explore this tension through the internal mechanisms of municipal comprehensive planning, rather than through external Indigenous perceptions and experiences. As a result, this research did not directly engage with local Indigenous nations and urban Indigenous communities, instead focusing on municipal planning documents and the perspectives of planning staff implicated in advancing these processes.

The decision to focus on municipal planning and reconciliation discourse was in part guided by my positionality as a settler planning researcher, and my specific interest in interrogating the colonial dimensions of settler planning institutions. This direction was also guided by an awareness of the overwhelming burden of reconciliation work placed on Indigenous peoples and organizations, and a desire not to add to this burden by seeking their participation to once again discuss settler reconciliation activities and the transformation of settler planning systems. Indeed, attention in Montréal to local Indigenous organizations reports', as well as Indigenous perspectives in the media and planning consultation documents, underlines the many priorities and challenges that Indigenous actors are facing within their own communities, and the urgency and rightful desire to focus on these internal interests.

However, given that this research address themes of reconciliation, I understand the decision not to pursue the involvement of local Indigenous nations and urban Indigenous organizations as a limiting factor. For instance, placing reflections from Indigenous representatives and municipal planning staff in direct conversation would expand the breadth of the findings, including more nuanced insight into the implications of certain planning directions related to reconciliation. In an effort to address this limitation, I included where possible on perspectives shared by Indigenous residents and representatives within publicly available consultation documents to contextualize reconciliatory planning practices and policies.

2.5.2 Breadth of cases and sample size

With the exception of my analysis of reconciliation and planning documents in Part One, which extends to three additional municipalities, this research focuses predominantly on Montréal and Vancouver as cases. While I strategically chose these two cases to represent different municipal reconciliation contexts in Canada, the former more “typical” and the latter more “established”, it is possible that the findings from these cases do not capture the range of municipal planning orientations and perspectives at the nexus of reconciliation and redevelopment across the country. Similarly, given that this research focuses on Canadian cases, it is limited in its ability to generalize its findings to other settler-colonial contexts engaged in municipal reconciliation activities, such as Australia. However, it does build theoretically on existing scholarly work that draws on planning discourses and practices from a range of contexts while providing a basis for more direct comparisons to be drawn through further research.

My interview data was also collected from a relatively small sample of municipal planning staff and reconciliation actors (20 key informants across the two cases), which also inherently limits the range of perspectives captured. However, within the context of this research, the total population from which I was recruiting participants was already limited, as I sought to speak to people in particular roles and/or engaged in particular planning projects. Additionally, despite my emphasis throughout the recruitment process on understanding the perspectives of those in a variety of (non-reconciliation specific) planning roles, a number of potential participants declined to participate on the basis of a perceived lack of reconciliation expertise and/or the perceived irrelevance of their position therein. Nevertheless, I recruited 37 percent of those that I identified as relevant potential participants while also supplementing the interview data with analysis of planning documents where appropriate.

Chapter 3 (Manuscript 1): Discursive (Dis)connections Between Municipal Reconciliation Strategies and Area Redevelopment Plans in Five Canadian Cities

Published in *Cities* under the title “Urban transformation and Indigenous-settler reconciliation: Discursive (dis)connections between municipal reconciliation strategies and area redevelopment plans in five Canadian cities”

Municipalities in settler-colonial states are currently engaged in seemingly conflicting projects of urban redevelopment and Indigenous-settler reconciliation, given the role the former plays in reproducing colonial dispossession. However, state-led reconciliation itself can also reinforce the settler-colonial relationship through its selective recognition of colonial violence, Indigenous presence, and new pathways forward. In response to these tensions, this article examines how emerging municipal reconciliation discourses are reproduced, transformed, or ignored within new area redevelopment plans, and the extent to which this “dialogue” indicates discursive shifts to settler planning norms and ideals. A textual analysis of reconciliation documents and redevelopment plans in five Canadian cities - Vancouver, Edmonton, Regina, Hamilton, and Montréal – reveals that reconciliation discourses of relationship-building, Indigenous presence, and unity and inclusion are consistently translated in ways that maintain the settler planning status quo. Crucially, these concepts are transformed in interaction with planning discourses of urban authority, redevelopment as capital accumulation, and the inclusive city, underlining the need to challenge both capitalist planning norms and unnuanced ‘inclusion’ as a response to inequitable development outcomes.

3.1 Introduction

Municipalities in Canada and other settler-colonial states occupy contradictory roles as they continue to transform urban space in the interests of settler capital while also placing new emphasis on Indigenous-settler reconciliation. Planning, as a colonial practice, has its roots in claiming Indigenous land for settler society (e.g., Porter, 2010). Contemporary urban planning and development continues to shape the legibility of urban space and Indigenous claims to the

city in support of sustained settler possession and authority (e.g., Porter et al., 2019; Toews, 2018). This dynamic underlines the importance of examining municipal-led redevelopment planning in relation to municipalities' growing attention to improving relations with Indigenous peoples and communities. At the same time, state-led reconciliation holds its own complexity, often reproducing – rather than destabilizing – the “hierarchical social relations that continue to facilitate the *dispossession* of Indigenous peoples” (Coulthard, 2014, p. 7, emphasis in original).

Accordingly, this article interrogates what is shown or concealed as municipal reconciliation discourses are translated into the urban planning domain. First, it examines how reconciliation discourses are recontextualized (Fairclough, 2003) – reproduced, transformed, abandoned – within municipal area redevelopment plans in interaction with dominant planning discourses. Second, it explores the extent to which this “dialogue” between texts indicates discursive shifts to settler-colonial planning norms. In short, does attention to reconciliation disrupt settler planning's discursive disappearance or containment of Indigenous claims to urban space, or does a similar strategic (in)visibility in state-led reconciliation (e.g. Clark et al., 2016; George, 2020) simply reinforce this dynamic in the urban planning sphere?

The article focuses on area redevelopment projects in five Canadian cities that have released reconciliation strategies or frameworks in recent years: Vancouver, Edmonton, Regina, Hamilton, and Montréal. Here, I draw on a textual analysis of nine planning documents (primarily draft and final plans), as well as ten documents associated with the reconciliation strategies and frameworks. I analyze representations of Indigenous-settler relations, urban space (past, present and future), and Indigenous connections to urban space within these documents to identify how the planning projects and reconciliation directions are implicitly and explicitly framed, and the discursive relationship between the two sets of texts. My positionality as a settler researcher underlines my focus on the disruption and/or persistence of normative, colonial-capitalist planning logics.

My analysis demonstrates that reconciliation discourses are consistently translated within redevelopment plans in ways that maintain the settler planning status quo, albeit with certain flickers of disruption. On the one hand, redevelopment plans alternatively recognize and obscure Indigenous rights, interests, and connections to place by reproducing “bounded” representations (Porter & Barry, 2015) of relationship-building, unity and inclusion, and Indigenous presence from the reconciliation documents. On the other hand, the planning documents more fervently

produce forms of (in)visibility that uphold colonial relations by transforming these reconciliation discourses in interaction with planning discourses of urban authority, redevelopment as capital accumulation, and the inclusive city.

The analysis highlights two important dimensions to disrupting existing colonial relations within the planning sphere. It underlines the need to not only draw on more expansive, rights-based reconciliation discourse, but also to simultaneously question normative approaches to reimagining urban space that serve real estate capital (Stein, 2019) while avoiding broad-brush inclusivity as an alternative response. In doing so, the article builds on existing discussions in the literature on the continuity of colonial-capitalist concepts in urban planning (e.g. Porter & Barry, 2016; Sandercock, 2019) within a new context of municipal-led reconciliation.

In the following sections, I examine literature on state-led reconciliation, the settler-colonial dimensions of planning, and existing approaches to reconciliation within the planning sphere to situate my analysis. I then ground the article within a context of state-led reconciliation in Canada, presenting my five case studies and methodology. Finally, I analyze the translation and reproduction of reconciliation discourses within municipal-led redevelopment plans before concluding with a reflection on the disruption of colonial planning logics.

3.2 Literature Review

3.2.1 Conceptualizing the limitations and possibilities of municipal-led reconciliation

Indigenous-settler reconciliation is conceptualized as a relationship-building process wherein settler society works toward “repairing damaged trust by making apologies, providing individual and collective reparations, and following through with concrete actions that demonstrate real societal change” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a, p. 16). In practice, however, reconciliation is a fraught concept. On the one hand, settler society consistently manipulates notions of reconciliation to portray a false progression to a “post-colonial present” (Snelgrove & Wildcat, 2023, p.159, also Borrow & Tully, 2018; Cornthassel, 2023; Craft & Regan, 2020; de Costa, 2016; George, 2020). On the other hand, reconciliation captures new colonial instability brought forth by longstanding Indigenous resistance (Snelgrove & Wildcat, 2023, p. 158), creating an opportunity to redefine Indigenous-settler relations in more transformative ways in support of Indigenous self-determination (Borrow & Tully, 2018; Craft &

Regan, 2020). However, the boundaries of reconciliation have been consistently defined by the settler state to exclude more expansive possibilities imagined by Indigenous communities (Clark et al., 2016; Craft, 2023).

Conceptions of reconciliation mobilized by the state often centre symbolic acts of Indigenous recognition while marginalizing more substantive forms of redress (Corntassel, 2023; Coulthard, 2014; de Costa, 2016; George, 2020). These substantive reparations include actions that address colonial inequities (e.g., housing inequities) in material ways, indirectly supporting Indigenous efforts toward self-determination but without necessarily addressing underlying settler-colonial relations (MacDonald, 2020). However, substantive reparations also encompass more transformative reconciliation practices that unequivocally disrupt the settler-colonial status quo, including land restitution and the honouring of Indigenous authority over their territories and futures (Corntassel, 2023; Craft & Regan, 2020; Snelgrove & Wildcat, 2023). By placing land rights and self-determining authority beyond the bounds of the concept, state involvement in reconciliation seeks to preserve the continuity of settler society's colonial privileges (Clark et al., 2016; Corntassel, 2023; Coulthard, 2014; Craft, 2023; Daigle, 2019; de Costa, 2016; Tuck & Yang, 2012). In this sense, state-led reconciliation is a project of containing 'disruption' through the selective visibility of settler-colonial injustices and Indigenous cultural difference (Clark et al., 2016; de Costa, 2016; George, 2020).

Thus, while reconciliation may be "an official infrastructure for excavating things once made 'invisible'", underlying colonial power relations continue to shape what is made legible (or not) as "the new truth of the nation" (Jacobs, 1997, p. 208, also Clark et al., 2016). The "spectacle of reconciliation" (Daigle, 2019, p. 704) enacted by the settler state presents the illusion of a "previous harmonious relationship" restored, obscuring continued modes of dispossession and assimilation while also downplaying longstanding realities of colonial violence (Corntassel, 2023, p. 150). Baloy (2016) expands on the power of "spectacle" to strategically reveal and conceal in the Vancouver context, where non-Indigenous residents 'see' Indigeneity primarily through state-sanctioned landmarks (e.g., totem poles in Stanley Park) that neither convey ongoing colonial realities nor local First Nations' ties to the land.

Settler state narratives of reconciliation also centre aspirations for unity, including a "shared vision of a harmonious future" (MacDonald, 2020, p. 7, also de Costa, 2016; George, 2020; Jacobs, 1997). This assimilationist orientation works to obscure and preclude specific

Indigenous interests, including more ‘disruptive’ possibilities of Indigenous self-determination (Clark et al., 2016; MacDonald, 2020). Discourses of unity and inclusion permeate settler-led celebrations of Indigenous culture, positioning them to both bolster Canada’s multicultural identity and provide “an avenue for settler capitalistic benefit” (George, 2020, p. 103). Referencing Canadian municipalities’ reconciliation responses in the mid-to-late 2010s, George (2020) argues that performative “Year of Reconciliation” declarations and decontextualized representations of Indigenous culture have advanced municipal place-marketing rather than decolonial possibility. As cities take on new importance as sites where reconciliation is negotiated (Sandercock, 2019), so do the planning processes that reimagine these urban spaces.

3.2.2 State-led planning as a settler-colonial process

Planning has long been used to further the settler-colonial project in countries such as Canada and Australia (Dorries, 2017; Porter, 2010, 2017; Porter & Barry, 2016; Sandercock, 2019). In a bid to secure possession of Indigenous lands, early colonists used maps and surveys to erase an Indigenous presence, portraying blank slates (“terra nullius”) on which settler ownership was delineated (Blomley, 2004; Porter, 2010, 2017). In Canada, city planning of the late 19th and early 20th century leveraged ideals of ordered growth, the “public good”, and “urban vitality” to reimagine Indigenous space and expand settler claims, a form of “municipal colonialism” identified in historic urban development in Quebec (Arsenault, 2023) and illustrated in Vancouver’s 1929 City Plan (Stanger-Ross, 2008). However, this (dis)possession remains tenuous amidst ongoing Indigenous resistance, including through day-to-day spatial practices (e.g. Guimont Marceau et al., 2023), requiring the settler state to continually attempt to erase, disrupt, and/or contain Indigenous connections to place (Porter, 2017; Tomiak et al., 2019). Accordingly, planning in settler-colonial contexts - including municipal planning, the focus of this article - continues to reckon with what should be made to appear or disappear within its discourses, visualizations, policies, and spatial transformations to sustain illusions of settler dominance (e.g., Dorries, 2017; Porter & Barry, 2016; Tomiak, 2019).

State-led urban planning persistently constructs a particular legibility of Indigenous rights and interests, containing them to certain themes or temporalities (e.g. cultural heritage) – what Porter and Barry (2015, 2016) identify in the Canadian and Australian contexts as “bounded recognition”. This form of recognition defines Indigenous peoples’ “legitimate” stake in a

planning project so as to maintain both settler state planning authority and the city's ability to be read as settler space (Porter & Barry, 2015, also Dorries, 2017; Porter, 2010). In this sense, urban planning enacts the settler imaginary of urban/Indigenous non-compatibility (e.g. Tomiak et al., 2019; Veracini, 2023) to dismiss Indigenous claims to contemporary urbanity. Within this imaginary, the city, coded as “new and modern”, is firmly disconnected from Indigeneity, which is contained to historical or “traditional” spaces (Tomiak, 2019, p. 98, also Arsenault, 2023; Sandercock, 2019; Stanger-Ross, 2008). Despite the absence of Indigenous people(s) in narratives of urban development, so-called “settler” cities remain sites of colonial tensions, particularly as the reconceptualization of urban space works to sustain and reinforce settler possession and Indigenous dispossession (Porter et al., 2019; Tomiak et al., 2019).

Urban planning projects centred around redevelopment are a specific avenue through which settler space is reasserted, including through the discursive construction of place identities that incorporate selective representations of an Indigenous presence (Blomley, 2004; Porter et al., 2019). As Coulthard (2014) and Toews (2018) underline, urban Indigenous connections to place are often absent from representations and narratives of urban redevelopment, as well as physically disrupted or made invisible through the capitalist reconstruction of urban space toward its “highest and best” (i.e. most profitable) use (Stein, 2019). As redevelopment planning imagines “urban space void of Indigenous sovereign presence” (Coulthard, 2014, p. 176), it also makes Indigeneity strategically “hypervisible” to justify this very reimagining (Toews, 2018, p. 271, see also Stanger-Ross, 2008; Tomiak et al., 2019) or incorporates it into settler place identities in symbolic forms that conceal as much as they reveal (Baloy, 2016; Porter, 2010; Porter et al., 2019).

For instance, Porter et al. (2019) examine the inclusion of an image of William Barak, a Wurundjeri leader, on a residential development in central Melbourne. Here, capitalist redevelopment planning reinforces not just settler possession of Indigenous land, but also settler control over representations of Indigeneity. The authors frame this symbolic visibility of Indigenous presence through projects that once again deny Indigenous land rights (Porter et al., 2019, p. 1134) or directly reproduce Indigenous displacement (Wall, 2016) as “settler moves to innocence” (Tuck & Yang, 2012), acts to assuage guilt without shifting colonial relations. Similarly, Halpin's (2017) analysis of Toronto's waterfront revitalization reveals settler-colonial “fantasies” and “apologies” that overlay national-level dialogue on reconciliation. Halpin argues

that the project combines efforts to reinforce the “fantasy of settler belonging” (p. 100) through narratives that centre white settler industrial heritage with tokenistic “apologies” (a small number of Indigenous housing units) to portray a reconciled present that denies ongoing dispossessions. This notion of selective (in)visibility remains pertinent as municipalities increasingly look to recognize Indigenous people(s) through planning under the umbrella of reconciliation.

3.2.3 State-led planning toward reconciliation?

Indigenous recognition through municipal placemaking is a focal point of reconciliation discussions in the settler planning sphere. Wall (2016) emphasizes the potential for such projects to address the critiqued invisibility of Indigenous histories and cultures within city spaces and imaginaries, as well as to provide sites for Indigenous and intercultural gatherings. Similarly, Walker (2013) calls for urban spaces where an Indigenous “cultural presence” is legible, including as a means to encourage reflection on Indigenous ties to place on the part of the non-Indigenous resident body. On the one hand, settler planning’s emphasis on ‘reconciliatory’ placemaking reflects its “ethical responsibility...to facilitate the restitution of Indigenous materiality and memory across spaces and places that once were theirs” (Matunga, 2013, p. 31; see also Nejad et al., 2019). On the other, the framing of Indigenous cultural presence as a “municipal asset” (Walker & Belanger, 2013) reveals tensions regarding who controls Indigenous visibility and to what end, and the extent to which symbolic recognition is accompanied by more profound reparations and structural transformations (Jacobs, 1997; Nejad et al., 2019; Wall, 2016).

These tensions are evident in Wall’s (2016) examination of the roles of community-level, corporate, and municipal-led placemaking projects in constructing a more prominent Indigenous cultural presence in Edmonton. Wall (2016) demonstrates that an orientation toward reconciliation in municipal placemaking activities often exists alongside, or is intertwined with, an orientation toward tourism, real estate development, and investment attraction. This dynamic underlines how Indigenous visibility can be leveraged to serve economic interests, and points to the marginalization of Indigenous peoples’ rights to shape urban space and their representations therein (see also Nejad et al., 2019).

Indigenous connections to place asserted through municipal place-making projects rarely extend to more tangible reparations that accord Indigenous peoples “legal, propertied control of urban space” (Jacobs, 1997, p. 213), in Canada as in other settler-colonial contexts similarly

engaged in reconciliation processes, such as Australia. The “truths” portrayed through these place-making projects are also constrained, including representations of the colonial past and “traditionalised” Indigeneity that evade ongoing dispossessions and Indigenous claims to the city (Jacobs, 1997, see also Nejad et al., 2019). A pre-reconciliation era redevelopment plan for downtown Winnipeg (the 1995 CentrePlan) demonstrates similar discursive inclusions and omissions, referencing the area’s valuable “aboriginal ancestry” but staying “silent on...Indigenous plans for the city centre” to underline the community’s supposed “social deterioration” (Toews, 2018, p. 191-192). This invisibility of contemporary Indigenous presence and colonial relations, including planning’s complicity in Indigenous dispossession, persists within Canadian municipal planning texts developed in the late 2000s and early 2010s amid emerging national dialogue on reconciliation (Tembo, 2018). For Porter (2017), moving beyond these persisting representations to acknowledge past and ongoing colonial dispossession and marginalization, and engaging in reparative action, is a key responsibility of contemporary settler planning.

The recognition of Indigenous communities as planning actors is another component of reconciliation negotiated within urban planning processes. Tembo (2018) identifies limitations to Canadian municipalities’ discursive approaches therein, including the positioning of Indigenous people(s) as generic “stakeholders” devoid of specific rights and interests (see also Fawcett et al., 2015; Porter & Barry, 2016). In response to such limitations, Walker (2013) emphasizes the integration of Indigenous perspectives through collaborative planning processes focused on “enhancing our collective, shared, urban-place identity” (p. 160). While this collaborative approach is ostensibly grounded in Indigenous communities’ distinct, rights-based position, it nevertheless engages discourses of relationship-building in a way that mirrors, within a planning context, state-led reconciliation’s colonial aspirations for cohesion. Porter & Barry (2016) underline this pervasive impulse for cohesion within state-led planning, where ideals of collective visioning toward a common “public interest” contain Indigenous decision-making authority and maintain the primacy of economic objectives. Dorries (2019) emphasizes that such normative planning ideals must be deconstructed in efforts to redefine “settler” cities as “anti-colonial space[s] in both discourse and policy” (p. 41).

This article explores whether urban planning’s limited engagement with colonial realities and Indigenous rights and interests, as identified in the literature, deepens as municipalities place

new emphasis on advancing reconciliation. The remainder of the article examines if, and how, attention to more substantive reparations and challenges to settler-colonial-capitalist planning ideals can be identified within contemporary redevelopment plans as new municipal discourse on reconciliation is translated into the planning sphere.

3.3 Context and methodology

Discourse on Indigenous-settler reconciliation has grown in prominence in Canada over the past decade, following the release of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's (TRC) final report in 2015. The TRC's mandate centred around illuminating the harms and ongoing impacts of the colonial residential school system, bearing witness to Indigenous survivors' stories, and recommending reparative actions. Its 94 Calls to Action – directed largely toward Canadian governments and institutions – also touch more broadly on confronting past and ongoing colonial violence, recognizing Indigenous rights, and building mutually respectful relations. While not the first arms-length commission to engage with themes of reconciliation (see Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996), its statements have gained particular traction alongside those of the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP).

Against this national-level dialogue, Canadian municipalities have placed increased emphasis on reconciliation in recent years, with many developing strategies or frameworks to respond to imperatives emerging from UNDRIP, the TRC, and other inquiries. In cities such as Vancouver and Edmonton, these reconciliation frameworks are positioned not just as a response to the TRC Calls to Action, but also as a continuation of earlier efforts to strengthen Indigenous-municipal relations. In many cases, these strategies and frameworks explicitly highlight municipal planning processes as a focal point of reconciliation efforts. However, as the literature demonstrates, municipalities' growing (discursive) orientation toward advancing Indigenous-settler reconciliation is also potentially in tension with its parallel focus on the redevelopment of urban space.

To investigate this tension, I conducted a textual analysis of reconciliation and redevelopment planning documents in five Canadian cities: Montréal (Québec), Vancouver (British Columbia), Hamilton (Ontario), Edmonton (Alberta), and Regina (Saskatchewan). When I began the analysis in 2022, these cases were the only Canadian cities with both 1) a

reconciliation strategy or framework and 2) an area redevelopment planning project that took shape alongside or following the creation of the reconciliation framework or strategy. I chose to include all five cases for geographical diversity, as well as to reflect variation in terms of population size and proportion of residents identifying as Indigenous (between one and two in Montréal, Hamilton, and Vancouver, six percent in Edmonton, and ten percent in Regina, per the 2021 Census). The cases also capture variation in underlying colonial frameworks for Indigenous-settler relations. Regina, Edmonton, and Hamilton occupy Indigenous territories covered by different colonial treaties (Treaty 4, Treaty 6, and the Between the Lakes Treaty, No. 3, respectively), while the Indigenous lands that Vancouver and Montréal occupy are considered unceded. Although the outcome of Indigenous dispossession is the same, despite Indigenous peoples' understanding of treaties as agreements for sharing the land (Starblanket, 2023), this distinction shifts the orientation of municipal reconciliation processes (i.e., toward the reparation of treaty relations versus the recognition of unceded lands).

As part of my analysis, I retrieved and examined each of the municipalities' publicly available reconciliation documents (ten in total) published prior to the adoption of the respective area redevelopment plan. All of these reconciliation strategies or frameworks, implementation plans and updates to Council were released between 2019 and 2021, with the exception of the City of Vancouver's original reconciliation framework published in 2014. The City of Vancouver's UNDRIP strategy is not included in this analysis, as it was released in the fall of 2022 after the adoption of the redevelopment plan of interest. The reconciliation strategies and frameworks are generally represented as collaborative efforts between municipal staff (particularly those in Indigenous Relations positions), elected officials, and representatives from local Indigenous communities. However, municipal planning staff appear to have had little to no involvement in their development.

To investigate the translation of reconciliation discourses into the planning domain, I focused on one large-scale area redevelopment planning project per case. The five projects are as follows: Montréal's Lachine-Est "eco-neighbourhood" redevelopment (Écoquartier Lachine-Est), Vancouver's transit-oriented development plan for the Broadway area, Regina's City Centre Core Framework (part of the municipal-led Regina Revitalization Initiative), Hamilton's renewal plan for the Bayfront Industrial Area, and the redevelopment of Edmonton's Exhibition Lands. Despite certain differences, all projects represent 'typical' examples of comprehensive area

redevelopment in that they encompass multiple dimensions of planning (housing, employment, public realm, transportation, etc.), are municipal-led, and are not primarily framed around reconciliation. The planning areas, however, all evidently overlay Indigenous territories, and each encompass or border areas with a proportion of Indigenous residents greater than the city average (Statistics Canada, 2021). Across the five projects, I analyzed nine planning documents published between 2021 and 2023, including draft and final plans, implementation strategies, and other final outputs. I excluded preliminary planning documents containing only high-level directions and/or contextual information to focus the analysis on the most pertinent information and avoid repetition. The planning documents were sourced from the municipalities' project websites.

All the reconciliation documents and most of the planning documents were available in English, apart from the Lachine-Est planning documents (French-only). I have translated quotes from these documents into English. While I conducted the bulk of my analysis in 2022, I also completed some additional analysis in 2024 to include final versions of redevelopment plans released in 2023. A complete list of documents included in this analysis is provided in Appendix A.

My analysis of the planning and reconciliation texts draws on concepts from critical discourse analysis (e.g. Fairclough, 1995, 2003). Across both sets of documents, I identified and coded representations of land (e.g. its histories, questions of authority therein), reconciliation through planning, Indigenous-settler relations (past/present/future), collaborative processes, Indigenous presence in and connections to urban space, broader claims to urban space (e.g. place identities), and the transformation of urban space (e.g., opportunities and aspirations), including any notable discursive absences therein. I used MAXQDA to facilitate the coding process and organize the data. Having initially coded both sets of documents to identify different representations of the above themes (land, reconciliation through planning, Indigenous-settler relations, etc.), I then identified the broader “ways of representing” (i.e. discourses, per Fairclough, 2003) captured by these representations. Subsequently, I compared how the themes of interest were represented between the reconciliation and planning documents to identify discursive connections and disconnections therein. Following Porter and Barry (2015), I specifically analyzed how the “[p]lanning texts recontextualize (hybridize, transform and

appropriate) discourses” from the field of state-led reconciliation (p. 23) in ways that structure, and are structured by, normative planning approaches and ideologies.

As a settler researcher, my analysis focused on implications for the continuity of colonial relations within municipal planning, rather than assessing whether certain reconciliation directions were more broadly “meaningful”. Here, I recognize that municipal reconciliation discourses themselves recontextualize, rather than directly reflect, Indigenous voices and reconciliation imperatives. Drawing on Fairclough (1995, 2003), who situates discourse at the nexus of hegemony and transformation, I also recognize the potential for municipal reconciliation discourses to both reproduce and reconceive the normative, settler-colonial ways of representing and being that frame municipal redevelopment planning. I turn to this question in my analysis below.

3.4 Tracing the dialogue between reconciliation and redevelopment planning in five Canadian cities

While municipalities represent reconciliation as a process “that affects all City departments” (City of Montréal, 2020, p. 33), explicit references to advancing reconciliation appear in only one area redevelopment plan: City of Vancouver’s Broadway Plan (2022a). Nevertheless, municipalities’ reconciliation documents and concurrent redevelopment plans both recognize – and obscure – Indigenous claims and connections to urban space through discourses of relationship-building, Indigenous presence, and unity and inclusion.

Indeed, representations of Indigenous presence and municipal-Indigenous relationship-building within the redevelopment plans often reproduce boundaries established within reconciliation strategies. However, these boundaries also shrink further in interaction with normative planning discourses of urban authority, capitalist redevelopment, and the inclusive city. Here, the ways in which the redevelopment plans place particular focus on historic, symbolic Indigenous presence and prioritize relationship-building with other actors demonstrates the selective translation of reconciliation discourses to align with, or at least not destabilize, real estate interests and other forms of settler authority in the transformation of urban space. At the same time, visions of collective urban futures across the redevelopment plans emphasize cohesive (settler-colonial) place identities and the interests of an often-unnuanced ‘community’. Accordingly, these visions capture the intersection of inclusive planning ideals with state-led

reconciliation's tendency to engage unity discourses to obscure the specificity of Indigenous interests and maintain the settler-colonial-capitalist status quo (e.g., George, 2020; MacDonald, 2020). While the City of Vancouver's Broadway Plan (2022a) often stands out with its more robust translation of reconciliation imperatives, it is still constrained by the intertwining of reconciliation and capital accumulation (e.g., George, 2020). The following sections explore in greater depth how municipal redevelopment planning a) makes time and space for (a selective) Indigenous presence, b) reproduces Indigenous absence through discourses of unity and inclusion, and c) upholds settler authority through discourses of relationship-building, collaboration, and decision-making. Each of these three themes apply to all five cases in some respect, including through important discursive absences.

3.4.1 Making time and space for (a selective) Indigenous presence

Both the reconciliation documents and redevelopment plans render Indigenous presence (in)visible in assigning a particular temporality to Indigenous relationships to urban land. These temporal boundaries become increasingly constrained within the planning domain. While the reconciliation documents recognize (to varying extents) the continuous and contemporary nature of these relationships, the redevelopment plans consistently historicize Indigenous connections to the planning areas, including within the presentation of the sites' histories. Here, visual and descriptive timelines contain these connections to a pre-colonial era, minimizing the violence of dispossession in presenting a seemingly natural and uncontested transition from Indigenous occupation to European settlement and development. For instance, while the City of Hamilton's Urban Indigenous Strategy (2019) recognizes Indigenous peoples' ongoing "spiritual, mental, physical and emotional connections" to the land (p. 21) and contemporary place in the city, Indigenous presence in the City's Bayfront Industrial Area Strategy (2022) is confined to a pre-urban "Bayfront of the Past", traversing "ancient paths" that became settler roads (p. 19). The City of Vancouver's Broadway Plan (2022a) is exceptional among redevelopment plans in underlining the contemporary presence of "diverse Urban Indigenous communities" and the significance of planning on "unceded Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh lands" (p. 10), although its visual timeline still largely emphasizes historic Indigenous ties.

At the same time, municipalities' reconciliation documents often recognize contemporary Indigenous connections to urban space in ways that sidestep Indigenous communities' territorial

authority and/or particular stake in shaping urban futures (see also Nejad et al., 2019; Porter & Barry, 2015). That such discourses can be comfortably engaged within the redevelopment plans while “maintaining investor confidence and interest in the land” (Exhibition Lands Implementation Strategy, City of Edmonton, 2021a, p. 11) is not just due to their historicized translation, but also due to the portrayal of a non-rights-based Indigenous presence. For instance, recognition that urban land “has been and remains a special place of residence, meetings, exchanges, and passage for Indigenous nations” (Reconciliation Strategy 2020-2025, City of Montréal, 2020, p. 39) filters into the planning domain to depict planning areas as historic “meeting places” or “places of exchange” (e.g., Programme particulier d’urbanisme de l’écoquartier Lachine-Est, City of Montréal, 2023b, p. 2). Here, representations of “territorial use” also evade transformative shifts in authority over urban land (see Porter & Barry, 2015, p. 34), protecting development interests and “the City’s commitment...to selling and redeveloping lands” (Exhibition Lands Implementation Strategy, City of Edmonton, 2021a, p. 21) while making a nod to broader reconciliation discourse.

Exceptionally, both the City of Vancouver’s recent reconciliation documents (2020, 2021) and Broadway Plan (2022a) recognize local Nations’ ongoing ties to urban space in rights-related ways, although certain discursive tensions remain. While the Broadway Plan importantly recognizes that “colonial practices continue to impede Indigenous People’s rights, visibility, and voice” (p. 391), it then largely drops language of “rights” within the actual policies while maintaining an emphasis on “visibility and voice”. This tension reflects a broader challenge across municipalities in translating any acknowledgement within the reconciliation documents of the colonial “displacement of Indigenous Peoples from their homelands” (City of Edmonton, 2021c, p. 3) into land-related reparations and support for Indigenous peoples’ material ties to urban space, particularly within the redevelopment plans.

Examination of reconciliation documents’ orientation toward “recognizing and highlighting the past, present and future Indigenous presence” (City of Montréal, 2020, p. 33) reveals the “presence” that corresponding actions seek to make visible in the urban landscape is predominantly historic and/or symbolic. While the intent here is not to discount this type of presence (i.e., representational), its discursive primacy is notable. Across the different reconciliation strategies and frameworks is the similar aim to “visually represent the historic and continuing presence of Indigenous peoples” (City of Hamilton, 2019, p. 24) or “ensure they can

see themselves reflected in the City’s spaces or places” (City of Edmonton, 2021c, p. 19) through the addition of Indigenous place names, art, and other markers of Indigenous peoples’ histories, cultures, and (past) connections to urban land. It is this framing of Indigenous presence that is also most prominent in the redevelopment plans.

For instance, the final plan for Montréal’s Lachine-Est redevelopment emphasizes “the commemoration of Indigenous presence in the development of certain public spaces” (City of Montréal, 2023b, p. 45). This aim directly reflects the second objective of Montréal’s reconciliation strategy to “[i]mprove the visibility of the Indigenous presence in the City of Montréal” through “archaeological heritage...urban markers, and historical and cultural encounters” (City of Montréal, 2020, p. 39). These statements support (the legibility of) a particular type of Indigenous presence within the planning area: a visual signifier of historic ties rather than one that is contemporary and corporeal.

All five municipalities’ reconciliation documents do also attend to a non-symbolic Indigenous presence via objectives to develop culturally supportive affordable housing and/or gathering spaces for (and with) Indigenous communities. However, among the five area redevelopment plans, only the City of Vancouver’s Broadway Plan (2022a) translates these municipal reconciliation objectives into substantial policy support for Indigenous peoples’ physical presence in and occupation of urban space. The City of Edmonton Exhibition Lands Planning Framework (2021b) does reference, less decisively, the potential incorporation of “Indigenous culture and wellness amenities” and spaces as part of the public amenity offering (p. 52, see also p. 54). Identifying the need to respond to ongoing colonial inequities in planning for housing, community well-being, and the public realm, the Broadway Plan (2022a) references collaboration toward “additional...culturally appropriate housing...for Indigenous peoples” (p. 361), as well as “sociocultural gathering and programming spaces...to bolster a diversity of Indigenous communities’ cultural practices” (p. 424). The area plan also aims to “[e]hance the visibility of Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh Nations on their own lands through...stewardship initiatives” while also “support[ing] urban Indigenous use of park spaces through culturally reflective and specific park amenities” (p. 406). Nevertheless, these directions exist alongside a central focus on the “development or redevelopment of properties in the area” (p. 494) to “leverage the rapid transit investment” (p. 164), which prioritizes capitalist spatial relations. In other redevelopment plans, the exchange value of urban land appears to take

precedence over creating space for Indigenous people in the city, including public realm reconceptualization that leverages green space to “attract new industries and investors” (Bayfront Industrial Area Strategy, City of Hamilton, 2022, p. 52) in explicit alignment with the interests of capital.

In fact, planning actions supporting historic and/or symbolic Indigenous presence, while moving beyond the abstracted, “pan-Indigenous” symbols of early reconciliation efforts (George, 2020), remain interwoven with place-marketing efforts. Local Indigenous cultures and histories are leveraged as an economic “asset” (e.g., Walker & Belanger, 2013) through projects’ “storytelling opportunities” (e.g., Exhibition Lands Implementation Strategy, City of Edmonton, 2021a, p. 39), including “tourism-oriented products that celebrates indigenous [sic] use of the land prior to industry” (Bayfront Industrial Area Strategy, City of Hamilton, 2022, p. 94). Place-making projects that centre a symbolic Indigenous presence also serve a place-marketing function. The City of Vancouver’s Broadway Plan (2022a) looks to make visible local Nations’ pre-colonial connections to the municipally branded Creative District through a symbolic “Cultural Ribbon”, which also functions as a point of attraction:

“The Cultural Ribbon will be a walkway that acts as a draw to the area, highlighting Coast Salish knowledge and culture through elements such as art, signage, public realm/landscape design and architecture.” (p. 262)

Indigenous visibility is thus intertwined with the appeal of the Creative District, as well as supporting the municipality’s status as a “City of Reconciliation” (see also George, 2020).

Overall, the recontextualization of ‘Indigenous presence’ within redevelopment visions and policies reflects a modest departure from (pre-reconciliation era) state planning discourse that obscures or diminishes Indigenous connections to place to facilitate capitalist redevelopment (e.g. Toews, 2018). In the case of Regina’s City Centre Core Framework, Indigenous presence never extends beyond the territorial acknowledgement on the second page, while the plan itself explicitly centres real estate interests. While representations of Indigenous presence across the cases consistently avoid the stigmatizing portrayals of past planning documents (illustrated by Toews, 2018 in the Winnipeg context), a contemporary and/or rights-based presence is more often ignored than acknowledged.

Instead, the presence that is more prominently supported within the redevelopment plans continues to be one that is less disruptive to settler-colonial claims to space. This dynamic also

aligns with Clark et al.'s (2016) reflection on the tendency for reconciliation efforts to be conceived so as not to “upset status quo institutions, values, and identities of the settler state” (p. 13). This is not to undermine the significance of representing local Indigenous identities, cultures, and (historic) ties to place in the public realm. However, it is easier for municipalities to reconcile continued settler possession and transformation of Indigenous land with an Indigenous presence that is tied to the past and/or more “static” design elements versus the increased visibility of Indigenous people enacting claims to territory and place through ongoing occupation and spatial production.

3.4.2 Indigenous absence through discourses of unity and inclusion

Several of the area redevelopment plans also obscure Indigenous connections to urban space by promoting place identities grounded in a ‘shared’ (settler-colonial) history. At first glance, establishing a unified identity for the planning area simply reproduces place-branding tactics commonly employed to attract real estate investment. In a context of reconciliation discourse, however, this approach also works to simplify more complex and ‘unsettling’ spatial narratives that reveal persisting Indigenous claims to urban space – as illustrated (to some extent) within the municipal reconciliation documents. In presenting more cohesive place narratives that omits such claims, status quo development pathways retain their legitimacy. For instance, City of Hamilton’s Bayfront Industrial Area Strategy (2022) positions the envisioned “modern industrial campus” as a continuity of the area’s “rich” industrial heritage “important to many generations of Hamilton families” (p. 84), neatly circumventing Indigenous relationships to urban land and contributions to place as recognized in the City’s Urban Indigenous Strategy (2019).

Indigenous absence through unified place narratives can also be partial, rather than complete. Certain redevelopment plans reference past Indigenous presence to help establish historic characteristics of place and form a cohesive identity. Drawing on an industrial past to ground a socioecological transformation, Montréal’s final plan for Lachine-Est identifies “Indigenous presence on the site, before and during the industrial era” as part of this historic “spirit of the place” (City of Montréal, 2023b, p. 35). Here, the plan recontextualizes Mohawk contributions to settler urban development represented in the City’s reconciliation strategy: as “skillful pilots on the Lachine Rapids” and “ironworkers on various infrastructure and building projects” (City of Montréal, 2020, p. 22). In recognizing Indigenous presence through a lens of

historic trade and industry, the plan upholds a unified – and investor friendly – settler place identity that evades contemporary, rights-based connections.

Indeed, the planning visions that spring from these unified place identities remain largely silent in terms of Indigenous stakes in the areas' futures. For instance, the City of Edmonton Exhibition Lands Planning Framework (2021b) recognizes the site as “an important rendezvous for trade between Indigenous peoples” (p. 27) in constructing its historic identity as a gathering place. However, the plan then positions an abstract “history of gathering” as a basis for the site’s transformation into a “vibrant new urban community” (p. 32), discursively distancing the reimagining of urban space from contemporary Indigenous ties to the area, including as residents in adjacent neighbourhoods (Statistics Canada, 2021). At the same time, redevelopment visions position unified place identities and associated interventions as a benefit for all, helping to “reinforce citizen pride” (Plan d’ensemble de l’écoquartier Lachine-Est, City of Montréal, 2021a, p. 33) and “inspire our community spirit while enhancing our community prosperity” (City Centre Core Framework, City of Regina, 2021, p. 13). Thus, while language of community acts as short-hand in the planning realm to illustrate a project’s inclusionary scope and broad-reaching benefits, it also plays a role in concealing specific Indigenous claims to urban space by privileging “common” interests and ideals.

Specific Indigenous claims and interests are also obscured as municipalities orient their reconciliation efforts toward achieving a “more inclusive, vibrant community shared equally by all” (Reconciliation Regina, 2020, p. 4), recontextualizing the planning discourse of the “inclusive city”. For instance, the City of Edmonton’s Indigenous Framework (2021c) calls for the incorporation of “the vibrant cultures, traditions, teachings, and histories of Indigenous Peoples...into creating a healthy, prosperous city” (p. 17). This discourse also reappears in the co-existing visions for area redevelopment. The City of Edmonton Exhibition Lands Planning Framework (2021b), for instance, supports “an inclusive, multicultural future for all residents and visitors”, noting “[o]pportunities to incorporate Indigenous knowledge and stories” (p. 32) within the redevelopment. Here, the inclusive city discourse is transformed within the planning realm itself in interaction with reconciliation imperatives. While aspirations for vibrant and inclusive urban futures are ostensibly positive, the articulation of reconciliation as the “broader inclusion of all cultural communities” (Framework for City of Reconciliation, City of Vancouver, 2014, p. 4, also Broadway Plan, City of Vancouver, 2022a, p. 418) risks downplaying distinct

Indigenous rights and interests, and the need to address specific settler-colonial logics of urbanization (Dorries, 2019; George, 2020). With its emphasis on broad community engagement, the inclusive city discourse works in a similar way, alongside attention to private land interests and municipal land authority, to dilute municipal-Indigenous relationship-building discourses within the area redevelopment plans.

3.4.3 Discourses of relationship-building, collaboration, and decision-making

Relationship-building with Indigenous communities is a central focus of most of the reconciliation documents, reflecting national-level reconciliation discussions. The Reconciliation Regina Community Action Plan (2020), for instance, speaks to “mov[ing] forward in partnership with Indigenous peoples, communities and organizations”, recognizing “the importance of building mutually beneficial relationships” (p. 19). Edmonton and Hamilton’s reconciliation documents also underline the need for each municipality “to honour and respect its foundational relationship with the First Peoples” (City of Edmonton, 2021c, p. 10), which “focused on the sharing, use and stewardship of land” (City of Hamilton, 2019, p. 21). Here, municipal reconciliation commitments are oriented toward a return to “original” settler-Indigenous treaty relationships. This orientation at times minimizes foundational settler-colonial violence (e.g. Corntassel, 2023) while also recognizing the need to reframe relations “with Indigenous peoples on this land” (Indigenous Framework, City of Edmonton, 2021c, p. 13), including through “a deliberate effort to share...decision-making authority” (p. 18). This emphasis on shared decision-making has pertinence with respect to the disruption of settler-colonial power dynamics within planning processes.

However, what is predominantly translated into the redevelopment plans are representations of municipal-Indigenous relationship-building contained to certain spheres and/or levels of engagement (e.g., “meaningful consultation”, Urban Indigenous Strategy, City of Hamilton, 2019, p. 9). The same three planning discourses that transform notions of Indigenous presence (and absence) also shape this recontextualization of relationship-building: conceptions of urban authority, the inclusive city, and redevelopment as capital accumulation.

Most redevelopment plans continue to implicitly and explicitly position the municipality as the ultimate decision-making authority in the transformation of urban space (e.g., “[t]he City...owns and controls much of the land”, City Centre Core Framework, City of Regina, 2021,

p. 9), tempered only by recognition of private ownership and/or community control over certain project aspects. To maintain this narrative, engagement with Indigenous communities, if mentioned at all, is located within broader discussions of “citizen” or “stakeholder” engagement, without allusion to the collaborative and government-to-government relations referenced in many of the reconciliation documents. Here, an emphasis on “meaningful dialogue with participants” (Bayfront Industrial Area Strategy, City of Hamilton, 2022, p. 61) demonstrates the dilution of specific language of relationship-building within more general notions of inclusive citizen engagement. City of Vancouver’s Broadway Plan (2022a) frequently references collaboration with Indigenous communities regarding both plan creation and implementation. However, the document does not specify how Indigenous perspectives shaped the planning vision or how areas of ongoing collaboration were determined, details also absent from explicit references to Indigenous engagement in the other planning documents.

Some redevelopment plans do centre shared governance as a standout feature of the project, but in abstraction from relationship-building with Indigenous communities. In some instances, collaborative governance is engaged as part of a more “inclusive” planning model that centres “the mobilization and engagement of the [local] community” (Programme particulier d’urbanisme de l’écoquartier Lachine-Est, City of Montréal, 2023b, p. 31). In other cases, discourses of collaborative governance reflect the continued prioritization of redevelopment projects as avenue for investment attraction and capital accumulation. In contrast to reorienting municipal-Indigenous relationships toward shared decision-making authority, as per City of Edmonton’s Indigenous Framework (2021c), the City of Edmonton Exhibition Lands Implementation Strategy (2021a) emphasizes collaboration with private interests, with only brief references to Indigenous place-making partnerships. Here, governance structures that centre relationship-building with development partners – oriented around “unlock[ing] development potential” (p. 19) and “dynamically respond[ing] to [the] market” (p. iv) – indicate a continued drive to maximize exchange value in line with status quo, settler-colonial mentalities surrounding the transformation of urban space.

3.5 Discussion and Conclusion

This analysis identifies that reconciliation discourses are reconceived and reproduced within municipal redevelopment plans in ways that align predominantly with the perpetuation of

settler planning norms and ideals, including imperatives of capital accumulation. On the one hand, planning documents directly borrow representations from reconciliation strategies that are compatible with these norms and ideals, including those already engaged within the planning sphere (e.g., Indigenous peoples as stakeholders and pre-urban Indigenous presence, see Porter & Barry, 2015). On the other hand, representations of reconciliation are altered by discourses that structure the redevelopment plans – those of urban authority, capitalist development, and the inclusive city. As a result, municipal reconciliation-era redevelopment plans consistently privilege certain forms of Indigenous presence, emphasize cohesive place identities and collective interests, and present limited conceptions of Indigenous-municipal planning relations while privileging other forms of relationship-building (e.g., with developers and/or ‘the community’).

Thus, while Indigenous claims and interests are not totally erased at the nexus of redevelopment planning and reconciliation, the selective visibility of state-led reconciliation and settler-colonial planning (e.g. Clark et al., 2016; Porter et al., 2019) persists. Building on George’s (2020) discussion of reconciliation and city branding, this analysis demonstrates the construction of marketable place identities within area redevelopment plans that rely on particular forms of Indigenous visibility, including as contributors to settler urban development. At the same time, the inclusive city planning discourse, with its representations of collective benefit, community interests, and broad citizen engagement, is engaged akin to notions of ‘reconciliation as unity’ to obscure Indigenous specificity within both sets of documents. Here, the analysis expands on Porter and Barry’s (2016) assertions regarding the drive to establish cohesive planning visions and “shared” planning ideals as a tool to limit the disruption of colonial and capitalist imperatives.

Additionally, as much as the reconciliation strategies at times contain or downplay Indigenous peoples’ specific connections to urban space and stakes in determining urban futures, this outcome is more pronounced within the redevelopment plans. This finding underlines the persistence of the settler imaginary of urban/Indigenous non-compatibility (e.g. Tomiak et al., 2019) within urban planning processes, despite new attention to advancing reconciliation. More ‘disruptive’ orientations in the reconciliation strategies, such as working toward shared decision-making authority or upholding Indigenous peoples’ material connections to the land, are often not taken up within the redevelopment plans, despite their relevance to processes of urban

development. Instead, municipal reconciliation imperatives that reappear most consistently and prominently within the redevelopment plans are those that are less threatening to co-existing imperatives of capital accumulation and protecting state/private control over urban land (Stein, 2019), such as making visible a symbolic, historical Indigenous presence. The translation of this conception of Indigenous presence within the planning objectives and policies – rather than a contemporary “Indigenous sovereign presence” (Coulthard, 2014, p. 176) that fully reflects claims to urban space and urban futures – presents limited disruption to the logics of settler-colonial urbanism. For instance, while these planning documents avoid stigmatizing Indigenous communities to justify capitalist visions, as in certain pre-reconciliation redevelopment plans (Toews, 2018), they nevertheless engage a historical and/or symbolic Indigenous presence to market the planning areas “for settler capitalistic benefit” (George, 2020, p. 103).

There is, however, an important distinction to be made between Vancouver, which has had a reconciliation framework in place since 2014, and the other four cases, whose reconciliation strategies and frameworks were adopted in recent years. As this analysis demonstrates, the dialogue between planning and reconciliation appears the most developed in the Vancouver case, in terms of both the extent to which the planning and reconciliation documents are discursively aligned and the presence of Indigenous recognition in less constrained forms. This result can be connected to Vancouver’s earlier initiation of reconciliation discussions focused on building municipal staff’s capacity to engage in reconciliation work, as well as the City’s emphasis on reconciliation as part of its brand (City of Vancouver, 2014). These factors create a context in which contemporary planning staff are undertaking work with both greater awareness of the importance of transforming municipal-Indigenous relations and (implicit) pressure to maintain Vancouver’s optics as a ‘City of Reconciliation’.

Nevertheless, this analysis suggests that substantive shifts to settler-colonial planning relations are still limited even in this more ‘advanced’ case. Municipalities continue to selectively construct Indigenous (in)visibility in both physical and decision-making spaces as they plan for urban change, despite a new focus on reconciliation. In this new context, reconciliation discourses become part of this construction of (in)visibility in an effort to uphold settler possession of Indigenous land, as they are recontextualized “to construct and reinforce preestablished power relations” (Porter & Barry, 2015, p. 37).

Attention to the recontextualization of reconciliation discourses in the planning of urban space reveals, on the one hand, the need to engage more expansive conceptions of authority and place. On the other hand, it underlines the importance of untangling reconciliation from capital accumulation, demonstrating how attention to more expansive notions of reconciliation in the planning sphere must be paired with efforts to disrupt normative approaches to planning that shape urban space in the interests of capital. This imperative is underlined by, for instance, the struggles of Vancouver's Broadway Plan to translate its rights-based Indigenous recognition into processes and policies that fulsomely respect these rights, as it attempts to balance reconciliation with capitalist assumptions surrounding land and property. The analysis also problematizes 'inclusivity' as a response to status quo redevelopment planning, given the role of this discourse in obscuring Indigenous specificity. Accordingly, the article nuances existing discussions on the continuity of colonial-capitalist planning "language and concepts...[of] stakeholders, inclusion, rights, land, property, expertise" (Sandercock, 2019, p. 312, also Porter & Barry, 2015, 2016) in a new context of municipal-led reconciliation, demonstrating their evolving but persistent role in containing Indigenous interests.

Chapter 4 (Manuscript 2): Planners' Reflections on Land Use Planning as a Space for Indigenous-Settler Reconciliation in Two Canadian Cities

Submitted for publication to *Planning Theory and Practice* under the title “Foundational but also ‘beyond the scope’? Planners’ reflections on land use planning as a space for Indigenous-settler reconciliation in two Canadian cities”

While planning practice in settler-colonial contexts has long reproduced the settler-colonial relationship, growing municipal attention to colonial inequities provides a potential space for transformation. Drawing on semi-structured interviews, this paper interrogates how municipal planners involved in comprehensive land use planning processes in Montréal and Vancouver represent ‘reconciliatory’ practice. The analysis reveals a tension in how planners represent their reconciliation responsibilities toward the transformation of settler planning practices versus in ways that justify their continuity. In doing so, it positions planners’ motivations to proactively disrupt colonial land use planning dynamics as a central component of a more expansive space for reconciliation.

4.1 Introduction

Land use planning in settler-colonial countries has long evaded a fundamental reality of its practice: that urban development has taken place, and continues to take place, on Indigenous lands (Porter & Barry, 2015). Instead, planning practice continues to reproduce the dispossessory settler-colonial relationship (e.g., Dorries, 2017; Porter, 2010). However, settler states around the globe face growing pressure to recognize and redress colonial injustices, particularly as Indigenous peoples persistently assert their territorial rights and authority. This pressure provides a potential context for the transformation of status quo land use planning approaches and mentalities. In Canada, dialogue on colonial reparations occurs under the banner of reconciliation, referring to an ongoing process of Indigenous-settler relationship-building grounded in the transformation of settler consciousness in both immaterial and material ways (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). While dialogue on reconciliation originally centered around the national-level Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), the

term has gained discursive prominence at the municipal level, including within the planning sphere. Amid new emphasis on municipal action to advance reconciliation, planning in Canadian cities seeks to refute its reputation as a practice that eschews “relational processes with [Indigenous] peoples that might expand its repertoire” (Walker & Belanger, 2013, p. 196).

While the reconciliation shift has placed greater focus on engagement with Indigenous communities, it is unclear the extent to which this shift has “expanded the repertoire” of municipal planners. In response, this paper interrogates how municipal planners involved in land use planning processes represent reconciliatory planning practice, and their roles therein, in relation to settler-colonial planning’s normative boundaries. The analysis is based primarily on interviews with municipal planners involved in four current projects in Montréal and Vancouver, at two different scales: the Lachine-Est ‘eco-neighbourhood’ plan (Écoquartier Lachine-Est) and city-wide 2050 Land Use and Mobility Plan (PUM 2050) in Montréal, and the area-level Broadway Plan and city-wide Vancouver Plan in Vancouver. I also draw on interviews with other municipal staff and officials involved in advancing municipal reconciliation efforts within the planning domain in both cities. Vancouver and Montréal were chosen as research sites not just on the basis that they are both major cities with recent and ongoing land use planning projects at the appropriate scales, but also because they represent different municipal reconciliation timelines and contexts.

Planners’ reflections on advancing reconciliation through land use planning balance between deference to colonial planning norms and commitment to their transformation. Accordingly, land use planning is portrayed as both a critical and limited space for reconciliation work. In some instances, planners emphasize factors that ostensibly diminish their reconciliation responsibilities, such as constraints posed by existing institutional structures or a perceived lack of Indigenous ‘interest’ in the project at hand. Here, planners downplay their agency to adjust their own practices in what Tuck and Yang (2012) would consider a “settler move to innocence”. In other instances, planners underline persisting responsibilities and opportunities to reconcile regardless of external constraints, project boundaries, or Indigenous capacities to engage, emphasizing an inward focus on the transformation of status quo mentalities and approaches. Building on Porter and Barry’s (2016) discussions of capacity-building, the findings suggest that a focus on developing planners’ internal motivations and capacities to proactively disrupt the

settler-colonial relationship is central to the creation of a more expansive space for reconciliation within planning.

I begin the remainder of the paper by exploring literature on state-led approaches to reconciliation and Indigenous-state planning relations to situate planners as reconciliation actors. I then position Vancouver and Montréal as distinct sites of municipal-led reconciliation before presenting my methodology. Finally, I analyze municipal planners' perspectives on reconciliatory planning practice in the context of the four project cases before exploring possibilities for more expansive approaches to reconciliation within land use planning.

4.2 State-led approaches to reconciliation

Settler state reconciliation discourse and action is defined by the contradictions contained within the state's duality as champion for the reparation of Indigenous-settler relations and continued oppressor (Edwards, 2016). Recognizing this tension, Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars alike (e.g. Corntassel, 2023; George, 2020; Ladner, 2018) refute state conceptions of reconciliation that do little more than repackage existing relations under a different banner, rather than advance "concrete actions that demonstrate real societal change" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). Here, reconciliation declarations and symbolic Indigenous recognition are seen to distract from, rather than disrupt, the state's continued role in "the dispossession of Indigenous peoples of their lands and self-determining authority" (Coulthard, 2014, p. 25; de Costa, 2016; George, 2020). Similarly, numerous Indigenous voices emphasize respect for distinct, self-determined Indigenous futures as a crucial dimension of colonial reparations (e.g. George, 2020; Manuel & Derrickson, 2017; Simpson, 2011). However, the state consistently orients reconciliation objectives toward the unification of Indigenous and settler futures through an emphasis on Indigenous inclusion in settler society (Clark et al., 2016; George, 2020; MacDonald, 2020). Framed as such, reconciliation functions as an avenue for the renewed legitimacy of the settler state, allowing it to move beyond "past" wrongdoing without significant disruption to its authority, structuring ideologies or "territorial integrity" (Corntassel, 2023, p. 149; Coulthard, 2014; George, 2020; MacDonald, 2020; Simpson, 2011; Snelgrove & Wildcat, 2023; Starblanket, 2023).

Discursive containment of colonial harms to the past also allows settlers to "feel the frisson of reconciling" through symbolic acts (e.g., land acknowledgements) despite their

ongoing implication in reproducing colonial relations, including as actors within the settler state (MacDonald, 2020, p. 8, also George, 2020). This perceived absolution of colonial wrongdoings through performative reconciliation constitutes a “settler move to innocence” (Tuck and Yang, 2012). Tuck and Yang (2012) define “settler moves to innocence” as “strategies or positionings that attempt to relieve the settler of feelings of guilt or responsibility without giving up land or power or privilege, without having to change much at all” (p. 10). While state-led reconciliation typically prioritizes settler comfort, providing a venue for the exoneration of (de)colonial responsibility, transformative reconciliation requires settler society to confront colonial myths and realities in both the past and present (Ladner, 2018; MacDonald, 2020; Simpson, 2011). This deeper settler reckoning necessitates new ways of knowing, acting, and relating, at both individual and collective levels, that run counter to colonial norms and in accordance with Indigenous rights and aspirations (e.g., Daigle, 2019; Manuel & Derrickson, 2017; Simpson, 2011). Material reparations are also paramount alongside structural shifts, particularly with respect to land restitution (Corntassel, 2023; MacDonald, 2020; Manuel & Derrickson, 2017). However, Ladner (2018) identifies a lack of settler impetus to engage in this form of reconciliation work, given these implications. Instead, settler society and the settler state often places the burden of reconciliation on Indigenous people(s), demanding their engagement, knowledge, and guidance within settler constructs and timelines (e.g., Daigle, 2019).

Thus, state-led reconciliation in its current form does not yet embody the transformative acts necessary to uphold Indigenous peoples’ land-based, self-determined futures. However, Snelgrove and Wildcat (2023) suggest that even conventional reconciliation processes can open the door to more transformative possibilities and actions, including in redefining Indigenous/state and Indigenous/non-Indigenous relations in potentially productive ways. Crucially, state engagement in reconciliation work represents a context in which the colonial status quo is inherently destabilized. As Snelgrove and Wildcat assert, this context creates “openings” for actions that can dismantle destabilized relations to advance Indigenous communities’ self-determination, including on and over their land. While the authors frame this argument in terms of openings for Indigenous resistance, it also speaks to possibilities for actors in settler institutions to redefine status quo practices, including planners.

4.3 Planners as reconciliation actors

Planning is a particularly pertinent realm for reconciliation discussions and actions. As Porter and Barry (2016) emphasize, it is “an arena where issues about the use, management and future of place [and land] are contested, negotiated and settled” (p. 2). Contemporary state-led planning processes, grounded in colonial logics, continue to reproduce dispossession relations as they envision the form and function of Indigenous lands (Dorries, 2017; Matunga, 2013; Porter, 2010; Porter & Barry, 2016). While there is as of yet little evidence of settler planning practices that radically transform logics of settler possession and “authority over place” (Porter & Barry, 2015, p. 23), the colonial structuring of space is not absolute, nor is it unequivocally reinforced by state planners (Porter & Barry, 2016).

Instead, the colonial basis of contemporary planning underlines, for many scholars, the importance of redefining Indigenous-state planning relations, interrogating approaches and mechanisms that have long been accepted as standard, “neutral” practice (e.g., Matunga, 2013; Nejad et al., 2019; Porter, 2010; Porter & Barry, 2016; Sandercock, 2019; Walker & Belanger, 2013). Municipal-Indigenous planning relations are a critical focal point given the structural invisibility of Indigenous interests, claims, and ways of being in the city, an environment deemed “too modern, and too modified, for Indigenous culture, law, rights and interests to have survived colonization” (Porter & Barry, 2016, p. 154, also Porter & Barry, 2015; Tomiak, 2019). This urban/Indigenous disconnect extends to planning processes. In settler-colonial cities in Canada and Australia, any attention paid to Indigenous interests in urban planning has tended toward “bounded recognition” (Porter & Barry, 2015). In this sense, Indigenous interests have been almost exclusively associated with planning themes and spaces seen to align with ‘traditional’ Indigeneity, such as culture, heritage or the natural environment (Porter & Barry, 2015, 2016). As Porter and Barry (2016) argue, the continued dismissal of “Indigenous rights and interests in...commercial office development or urban renewal projects exposes just how tightly the category of ‘Indigenous’ is bounded to a highly limited range of planning objects” (p. 155). Indeed, in the Canadian context, municipalities’ responsibilities to uphold Indigenous rights in land use and development planning remain ill-defined (Flynn, 2020; Porter & Barry, 2015). However, growing municipal discourse on reconciliation provides a new basis to reevaluate assumptions, aims, and outcomes of these planning processes.

Discussions within the literature on Indigenous-settler planning relations present a tension between possibilities of meaningfully reconceptualizing Indigenous engagement within settler-colonial planning systems, versus radically rethinking the systems themselves to support coexistence (rather than convergence). With respect to the former direction, Walker and Belanger (2013) reflect on the potential for “Indigenous-inclusive cities” (p. 193), wherein Indigenous interests are incorporated as a municipal planning “lens”. Similarly, Fawcett et al. (2015) discuss the “indigenization” of municipal planning processes through “authentic forms of partnership” with local Indigenous communities (p. 160). This approach is positioned as a pathway toward respecting Indigenous self-determination in providing space for these communities to co-create “mainstream” plans and policies in line with their knowledges and aspirations. While both models emphasize shared decision-making authority toward mutually beneficial and desired outcomes, Walker and Belanger (2013) recognize that “interest-convergence” between municipalities and Indigenous communities remains primarily determined by municipal interests.

In contrast to approaches that seek unity, other scholars (e.g. Matunga, 2013) argue that transforming Indigenous-state planning relations requires recognition of planning plurality rather than “simply ‘grafting’ Indigeneity to ‘mainstream’ planning” (p. 31). Porter and Barry (2016) emphasize this path toward coexistence, underlining that “Indigenous people and non-Indigenous settlers *co-occupy* place...in ways that are *rarely common* with each other, and often fundamentally different” (p. 5). Accordingly, in order to respect Indigenous self-determination, state (municipal) planning institutions and actors have an obligation to reconceive planning ideals and approaches to uphold a distinct space for those of Indigenous communities. This validation of parallel Indigenous planning practices and authority must occur alongside “accountability and redress” for past and present dispossessions of land and territorial authority (Porter, 2017, p. 559).

In practice, however, the tendency to conceptualize improved Indigenous-state planning relations through a lens of inclusion remains dominant. Mirroring broader reconciliation approaches, Indigenous people(s) are invited to engage in state planning spaces within its normative constructs and timelines. In doing so, settler planning practice appears transformed without threat to “fundamental [colonial] tenets...such as certainty, public interest or property rights” (Porter & Barry, 2016, p. 188, see also Porter & Barry, 2015; Sandercock, 2019). Nevertheless, the potential for smaller-scale, piecemeal transformation persists through planners’

efforts to produce and/or leverage “new spaces of engagement”, even as colonial planning structures appear unyielding (Sandercock, 2019, p. 305, also Porter & Barry, 2016).

Municipal-led reconciliation efforts can be conceptualized as an emergent “space of engagement”, adding a new layer to existing discussions on planners’ abilities and responsibilities to redefine Indigenous-state planning relations (e.g., Matunga, 2013; Porter, 2017; Porter & Barry, 2016; Sandercock, 2019). Municipal planners, engaged as they are in the definition and redefinition of urban space and urban futures, are intrinsically implicated in the negotiation of a still-opaque pathway toward planning plurality in the city (Porter & Barry, 2016; Sandercock, 2019). Such a path is intrinsically uncomfortable and unsettling for those operating within status quo planning systems and requires discussions of (deficient) planning capacity to be refocused (Porter & Barry, 2016; Porter, 2017; Sandercock, 2019). Typically, discussions of planning capacity focus strictly on Indigenous capacity to engage in normative planning activities and relationships (Porter & Barry, 2016; Sandercock, 2019). However, in imagining a path toward coexistence, emphasis must be placed on settler planners’ responsibilities to develop their own decolonial capacities through processes of (un)learning (Porter & Barry, 2016; Sandercock, 2019). As Porter & Barry (2016) underline, a one-sided approach to capacity-building risks minimizing both Indigenous planning knowledge and settler planners’ obligations to think and do differently.

Thus, in addition to structural shifts at the institutional level, planners must shift their mentalities and practices in support of “spaces for planning hybridity” that uphold Indigenous rights and interests (Porter & Barry, 2016, p. 182, also Porter, 2010; Sandercock, 2019; Ugarte, 2014). This multi-scalar transformation constitutes a “complex renegotiation of values, knowledge, meaning, agency and power *between planning and Indigenous peoples*, and *within planning itself* (Porter, 2010, p. 153, emphasis added). For planners, shifts include unsettling normative ideals of inclusion and expertise and relationship-building with Indigenous communities outside of specific timelines or agendas to develop deeper understanding of convergences and divergences (Porter, 2017; Porter & Barry, 2016; Sandercock, 2019). While these individual-level shifts support and are supported by structural ones (Ugarte, 2014), planners have an obligation to make space for Indigenous interests irrespective of how recognition has been formalized or denied within regulatory frameworks (Porter, 2010). The emergence of municipal-led reconciliation discourse presents a new context in which to

interrogate how settler state planners connect land use planning projects – and their roles and responsibilities therein –to the transformation of Indigenous-state planning relations.

4.4 Reconciliation and land use planning in Vancouver and Montréal

In the decade following the TRC’s 2015 Final Report, reconciliation has gained prominence as both an aspirational concept and imperative consideration, demanding settler state attention to redefining Indigenous-settler relations. The TRC “defines reconciliation as an ongoing process of establishing and maintaining respectful relationships” through which settler society works toward “repairing damaged trust by making apologies, providing individual and collective reparations, and following through with concrete actions that demonstrate real societal change” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a, p. 16). Specific principles of reconciliation include respect for Indigenous peoples’ rights “as the original peoples of this country and as self-determining peoples”, support for Indigenous “cultural revitalization”, and work to address contemporary colonial impacts, including “the gaps in social, health, and economic outcomes” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015c, p. 3-4). Accordingly, the TRC’s 94 Calls to Action outline structural changes to be undertaken by a range of public and private actors, with a focus on the role of the settler-colonial state. A number of these calls to action speak directly to municipal land use planning activities, including N. 47: “We call upon the federal, provincial, territorial, and municipal governments to repudiate concepts used to justify European sovereignty over Indigenous peoples and lands...and to reform those laws, government policies...that continue to rely on such concepts” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b, p. 5).

In response to these calls to action and growing national discourse on reconciliation, municipalities across Canada – including Vancouver and Montréal – have developed reconciliation frameworks and strategies. The City of Montréal’s reconciliation strategy includes objectives to improve relations with Indigenous peoples and communities, increase Indigenous visibility in urban spaces, integrate Indigenous knowledge into environmental plans and initiatives, and support urban Indigenous needs and Indigenous cultural and economic development. The City of Vancouver’s reconciliation framework also places focus on relationship-building with local Indigenous nations and urban Indigenous communities,

alongside staff awareness and training and a more flexible approach to decision-making in support of Indigenous interests.

Vancouver and Montréal both occupy unceded Indigenous lands. More specifically, Vancouver occupies the unceded territory of the xʷməθkʷəy̓əm (Musqueam), Sḵwx̱wú7mesh (Squamish), and səliłwətał (Tsleil-Waututh) Nations, while Montréal occupies the unceded territory of the Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk) Nation. 2.3 percent of City of Vancouver residents identify as Indigenous, versus 0.9 percent in the City of Montréal. Additionally, there are a number of census tracts with a higher proportion of Indigenous residents, including within the boundaries of major area planning projects focused on land redevelopment. For instance, Vancouver's Broadway Plan encompasses multiple tracts where between 3.0 and 7.4 percent of the population identifies as Indigenous, while Indigenous residents constitute between 2.3 and 3.6 of the total population in certain tracts overlapping and adjacent to Montréal's Écoquartier Lachine-Est planning area (Statistics Canada, 2021).

In both cities, land use planning is positioned as a key avenue for municipal-led reconciliation. In Montréal, municipal documents broadly reference the City's "role in reconciliation with Indigenous people through...its urban planning" (City of Montréal, 2020, p. 33), while Vancouver makes specific reference to "policy development on advancing Reconciliation through land use planning" as a central focus of recent projects, namely, the city-wide Vancouver Plan (City of Vancouver, 2021, p. 23). However, there are also contextual specificities that influence the dynamics and discourse of municipal-led reconciliation within the two cities, including the extent of time that reconciliation has featured on the municipal agenda.

The City of Montréal declared themselves a 'City of Reconciliation' in 2016 (Guimont-Marceau, 2020) and released their strategy in 2020. This timeline aligns with a broader wave of discursive attention to reconciliation across public and religious institutions, non-profit organizations, and the private sector following the TRC's Calls to Action in 2015. In contrast, the City of Vancouver's 2014 'City of Reconciliation' declaration and associated reconciliation framework sits in parallel to the TRC and in synergy with its role as host city for a national TRC event in 2013. Thus, while the work of the TRC was a motivating factor – and, cynically, the place-marketing benefits of positioning itself as a leader in reconciliation (George, 2020) – its reconciliation framework was also a political response to growing awareness of "how little it had been doing in regard to Indigenous relations" (personal communication, former City of

Vancouver Indigenous relations staff, Feb 6, 2023). Here, the expansion of modern treaty-making processes in British Columbia since the 1990s has particularly underlined the need for Vancouver and other municipalities in the province to focus on relationship-building with local Indigenous nations. Led by the independent BC Treaty Commission, these processes seek to uphold Indigenous rights to land and self-determination, including within urban areas. This stronger political impetus to improve municipal-Indigenous relations has seemingly contributed to Vancouver’s more developed reconciliation discourse, including a new strategy (2022) and action plan (2024) that seek to implement the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP).

4.5 Methodology

This paper is based on a multiple-embedded case study (Yin, 2018) of the tensions and synergies between municipal comprehensive planning and municipal-led reconciliation in Vancouver and Montréal. I selected Vancouver and Montréal as major cities that represent “maximum variation cases” with respect to their municipal reconciliation timelines and contexts, providing opportunity for greater breadth in findings (Flyvbjerg, 2006). The four units of analysis (Table 2) represent two different planning scales to provide a more robust picture of how planners approach reconciliation within comprehensive planning processes. This focus on settler planning institutions and actors is grounded in my positionality as a non-Indigenous researcher.

Table 2: Case selection

Case	Project (unit of analysis)	Planning scale	Project stage
Montréal	Lachine-Est ‘eco-neighbourhood’ plan (Écoquartier Lachine-Est)	Area	Final plan adopted June 2023
	2050 Land Use and Mobility Plan (PUM 2050)	City-wide	Final plan released June 2025
Vancouver	Broadway Plan	Area	Final plan adopted June 2022
	Vancouver Plan	City-wide	Final plan adopted July 2022

I draw primarily on semi-structured interviews with 17 municipal planners who played a significant role in one of the four long-range comprehensive planning processes identified in Table 2. The associated plans are centred around land use policies and regulations to guide future urban development at the city-level or area-level, with an emphasis on facilitating intensification in different forms. They also address a range of associated policy areas, including housing, transportation, heritage, environmental sustainability, and the public realm. The Vancouver Plan and Broadway Plan include reconciliation as a guiding principle that is then addressed across these different policy areas, albeit to a greater extent in the former case. While the PUM 2050 does not include reconciliation as a guiding principle, it is nevertheless positioned as a means to advance municipal reconciliation objectives and includes certain Indigenous-specific policies. Finally, the Écoquartier Lachine-Est plan does not explicitly reference reconciliation but does include policies related to increasing Indigenous visibility, particularly in the public realm.

Of the 17 participating municipal planners, six were City of Montréal planning staff (two involved in the city-wide plan and four in the area plan) and 11 were City of Vancouver planning staff (seven involved in the city-wide plan and four in the area plan). In both cases, certain planners' roles within the projects were more overtly connected to advancing reconciliation than others. I also interviewed three current and former municipal staffers and officials – two in Vancouver and one in Montréal – who have been more broadly involved in facilitating municipal reconciliation efforts within the planning domain.

The Vancouver interviews took place between December 2022 and February 2023, while the Montréal interviews took place between January and May 2024. In part, this timing allowed for consistency between cases in terms of interviewing planners shortly before or following the release of the final plan for the project in which they were involved. I identified potential participants through the project websites, consultation documents, and news articles, as well as through snowball sampling. While I was interested in planners' perspectives on reconciliation regardless of whether their role explicitly focused on such themes, I encountered difficulties in recruitment – namely in the Montréal context – as potential participants perceived themselves unqualified to discuss reconciliation, attributing responsibility instead to other project roles or beyond the planning domain. Four of the 20 participants were interviewed in pairs based on a stated preference; the remainder were individual interviews. I first asked participants broad questions regarding their perceptions of the relevant project's planning process and vision,

followed by more specific questions regarding their perceptions of the relevance of reconciliation to planning, both generally and in the context of the project. The interviews lasted between 25 and 60 minutes, took place either in person or virtually (Microsoft Teams), and were recorded where permission was granted. Most of the Montréal interviews were conducted in French; quotes included in this paper have been translated to English.

In approaching my analysis, I engaged a critical discourse lens. Critical discourse analysis provides a means to identify the disruption or persistence of hegemonic power relations through a study of “language in use” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 3). Here, I considered if and how planners’ “discursive practices” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999) in discussing reconciliation indicate shifts to normative, settler-colonial planning mentalities and approaches. I analyzed interview notes and transcripts in MAXQDA, coding the data inductively within a broad focus on planners’ “ways of representing” reconciliation and “ways of identifying” as reconciliation actors (Fairclough, 2003) within the context of the four planning processes. I consider how these representations of reconciliation and land use planning - and planners’ roles therein – reveal tensions between hegemony and transformation (e.g., Fairclough, 1995). Here, participants are in a position of power within settler planning institutions, encountering discourses of reconciliation within a system that continues to privilege settler possession. As such, I am interested in how they position themselves, and their work, in ways that both challenge and “reproduce institutions” as they are “torn between competing discourses” (Green & Sonn, 2006, p. 384).

4.6 Land use planning as a space for reconciliation: foundational but also “beyond the scope”?

Amidst growing discourse on municipal reconciliation, municipal planners in Montréal and Vancouver consistently position reconciliation as a fundamental consideration in contemporary planning processes. As per one participant (P1, planner, City of Vancouver), “it’s another layer to consider when you’re imagining what the future could look like...traditionally, planners thought about the built form, and then social planning...and now reconciliation is even more than a layer, it’s like the foundation”. In some instances, recognition of reconciliation as a fundamental planning consideration is externally motivated, as planners reference the need to respond to new directives as reconciliation has “risen up the [municipal] agenda” (P12, planner,

City of Vancouver). Other planners reveal internal motivations based on an understanding that “land is foundational to all of this” (P4, planner, City of Vancouver): “at the heart of urban planning practice” (P19, planner, City of Montréal) as well as the settler-colonial relationship.

The relative absence or presence of internal motivations to shift practices in recognition of planning’s settler-colonial dimensions plays into a critical distinction in how planners frame their reconciliation responsibilities within comprehensive land use planning projects. In the former instance, planners leverage external factors to downplay their responsibilities in “settler moves to innocence” (Tuck & Yang, 2012) that defer to colonial planning norms. In the latter instance, planners underline an undeniable obligation to disrupt these planning norms within and beyond the bounds of particular projects, including in transforming their own mentalities and approaches.

This analysis demonstrates this distinction between “moves to innocence” and moves to responsibility in two ways. It is first captured in how planners recognize barriers to advancing reconciliation through land use planning processes. For some planners, the recognition of barriers presented by existing planning, institutional, and political structures is a means to justify minimal adjustments to status quo practices. For others, such barriers are aspects that must be negotiated and challenged through ongoing work but do not negate responsibilities to approach planning in different ways. At the same time, this distinction is illustrated in the ways in which planners define reconciliatory planning practice. On the one hand, planners equate reconciliatory practice to facilitating Indigenous inclusion in planning projects, centering Indigenous communities’ roles in directing reconciliation work (within certain boundaries) and moderating responsibilities to reconcile in the absence of ‘legible’ Indigenous interests. On the other hand, planners extend these responsibilities to the proactive redefinition of settler planning approaches and mentalities as a basis for more respectful – and less extractive – relations with Indigenous communities. The following sections explore planners’ representations of reconciliation barriers and reconciliatory planning practice in further depth.

4.6.1 “Moves to innocence” versus moves to responsibility through the identification of reconciliation barriers

Planners implicitly and explicitly identify barriers to advancing reconciliation through comprehensive land use planning as currently conceived and structured. P7 (planner, City of

Vancouver) shares that in developing the Vancouver Plan, planners navigated a sense of pressure “to solve the City’s decolonization issues” but had to manage expectations on the basis that the “project is centred around land use policy...as a City structure, it's not going to solve all of our problems...in terms of truly shared decision making, it's not going to be the vehicle for that”. However, a critical distinction exists in how planners identify these barriers with an orientation toward settler planning transformation versus as an exoneration of responsibility. I uncover this distinction in planners’ reflections on constraints related to both normative land use planning frameworks and broader institutional dynamics and decision-making structures.

Municipal planner participants consistently recognized the normative scope of a comprehensive plan, with its predominant focus on land use, as a limitation to its utility in advancing reconciliation. In many instances, planners identified this constraint as a means to justify relatively nominal shifts to status quo planning objectives and policies in support of Indigenous interests. For instance, participants involved in the PUM 2050 emphasized the “many lessons that have come out of this process in relation to Indigenous perspectives, knowledge, science, worldviews...in terms of the how, the engagement” P19 (planner, City of Montréal). However, they identified challenges in operationalizing this learning within the PUM 2050 itself, identifying the incongruity of trying “to bring [Indigenous nations] in a very inclusive way” into “a way of managing the land that does not correspond at all to their principles” (P18, planner, City of Montréal). Here, they qualified that the plan is developed “in accordance with the [provincial] *Act Respecting Land Use Planning and Development*” and thus “limited in its intervention...through land development and spatial organization” (P19). Similarly, participants connected to the Écoquartier Lachine-Est plan consistently emphasized the reconciliatory potential of other City of Montréal projects focused more definitively on natural or cultural heritage, two of the only policy areas through which status quo settler planning recognizes Indigenous ties to the city (e.g., Porter & Barry, 2016).

Within such examples, planners represent regulatory and conceptual frameworks of land redevelopment as both unaligned with Indigenous interests and relatively unassailable. In doing so, they implicitly diminish their (planners’) responsibility to deconstruct normative approaches to reimagining urban (Indigenous) land in settler planning. In contrast, P3 (planner, City of Vancouver) underlines the limitations of advancing reconciliation through normative conceptions of land use with an orientation toward the redefinition of these conceptions moving forward:

...everything about the Broadway Plan is very to the parcel, like parcel is the unit of analysis in the plan....I don't think it really interfaces with the fact that the whole land, as with Vancouver, is unceded...it's not interfaced with...bolder ideas of how the land use can change to honour or at least try to address some of the things that we've heard from Indigenous communities thus far.

Here, P3 speaks to the need for municipal planners to reconceptualize land use approaches in relationship with local Nations – beyond “saying you can do more stuff” within the same land use categories – despite that such a move extends beyond the scope of a comprehensive plan defined in normative terms. In the context of the Vancouver Plan, P4 (planner, City of Vancouver) also speaks to thinking beyond the limits of the land use “planning document” or project to “go further and deeper as we move forward...[w]e’re trying to make sure that the [reconciliation] work proceeds through implementation in other areas, into other planning processes”.

Planners also identify the decision-making structures that frame comprehensive planning processes as a constraint on the ability for such processes to function as a space for reconciliation. For instance, several planners identified continued external pressures to advance projects within municipal election timelines to the detriment of relationship-building with Indigenous communities. P18, reflecting on the PUM 2050 process, identified additional limitations based on the broader political context:

...we always walk on eggshells when we deal with these subjects...Montreal has very strongly affirmed its recognition of the unceded land, while Quebec [the provincial government] is far away... the fact that we are not in the same place, it's a little difficult when it comes to legal documents, such as a master plan...we are afraid of not being legitimized and of being seriously challenged. Then we didn't want to look cosmetic either...we're between the two, we try to balance the two elements, and that's what created discomfort.

Through sentiments such as this, planners identify political and institutional barriers in ways that risk absolving them of their reconciliation responsibilities, including as a rationale for not pushing boundaries or embracing the discomfort that accompanies more transformative reconciliation. In contrast, other participants recognized barriers such as normative timelines as aspects to address within future planning actions, rather than as justification for inaction. For instance, P7 (planner,

City of Vancouver) recognized that the Vancouver Plan process “wasn’t perfect, like time frames, it was still three and a half years to develop the thing from beginning to end. And that was generally too fast for the Nations”. However, for P7 and other participants such processes were still a space through which they could foster and practice ideals of “mutual respect, reciprocity”. P6 (planner, City of Vancouver), reflecting on the Broadway Plan process, was excited to see that alongside “developing this government-to-government relationship with the local Nations...there’s also beginning to be that staff-to-staff relationship, which I think is so important for this type of local work”. Here, planners see themselves building their capacities to redefine normative planning pathways through new forms of relations with Indigenous communities, despite existing institutional limitations.

4.6.2 “Moves to innocence” versus moves to responsibility through the definition of reconciliatory planning practice

In practice, however, many municipal planners continue to equate reconciliatory planning practice with facilitating Indigenous inclusion in planning projects, “integrating their views and their feedback” into planning documents and “giving them a seat at the table” (P1, planner, City of Vancouver). This orientation can shift the onus of advancing municipal reconciliation work onto Indigenous communities, as planning staff rely on their direction to shift focus, or, conversely, pursue status quo practices in the absence of this direction, both “settler moves to innocence” (Tuck & Yang, 2012). P16 (planner, City of Montréal) framed reconciliatory planning practice in this way in the context of the Écoquartier Lachine-Est process, sharing “we cannot communicate directly with the Indigenous community... so we often wait for the green light”. In the absence of such a “green light”, planners’ reconciliation responsibilities ostensibly cease to exist.

Opportunities for Indigenous communities to define planning orientations under the umbrella of reconciliation also remain bound to certain themes and planning stages:

It must be said that in the public consultation...there wasn’t much particular engagement with Indigenous peoples... when we are going to be in action, we are going to integrate, solicit the contributions of Indigenous peoples...for example, to imagine a large public space...so that [they] can identify with it. (P16)

Further, for some planners, a perceived lack of Indigenous interest in a land use planning process suggests a diminished urgency to adjust status quo planning approaches or foci. This “move to innocence” extends to the denial ‘recognizable’ connections or claims to the planning area.

Reflecting on the Lachine-Est planning process, P15 (planner, City of Montréal) explained:

...it must also be said that we are not on the right side of the bank. If we go back in time, it was more on the other side that the [Indigenous] community was and still is, and that is perhaps why it was not a first instinct to integrate them.

Here, planners’ responsibilities to make space for Indigenous interests are contingent on the extent to which these interests can be identified through the existing spatial, temporal, and thematic limits of Indigenous recognition within planning, which typically exclude cities and contemporary urban development (e.g., Porter & Barry, 2016).

Other planners adopt a more expansive approach to reconciliatory planning practice that emphasizes settler transformation. From this perspective, planners extend their reconciliation responsibilities to transforming the dynamics of settler state planning itself, and their own mentalities and practices, as a basis for more respectful – and less extractive – relations with Indigenous communities. P8 (Reconciliation and Cultural Change planning team, City of Vancouver) explains: “it’s all about actions to fix the way, fix ourselves, not for the Nations to fix us...it’s getting people [within the City, e.g. planning staff] to know what needs to be done. They, themselves, how they need to change”. Municipal planners engage in internally focused reconciliation work by proactively challenging normative approaches to planning urban space and changing policies that reproduce the settler-colonial relationship. As P4 (planner, City of Vancouver) explains:

...it’s about how we even define things in the City, you know, the way we sort of have used colonial concepts of heritage, for example...and the way we think about cultural praxis on the land and examine our norms for behaviours in parks and public spaces. So, you can see when you start to think about it, the ripples and opportunities that emerge in many, many, many different areas of activity in city building.

Accordingly, responsibilities to advance reconciliation through changes to planning practices and structures exist outside project boundaries and persist regardless of Indigenous ‘interest’ or capacity to provide direction within such boundaries.

The relative prevalence of this perspective among City of Vancouver participants – and its relative absence in the Montréal case – reflects broader differences in municipal reconciliation discourse between the two cities. While Vancouver’s reconciliation framework “was largely an inward-focused” document aimed at developing municipal staff’s “awareness and skills” to adopt different approaches (P5, former Indigenous relations staff, City of Vancouver), Montréal’s reconciliation strategy primarily directs staff to “include an Indigenous dimension in their implementation of projects and programs” (City of Montréal, 2020, p. 33). This discursive emphasis on Indigenous inclusion over internal reflection upholds the siloing of planning and reconciliation responsibilities; in the Montréal case, planners repeatedly directed me to the City’s reconciliation office as the entity that “deals with all aspects of reconciliation” (P16, planner, City of Montréal), often in differentiation from their planning role.

At the same time, as much as planners in Vancouver recognize possibilities to disrupt the settler-colonial relationship through proactive practice, they also understand this transformation to be contingent on adopting “more of a collective openness to... do things differently” that ignores traditional thematic planning divisions (P3, planner, City of Vancouver). While those connected to the Vancouver Plan underlined (nascent) cross-departmental collaboration, P3 identified challenges in this regard in the context of the Broadway Plan, suggesting that across the different focus areas (e.g., housing, social policy, arts and culture):

our [reconciliation-related] policies...don't necessarily speak to each other. And I would say that it's also a bias of the actual plan, like, the fact that it's so siloed by chapter...maybe that's not the way that's most relevant in the future, when we're talking about equity or decolonizing...

Thus, as planners in settler-colonial municipalities in Canada and beyond continue to develop their capacities to reconcile, it is not solely the siloing of planning and reconciliation that remains at issue, but also the potential siloing of different ‘reconciliatory’ approaches within planning processes.

4.7 Toward more expansive approaches to (reconciliation through) land use planning?

Planners' representations of land use planning as both a limited and potentially more expansive space for the disruption of colonial relations mirrors tensions between continuity and transformation contained within the concept of reconciliation itself. More specifically, this duality reflects the broader hesitancy among settler actors toward more uncomfortable but transformative reconciliation work in lieu of relying on Indigenous engagement in reconciliation work within settler structures (Daigle, 2019; Ladner, 2018). Here, planners represent barriers to reconciliation, and their reconciliation responsibilities, in ways that justify the continuity of status quo practices, particularly in a context where municipal reconciliation discourse predominantly equates reconciliation to Indigenous inclusion (e.g., the City of Montréal reconciliation strategy). At the same time, certain planners recognize, despite existing barriers, the need to think and act beyond the bounds of current planning approaches and assumptions to practice in ways that support "mutually agreeable and mutually beneficial" futures (Ladner, 2018, p. 248). As previously noted, this perspective was more prominent in the Vancouver context, where municipal reconciliation discourse places greater emphasis on building planners' colonial awareness and cultural competencies to engage in relationship-building with Indigenous communities.

As in the broader literature on Indigenous-state planning relations, municipal planners' representations of reconciliation responsibilities within this paper embody a tension between focusing on what might be achieved through Indigenous engagement within settler planning systems and focusing on how the systems themselves might be reconceived. The findings point to the necessity of building planners' *motivations* and *capacities* to proactively shift colonial planning mentalities and approaches, both within their own practice and at an institutional level. This move from innocence (Tuck & Yang, 2012) to responsibility helps to establish a more expansive space for reconciliation within planning. Planners' motivations to reconcile are evidently intertwined with the depth of their awareness of contemporary settler-colonial realities, and planning's implications therein, underlining the importance of formative and continuing education that instills these realities (e.g., Porter, 2017). At the same time, this analysis upholds the value of planners' participation in relationship-building beyond traditional "bounded" engagement as a means to build their capacities to reconcile (e.g., Porter & Barry, 2016).

Attention to municipal planners' capacities can also extend to shifting normative conceptions of 'expertise' within planning. For instance, as this paper demonstrates, notions of planning expertise that uphold settler "authority over place" (Porter & Barry, 2015, p. 23) persist in a context of municipal reconciliation, namely in the limited sites of Indigenous participation within land use planning projects. In parallel, planners at times (implicitly) deny their reconciliation expertise, or, indeed, the need to possess this expertise within the context of their work. In doing so, they position the capacity to engage in reconciliation outside understandings of planning expertise. Redefining planning expertise to centre reconciliation-related capacities (e.g., to identify colonial planning practices, to build relations with Indigenous communities) supports planners' initiative to shift approaches and respond to persisting colonial inequities in their work, regardless of their roles or project.

Chapter 5 (Manuscript 3): (De)colonial Dimensions of Anti-Displacement Planning in Settler-Colonial Cities

Submitted for publication to *Urban Geography* under the title “Protecting space and place: (De)colonial dimensions of anti-displacement planning in settler-colonial cities”

As gentrification concerns infiltrate public sentiment, municipalities are placing new discursive focus on mitigating displacement as they plan for redevelopment and regeneration. In settler-colonial contexts such as Canada, municipalities are also turning discursive attention toward addressing colonial injustices in cities under the banner of Indigenous-settler reconciliation. Given that gentrified urban transformations reproduce the colonial erasure and denial of Indigenous spatial claims, this article interrogates the extent to which settler municipalities’ planning responses to gentrification concerns specifically address Indigenous displacements. The analysis focuses on two area-level and two city-wide comprehensive planning projects guiding urban revitalization and redevelopment in Vancouver and Montréal, cities that are both ‘reconciling’ and gentrifying. Through critical discourse analysis of visions, objectives, and policies expressed in project documents and key informant interviews, the article examines the (de)colonial dimensions of three anti-displacement discourses. These discourses (protecting affordable housing access, maintaining existing sense of place, and supporting urban spatial appropriation) reveal a central tension between addressing specific colonial displacements and those faced by ‘citizens’ or the ‘existing community’. In doing so, the analysis underlines the importance of nuanced anti-displacement responses that address diverse vulnerabilities and, in doing so, more profoundly challenge the colonial-capitalist rhythms of redevelopment and regeneration.

5.1 Introduction

State-led planning oriented toward urban redevelopment and regeneration is turning discursive attention toward mitigating gentrification-induced displacement (e.g., Busá & Lees, 2024). This nascent discursive shift responds to growing concerns of forced relocation, exclusion, and loss of belonging as urban space is reimagined in favour of new investment and

more affluent uses and users (e.g., Davidson, 2008; Hackworth, 2002; Stein, 2019), particularly as a larger number of urban residents find themselves vulnerable (Madden & Marcuse, 2016). Here, municipalities turn to prominent anti-displacement imperatives, such as maintaining housing affordability and security of tenure (e.g. Doucet et al., 2022; Slater, 2021) and respecting the existing vitality of areas amidst their transformation (e.g., August, 2014; Lees & Ferreri, 2016). At the same time, municipalities in Canada and other settler-colonial contexts look to realize more equitable urban outcomes through a lens of Indigenous-settler reconciliation (Ellis-Young, 2025). This attention to advancing reconciliation demands that municipalities recognize their roles in past and present colonial injustices and undertake reparative actions (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a), including in the planning realm.

As municipal planning ostensibly seeks to mitigate both gentrification impacts and the colonial marginalization of Indigenous communities, this article examines the confluence of these parallel objectives, recognizing the role of gentrification in perpetuating Indigenous displacement and erasure (e.g., Blomley, 2004; Coulthard, 2014; Toews, 2018). I interrogate the (de)colonial dimensions of anti-displacement discourses engaged in the visions, objectives, and policies of planning projects guiding redevelopment and regeneration, with a view to identifying how these projects address gentrification as a colonial process. The analysis looks at Vancouver and Montréal as case studies, focusing on one area-level and one city-wide comprehensive planning project per case: the Broadway Plan and Vancouver Plan for the former, and the Lachine-Est eco-neighbourhood (Écoquartier Lachine-Est) and 2050 Land Use and Mobility Plan (PUM 2050) projects for the latter.

The article draws on a critical discourse analysis (e.g., Fairclough, 2003) of over 40 planning documents and the transcripts of key informant interviews with 18 municipal planners and officials. Here, I examined the use of language to recognize, support, omit and/or evade Indigenous ties to urban space (past, present, and future) within planning responses to gentrification-induced displacement. The article traces a central tension between a generalized equity focus and attention to Indigenous specificity with respect to three anti-displacement discourses: maintaining affordable housing access, protecting sense of place, and supporting urban spatial appropriation. I reveal that despite some important decolonial nuance, these discourses are more commonly oriented toward mitigating displacement risks faced by a generic 'citizen' or 'community'. Given both this dynamic and the colonial undercurrents of policies

related to spatial appropriation and sense of place (see also Blomley, 2004; Coulthard in Hern, 2016), I argue that current planning responses to gentrification in settler-colonial cities often risk reproducing Indigenous erasure, despite a parallel focus on reconciliation. My analysis conceptualizes planning's reliance on generalized anti-displacement policies as a reflection of both the implicit prioritization of white, increasingly middle-class residents' vulnerabilities (e.g., Madden & Marcuse, 2016) and the persistence of (settler) profit margins as a fundamental preoccupation of redevelopment and regeneration (e.g., Slater, 2021; Stein, 2019). Accordingly, it reveals the importance of anti-displacement measures that explicitly tackle varied experiences and conditions of displacement as a means to more profoundly deconstruct the colonial-capitalist logics of planning processes that reimagine urban space.

5.2 Gentrification, displacement, and planning responses

Originally conceived as a process of gradual neighbourhood "upgrading" led by incoming middle-class residents, gentrification is now driven by private and public investment at a much larger scale (Lees et al., 2016; Stein, 2019). Urban redevelopment enabled by municipalities and realized by private real estate actors occurs in synergy with other municipal actions to regenerate (i.e., revalorize) "disinvested" or "underutilized" neighbourhood landscapes and attract new (higher income) residents and consumers (Stein, 2019, Weber, 2002). Such spatial transformations, which prioritize capital accumulation and often (implicitly) disregard existing communities' strengths, interests, and connections to place, consistently result in the inequitable displacement of lower-income and racialized residents (e.g., August, 2014; Blomley, 2004; Doucet, 2021; Lees & Hubbard, 2022; Valli, 2015).

This displacement can take on many forms, including the direct expulsion of residents from their homes as landlords and developers seek to capture the higher rent potential of a now-desirable area (Marcuse, 1985). However, gentrification-induced displacement also speaks to broader experiences of neighbourhood exclusion that accompany rising rents, an influx of more expensive commercial offerings, and new power dynamics within neighbourhood politics (Davidson, 2008; Kern, 2016; Marcuse, 1985). Such conceptions of displacement encompass the immaterial sense of loss and diminished belonging that occur as gentrification "severs the connection between people and place" (Elliot-Cooper et al., 2019, p. 3). In this sense, even residents with secure housing may experience a "loss of place" (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015) as

their surroundings are redefined and reconstructed in ways that erase or marginalize their activities, places of belonging, and spatial identities to which they feel connected (see also Atkinson, 2015; Ellis-Young & Doucet, 2021; Valli, 2015).

In response to these inequities, critical gentrification scholars consistently engage anti-displacement discourses in their analysis of urban reinvestment and redevelopment (e.g. August, 2014; Doucet et al., 2022; Lees, 2014; Lees & Ferreri, 2016; Slater, 2014, 2021). Here, they call for the protection and expansion of “housing stability and affordability” for low-income residents, including through rent control measures, stronger eviction-related regulations, and a focus on developing non-market units (Slater, 2021, p. 104, also Doucet et al., 2022). In response to the “blank slate” mentality that has long defined state-led redevelopment and regeneration (Porter, 2017; Toews, 2018), gentrification scholars and activists also push for recognition of the political and social vitality of existing communities. This recognition includes, on the one hand, valuing the agency of existing residents to define and produce space and, on the other, valuing the existing characteristics, identities, and amenities of areas prior to their transformation (August, 2014; Busá & Lees, 2024; Lees & Ferreri, 2016). These alternative possibilities work to challenge a dominant, capitalist narrative that positions decline as the sole alternative to gentrification, a “false choice” that has been persistently leveraged by state authorities (Lees, 2014; Slater, 2014, 2021; Stein, 2019).

Amidst critical (scholarly and grassroots) commentary on the state’s deep-seated role in redefining urban space in the interests of capital (e.g., Lees & Ferreri, 2016; Slater, 2021; Stein, 2019), state planning discourses also show signs of evolution. Examining council estate regeneration in London, Busá and Lees (2024) identify a recent shift in local and national-level policy discourse toward the protection and expansion of social (council) housing, despite continued practices of demolition. Indeed, state recognition of gentrification concerns in a context where neoliberal planning approaches continue to flourish risks reduction to lip service that ultimately does not shift the veneration of real estate capital (Slater, 2021, p. 54; Stein, 2019). Additionally, growing municipal attention to displacement can be linked to a new focus on white, middle-class households’ emerging vulnerabilities amid deepening challenges of housing affordability and “super-gentrification” (Halasz, 2018; Madden & Marcuse, 2016; Tolfo & Doucet, 2021), raising questions as to whose place in the city planning responses seek to protect. Revised approaches to urban redevelopment planning takes on an additional dimension

in settler-colonial contexts (Canada, United States, Australia, and more), where cities are sites of both persisting colonial violence against Indigenous people(s) (Tomiak et al., 2019) and growing attention to modes of redress (Ellis-Young, 2025; van der Haegen, 2024). As settler state planning places new discursive emphasis on concerns of gentrification and displacement, how does it account for (or discount) specific *colonial* dynamics of urban redevelopment and regeneration?

5.3 Gentrification as a settler-colonial process

Gentrification's dynamics of displacement (and replacement) have led scholars to conceptualize and debate the process as a form of "urban colonialism" (Atkinson & Bridge, 2004, see Ellis-Young, 2022 for further discussion). These settler-colonial parallels evoke metaphorical "frontiers" of urban reinvestment wherein working-class, non-Indigenous residents are cast as the "indigenous" population facing displacement (e.g. Addie & Fraser, 2019; Atkinson & Bridge, 2004; Lees, 2003; Schlichtman et al., 2017). Thus, even when rightfully identifying the reformulation of colonial "terra nullius" logics in gentrification processes as a means to devalue existing claims to place (e.g. Smith, 1996), such metaphors obscure the literal link between gentrification and contemporary Indigenous dispossession (Ellis-Young, 2022; Quizar, 2019). Nevertheless, the gentrified transformation of urban space is a prominent avenue through which settler society reasserts control over Indigenous land (Blomley, 2004; Porter et al., 2019; Tomiak et al., 2019). Here, planners and other development actors code Indigenous "spaces in the city...as *urbs nullius* – urban space void of Indigenous sovereign presence" (Coulthard, 2014, p. 176), presenting transformations from "dead, sick, or empty" to vibrant and desirable (Toews, 2018, p. 191).

In this way, urban redevelopment and regeneration in settler-colonial cities reproduces an (implicit) denial of Indigenous nations' territorial authority (Porter et al., 2019; Quizar, 2019). In many cases, including Honolulu (Grandinetti, 2019) and Winnipeg (Toews, 2018), gentrified redevelopment also directly displaces urban Indigenous residents and their gathering places. The overarching dynamic is thus not solely one of "devaluation to revalue" but also one of "dispossession to (re)possess", underlining the intertwining of colonial and capitalist ideologies (Blomley, 2004; Toews, 2018). This settler-colonial-capitalist reimagining of space combines physical renewal with discursive 'restorying', including place branding that leverages an

idealized colonial heritage to both attract (capital) and distract (from ongoing settler-colonial violence) (Jackson, 2017; Shaw, 2004).

The gentrification literature has not yet captured the colonial nuances of anti-displacement responses in a context of ongoing Indigenous land theft (Hern, 2016). Nevertheless, the literature on Indigenous-state planning relations (e.g., Fawcett et al., 2015; Nejad et al., 2021) raises an important tension between broad equality and Indigenous specificity that is pertinent to planning processes' attention to gentrification-induced displacement in settler-colonial contexts. As Matunga (2013) asserts, the “asymmetric impact of colonization justifies an equally asymmetric and differentiated colonial planning response...” (p. 31), including when reflecting on the continuity of different spatial claims and ties (Nejad et al., 2019). However, planning processes continue to ostensibly “balance” different interests in ways that are often detrimental to Indigenous rights-based recognition but prioritize the interests of capital (Porter & Barry, 2016). Similarly, Coulthard (in Hern, 2016) directly problematizes anti-gentrification movements that leverage ‘right to the city’ discourses to imagine collective urban “commons”, identifying the potential for such broad-brush visions of occupation and appropriation to reproduce coloniality in obscuring Indigenous agency over territory (see also Tuck & Yang, 2012). This tension between generalized and nuanced approaches to a ‘just’ city – as colonial inequities persist alongside other lived injustices (Hern, 2016) – frames municipal planning’s discursive responses to gentrification-induced displacement in Montréal and Vancouver.

5.4 Situating Montréal and Vancouver as cases

Vancouver and Montréal are both major Canadian centres where patterns of gentrification exacerbate a broader affordability crisis (Walks et al., 2021). Since the 1980s, Vancouver has been transformed through transit-oriented development projects (Beasley, 2019). This intensified redevelopment, facilitated by municipal “liveability” policies and paired with speculative investment, has contributed to the creation of an exclusive city (e.g., Tolfo & Doucet, 2022). Here, low and moderate-income neighbourhoods alike face continued gentrification and displacement pressures, particularly those in and around the downtown core (Chapple et al., 2021). While Vancouver is reputed for its sky-high housing costs, rental prices across Montréal, a city formerly distinguished for its affordability, have also climbed exponentially over the past decade (Gaudreau et al., 2020; RCLALQ, 2021). Such pressures have been particularly extreme

in traditionally working-class and immigrant neighbourhoods located within a few metro stops of the downtown core and the adjacent, longstanding heart of gentrification, the Plateau (e.g., Ghaffari, 2020; Jolivet et al., 2022; Léouzon, 2024; RCLALQ, 2021). While transit-accessibility plays a role, the new desirability of lower-income neighbourhoods has also been manufactured by municipal-led or facilitated urban regeneration, including the mixed-use redevelopment of large swathes of brownfield land (e.g., Jolivet et al., 2022; Twigge-Molecey, 2014).

Within this context, concerns surrounding gentrification, displacement, and housing affordability are increasingly prominent in public discourse on urban futures. Here, municipal responses have included vacant property taxation to discourage speculation, as with the City of Vancouver's *Empty Homes Tax* (2017), and inclusionary zoning regulations. The City of Montréal's *Bylaw for a Diverse Metropolis* (2020), for instance, requires developers of new projects exceeding a certain residential square footage (originally 450 m² but currently 1800 m²) to provide a proportion of social, affordable and family-sized units, calculated based on the project location. However, the requirement is often fulfilled off-site or, most commonly, through a financial contribution in lieu of delivering units, a loophole that has been critiqued by housing advocates (e.g., FRAPRU, 2024).

At the same time, Canadian municipalities such as Montréal and Vancouver have turned discursive attention toward Indigenous-settler relations and colonial injustices in the city in the wake of the national Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The City of Vancouver, occupying the unceded territory of the x^wməθk^wəyəm (Musqueam), Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh (Squamish), and səliwətəl (Tsleil-Waututh) Nations, adopted its reconciliation framework in 2014 prior to the TRC's final report and 94 Calls to Action in 2015. The City of Montréal, occupying the unceded territory of the Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk) Nation, published its reconciliation strategy in 2020 in line with a more typical, post-TRC timeline. The TRC (2015a) defines reconciliation as a "process of establishing and maintaining respectful [Indigenous-settler] relationships" (p. 16) that demands "awareness of the past, acknowledgement of the harm that has been inflicted, atonement for the causes, and action to change" (p. 7) on the part of settler society and the settler state. Accordingly, Vancouver and Montréal's reconciliation documents outline commitments to reframe relations with Indigenous peoples and rethink municipal policies and practices in response to colonial inequities identified locally and within the TRC's Calls to Action. They also connect reconciliation to urban planning both explicitly and through related commitments to, for

instance, support “Indigenous social housing projects” and “culturally adapted gathering places” (City of Montréal, 2020, p. 45; City of Vancouver, 2021).

Indeed, Vancouver and Montréal are home to growing urban Indigenous communities with ties to both local Nations and diverse territories further afield. Between 2011 and 2021, the Indigenous population increased by 61 percent within the City of Montréal and by 23 percent within the City of Vancouver (Statistics Canada, 2011, 2021). As a function of longstanding settler-colonial violence, Indigenous residents face particular barriers to stable, affordable housing, including disproportionate rates of discrimination and eviction (Montreal Indigenous Community Network, 2024; Wachsmuth et al., 2023). Indigenous people represent 12 and 39 percent of the unhoused population in Montréal and Vancouver, respectively, versus 0.9 and 2.3 percent of the total population (City of Vancouver, 2023; Montreal Indigenous Community Network, 2024; Statistics Canada, 2021). There is also a dearth of housing and other spaces that uphold Indigenous cultural needs and well-being, such as Indigenous-led housing with culturally specific resources, units that can accommodate large families, and places to engage in ceremonial and land-based practices (e.g., City of Vancouver, 2020; OCPM, 2022a, 2024). As previously identified, gentrification processes accentuate such inequities as they disrupt or deny Indigenous claims to the city and to territory (e.g., Coulthard, 2014; Grandinetti, 2019; Toews, 2018). Thus, as the City of Vancouver and the City of Montréal seek to advance reconciliation through comprehensive planning process that redefine urban space and urban futures, questions of mitigating displacement and supporting belonging take on new meaning.

The Vancouver and Montréal case studies each include one area-level and one city-wide comprehensive planning project as units of analysis, capturing anti-displacement responses across two planning scales. At the area level, I focused on the Broadway Plan (Vancouver) and the Écoquartier Lachine-Est (Montréal). The Broadway Plan, adopted in 2022, is primarily oriented toward directing intensification and redevelopment along the new Broadway Subway line, located just south of downtown Vancouver. Beyond land use regulations, it also guides change through policies pertaining to housing, public space, arts and culture, and more. The neighbourhoods within the planning area are considered moderate-income (Chapple et al., 2021) but are home to a large proportion of Vancouver’s more affordable rental units. The planning area also includes places of meaning for local Nations and important gathering spaces for the urban Indigenous community, as well as two census tracts where the Indigenous population is

roughly double or triple the City of Vancouver average. One of the plan’s guiding principles is to “support reconciliation with First Nations and urban Indigenous peoples” (City of Vancouver, 2022a, p. 30), with a particular emphasis on Indigenous visibility.

The Écoquartier Lachine-Est plan adopted in 2023, guides the long-term redevelopment of a former industrial area along the Lachine Canal, located about 11 km south-west of downtown Montréal, into a mixed-use ‘eco-neighbourhood’. The project is framed through a lens of innovation, in terms of both its focus on environmental sustainability and its collaborative framework emphasizing the participation of local residents, organizations, and other actors, including developers. The plan also places significant focus on heritage preservation, particularly with respect to the site’s industrial heritage. The area has two small residential clusters but is also surrounding by established lower-income neighbourhoods. The Lachine-Est plan was developed alongside and following the City’s reconciliation strategy but does not directly reference reconciliation, despite proximity to the Mohawk community of Kahnawake south across the river and an Indigenous population up to four-fold the City of Montréal average in and around the planning area (Statistics Canada, 2021). It does, however, include a certain number of related policies focusing on Indigenous visibility.

At the city scale, I focused on the Vancouver Plan and the Plan d’urbanisme et de mobilité 2050 (PUM 2050). The Vancouver Plan was adopted in 2022 and is a long-range comprehensive plan providing high level policy direction to guide the city’s growth and development, the city’s first in almost 100 years. It covers a range of policy areas beyond its land use strategy, including housing, community infrastructure, public space, and arts, culture, and heritage. Similarly to the Broadway Plan, the policy areas are connected to three foundational principles, one of which is reconciliation (the other two being equity and resilience). The PUM 2050, or the 2050 Land Use and Mobility Plan, is a long-range document guiding future growth and development across the City of Montréal. Adopted in 2025, it is broadly oriented toward realizing a “green, just and resilient city” (City of Montréal, 2025b, p. 31), including through policies pertaining to intensification, housing, cultural planning, and the public realm. While reconciliation is not among the plan’s guiding principles, the plan is still framed as “an opportunity to advance thinking on past, present and future Indigenous presence and stewardship...to contribute to the process of reconciliation with Indigenous peoples” (City of Montréal, 2025b, p. 19).

Both the city-wide and area-level comprehensive plans create the discursive and policy conditions for gentrification, including through imagining the renewal of different spaces and encouraging redevelopment through land use policies focused on intensification. Accordingly, concerns of gentrification, housing affordability and displacement featured prominently in engagement processes across the four projects. In the case of Lachine-Est “there were major concerns about gentrification because the surrounding areas are disadvantaged neighbourhoods”, with local community organizations warning against creating “a rich neighbourhood in the middle of a poor environment” (personal communication, City of Montréal planner, February 13, 2024). In the other engagement processes, participating residents and Indigenous representatives directly and indirectly made connections between addressing such concerns and advancing reconciliation. For instance, urban Indigenous residents engaged on the Broadway Plan called on the City to “reduce speculation”, control rents, increase the number of subsidized and affordable housing units, “limit fancy condos – we can’t afford them”, and “stop gentrification – it is pricing us out” (City of Vancouver, 2020, pp. 47-48).

Accordingly, this article examines the (de)colonial dimensions of municipal planning responses to gentrification-induced displacement amid growing attention to settler state redress for colonial injustices. Across these four projects in Montréal and Vancouver, I am interested in how these emerging anti-displacement discourses (and associated vision statements, objectives, and policies) attend to the marginalization of Indigenous life and rights, recognizing the tendency for processes of urban redevelopment and regeneration to produce *settler* spaces for *settler* capital.

5.5 Methodology

This analysis is based on two sources: semi-structured interviews with municipal planning staff and officials and publicly available project documents. I conducted 16 interviews with 18 municipal planning staff and officials between December 2022 and May 2024: four associated with the Broadway Plan, seven associated with the Vancouver Plan, five associated with the Lachine-Est eco-neighbourhood plan, and two associated with Montréal’s PUM 2050. Potential participants were initially identified through a review of project documents, websites, and associated news articles, and subsequently through snowball sampling. The interviews, which lasted between 25 and 60 minutes, were conducted both in person and virtually and in

English and French; any quotes from interviews conducted in French have been translated to English. I asked participants questions regarding the project's objectives and priorities, the envisioned urban future (and for whom), and the most noteworthy aspects before prompting them more specifically regarding gentrification concerns and responses, including any connections made to the parallel focus on reconciliation.

To augment the interview data, I also reviewed and analyzed over 40 publicly available documents across the four projects. Here, I focused primarily on the draft and/or final plans themselves, as well as transcripts from workshops and public consultations that include contributions or responses from municipal staff and officials. However, I also draw on other documents from the engagement process, including those that feature Indigenous perspectives, to contextualize municipal planning responses. Unlike in Vancouver and other Canadian municipalities, mandated public consultation in Montréal is facilitated by the third-party Office de consultation publique de Montréal, referred to throughout the article as the OCPM.

This article identifies and analyzes discourses engaged by planners and through vision statements, objectives, and policies in the plans themselves to (implicitly) address gentrification and displacement. This critical discourse approach understands discursive practice as both structurally constrained and a means of social transformation (e.g., Fairclough, 2003). Accordingly, the analysis investigates how planning responses to concerns of gentrification-induced displacement are represented by planners and in policy in ways that disrupt (or reinforce) the status quo erasure of Indigenous territorial authority and connections to the city. Here, I focus on examining language that supports, omits and/or evades past, present, and future Indigenous connections to the planning areas in relation to three prominent anti-displacement discourses. In the following sections, I trace how discursive attention to affordable housing access, protecting sense of place, and supporting spatial appropriation ultimately favours generalized responses oriented toward 'citizens' or 'the community', revealing the need for further decolonial nuance.

5.6 (De)colonial dimensions of municipal anti-displacement discourses in planning for urban change

All four comprehensive planning projects analyzed in the Montréal and Vancouver cases respond to concerns of gentrification-induced displacement, reflecting the nascent evolution of

state discourse identified in the literature. New emphasis is placed on maintaining and enhancing affordable housing access in an effort to minimize residents' forced relocation and inability to find an affordable unit as a consequence of redevelopment and other gentrification pressures (direct and exclusionary displacement, per Marcuse, 1985). In addition to mitigating residential displacement, planners and project documents seek to retain the existing character of changing areas while ensuring new spaces are embraced by a diversity of residents, including those already living in these areas. Collectively, these orientations respond to varied experiences of "loss of place" (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015) and diminished belonging faced by existing residents and communities, *broadly defined*, in a context of urban reinvestment and regeneration.

However, settler municipalities' growing attention to colonial inequities underlines the importance of *specifically* addressing within these comprehensive planning projects the continued erasure, disruption, and denial of Indigenous spatial ties through gentrification (e.g., Coulthard, 2014; Grandinetti, 2019; Porter et al., 2019; Toews, 2018). Across the Montréal and Vancouver cases, a fine-grained analysis of the anti-displacement imperatives engaged by planners and within project documents reveals consistent tensions (and an ultimate imbalance) between broad-brush responses and decolonial nuance within calls for affordable housing solutions, the protection of existing sense of place, and opportunities for urban spatial appropriation. These three discourses are explored in the subsequent sections, followed by reflection on the persistence of colonial-capitalist planning norms as a limiting factor in the proliferation of decolonial responses to gentrification concerns.

5.6.1 *Generalized versus nuanced housing solutions*

Vancouver and Montréal are responding to growing concerns of direct and exclusionary residential displacement within planning processes that lay the groundwork for gentrified urban change and development. Newly adopted comprehensive plans include high-level and localized policies to protect and/or increase the supply of "rental and non-market housing options affordable to a range of local incomes" (City of Vancouver, 2022a, p. 348). The Vancouver Plan and Montréal's PUM 2050 also include explicit policy directives to "minimize displacement of renters...when planning for growth" (City of Vancouver, 2022b, p. 87) and "ensure the stability of populations in their environment in the face of neighbourhood gentrification processes" (City of Montréal, 2025b, p. 145). Such directives are enacted in the Broadway Plan through tenant

protection measures intended to “ensure that folks aren't permanently displaced” in the face of “enormous pressure to leverage the billion-dollar subway investment” as a redevelopment tool (P6, planner, Broadway Plan). These policies grant existing residents of buildings set to be redeveloped the right to return to a new, suitable unit without an increase to their current rent, alongside a certain amount of financial compensation or a rent top-up on an interim unit. More comprehensive financial support is required for low-income tenants. In the case of the Écoquartier Lachine-Est plan, policy support for “the construction of social, affordable and family housing” (City of Montréal, 2023b, p. 53) in line with the *Bylaw for a Diverse Metropolis* does not extend to explicit measures to mitigate direct residential displacement. While the concentration of existing residential units in Lachine-Est is negligible in comparison to the Broadway planning area, there are nevertheless “50 or so units in the middle of the industrial sector” housing predominantly “Indigenous industrial workers” (P16, planner, Écoquartier Lachine-Est) at risk of being redeveloped or revalorized.

As these comprehensive planning projects (unevenly) respond to displacement vulnerabilities against a backdrop of municipal reconciliation, they exhibit a tension between addressing affordable housing access through a generalized equity lens versus ones that attends to specific colonial inequities. On the one hand, planners underline “universal needs” across “equity-denied” groups with respect to “affordable housing at various price points”, wherein “enabling significantly more social and below market housing” helps to “alleviate...a lot of groups’ needs” (P6, planner, Broadway Plan). P4 expands on this point, adding:

the challenges faced by Indigenous communities are the same, in many respects, as those faced by other folks that are seeking housing. We've...had a real limitation on the places that you can build more affordable housing, multifamily housing, non-market housing... and that's one of the things that we're really hoping to address [with the Vancouver Plan].

On the other hand, planners and planning documents recognize the “disproportionate representation” of Indigenous residents among those “facing more challenges around access to housing” (P4, planner, Vancouver Plan). Here, P6 (planner, Broadway Plan) referenced Indigenous residents’ particular vulnerabilities to gentrification-induced displacement in the Broadway area, noting the presence of “a large urban Indigenous population” in parts of the planning area “where you find [incomes]...significantly below city average, and you still find pockets of really affordable housing”.

Municipalities' measures to broadly improve affordable housing access are thus typically interspersed with a small number of policies specifically addressing Indigenous needs therein. The Vancouver Plan, for instance, connects policy actions supporting Indigenous housing projects to reconciliation objectives with the statement that "[e]quitable and culturally appropriate housing is foundational to the ongoing and evolving commitment towards a City of Reconciliation" (City of Vancouver, 2022b, p. 86). However, Indigenous-specific housing policies often remain disconnected from explicit displacement mitigation objectives. This disconnect constrains a plan's potential to disrupt colonial outcomes of gentrification, even if the recognizes the role of colonial relations in structuring housing inequities. For instance, the Broadway Plan explicitly recognizes that "Vancouver's extremely tight rental market disproportionately impacts...renters who face discrimination in the housing market, including...Indigenous people who face unique housing challenges rooted in the legacy of colonialism" (City of Vancouver, 2022a, p. 354). However, the "general tenant relocation policies" intended to mitigate residential displacement have limited "specificity...in terms of the who" (P3, planner, Broadway Plan) in this regard, beyond a policy to "[c]ontinue tenant and landlord education...with specific focus on the needs of equity-denied groups" (City of Vancouver, 2022a, p. 352). Thus, despite recognition of Indigenous residents' vulnerabilities to displacement and housing discrimination in the Broadway planning area, "urban Indigenous folks" will ultimately "be amongst the sea of tenants that will have to...follow the ebb and flow of...finding a new place and then [having] the option to move back" (P3).

Conversely, more definitive links between Indigenous-specific housing policy and displacement mitigation in project documents can be discordant with planners' engagement of generalized equity discourses in describing the project's housing objectives. Montréal's PUM 2050 includes Indigenous-specific policies and policy actions under an objective to expand housing "protected from speculation" (City of Montréal, 2025b, p. 144). These include increasing "access to affordable housing adapted for...Indigenous communities" through an emphasis on facilitating non-profit and social housing development (City of Montréal, 2025b, p. 144) and developing "a housing strategy with and for Indigenous populations" (City of Montréal, 2025b, p. 921). At the same time, in reflecting on the PUM 2050 planning process, P18 (planner, PUM 2050) shared:

...there was also the idea that certain needs were citizen needs, period... the [Indigenous] communities...on the island [of Montréal], they are citizens of Montréal who rent housing in Montréal. So, they have the same demands... we also didn't want to have a discourse of 'Ah, Indigenous peoples have very, very specific needs only for them, while the other communities do not'...that's why we are talking about equity, here – to have a general approach for the diversity of the communities that are represented in Montreal.

This perspective downplays not only Indigenous representatives' identification of the “significant need for...housing adapted to...Indigenous communities” (OCPM, 2022a, p. 4; see also OCPM, 2024), but also the need to address the colonial inequities of gentrified urban change and development. It also raises questions surrounding planners' commitments to advancing Indigenous-specific housing policies in plan implementation. This uncertainty is accentuated by the removal of a reference to developing “a land strategy” to accompany an Indigenous housing strategy (City of Montréal, 2024b, p. 31) in the final version of the PUM 2050, thus eliminating one of the only policy actions implying some degree of land restitution.

In these examples, municipal planning struggles to fully reckon with the colonial dimensions of residential displacement, and the reinforcing role of municipal-led urban reimagining, in their (implicit) efforts to counter gentrification impacts. These tensions between upholding Indigenous ties to the city and downplaying them through claims to collective interests persist within the anti-displacement discourse of protecting existing sense of place, to which I now turn.

5.6.2 Protecting existing sense of place

Beyond attention to housing affordability and security of tenure, anti-displacement planning responses also seek to counter the devaluation and erasure of an area's existing vitality (sense of place) that often accompanies gentrification. This attention to displacement as “loss of (belonging to) place” is achieved through an orientation toward protecting valued spaces, place identities, and neighbourhood characteristics during redevelopment. For instance, the Broadway Plan repeatedly asserts that the land use policies guiding redevelopment in the different neighbourhoods are grounded in a focus on “retaining what is most cherished by the community”, including the character of main shopping areas and the “green and leafy residential streets” (e.g., City of Vancouver, 2022a, p. 80). Those involved in the *Écoquartier Lachine-Est*

planning process underlined that “we cannot treat what exists as a blank slate” (Concert’Action Lachine, 2020a, p. 6), as concerns for the continued belonging of those in adjacent lower-income areas prompted reflection on how to ensure these residents will be able to “come without feeling like they are in a foreign space” (P15, planner, Écoquartier Lachine-Est). Here, policy measures focus on the development of a community hub as “an anchor point for future households and those in surrounding neighbourhoods” (City of Montréal, 2021a, p. 37) and new forms and functions that are “respectful of existing neighbourhoods and the history of the place” (p. 38). While this orientation is predominantly identified within the area plans, the PUM 2050 also aspires for Montréal “to preserve and showcase its buildings and its neighbourhoods, its heritage and its landscapes” as part of a “renewed urban experience”, recognizing their “use value” and expression of “the know-how of different groups that have shaped the community” (City of Montréal, 2025b, p. 56).

As captured in the Broadway Plan, discourses of preserving sense of place and belonging in a context of redevelopment assume the ability to identify *collectively* “cherished” neighbourhood characteristics, amenities, and experiences. This emphasis on ‘shared’, rather than diverse, ties to place raises questions as to whose belonging is upheld through efforts to protect pre-existing social dynamics and material qualities, and whether colonial nuances of ‘loss of place’ are captured. Planning documents for the Lachine-Est redevelopment, for example, emphasize the value of the area’s layers of history, underlining how the planned regeneration will “respect...the major heritage, landscape and archaeological components” (City of Montréal, 2021a, p. 18). However, the vision of “building a bridge between a singular industrial past and a future inscribed in the ecological transition” (City of Montréal, 2021a, p. 18) ultimately centres a settler narrative. The area’s final plan also speaks to maintaining the “historic village character” (City of Montréal, 2023b, p. 98) of the small, preexisting residential clusters but not the actual (lower income, Indigenous) residents’ connections to place, with “measures to maintain the [social] diversity already present in the planning area” notably lacking (OCPM, 2022c, p. 47). Here, planning responses selectively preserve place as they focus on settler industrial heritage as a collectively valued quality while simultaneously downplaying Indigenous place connections, whether to traditional territory or as an urban resident.

Nevertheless, as discourse on reconciliation permeates municipal planning activity, nascent efforts to tackle the systemic denial of Indigenous claims to urban space coalesce at

times with planning's renunciation of 'blank slate' redevelopment. For instance, the PUM 2050 asserts:

The city of Montreal (Tioh'tià:ke) is built on ancestral Indigenous territories and on historic and current places of life and gathering. The City wishes, through its developments and landscapes, to further connect its population to this reality. (City of Montréal, 2025b, p. 58)

However, it is unclear if attention to Indigenous connections to place through redevelopment extends to Indigenous peoples' active enactment of these connections. This point is particularly pertinent as municipal comprehensive planning projects increasingly engage notions of spatial appropriation as a third anti-displacement discourse. Corresponding planning responses seek to uphold grassroots placemaking as a means to mitigate the gentrification-induced devaluation of existing residents' political vitality. However, within these responses, to what extent are local Indigenous people(s) encouraged to appropriate these changing urban spaces as a means to disrupt the colonial displacements and erasures of gentrified redevelopment?

5.6.3 Support for urban spatial appropriation

City-wide and area-level comprehensive planning in Montréal and Vancouver is indeed increasingly orientated toward empowering the spatial practices of those with existing connections to the planning areas. Particularly in the Montréal case, project documents emphasize a shift toward participatory planning and implementation processes that encourage democratic 'ownership' of these changing spaces to reduce exclusion. For instance, key stakeholders involved in planning workshops for the Lachine-Est eco-neighbourhood redevelopment "highlighted the importance of citizen appropriation of the area" (Concert'Action Lachine, 2020d, p. 9), including through "transitional urbanism (practice allowing temporary occupation of public and private places prior to permanent development)" that can bring "citizens living near Lachine-Est into the process" (Concert'Action Lachine, 2020c, p. 6). Similarly, Montréal's PUM 2050 includes an objective to strengthen "places of collective life as inclusive spaces of citizen appropriation", including through a policy to support "initiatives of the population for the development of third places and urban commons" (City of Montréal, 2025b, p. 220). Such measures implicitly address a key aspect of gentrification-induced

displacement as diminished belonging to place, namely, the loss of agency to define one's surroundings (Davidson, 2008).

However, as with the other anti-displacement discourses, this discourse of spatial appropriation contains a tension between a generalized approach and decolonial nuance. Here, broad notions of 'citizen' or 'community' control over urban space wash over specific colonial inequities Indigenous people(s) face in this regard, including "the invisibility of the Nations on their [unceded] lands, and limited inclusion in decision-making" (City of Vancouver, 2022b, p. 32). During the consultation process for Montréal's PUM 2050, Indigenous representatives noted the lack of:

natural spaces that Indigenous communities can access and invest in freely. Regulations are strict and zoning issues are not adapted to the needs of Indigenous communities. The territory that Montréal occupies is recognized as unceded. However, there are no concrete actions going in this direction. For instance, it is not possible to make a sacred fire there, to hunt in the city, or to find community gardens intended for Indigenous people to grow medicinal plants. (OCPM, 2022a, p. 6)

In contrast to these inflexible regulations, support for 'citizen appropriation' of a project and its spaces often emphasizes the potential for increased flexibility. However, as much as this participatory approach "is becoming essential in development projects", recognition that Indigenous people(s) are "underrepresented in existing consultation mechanisms" (City of Montréal, 2021b, p. 30) underlines the corresponding underrepresentation of their specific interests and claims within these broad notions of collective appropriation. Thus, while such efforts to democratize urban redevelopment may give existing residents (broadly conceived) the agency to make place, it does not directly counter Indigenous loss of place due to "ongoing dispossession and colonial violence" (City of Vancouver, 2022b, p. 32).

However, alternative framings of spatial appropriation that specifically centre Indigenous spatial practices are also emerging as municipal reconciliation discourse gains traction. Under its objective to facilitate citizen appropriation of the city, Montréal's PUM 2050 includes a policy action to support "partners and communities, particularly Indigenous ones, to identify public and private spaces that could be devoted to practices and the transmission of knowledge according to cultural traditions" (City of Montréal, 2025b, p. 937). Similarly, the Vancouver Plan (City of Vancouver, 2022b) includes directions to create "more opportunities for urban Indigenous

peoples to participate in the city” (p. 33) and “public spaces specifically designed for the Nations’ use, including land and water access, artistic and cultural expression, and traditional harvesting” (p. 133). These policy statements exemplify more nuanced approaches to urban spatial appropriation that challenge the colonial erasures (political and spatial) that status quo redevelopment can reproduce (e.g., Porter et al., 2019; Toews, 2018; Tomiak et al., 2019).

Nevertheless, across the four projects that are the focus of this analysis, this nuance is “not fully integrated” (P3, planner, Broadway Plan) into the plans. Most notably, terminology used to underline Indigenous spatial agency, such as stewardship or co-management (Porter & Barry, 2016), is also engaged more generically within discourses of collective agency over public space. Vancouver’s Broadway Plan includes a policy to promote “resilient, *community-led active stewardship* of public spaces” (City of Vancouver, 2022a, p. 402, emphasis added) while the Lachine-Est planning documents identify the potential for long-term citizen “co-management of certain spaces” (Concert’Action Lachine, 2020b, p. 6). In the Vancouver Plan, references to knowledge of place in Indigenous-specific policies are clouded by the use such phrasing elsewhere to justify opportunities for “community” control of urban space:

Community involvement is critical to the success of public spaces, as residents, community organizations, and businesses have immediate knowledge of the public space needs in their local neighbourhoods and can help drive the delivery of local programming, events, and placemaking in public spaces. The City must continue to build partnerships and *empower community stewards to co-manage public spaces* (City of Vancouver, 2022b, p. 137, emphasis added)

While Montréal’s PUM 2050 does not abstract Indigenous-specific terminology in this way, it demonstrates a similar impulse to follow Indigenous-specific placemaking policies with an emphasis on promoting “the development of a sense of belonging for all” (City of Montréal, 2025b, p. 220).

As a result, tensions between upholding the interests of a broadly conceived ‘existing community’ and the specific interests of Indigenous communities persists through the anti-displacement discourse of urban spatial appropriation. As municipal planning navigates gentrification and displacement concerns, these findings underline the importance of nuanced responses that reflect diverse vulnerabilities and spatial ties. This nuance is especially critical in settler-colonial contexts, where Indigenous communities experience particular forms of colonial

erasure through status quo urban redevelopment and regeneration, which a predominance of broad-brush anti-displacement responses risk reproducing in continuing to obscure specific Indigenous claims and connections to the city.

5.6.4 From discourse to practice: Colonial-capitalist planning norms as a limiting factor

The potential for policy responses to gentrification and displacement that disrupt colonial inequities is undoubtedly constrained by a broader planning context that remains structured by the norms of colonial-capitalist urbanization. P12 (planner, Broadway Plan) summarizes this underlying tension:

we're in a place where land values are incredibly high, it puts a lot of pressure on everything...every square inch of floor space and land is kind of fought over to make the most use of it. And we have increasingly limited resources...to address all these challenges.

Here, the reimagining of urban space is dominated by pressures to maximize profit – rather than upholding Indigenous land-based practices and connections to place – while neoliberal budget constrictions and limited publicly owned land in project areas obscure alternative pathways. In this context, relationship-building with private developers, rather than with Indigenous communities as land stewards or critical housing actors, is often understood by planners as a primary avenue through which to address displacement concerns, particularly in terms of affordable housing provision. P15 (planner, Écoquartier Lachine-Est) underlines this perspective, sharing:

we encourage social housing in one way or another, it's not always easy...the idea is really to discuss with the developers as much as possible to be able to obtain something on site. And then they don't just give money so that we can do it elsewhere or say 'well, I have land on the other side of the earth if you want to go do something'...they want to make money, we want to be idealistic...we had to find some sort of common ground.

This central focus on negotiations with property developers and owners favours more generic anti-displacement responses, such as the addition of affordable units to a private construction or “the reopening of formerly enclosed sites” for “appropriation by citizens” (Concert'Action Lachine, 2020d, p. 13). This dynamic places into question how policy directions targeting both speculative and colonial inequities – such as the PUM 2050's envisioned “housing strategy with

and for Indigenous populations” (City of Montréal, 2025b, p. 921) referenced above – will unfold in practice.

5.7 Discussion and Conclusion

The role of urban regeneration in the continued disruption and denial of Indigenous spatial ties (e.g., Toews, 2018; Tomiak et al., 2019) demands that planning responses to mitigate displacement within such processes adopt a decolonial lens. This decolonial nuance is particularly pertinent as municipalities in settler states such as Canada ostensibly seek to disrupt, ongoing colonial injustices experienced by Indigenous people(s) in cities under the umbrella of ‘reconciliation’ (Ellis-Young, 2025). However, discursive analysis of planning documents and interviews across four urban redevelopment and regeneration-related projects in Vancouver and Montréal (the Broadway Plan, the Vancouver Plan, Écoquartier Lachine-Est, and Montréal’s PUM 2050) reveal that an emerging decolonial lens remains constrained by an underlying tension between generalized equality and Indigenous specificity.

On the one hand, planners’ (implicit) attention to displacement risks through discourses of protecting affordable housing access, maintaining existing sense of place, and fostering urban spatial appropriation reflects a certain degree of decolonial nuance (excepting the Lachine-Est project). As municipal reconciliation imperatives filter into the planning domain, this nuance is particularly evident through references to supporting non-market housing for Indigenous communities that is both affordable and culturally appropriate, as well as supporting Indigenous stewardship and use of urban spaces. On the other hand, anti-displacement discourses consistently imagine a broad-brush ‘renter’, ‘citizen’ or ‘community’ as the beneficiary of anti-displacement measures, which limits the impact of these measures on colonial inequities of gentrified urban redevelopment and regeneration. In addition to obscuring the reproduction of Indigenous displacement and dispossession within these processes, broad anti-displacement discourses themselves contain colonial undertones that risk Indigenous erasure – an outcome foreshadowed by both Blomley (2004) and Coulthard (in Hern, 2016). These undertones are particularly evident within calls to protect a shared sense of place or support citizen appropriation of urban space, which grant collective agency over (unceded) Indigenous land and its place narratives in ways that address certain exclusionary aspects of gentrified urban transformations but wash over Indigenous spatial claims and aspirations.

This tension between mitigating generalized versus specific (colonial) manifestations of gentrification-induced displacement can be conceptualized in two ways in relation to the existing gentrification literature. First, in a context of deepening urban inequality and “super-gentrification”, scholars have identified that planners, policymakers, and media outlets are increasingly preoccupied with middle-class households’ access to housing and ability to remain in gentrifying neighbourhoods (e.g. Halasz, 2018; Madden & Marcuse, 2016; Tolfo & Doucet, 2021). More specifically, Madden and Marcuse (2016) suggest that growing discursive and policy attention to housing affordability in cities stems from the fact that such concerns are now touching white, moderate-income residents in ways they previously did not. Extrapolating from these findings, this population’s new vulnerability to displacement can be seen as an (unspoken) motivation for municipalities’ recent shift toward displacement mitigation in planning for redevelopment and regeneration. This dynamic suggests that anti-displacement measures that broadly target “renters”, “citizens” or the “community” implicitly prioritize the preservation of white, middle-class residents’ place in the city, underlining the need for nuanced planning responses. Even with its income-based nuance, the Broadway Plan tenant relocation and protection policies, for instance, are still positioned to most effectively mitigate permanent displacement among those who do not have to navigate anti-Indigenous or other racial discrimination in the process. While this article argues for responses that address the specific, settler-colonial inequities of gentrification, this need for nuance also applies to addressing other distinct displacement vulnerabilities in settler and non-settler-colonial contexts alike.

Second, an emphasis on anti-displacement measures aimed toward the protection of a generic ‘existing community’ ultimately serves real estate interests. As Porter and Barry (2016) emphasize, notions of collective benefit are often manipulated to favour economic imperatives as planning endeavours to “balance” diverse interests. This analysis demonstrates how notions such as community stewardship or citizen appropriation remain relatively vague and malleable in comparison to explicit support for Indigenous nations’ rights to territory in a context of redevelopment and regeneration. While the latter demands specific reparations and shifts to the colonial-capitalist status quo, the former notions leave room for continued efforts to maximize private (settler) investment and accumulation through land development and placemaking. Accordingly, this analysis confirms the superficial disruption of capitalist relations through gentrification responses developed within a neoliberal planning framework (e.g., Slater, 2021;

Stein, 2019). However, it also identifies limitations of such responses in terms of the disruption of *colonial* relations and displacement outcomes, despite a policy context framed by discourse on Indigenous-settler reconciliation in the city.

Municipal planning's continued reliance on the private sector to address gentrification impacts evidently limits opportunities to challenge colonial-capitalist planning logics. However, planners' nascent attention to colonial inequities of redevelopment and regeneration documented in this article creates an opening for anti-displacement responses that more robustly interrogate different spatial claims and aspirations below the surface of a broadly defined "community". In crafting policies that address varied experiences and conditions of displacement beyond those of white, increasingly middle-class residents (the implicit benefactor of generalized measures), municipal planning can lay the groundwork to disrupt patterns of colonial-capitalist change and development. However, policy implementation brings new challenges and considerations, such as those emerging as the Broadway Plan's tenant protection measures are put into action without a "pace of change" policy to slow rental redevelopment and amid low vacancy rates city-wide (CityHallWatch, 2024; St. Denis, 2023). Accordingly, the examination of anti-displacement policy implementation is a pertinent future research direction, with a focus on policy measures specifically supporting Indigenous spatial ties and claims.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This research examines the intertwining of municipal-led reconciliation and planning for urban change in Canada. Specifically, it explores theoretical tensions within municipal comprehensive planning between new reconciliation objectives to address colonial inequities, new attention to mitigating gentrification impacts, and persisting status quo redevelopment and regeneration objectives synonymous with gentrification (e.g., Slater, 2006). These tensions are grounded in an understanding of gentrification as a settler-colonial process. Through gentrification, settler society seeks to sustain control over Indigenous land, transforming urban space to benefit colonial-capitalist real estate interests while displacing Indigenous (rights-based) connections in both symbolic and material ways (Coulthard, 2014; Ellis-Young, 2022; Toews, 2018). Thus, the overarching objective of this research has been to understand how planning mentalities, practices, and policies that privilege settler embeddedness and wealth accumulation are reshaped (or not) in interaction with a growing municipal focus on reconciliation and displacement mitigation. I addressed this objective from different angles through three research questions, with a focus on discourse. Here, I drew on Fairclough's approach to critical discourse analysis (e.g. Fairclough, 2003), which has been applied by both gentrification scholars (e.g. Hochstenbach, 2015; Lees, 2003; Mullenbach, 2022) and those writing on Indigenous recognition within settler-colonial planning (e.g. Porter & Barry, 2015, 2016).

In the following sections, I summarize the research findings before outlining pathways for future research. Next, I discuss the project's three overarching theoretical contributions in bringing together literatures on state-led reconciliation, Indigenous recognition in planning, and gentrification. Finally, I conclude with reflections and recommendations regarding the implications of the research for settler planning practice.

6.1 Reflections on municipal planning at the nexus of redevelopment and reconciliation

My first research question (Chapter 3) investigated how reconciliation discourses are recontextualized (reproduced, transformed, abandoned) within municipal comprehensive area redevelopment plans in interaction with prevailing planning discourses, and the implications for settler-colonial planning. Across five Canadian municipalities (Vancouver, Edmonton, Regina,

Hamilton, and Montréal), reconciliation discourses invoking symbolic, historic Indigenous presence and collective urban futures were more readily translated into the redevelopment plans than those upholding contemporary, corporeal Indigenous presence and self-determination in the city. On the one hand, an emphasis on symbolic, historic presence supports Indigenous visibility on occupied Indigenous land, a priority consistently raised by Indigenous residents and representatives in Canadian cities (e.g. City of Vancouver, 2020; Nejad et al., 2019; OCPM, 2022a) and a departure from the complete erasure of Indigenous presence that has defined past iterations of state-led redevelopment and regeneration (e.g. Toews, 2018). On the other hand, this analysis reveals a tendency for municipal planning to embrace reconciliation directions that align with, or can be made to align with, the continuity of colonial-capitalist redevelopment and other settler planning norms, rather than those that force the redefinition of these norms.

My second question (Chapter 4) explored how municipal planning staff represent reconciliatory practice in the context of comprehensive planning processes, including how they define their reconciliation roles and responsibilities in relation to settler planning norms. Here, I drew on the perspectives of those involved in area-level and city-wide processes in Vancouver and Montréal. I found that planners tend to exhibit one of two tendencies in representing reconciliatory practice, encapsulating the tensions between settler continuity and transformation that frame this research. In some instances, planners engage in “settler moves to innocence” (Tuck & Yang, 2012), implicitly absolving themselves from reconciliation work by placing Indigenous interests outside of the planning area or theme, invoking a lack of expertise, and/or underlining the constraining planning frameworks within which they operate. In this instance, reconciliation is identified as an important planning consideration, but something that is advanced through other projects or by other people. At the same time, other planners recognize limits to reconciliation within existing planning structures in order to identify potential pathways forward, including conceptual and institutional shifts regarding how urban space is planned and the unlearning of colonial planning mentalities at a personal level. Accordingly, this understanding of reconciliatory planning practice emphasizes internal reflection and transformation on the part of both settler planning institutions and planners themselves, including the transformation of normative mentalities surrounding redevelopment and regeneration. This orientation toward settler planning transformation was more prominent in Vancouver, whose reconciliation work is more established and internally focused, suggesting that planners’

understandings of reconciliation both deepen over time and are directly shaped by broader municipal reconciliation policy.

While my first and second questions addressed themes of gentrification through language of capitalist redevelopment and regeneration, my third question (Chapter 5) provided space for deeper and more specific engagement with the gentrification literature. This final question examined how municipal efforts to mitigate gentrification-induced displacement within reconciliation-era comprehensive planning address the colonial dimensions of gentrification. Focusing once again on area-level and city-wide comprehensive planning processes in Vancouver and Montréal, I identified and analyzed three prominent anti-displacement discourses: protecting affordable housing access, maintaining existing sense of place, and supporting urban spatial appropriation. Within both planning documents and planners' reflections, I found a certain degree of discursive (policy) support for Indigenous-led affordable housing and Indigenous spatial appropriation in a context of redevelopment and regeneration. However, across the three discourses, I also uncovered a stronger tendency for planners and policy actions to refer generically to maintaining or enhancing the embeddedness of "residents", "citizens" or the "existing community".

These broad, catch-all responses overlook the different ways displacement is experienced across different positionalities, including specific Indigenous experiences of dispossession as urban space is restoried once again by settler society. Further, given that municipalities' shift toward anti-displacement discourse aligns with the expansion of affordability and displacement concerns to white, middle-class populations (Halasz, 2018; Madden & Marcuse, 2016), it is these groups who are implicitly privileged through this generic language. As a result, specific colonial dimensions of gentrification are, at best, inconsistently addressed within settler municipal comprehensive planning, despite growing municipal discourse on advancing reconciliation and tackling urban inequities. In fact, policies oriented toward mitigating intangible forms of displacement may even reproduce these colonial dynamics. Here, broad measures to protect the existing (settler) sense of place and ability for the "existing (settler) community" to continue to shape their changing surroundings risk reproducing patterns of Indigenous erasure instead of upholding Indigenous spatial ties and rights to territory.

Collectively, these findings reveal that municipal planners navigate multiple colonial-capitalist boundaries at the nexus of redevelopment and reconciliation. As they define the scope

of reconciliation and displacement mitigation within comprehensive planning projects, they do so in relation to existing boundaries of Indigenous recognition (e.g., Porter & Barry, 2015, 2016; Tembo, 2018), as well as those of established planning frameworks and status quo regeneration (gentrification) objectives. In many instances, planners reproduce these boundaries as they look to both advance reconciliation and respond to gentrification concerns within their constraints. This dynamic is demonstrated, for instance, in the tendency to formulate reconciliation-related policies in ways secure to colonial-capitalist redevelopment (e.g., in policy areas related to heritage versus land use) or the tendency to obscure contemporary Indigenous claims and interests within displacement mitigation responses. However, the findings of this research also indicate that these boundaries are starting to be challenged, including through policies supporting Indigenous-determined housing and spaces in the city and planners' identification of alternative possibilities outside of land development norms. In comparing the Montréal and Vancouver cases, the "stage" of municipal reconciliation work (just beginning versus more established) appears an important factor in the extent to which these boundaries are challenged, with planners' (un)learning deepening over time. The dynamic raises a question for future research regarding how Canadian municipal comprehensive planning approaches and priorities will continue to evolve over the next five years and beyond, particularly as dialogue on reconciliation becomes more prominent within professional planning institutions (e.g. Canadian Institute of Planners, 2025).

6.2 Future research possibilities

Given that this research captures planning visions, policies and perspectives from a particular point in time, it would be pertinent to conduct further research that explores their evolution over time. As mentioned above, one important research direction would be to examine, across Canadian municipalities, how (comprehensive) planning mentalities and approaches evolve over the next five years alongside the simultaneous evolution of municipal discourse on reconciliation. This is particularly relevant given that many municipal reconciliation strategies were only recently adopted or still being developed at the time of this research. Additionally, as previously referenced, professional bodies that shape municipal planning practice, such as the Canadian Institute of Planners, have recently placed increased emphasis on reconciliation, including within the context of their conferences (Canadian Institute of Planners, 2024) and in

the development of an action plan (Canadian Institute of Planners, 2025). This research could thus interrogate: 1) whether planners become more or less radical at the nexus of reconciliation and redevelopment planning over time, 2) how directions related to reconciliation intensify, change course, or peter out, and 3) how these dynamics relate to changes in how reconciliation is framed at the municipal level and/or within professional planning institutions.

Another related line of inquiry would be to examine how policy discourse (implicitly) addressing colonial inequities translates into material outcomes as municipal reconciliation-era comprehensive plans, such as those that were the focus of this research, move to the implementation phase. Specifically, this research motivates further exploration of how some of the more “progressive” reconciliatory policies related to housing and the appropriation of urban space are implemented (or not), and what this implies for the persistence of settler-colonial gentrification. I am thinking here, for instance, policies like the one in Montréal’s draft city-wide comprehensive plan (PUM 2050), referenced in Chapter 5, to “(d)velop a housing strategy with and for Indigenous populations” that focuses “in particular on the development of a land strategy”, suggests both some form of land return and an expanded space for Indigenous self-determination. The tendency identified in this research for strong contextual language around colonial inequities and Indigenous rights to be tempered within the policies (Chapters 3 and 5) suggests the potential for material outcomes to be further watered down, but this is not a given; the colonial instability of reconciliation recognized by Snelgrove and Wildcat (2023), and reflected on in 6.2, leaves space for stronger implementation responses. For both this research direction and the one identified in the previous paragraph, it would be pertinent to expand the scope to include municipalities outside of Canada that are engaged in municipal-led reconciliation (such as those in Australia), providing a comparative dimension and more robust findings.

Finally, this research raises broader questions related to the evolution of the state’s role in gentrification, both within and beyond settler-colonial contexts. More specifically, it prompts further examination of how traditional understandings of state-led gentrification evolve as municipal planners face increased pressure to respond to growing discourse on inequities of redevelopment and regeneration within these processes, including through pressure from community groups and concerns raised within engagement processes. While resistance to (state-led) gentrification is longstanding, growing public concerns of gentrification, and increased

municipal pressures to respond to these concerns, reflect the depth of inequity in contemporary cities and its spread to previously unaffected middle-class populations (Madden & Marcuse, 2016). As discourse on Indigenous-settler reconciliation grows in urban contexts, it remains to be seen to what extent anti-gentrification voices in planning processes place pressure on municipalities to address colonial inequities in and through the city. Further, it will be important to examine more extensively, both within and beyond “settler-colonial” cities, the beneficiaries of emerging policy responses to gentrification and the extent to which they are nuanced with respect to different experiences of urban inequity.

6.3 Theoretical contributions

6.3.1 (Im)possibilities of state-led reconciliation in planning: toward settler planners’ “moves to responsibility”?

In their reflection on state-led reconciliation’s potential to advance Indigenous self-determination, Snelgrove and Wildcat (2023) frame reconciliation as a process that is not definitively tokenistic or transformative, but a “moment of colonial reconfiguration” that destabilizes the settler status quo. Returning my findings, I see efforts to advance reconciliation through municipal comprehensive planning as a representation of this state of flux. Here, settler planning mentalities, approaches, and objectives are gradually being rethought and remain under interrogation – not yet dramatically transformed but also not yet “reconciled”, a point consistently emphasized by municipal planning staff. For Snelgrove and Wildcat (2023), this state of flux presents “openings” that can be strategically leveraged to affect larger shifts to the settler-colonial order. While their emphasis is on Indigenous-led political action, this research also allows reflection on settler planners’ propensity to recognize the colonial instability accompanying municipal reconciliation activity and take advantage of these “openings”, as allies, from within settler institutions.

This direction extends discussions in the planning literature on the potential for settler planning cultures to shift in “incremental and subtle” ways (Ugarte, 2014, p. 411) through “new spaces of [colonial-defined] engagement” with Indigenous communities, despite the persistent “power asymmetry” (Sandercock, 2019, p. 305; see also Porter & Barry, 2016). Porter and Barry (2016), for instance, identified instances of planners in Canada and Australia seizing

opportunities to expand spaces of Indigenous recognition beyond the limited requirements or status quo terminology of colonial planning legislation. However, they also noted a distinction between urban and non-urban planners in this regard, in accordance with the colonial tendency to place urban land and its development beyond the scope of Indigenous interests. This research underlines a continued hesitancy among planners involved in urban redevelopment planning to see themselves as agents of colonial transformation, even as these processes become “new spaces of engagement” (Sandercock, 2019, p. 305) amid growing municipal discourse on reconciliation. Indeed, I found it not uncommon for municipal planners’ reconciliatory practices to be strictly motivated by municipal reconciliation frameworks and/or remain within the constructs of these frameworks. Here, advancing reconciliation was seen as more of an obligation than an opportunity to be leveraged for further transformation, with planners simply following the municipal reconciliation script to complete the actions now required of them.

This dynamic presents a challenge in shifting settler planners beyond these externally motivated and defined actions and toward the identification of opportunities to subvert colonial planning logics. Per Ladner (2018), there is little motivation for settlers to initiate these more transformative expressions of reconciliation. However, my research captured an appetite to move beyond “settler normalcy” (Tuck & Yang, 2012) among planning staff who have had greater opportunity to directly engage with Indigenous actors and/or reflect on the colonial underpinnings of municipal planning, including as a function of the City’s prioritization of staff education and training. Accordingly, settler municipal planners’ ‘moves to responsibility’ (versus “moves to innocence”, Tuck & Yang, 2012) are heavily shaped by how their municipality structures the connections between reconciliation and planning, including relationship-building with local Indigenous communities. For instance, I identified in Chapter 4 the ways in which municipal planners in Montréal have been distanced from relationship-building, whereas Vancouver has emphasized cultural competency training to enable more widespread relationship-building. Echoing other scholars (e.g. Porter, 2017; Porter & Barry, 2016, Sandercock, 2019), these factors underline the significance of in-depth exposure to both colonial (planning) realities and Indigenous perspectives and priorities in developing planners’ internal motivations (awareness, abilities, and confidence) to act in support of Indigenous self-determination.

Thus, while retaining the importance of relationship-building, these settler ‘moves to responsibility’ in planning practice can also shift the burden of reconciliation (e.g. Daigle, 2019)

away from Indigenous communities. As this research demonstrates, externally motivated reconciliatory practice is often contingent on Indigenous guidance and perceived Indigenous interests (in reconciling, in a particular project). In contrast, planners motivated by their own sense of responsibility to address colonial injustice orient their reconciliatory practice toward identifying and advancing internal changes in planning approaches, policies, and structures to uphold Indigenous rights and priorities.

6.3.2 Indigenous recognition at the nexus of redevelopment (gentrification) and reconciliation

In 2016, Porter and Barry identified municipal planners' relative hesitancy to identify "intersections between their work, planning practice and Indigenous peoples" (p. 159), underlining "just how tightly the category of 'Indigenous' is bounded to a highlight limited range of [non-urban coded] planning objects" (p. 155, see also Dorries, 2017; Tomiak, 2019). A decade on, and in the midst of municipal discourse on reconciliation, it remains, in many ways, "provocative to suggest that there might be Indigenous rights and interests in...urban renewal projects" (Porter & Barry, 2016, p. 155). Indeed, this research captures an uncertainty within municipal comprehensive planning as to how (and why) to ground reconciliation objectives a) in urban areas not read as Indigenous spaces (e.g., under municipal jurisdiction, not reserve land, without "visible" Indigenous communities), and b) through a focus on land use and (re)development. This uncertainty diminishes where municipal reconciliation discourse is more established, although reconciliation objectives and policies still tend to be more prevalent under comprehensive planning themes already deemed "acceptable" within the colonial bounds of Indigenous recognition, such as place-making.

That planners are not naturally or unconditionally positioned as actors of reconciliation in planning for urban change aligns with the persistence of their normative roles as actors of (settler-colonial) gentrification in this domain, despite shifting discourses around mitigating displacement. As underlined in framing this research, "redevelopment" and "regeneration" processes (as codes for gentrification) have been a consistent means through which to symbolically and physically remake space in support of sustained settler possession (e.g. Porter et al., 2019; Toews, 2018; Tomiak et al., 2019). As municipal reconciliation objectives demand more extensive Indigenous recognition within and through these processes, this research finds

that while the place narratives change, the colonial-capitalist rationalities of (dis)possession (Porter et al., 2019) and “highest and best use” (Blomley, 2004; Stein, 2019) persist. On the one hand, an emphasis on making visible symbolic, historic Indigenous presence contributes to an evolution of redevelopment narratives beyond Indigenous erasure (as identified by Toews, 2018 in Winnipeg’s past area redevelopment plans) and toward recognizing the city as Indigenous space (former City of Vancouver Indigenous relations staff, personal communication, February 6, 2023). On the other hand, the leveraging of this symbolic Indigeneity in settler place-marketing (see also George, 2020) suggests minimal deviation from the normative colonial-capitalist dynamics of redevelopment and regeneration.

6.3.3 *Discursive turns in state-led gentrification*

Finally, this research builds on recent gentrification literature (particularly Busá & Lees, 2024) that identifies a nascent shift in state redevelopment and regeneration policy toward more support for social housing and “policies and practices preventing displacement” (p. 3). The Montréal and Vancouver cases provide insight into this ostensibly changing face of state-led gentrification amidst not just growing external pressures to address displacement outcomes, but also municipal efforts to address colonial inequities in the city under the banner of Indigenous-settler reconciliation. Accordingly, my theoretical contributions speak to both settler-colonial and non-settler-colonial contexts. Broadly, the analysis provides additional evidence of discursive and policy shifts in state-led redevelopment and regeneration, confirming the pressures on planners therein and identifying multiple anti-displacement discourses across the processes and within final plans. In doing so, the research reveals a tendency for planning objectives and policies that engage anti-displacement language of affordable housing access, protecting sense of place and grassroots urban spatial appropriation (e.g. August, 2014; Doucet et al., 2022; Lees & Ferreri, 2016; Slater, 2021) to do so with a lack of nuance.

For instance, in addressing displacement as loss of sense of belonging (e.g. Atkinson, 2015; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015), the tendency to centre a generalized ‘citizen’ or ‘existing community’ raises tensions surrounding the actual beneficiaries of these discursive shifts. For instance, who within the ‘existing community’ will have their sense of place preserved, or who are the ‘residents’ or ‘citizens’ that will get to shape and appropriate the redeveloping spaces? The spread of affordability and displacement concerns beyond marginalized residents, and the

concomitant growth in attention to addressing these issues (e.g. Halasz, 2018; Madden & Marcuse, 2016; Tolfo & Doucet, 2021), suggests that these directions implicitly privilege white, middle class ‘residents’ and ‘citizens’. In settler-colonial contexts, this lack of nuance within anti-displacement policy does little to tackle the reproduction of colonial relations through gentrification (e.g. Coulthard, 2014; Ellis-Young, 2022; Grandinetti, 2019; Quizar, 2019; Toews, 2018). Instead, emphasis on the spatial claims and belonging of unnuanced ‘citizens’ over Indigenous self-determination and abilities to stay in place in the city indicates the persistence of physical and rights-based Indigenous displacements through redevelopment, despite growing municipal attention to advancing reconciliation and mitigating displacement in this domain. Indeed, this research exemplifies, through a new reconciliation lens, the limitations of addressing inequities of gentrification through the very modes of capitalist redevelopment that produce them (e.g., Slater, 2021; Stein, 2019).

6.4 Implications for settler planning practice

6.4.1 High-level reflections

Alongside its theoretical contributions to gentrification and planning literatures, this research also holds implications for settler planning practice. The analysis demonstrates important differences between the Vancouver case and the other cases, namely Montréal, in terms of the extent to which a) reconciliation is embedded in comprehensive planning processes and b) planners’ see themselves as reconciliation actors (including across different roles). This difference is in part temporal, given that the City of Vancouver has been working on advancing reconciliation for significantly longer than the other municipalities. Accordingly, it is likely that connections between planning and reconciliation will deepen in the coming years in municipalities in the early phases of reconciliation strategy implementation. However, there are also important differences between the Vancouver and Montréal cases in terms of the emphasis on developing planners’ motivations and capacities to reconcile, with Vancouver’s reconciliation approach giving more space to shifting staff mentalities through education, training, and relationship-building opportunities. While other scholars have also underlined these factors (e.g., Porter, 2017; Porter & Barry, 2016), this research identifies the central role they play in enabling

all planners to see themselves as reconciliation actors and make broader connections between planning and reconciliation.

Differences identified between the two scales of comprehensive planning (city-wide and area-level) across all cases also underline the need for broader understandings of what reconciliation means – or where it applies – within planning practice. Across the cases, I found that attention to reconciliation was less profound and/or widespread in area-level planning processes. In comparison to the higher-level policy directions of the city-wide plans, these area-level processes engage more directly with capitalist urban land development, whose intersections with Indigenous interests (and Indigenous displacements) have traditionally been overlooked. This dynamic suggests that normative colonial notions separating “urban” and “Indigenous” that persist within settler planning mentalities (e.g., Porter & Barry, 2016) need to be further challenged in order to expand area-level planning as a space for addressing colonial inequities, including outcomes of gentrification. However, planners also position themselves as limited in their capacity to both advance reconciliation and respond to gentrification concerns due to broader institutional constraints, a position that is both justified but also risks diminishing responsibility therein. For instance, within the context of this research, planners and planning documents often identified difficulties in realizing non-market housing solutions as a form of gentrification mitigation, referencing municipal budget constraints and the need for support from upper-level governments.

Finally, this research underlines the limitations of planning approaches to both reconciliation and gentrification mitigation that adopt an ‘equality’ lens. As outlined in both Chapter 3 and Chapter 5, this lens risks obscuring specific Indigenous interests, rights, and vulnerabilities in focusing on collective benefit. Extrapolating these findings to include non-settler-colonial contexts points to the importance of nuanced planning policies that account for different layers of inequity embodied within processes such as gentrification, including as a function of residents’ different positionalities. In a broad sense, as they move their thinking beyond the much-maligned ‘public interest’, planners must further deconstruct the multiplicity of interests with which their work interacts in direct reference to the context in which their work is set (e.g., on Indigenous land).

6.4.2 *Practical recommendations*

Turning to more grounded recommendations, it is first crucial that municipal planners build their internal motivations to engage in reconciliatory planning practice beyond the boundaries of planning norms. In support of this outcome, municipalities and provincial and national planning bodies must expand the space through which planners develop their awareness of colonial realities. This awareness-building should be approached in ways that ensure continued exposure to past *and present* colonial injustices and is oriented toward transformation rather than coercion. For instance, it is crucial to directly address the ways in which contemporary planning reproduces colonial relations while also providing space for planners to reflect on what this means for their work. Colonial truths and decolonial framings can also be incorporated into professional development activities across a variety of planning themes in addition to education that focuses specifically on breaking down the legacy and continuity of settler colonialism. This integrative approach can support planners to make broader connections between reconciliation and planning beyond the ‘traditional’ spheres of natural and cultural heritage.

Leveraging this awareness, planners must also build their capacities to disrupt colonial-capitalist planning norms as reconciliation actors and anti-displacement actors. First, this research underlines the importance of municipal support for planners’ direct involvement in respectful relationship-building with Indigenous peoples and communities, within and beyond project boundaries (see also Porter & Barry, 2016). Such relationship-building in the Vancouver case, guided by Indigenous staff, has helped settler planners begin to approach planning from a different perspective and with a deeper understanding of Indigenous interests. Second, more can be done at an institutional level to create a context that supports more radical changes as planners shift their mentalities away from colonial-capitalist norms. For instance, municipalities might divert funds away from large and ever-increasing police budgets, support planner-recommended “pace of change” policies (like the one voted down in Vancouver), or shift expectations regarding planning timelines in order to support more genuine relationship-building opportunities.

Planners must also (continue to) seek out “openings” (Snelgrove & Wildcat, 2023) within planning processes through which to challenge colonial-capitalist objectives, despite institutional constraints and even if seemingly insignificant. For instance, the final public consultation report for Montréal’s PUM 2050 highlighted planners’ dismissal of housing targets for different groups,

including Indigenous residents, on the basis that they are unable to “regulate housing development based on specific needs and target clientele” (OCPM, 2025, p. 167). However, as the OCPM argues, including such figures would nevertheless help keep the City accountable and oriented toward more transformative housing goals even if they do not have “any coercive value” (p. 167). Additionally, while this research demonstrated how planners reproduce notions of a singular ‘interest’ in their attention to equity concerns such as gentrification-induced displacement, they also seek to recognize difference through emerging intersectional lenses. However, the colonial dimension often remains obscured. Accordingly, alongside existing lenses, planners in settler-colonial cities should look to approach their work through a specific decolonial lens that helps deconstruct policies for the ‘community’ or ‘equity-denied groups’ into more nuanced actions that target colonial inequities.

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Appendix A: Phase 1 Documents

- City of Vancouver
 - *Framework for City of Reconciliation* (2014)
 - *Reconciliation Update Work & Efforts* (2020)
 - *Reconciliation Update Work and Efforts June 2020 – June 2021* (2021)
 - *Broadway Plan* (2022)
- City of Montréal
 - *Stratégie de réconciliation 2020-2025/Reconciliation Strategy 2020-2025*
 - *L'écoquartier Lachine-Est : une planification montréalaise innovante - Plan d'ensemble* (2021)
 - *L'écoquartier Lachine-Est – Programme particulier d'urbanisme* (2021, draft)
 - *L'écoquartier Lachine-Est – Programme particulier d'urbanisme* (2023, final)
 - *Lachine-Est : De fer et d'acier* (accompanying historical narrative, 2021)
- City of Regina
 - *Reconciliation Regina Inc. Community Action Plan 2020/2021*
 - *City Centre Core Framework* (2021)
- City of Edmonton
 - *City of Edmonton Indigenous Framework* (2021)
 - *Indigenous Framework Year 1 Corporate Action Plan (2021/22)* (2022)
 - *Indigenous Framework Annual Update* (2022)
 - *Edmonton Exhibition Lands Planning Framework* (2021)
 - *Edmonton Exhibition Lands Implementation Strategy* (2021)
- City of Hamilton
 - *Hamilton Urban Indigenous Strategy* (2019)
 - *Hamilton Urban Indigenous Strategy Implementation Report* (2021)
 - *Bayfront Industrial Area Strategy* (2022)

Appendix B: Phase 2 Documents

- City of Vancouver
 - *Vancouver Plan* (2022)
 - Vancouver Plan engagement documents:
 - *Phase 1 “Listen and Learn” Engagement Summary Report* (2020)
 - *Phase 2: Envisioning the Future Engagement Summary* (2021)
 - *Phase 3 Engagement Summary: Equity-Denied Groups* (2021)
 - *Phase 3 Engagement 2022*
 - *Broadway Plan* (2022)
 - Broadway Plan engagement documents:
 - *Phase 1 Engagement and Proposed Guiding Principles* (2019)
 - *Phase 2 (Part 1) Engagement Report* (2020)
 - *Phase 2 (Part 2) Engagement Report* (2021)
 - *Phase 3 – Refined Directions Engagement Summary* (2021)
 - *Phase 4 – Draft Broadway Plan Engagement Summary* (2022)

- City of Montréal
 - *Plan d’urbanisme et de mobilité 2050* (2024, draft)
 - *Plan d’urbanisme et de mobilité 2050* (2025, final)
 - *Projet de ville – Vers un plan d’urbanisme et de mobilité* (2021)
 - PUM 2050 engagement documents (Réflexion 2050, led by the Office de consultation publique de Montréal - OCPM):
 - *Rapport de consultation publique, Réflexion 2050* (OCPM, 2023)
 - *Séance du 21 avril 2022* (OCPM, transcript)
 - *Séance du 5 avril 2022* (OCPM, transcript)
 - *Synthèse des groupes de discussion de préconsultation* (OCPM, 2022)
 - *Synthèse des ateliers créatifs auprès du grand public* (OCPM, 2022)
 - *Synthèse des groupes de discussion tenus du 23 août au septembre 2022* (OCPM)

- *Atelier de discussion – Représentant autochtones, Synthèse des enjeux et propositions* (OCPM, 2022)
- *Réponses aux questions de la commission reçues le 28 avril 2022* (City of Montréal)
- *Projet de Plan d’urbanisme et de mobilité 2050: Rencontre de préconsultation, Autochtones, 24 octobre 2024* (OCPM)
- *Rapport de consultation publique, PUM 2050* (OCPM, 2025)
- *L’écoquartier Lachine-Est : une planification montréalaise innovante - Plan d’ensemble* (2021)
- *L’écoquartier Lachine-Est – Programme particulier d’urbanisme* (2021, draft)
- *L’écoquartier Lachine-Est – Programme particulier d’urbanisme* (2023, final)
- Écoquartier Lachine-Est engagement documents :
 - Atelier Lachine-Est (2020, coordinated by Concert’ Action Lachine)
 - *Synthèse du groupe de travail « Patrimoine, Culture et Design » de l’Atelier Lachine-Est*
 - *Synthèse du groupe de travail « Logement, Équipements Publics et Communautaires » de l’Atelier Lachine-Est*
 - *Synthèse du groupe de travail « Innovation Écologique » de l’Atelier Lachine-Est*
 - *Synthèse du groupe de travail « Développement Économique »*
 - *Synthèse du groupe de travail « Mobilité » de l’Atelier Lachine-Est*
 - *Procès-verbal de la rencontre avec les propriétaires/promoteurs du territoire*
 - OCPM-led engagement process:
 - *Rapport de consultation publique, Secteur Lachine-Est* (OCPM, 2019)
 - *Rapport de consultation publique, PPU de l’écoquartier Lachine-Est* (OCPM, 2022)
 - *Séance de l’après-midi du 24 février 2019* (OCPM, transcript)
 - *Séance de la soirée du 28 mars 2022* (OCPM, transcript)
 - *Séance de la soirée du 11 mai 2022* (OCPM, transcript)

- *Rapport de l'OCPM – Recommandations et suivi* (City of Montréal, 2021)
- *Réponses aux questions écrites de la commission de l'OCPM* (City of Montréal, 2022)
- *Rapport de l'OCPM – suivi et réponses aux recommandations* (City of Montréal, 2023)

Appendix C: Information Letters and Consent Forms

Information letter (English) - Municipal planning staff involved in one of the four projects

Date

Dear (*insert participant's name*):

This letter is an invitation to consider participating in PhD research being conducted through the University of Waterloo's School of Planning. The study is being led by Margaret Ellis-Young, PhD candidate, under the supervision of Dr. Janice Barry and Dr. Brian Doucet.

The purpose of the study is to examine how municipal planning processes in Vancouver and Montréal are responding to a growing municipal emphasis on reconciliation with Indigenous communities. More specifically, the study seeks to explore the nature of city and neighbourhood-level planning visions in a context of municipal reconciliation, as well as how municipal planning actors make sense of questions of reconciliation within these planning processes. It focuses on projects guiding the long-term transformation and (re)development of urban space, recognizing the potential connections and tensions between reconciliation and urban change.

Given your role in [*insert project title*], I would like to include your perspectives on municipal planning processes and visions in a context of municipal commitments to reconciliation. The data collected during interviews will advance collective knowledge on the relationship between municipal reconciliation efforts and municipal planning, which will help support more equitable planning approaches and outcomes.

Participation in this study is voluntary. It will involve one interview of approximately 60 minutes in length to take place at a mutually agreed upon time/location (virtual or in person). The interview may be conducted in English or French according to your preference. You may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish. Virtual interviews will be conducted over an online platform, Microsoft Teams. Microsoft Teams has implemented technical, administrative, and physical safeguards to protect the information provided via the Services from loss, misuse, and unauthorized access, disclosure, alteration, or destruction. However, no Internet transmission is ever fully secure or error free.

The interview will be audio recorded with your consent to facilitate collection of information and later transcribed for analysis. With your permission, quotations may be used in the presentation of research findings, noting that neither your name nor your exact job title will not appear in any report, presentation or publication resulting from this study. In attributing quotes, I will use more general terms to describe your role (e.g. planner, City of X). Nevertheless, there is a chance you could still be identified given the limited number of individuals associated with the projects of interest/your general role within the municipality or organization of interest (the projects/municipalities/organizations will be named). As such, the study presents a minimal reputational risk if you make a statement you later regret, or if a statement is viewed as contentious by others.

Given this minimal risk, the interview transcript will be shared with you following the interview and prior to any data interpretation and analysis. You will have a one-month period to review the transcript for accuracy and to strike any comments you no longer want to include. You will also have the right to fully withdraw from this study at any time before the close of the transcript review period without any negative consequences by advising the researcher. If you withdraw from the study, your data will be destroyed. Any individual comments that you withdraw within the review period will be removed from the transcript and destroyed.

Electronic and paper data collected during this study will be stored in secure locations and any files with personal identifiers will be encrypted with a password. Data collected through this study will be retained for a minimum of seven years, following University of Waterloo guidelines. Only researchers associated with this project will have access.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Board (REB #44759). If you have questions for the Board, contact the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or reb@uwaterloo.ca.

For all other questions contact Margaret Ellis-Young by email at mellisyoung@uwaterloo.ca. You may also contact her supervisors: Dr. Janice Barry at 519-888-4567 ext. 41547 or janice.barry@uwaterloo.ca and Dr. Brian Doucet at 519-888-4567 ext. 48594 or brian.doucet@uwaterloo.ca.

I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your assistance with this project.

Sincerely,

Margaret Ellis-Young

PhD Candidate
School of Planning
University of Waterloo

Information letter (French) - Municipal planning staff involved in one of the four projects

Date

(insérer le nom du participant) :

Cette lettre est une invitation à participer à une recherche doctorale menée par Margaret Ellis-Young, doctorante à l'École de planification de l'Université de Waterloo, sous la direction de la professeure Janice Barry et du professeur Brian Doucet.

L'objectif de l'étude est d'examiner comment des processus d'aménagement à Montréal et à Vancouver répondent à l'attention croissante des municipalités sur la réconciliation avec des communautés autochtones. L'étude vise à explorer les visions d'aménagement aux échelles de la ville et du quartier, ainsi que la façon dont une diversité des fonctionnaires municipaux comprend des questions de réconciliation dans ces processus d'aménagement. Il se concentre sur des projets guidant la transformation et la rénovation à long terme de l'espace urbain, reconnaissant les liens potentiels et les tensions entre la réconciliation et la rénovation urbaine.

Étant donné votre rôle dans *[insérer le titre du projet]*, j'aimerais inclure vos perspectives sur ce processus et cette vision d'aménagement urbain. Je m'intéresse à la fois à votre domaine d'expertise au sein du projet et vos perspectives sur les liens du projet aux engagements municipaux envers la réconciliation, même si ce dernier n'est pas tout à fait dans le cadre de votre travail. Les données recueillies au cours des entrevues feront progresser les connaissances collectives sur les relations entre l'aménagement municipal et les efforts municipaux visant la réconciliation, ce qui aidera à soutenir des approches et des résultats d'urbanisme plus équitables.

La participation à cette étude est volontaire. Il s'agira d'un entretien d'environ 60 minutes qui aura lieu à un moment/endroit convenu d'un commun accord (virtuel ou en personne). L'entretien peut se dérouler en français ou en anglais selon votre préférence. Vous pouvez refuser de répondre à n'importe quelles questions pendant l'entretien si vous le souhaitez. Les entretiens virtuels seront menés sur une plateforme en ligne, Microsoft Teams. Microsoft Teams a mis en œuvre des mesures de protection techniques, administratives et physiques pour protéger les informations fournies par les Services contre la perte, l'utilisation abusive et l'accès, la divulgation, l'altération ou la destruction non autorisés. Cependant, aucune transmission sur Internet n'est entièrement sécurisée ou exempte d'erreurs.

L'entretien sera enregistré en audio avec votre consentement pour faciliter la collecte d'informations, puis transcrit pour analyse. Avec votre permission, des citations peuvent être utilisées dans la présentation des résultats, en notant que ni votre nom ni votre titre de poste précis n'apparaîtront dans aucun rapport, présentation ou publication résultant de cette étude. En attribuant des citations, j'utiliserai des termes plus généraux pour décrire votre rôle (par exemple, fonctionnaire en urbanisme, Ville de X). Cependant, il y a encore un risque d'identification étant donné le nombre limité de personnes associées aux projets d'intérêt et à votre rôle général au sein de la municipalité ou organisation d'intérêt (les projets/municipalités/organisations seront identifiés). De ce fait, l'étude présente un risque minimal pour la réputation si vous faites une déclaration que vous regrettez plus tard, ou si une déclaration est considérée comme incendiaire par d'autres.

Étant donné ce risque minimal, la transcription de l'entrevue vous sera envoyée après l'entrevue et avant toute interprétation et analyse des données. Vous disposerez d'un mois pour vérifier l'exactitude de la transcription et supprimer tout commentaire que vous ne souhaitez plus inclure. Vous avez aussi le droit de vous retirer de cette étude à tout moment avant la fin de la période de vérification de la transcription sans aucune conséquence négative en avisant la chercheuse. Si vous vous retirez de l'étude, vos données seront détruites. Tout commentaire individuel que vous retirez pendant la période de vérification sera retiré de la transcription et détruit.

Les données électroniques et papiers recueillis au cours de cette étude seront gardés dans des endroits sécurisés et tous les fichiers contenant des identifiants personnels seront cryptés avec un mot de passe. Les données recueillies dans le cadre de cette étude seront conservées pendant au moins sept ans, conformément aux directives de l'Université de Waterloo. Seuls les chercheurs associés à ce projet y auront accès.

Cette étude a été examinée et a reçu l'approbation éthique d'un comité d'éthique de la recherche de l'Université de Waterloo (REB #44759). Si vous avez des questions pour le Comité, contactez le Bureau d'éthique de la recherche, au 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 ou reb@uwaterloo.ca.

Pour toutes autres questions, contactez Margaret Ellis-Young par courriel à mellisyoung@uwaterloo.ca. Vous pouvez également contacter sa directrice ou son directeur de thèse : la professeure Janice Barry au 519-888-4567 ext. 41547 ou janice.barry@uwaterloo.ca et le professeur Brian Doucet au 519-888-4567 ext. 48594 ou brian.doucet@uwaterloo.ca.

J'ai hâte de discuter avec vous et je vous remercie d'avance pour votre aide dans ce projet.

Veuillez agréer mes sincères salutations,

Margaret Ellis-Young

Doctorante
École d'urbanisme
Université de Waterloo

Information letter (English) – Other relevant, non-project specific municipal actors

Date

Dear (*insert participant's name*):

This letter is an invitation to consider participating in PhD research being conducted through the University of Waterloo's School of Planning. The study is being led by Margaret Ellis-Young, PhD candidate, under the supervision of Dr. Janice Barry and Dr. Brian Doucet.

The purpose of the study is to examine how municipal planning processes in Vancouver and Montréal are responding to a growing municipal emphasis on reconciliation with Indigenous communities. More specifically, the study seeks to explore the nature of city and neighbourhood-level planning visions in a context of municipal reconciliation, as well as how municipal planning actors make sense of questions of reconciliation within these planning processes. It focuses on projects guiding the long-term transformation and (re)development of urban space, recognizing the potential connections and tensions between reconciliation and urban change.

Given your [former] role as [*insert position title here*] with [the City of Vancouver/the City of Montréal], I would like to include your perspectives on the relevance of municipal reconciliation commitments for municipal planning, as well as the translation of these commitments within planning processes. The data collected during interviews will advance collective knowledge on the relationship between municipal reconciliation efforts and municipal planning, which will help support more equitable planning approaches and outcomes.

Participation in this study is voluntary. It will involve one interview of approximately 30-45 minutes to take place at a mutually agreed upon time/location (virtual or in person). The interview may be conducted in English or French according to your preference. You may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish. Virtual interviews will be conducted over an online platform, Microsoft Teams. Microsoft Teams has implemented technical, administrative, and physical safeguards to protect the information provided via the Services from loss, misuse, and unauthorized access, disclosure, alteration, or destruction. However, no Internet transmission is ever fully secure or error free.

The interview will be audio recorded with your consent to facilitate collection of information and later transcribed for analysis. With your permission, quotations may be used in the presentation of research findings, noting that neither your name nor your exact job title will not appear in any report, presentation or publication resulting from this study. In attributing quotes, I will use more general terms to describe your role (e.g. municipal actor in the City of X's Reconciliation Framework). Nevertheless, there is a chance you could still be identified given the limited number of individuals associated with your general role within the municipality of interest (the municipality and projects of interest will be named). As such, the study presents a minimal reputational risk if you make a statement you later regret, or if a statement is viewed as contentious by others.

Given this minimal risk, the interview transcript will be shared with you following the interview and prior to any data interpretation and analysis. You will have a one-month period to review the transcript for accuracy and to strike any comments you no longer want to include. You will also have the right to fully withdraw from this study at any time before the close of the transcript review period without any negative consequences by advising the researcher. If you withdraw from the study, your data will be destroyed. Any individual comments that you withdraw within the review period will be removed from the transcript and destroyed.

Electronic and paper data collected during this study will be stored in secure locations and any files with personal identifiers will be encrypted with a password. Data collected through this study will be retained

for a minimum of seven years, following University of Waterloo guidelines. Only researchers associated with this project will have access.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Board (REB #44759). If you have questions for the Board, contact the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or reb@uwaterloo.ca.

For all other questions contact Margaret Ellis-Young by email at mellisyoung@uwaterloo.ca. You may also contact her supervisors: Dr. Janice Barry at 519-888-4567 ext. 41547 or janice.barry@uwaterloo.ca and Dr. Brian Doucet at 519-888-4567 ext. 48594 or brian.doucet@uwaterloo.ca.

I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your assistance with this project.

Sincerely,

Margaret Ellis-Young

PhD Candidate
School of Planning
University of Waterloo

Information letter (French) – Other relevant, non-project specific municipal actors

Date

(insérer le nom du participant) :

Cette lettre est une invitation à envisager de participer à une recherche doctorale menée par Margaret Ellis-Young, doctorante à l'École de planification de l'Université de Waterloo, sous la supervision de la professeure Janice Barry et du professeur Brian Doucet.

Le but de l'étude est d'examiner comment des processus d'aménagement municipal à Montréal et à Vancouver répondent à l'attention municipale croissante sur la réconciliation avec les communautés autochtones. L'étude vise à explorer les visions d'aménagement à l'échelle de la ville et du quartier dans un contexte de réconciliation municipale, ainsi que la façon dont les acteurs municipaux de l'aménagement donnent un sens aux questions de réconciliation dans ces processus d'aménagement. Il se concentre sur des projets guidant la transformation et la rénovation à long terme de l'espace urbain, reconnaissant les liens potentiels et les tensions entre la réconciliation et la rénovation urbaine.

Étant donné votre [ancien] rôle de [*insérer le titre du poste ici*] auprès de [la Ville de Montréal/ la Ville de Vancouver], j'aimerais inclure vos points de vue sur la pertinence des engagements municipaux envers la réconciliation pour l'aménagement urbain, ainsi que la traduction de ces engagements dans les processus d'aménagement municipal. Les données recueillies au cours des entrevues feront progresser les connaissances collectives sur les relations entre l'aménagement municipal et les efforts municipaux visant la réconciliation, ce qui aidera à soutenir des approches et des résultats d'urbanisme plus équitables.

La participation à cette étude est volontaire. Il s'agira d'un entretien d'environ 30 à 45 minutes qui aura lieu à un moment/endroit convenu d'un commun accord (virtuel ou en personne). L'entretien peut se dérouler en français ou en anglais selon votre préférence. Vous pouvez refuser de répondre à n'importe quelles questions pendant l'entretien si vous le souhaitez. Les entretiens virtuels seront menés sur une plateforme en ligne, Microsoft Teams. Microsoft Teams a mis en œuvre des mesures de protection techniques, administratives et physiques pour protéger les informations fournies par les Services contre la perte, l'utilisation abusive et l'accès, la divulgation, l'altération ou la destruction non autorisés. Cependant, aucune transmission sur Internet n'est entièrement sécurisée ou exempte d'erreurs.

L'entretien sera enregistré en audio avec votre consentement pour faciliter la collecte d'informations, puis transcrit pour analyse. Avec votre permission, des citations peuvent être utilisées dans la présentation des résultats, en notant que ni votre nom ni votre titre de poste précis n'apparaîtront dans aucun rapport, présentation ou publication résultant de cette étude. En attribuant des citations, j'utiliserai des termes plus généraux pour décrire votre rôle (par exemple, fonctionnaire travaillant sur la réconciliation, Ville de X). Cependant, il y a encore un risque d'identification étant donné le nombre limité de personnes associées à votre rôle général au sein de la municipalité d'intérêt (la municipalité et les projets d'intérêt seront identifiés). De ce fait, l'étude présente un risque minimal pour la réputation si vous faites une déclaration que vous regrettez plus tard, ou si une déclaration est considérée comme incendiaire par d'autres.

Étant donné ce risque minimal, la transcription de l'entrevue communiquée après l'entrevue et avant toute interprétation et analyse des données. Vous disposerez d'un mois pour vérifier l'exactitude de la transcription et supprimer tout commentaire que vous ne souhaitez plus inclure. Vous avez aussi le droit de vous retirer de cette étude à tout moment avant la fin de la période de vérification de la transcription sans aucune conséquence négative en avisant le chercheur. Si vous vous retirez de l'étude, vos données seront détruites. Tout commentaire individuel que vous retirez pendant la période de vérification sera retiré de la transcription et détruit.

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Cette étude a été examinée et a reçu l'approbation éthique d'un comité d'éthique de la recherche de l'Université de Waterloo (RED #44759). Si vous avez des questions pour le Comité, contactez le Bureau d'éthique de la recherche, au 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 ou reb@uwaterloo.ca.

Pour toutes autres questions, contactez Margaret Ellis-Young par courriel à melisyoung@uwaterloo.ca. Vous pouvez également contacter sa directrice ou son directeur de thèse : Dre Janice Barry au 519-888-4567 ext. 41547 ou janice.barry@uwaterloo.ca et Dr Brian Doucet au 519-888-4567 ext. 48594 ou brian.doucet@uwaterloo.ca.

J'ai hâte de discuter avec vous et je vous remercie d'avance pour votre aide dans ce projet.

Veillez agréer mes sincères salutations,

Margaret Ellis-Young

Doctorante
École d'urbanisme
Université de Waterloo

CONSENT FORM

By signing this consent form, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Margaret Ellis-Young of the School of Planning at the University of Waterloo, under the supervision of Dr. Janice Barry and Dr. Brian Doucet. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will not identify my name or exact position title. However, I understand there is a possibility I could be identified given the limited number of individuals associated with the projects of interest and with my general role within the municipality/organization of interest (the projects and municipalities/organizations will be named).

I was informed that I will have the opportunity to withdraw my consent at any time without penalty up to one month following the receipt of the interview transcript by advising the researcher.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Board (REB #44759). If you have questions for the Board contact the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or reb@uwaterloo.ca.

For all other questions contact Margaret Ellis-Young by email at mellisyoung@uwaterloo.ca. You may also contact her supervisors: Dr. Janice Barry at 519-888-4567 ext. 41547 or janice.barry@uwaterloo.ca and Dr. Brian Doucet at 519-888-4567 ext. 48594 or brian.doucet@uwaterloo.ca.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

YES NO

I agree to have my interview audio recorded.

YES NO

I agree to the use of quotations in any publication that comes of this research, with the understanding that they will not be attributed to my name or exact position title but are not completely anonymous.

YES NO

Participant Name: _____ (Please print)

Participant Signature: _____

Witness Name: _____ (Please print)

Witness Signature: _____

Date: _____

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT

En signant ce formulaire de consentement, vous ne renoncez pas à vos droits légaux ni ne libérez le(s) chercheur(s) ou l'institution/les institutions impliquée(s) de leurs responsabilités légales et professionnelles.

J'ai lu les informations présentées dans la lettre d'information concernant une étude menée par Margaret Ellis-Young de l'École d'urbanisme de l'Université de Waterloo, sous la direction de la professeure Janice Barry et du professeur Brian Doucet. J'ai eu l'occasion de poser toutes les questions liées à cette étude, de recevoir des réponses satisfaisantes à mes questions et tous les détails supplémentaires que je voulais.

Je suis conscient que j'ai la possibilité d'autoriser l'enregistrement audio de mon entretien afin d'assurer un enregistrement précis de mes réponses.

Je suis également conscient que des extraits de l'entretien pourront être inclus dans les publications à venir de cette recherche, étant entendu que les citations n'identifieront pas mon nom ou le titre exact de mon poste. Cependant, je comprends qu'il existe un risque d'identification étant donné le nombre limité de personnes associées aux projets d'intérêt et aux municipalités/organisations d'intérêt (les projets et les municipalités/organisations seront identifiés).

J'ai été informé que je peux retirer mon consentement à tout moment sans pénalité jusqu'à un mois après la réception de la transcription de l'entretien en avisant la chercheuse.

Cette étude a été examinée et a reçu l'approbation éthique d'un comité d'éthique de la recherche de l'Université de Waterloo (REB #44759). Si vous avez des questions pour le Comité, contactez le Bureau d'éthique de la recherche au 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 ou reb@uwaterloo.ca.

Pour toutes autres questions, contactez Margaret Ellis-Young par courriel à mellisyoung@uwaterloo.ca. Vous pouvez également contacter sa directrice ou son directeur de thèse : professeure Janice Barry au 519-888-4567 ext. 41547 ou janice.barry@uwaterloo.ca et professeur Brian Doucet au 519-888-4567 ext. 48594 ou brian.doucet@uwaterloo.ca.

En pleine connaissance de tout ce qui précède, j'accepte, de mon plein gré, de participer à cette étude

OUI NON

J'accepte que l'audio de mon entretien soit enregistré.

OUI NON

J'accepte l'utilisation de citations dans toute publication issue de cette recherche, étant entendu qu'ils ne seront pas attribués à mon nom ou à mon titre de poste exact, mais qu'ils ne sont pas complètement anonymes.

OUI NON

Nom du participant : _____ (veuillez écrire en caractères d'imprimerie)

Signature du participant : _____

Nom du témoin : _____ (veuillez écrire en caractères
d'imprimerie)

Signature du témoin : _____

Date : _____

Appendix D: Interview Guides

Semi-structured interview guide - Municipal planning staff (English interviews)

(The intent of this guide is to outline key interview themes and questions, while recognizing that these themes may be explored further through additional questions during the interviews according to points raised by participants.)

Theme 1: Planning vision and process

1. How long have you been involved in work on [*insert name of project*]?
2. What roles have you played in the planning process?
3. From your perspective, what are some of the main objectives and priorities of the project?
 - a. How were these objectives and priorities established? Are they responding to particular needs?
 - b. Have they evolved over the planning process, and if so, how?
4. What sort of [*city/neighbourhood*] do you hope the plan will help shape?
 - a. Who do you think will benefit from the plan, and in what ways?
5. What do you see as being the most exciting or noteworthy aspects of the overall planning vision?
6. What has the engagement process looked like for this project?
 - a. Who has been engaged, and how has their input shaped the planning vision?
 - b. Has this project adopted a different approach to engagement to that of other, similar planning projects in the past? If so, how?
7. Have concerns of or references to gentrification emerged throughout the planning process?
 - a. Did these concerns play a role in shaping the planning vision as it evolved? If so, in what ways?
 - i. Were there any particular challenges to addressing these concerns?
 - b. How do you think the final plan ultimately speaks or responds to gentrification concerns?

Theme 2: Planning in a context of municipal reconciliation

1. What is your understanding of [*the City Vancouver's /the City of Montréal's*] commitments to reconciliation?
2. What types of connection do you see, if any, between municipal reconciliation discussions/commitments and your work as a planner?
 - a. Do you feel there are any particular possibilities for or limitations to addressing reconciliation through your work?
3. From your perspective, how relevant are questions of reconciliation in the context of planning and implementing [*insert project name*]?
 - a. If relevant, in what ways?
4. As part of the planning process for [*insert project name*], in what ways, if any, did the planning team seek to respond to or implement municipal reconciliation commitments?

- a. Are there particular aspects of the plan or planning process where questions of reconciliation were particularly prominent or pertinent?
 - b. Have there been any linkages made between reconciliation and gentrification concerns?
- 5. From your perspective, what have been some of the opportunities and/or challenges in addressing reconciliation/implementing municipal reconciliation commitments within the context of this project?
 - a. What are there any new opportunities and challenges in this regard moving forward with plan implementation?

Semi-structured interview guide – Municipal Indigenous relations/reconciliation-specific staff (English interviews)

(The intent of this guide is to outline key interview themes and questions, while recognizing that these themes may be explored further through additional questions during the interviews according to points raised by participants.)

Theme 1: Background on municipal reconciliation efforts

1. When did reconciliation discussions begin within the [City of Vancouver/City of Montréal]?
 - a. What was the catalyst for these discussions?
2. What is the City's general approach to reconciliation?
 - a. What has been the focus of municipal reconciliation discussions/efforts?
 - b. How has this approach/these focuses shifted over the years?
3. What prompted the creation of the [City of Vancouver's reconciliation framework/the City of Montréal's reconciliation strategy]?
 - a. What are the key goals of this framework/strategy?
 - b. What have been some of the success or challenges in implementing the strategy?
4. What roles have you played/do you play in the implementation of [the reconciliation framework/the reconciliation strategy]?

Theme 2: Planning in a context of municipal reconciliation

1. From your perspective, in what ways are municipal reconciliation commitments relevant to municipal-led (redevelopment/revitalization) planning processes?
2. Have you worked with or had discussions with municipal planners regarding municipal reconciliation intentions and their translation into planning practice?
 - a. What have been some of the responses? Do you find these connections are being made in practice?
3. Looking specifically at the [the Vancouver Plan/the PUM 2050] as a recent comprehensive planning process, do you have a sense as to how the planning team has tried to respond to or implement municipal reconciliation commitments?
 - a. What about in the case of a recent area-level comprehensive/redevelopment plan, such as [the Broadway Plan/l'écoquartier Lachine-Est]?
 - b. Have there been any particular challenges in addressing questions of reconciliation in the context of these projects?
4. Have concerns of gentrification/affordability/displacement been part of municipal reconciliation discussions or discussions with municipal planning staff re: reconciliation?
 - a. If so, how?
5. What do you see as some of the opportunities and/or challenges in addressing reconciliation/implementing municipal reconciliation commitments within municipal planning processes?

Semi-structured interview guide - Municipal planning staff (French interviews)

(The intent of this guide is to outline key interview themes and questions, while recognizing that these themes may be explored further through additional questions during the interviews according to points raised by participants.)

Thème 1 : Vision et processus d'aménagement

1. Depuis combien de temps travaillez-vous sur [*insérer le nom du projet*] ?
2. Quels rôles avez-vous joués dans ce processus d'aménagement ?
3. De votre point de vue, quels sont des principaux objectifs et priorités du projet ?
 - a. Comment ces objectifs et priorités ont-ils été établis ? Répondent-ils aux enjeux particuliers ?
 - b. Ont-ils changé ou évolué au cours du processus, et si oui, comment ?
4. Quel type de [*ville/quartier*] espérez-vous que le plan contribue à créer ?
 - a. À votre avis, qui bénéficiera du plan et de quelles manières ?
5. Selon vous, quels sont des aspects les plus remarquables de la vision (de Lachine-Est, du PUM) ?
6. À quoi ressemblait le processus d'engagement pour ce projet ?
 - a. Qui a été engagé et comment leurs contributions se sont-elles répercutées sur la planification ?
 - b. Ce projet a-t-il adopté une approche d'engagement différente de celle d'autres projets similaires dans le passé ? Si c'est le cas, comment ?
7. Des références à la gentrification ou des soucis de la gentrification (l'abordabilité, le déplacement, etc.) sont-ils apparus pendant la planification et l'élaboration (du PPU, du PUM) ?
 - a. De quelles manières ces préoccupations ont-elles influencé l'orientation du projet ?
 - i. Y a-t-il rencontré des difficultés particulières à répondre à ces préoccupations ?
 - b. Comment le plan final répond-il à la gentrification ?

Thème 2 : Aménagement dans un contexte de réconciliation municipale

1. Quelle est votre compréhension des engagements de la Ville de Montréal envers la réconciliation ?
2. Quels types de liens voyez-vous entre les engagements municipaux envers la réconciliation et votre travail en tant qu'urbaniste ?
 - a. Selon vous, quels sont des possibilités ou des défis pour aborder la réconciliation dans votre travail ?
3. Dans quelle mesure pensez-vous que les questions de réconciliation sont pertinentes dans le contexte de la planification et la mise en œuvre de [*insérer le nom du projet*] ?
4. Dans le cadre de la planification de [Lachine-Est, PUM], est-ce que (et comment) l'équipe a-t-elle visé à répondre aux engagements municipaux envers la réconciliation ?

- a. Y a-t-il des aspects particuliers du plan ou du processus où les questions de réconciliation étaient particulièrement importantes ou pertinentes ?
 - b. À votre connaissance, y a-t-il eu des discussions liant la réconciliation aux questions de logement, de l'abordabilité, de la gentrification, etc., dans le contexte du projet ?
5. De votre point de vue, quelles ont été les possibilités et les limitations pour aborder la réconciliation dans le cadre de ce projet ?
 - a. Quels sont les nouvelles possibilités et défis à cet égard pour la mise en œuvre du plan ?

Semi-structured Interview Guide – Municipal Indigenous relations/reconciliation-specific staff (French interviews)

(The intent of this guide is to outline key interview themes and questions, while recognizing that these themes may be explored further through additional questions during the interviews according to points raised by participants.)

Thème 1 : Contexte des efforts municipaux vers la réconciliation

1. Quand les discussions de réconciliation ont-elles commencé au sein de la [Ville de Montréal/Ville de Vancouver] ?
 - a. Quel a été le catalyseur de ces discussions ?
2. Quelle est l'approche générale de la Ville en matière de réconciliation ?
 - a. Sur quoi ont porté les discussions/efforts municipales vers la réconciliation ?
 - b. Comment cette approche/ces priorités ont-elles changé au fil du temps ?
3. Qu'est-ce qui a motivé la création [de la stratégie de réconciliation de la Ville de Montréal/du cadre de réconciliation de la Ville de Vancouver] ?
 - a. Quels sont les principaux objectifs de ce cadre/stratégie ?
 - b. Quels ont été des succès ou des défis dans la mise en œuvre de la stratégie ?
4. Quels rôles avez-vous joué/jouez-vous dans la mise en œuvre [de la stratégie de réconciliation/du cadre de réconciliation] ?

Thème 2 : Aménagement dans un contexte de réconciliation municipale

1. De votre point de vue, en quoi les engagements municipaux envers la réconciliation sont-ils pertinents pour le (ré) aménagement urbain municipal ?
2. Avez-vous travaillé ou eu des discussions avec des urbanistes municipaux concernant les intentions municipales visant la réconciliation et leur traduction en l'aménagement urbain ?
 - a. Quelles ont été des réponses ? Trouvez-vous que ces liens sont établis dans la pratique ?
3. En examinant spécifiquement [le PUM 2050/le Plan de Vancouver], avez-vous une idée de la manière dont l'équipe de planification a tenté de répondre aux engagements municipaux envers la réconciliation ?
 - a. Qu'en est-il dans le cas d'un récent plan à l'échelle du quartier, comme l'écoquartier Lachine-Est ?
 - b. Y a-t-il rencontré des difficultés particulières à s'occuper des questions de réconciliation dans le cadre de ces projets ?
4. Les défis de la gentrification/l'abordabilité/le déplacement ont-ils fait partie des discussions municipales au sujet de la réconciliation ou des discussions avec les urbanistes municipaux concernant la réconciliation ?
 - a. Si oui, comment ?
5. À votre avis, quels sont des possibilités et des défis de la mise en œuvre des engagements municipaux envers la réconciliation dans le cadre des processus d'aménagement ?