NOTE TO USERS

Manufactured Landscapes:
A case study of public space in the contemporary city

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis aims to draw attention to the tensions that emerge out of conceiving a 'world class' public space, and projecting this abstraction onto an extremely hybrid social space in downtown Montreal. From some influential design, architectural, and art critics, the public space commonly known as Berri Square has received both local and international acclaim. But what actually happens in the space has defied expectations and largely been met with critical disdain. A resident base for punkers, skateboarders, and drug dealers as well as an everyday provisional soup kitchen for the homeless was clearly not what the city envisioned for this multi-million dollar public square. Thus, for several years the city has employed various tactics in an attempt to 'reclaim' the site. Through an empirical investigation into the design, development and use of Berri Square this thesis attempts to ground some of the dominant theories concerning the production of contemporary urban space, and contextualise some of the governing forces working to reshape urban space in the contemporary city. Based on the findings of the empirical research, it suggests that the conflicts between its various uses and values will continue to escalate until creative ways to manage them are articulated. An examination into some of the institutional and political constraints barring this articulation is the first step toward this process.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"Whatever the lure of the local may hold for landscape geographers, it must become one of understanding how particular places, particular landscapes fit into a larger, scalary complex mosaic of landscapes that themselves are never 'naively given'".

Don Mitchell, "The lure of the local", 2001

The title of this thesis, *Manufactured Landscapes,* is borrowed from the name given to a stunning body of work by artist Edward Burtynsky. Through larger than life images of abandoned mines, lonesome railway lines, and mundane rural homesteads nestled at the foothills of industry, Burtynsky surveys the historic and often tragic constitution between industry and the physical landscape. But the real value of Burtynsky's photographs is their ability to do more than just detail this historical condition. His work manages somehow to capture the fluidity of space, enabling his viewers to make the conceptual leap from seeing these landscapes merely as 'things' in space, to reflecting on the multitude of processes that went into shaping these particular landscapes. Because most large urban centres today are fully entangled in the global economy, it has become of paramount importance to increase our understanding how landscapes are never 'naively given', but indeed constructed out of a complexity of social processes. The fundamental contradiction that has implored me to carry out this research lies in the fact that as these social processes become increasingly based on global imperatives, their impacts become seemingly more and more potent at the local level. Through an empirical investigation into the design, development and use of a public

space in Montréal, this thesis attempts to ground some of the dominant theories regarding the production of contemporary urban space, and contextualise the governing forces working to reshape urban space in the contemporary city. It aims to draw attention to the social processes that went into conceiving a 'world class' public space, and the core conflicts and controversies that emerged when this vision was projected onto an extremely hybrid social space in downtown Montréal.

BERRI SQUARE, A CASE STUDY

Berri Square opened to the public in 1992 to commemorate the 350 year anniversary of the founding of Montréal. Its innovative approach to both landscape architecture and public art attracted critical acclaim from the domestic and international elite in the world of art and architecture. But what actually happens in the space on an everyday basis has defied expectations and largely been met with critical disdain. A resident base for punkers, skateboarders, and drug dealers as well as an everyday provisional soup kitchen for the homeless was clearly not what civic leaders had envisioned in the concept plan for this multimillion dollar public space project. Thus, for several years the city has been employing various tactics in an attempt to 'reclaim' the site from the perceived clasp of disorder and chaos. However, the struggles over use and control of this space have infused a political current into Berri Square, making it one of the most politically active spaces in the city as activists have taken to appropriating the square for protests, employing it as a material site of entry into the dialectical realm of the

public sphere. Based on the findings of this empirical case study, I argue that it is up to the city not to dismantle these conflicts through policies that further marginalize users, but rather to seek out ways to creatively manage the space without destroying its democratic element.

ORGANISATION OF WORK

Chapter two begins the theoretical investigation into the nature of public space drawing on an interdisciplinary body of literature to develop a theoretical framework for analysis. Chapter three discusses the methodological framework employed for the empirical research. Chapter four presents the results of the empirical investigation into the design intentions of the public space, while Chapter five situates the findings based on the outcome of the square from the perspective of use and design. Chapter six discusses the findings of the empirical research, in an attempt to understand ways to think about future policy and planning for our public spaces.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

"For all the wariness and indifference with which we negotiate our public spaces, we rely on the masses around us to delineate ourselves. The city may begin from a marketplace, a trading post, the confluence of waters, but it secretly depends on the human need to walk among strangers"

E.L Doctorow, "City of God"

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1980's cities around the globe have been absorbed with the task of developing and improving their public spaces (Madanipour, 1999; Gehl and Gemzoe, 2000). Although this increasing emphasis on the importance of public space in urban centres is often framed in response to its neglect by modernist design principles, there are other factors underlying the redesign and redevelopment of urban public life. In Designing Cities (2003) a reader on urban design, editor Alexander Cuthbert introduces the compilation by positing that since dawn of the global information age, we have seen a rising aesthetic consciousness toward the design and physical organisation of cities. He argues that the "key reason for this would appear to be fundamentally political, since a major benchmark for successful cities is their capacity to generate a promotional image that can be broadcast internationally" (2003:1). Understanding how these politics are operationalised at the local level should be a focus of urban scholars, planners and civic leaders alike. Thus, this chapter reviews the literature that considers how urban design, specifically public space development, is

an integral branch of the spatial political economy; and the implication this has on conceptions of what constitutes the 'public'.

Public space can be defined as a place in which all citizens are granted access; a place managed by a governing body, in the interest of the public citizenry. But understanding how to define 'the public' attached to this material space is a much more complex concept. Regardless of the political system that manifests itself in society, definitions of 'the public' have always been fashioned by those in power out of normative ideals of who exactly constitutes this 'public'. In other words, those whose interest dominate decisions about the organisation of space attempt (either implicitly or explicitly) to construct and legitimise their ideal in space, creating material spaces representative of normative conceptions of the 'public citizen'. An examination of discourse on public space, be it from the perspective of design, management, or use, serves to illuminate just how this discourse is always rooted in hegemonic ideals of a 'public'. This means that even the most mundane public landscapes can often become powerful symbols of representation, created, designed and managed to cultivate a particular type of public life – such as a life of politics, commerce, or transportation. But, on the other hand, in a democratic society such as ours, public spaces are also defined by their accessibility to all citizens; thus explicitly excluded 'publics' are often able to use public space as a material site for the articulation and empowerment of democratic ideals. In this way, public spaces, by their very nature, assume a dialectical and contradictory role: they serve

simultaneously as a powerful space of representation in which to exercise hegemonic ideals, as well as an essential material point of entry into the democratizing space of the public sphere. This chapter begins by attempting to unravel the workings of this complexity, examining the relationship between the public sphere and public space in the historical constitution of 'the public'. From there it progresses on to a discussion of how and why public space is 'produced' in the city under the forces of the new postindustrial economy; exploring how this process is both articulated and rationalised through the rhetoric of design, aesthetics, and control. In the penultimate section, it considers some of the implications this renewed emphasis on public space has for the marginalized members of the public who are being 'designed' and 'managed' out of urban public spaces.

PUBLIC SPACE AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Public space and the public sphere have never operated as spaces of inclusive, unmediated interaction, but have always maintained an exclusive nature; inclusion of more varied peoples[1] into the public realm has only been secured through constant social struggle which has originated historically in the material realm of public space (Madanipour, 1999). Mitchell (1995) opines that as ideological constructs, ideals like 'the public', public space and Habermas' public sphere take on dual significance. Habermas (1989) identified the public sphere as a virtual or imaginary

community which does not necessarily exist in any identifiable space. In its ideal form, the public sphere is "made up of private people gathered together as a public and articulating the needs of society with the state", thus providing the state with a legitimate basis for authority (176). While the materiality of this public sphere is, so to speak, immaterial to its functioning, public space, meanwhile, is material: "It constitutes and actual site, a place, a ground within and from which political activity flows. This distinction is crucial for it is 'in the context of real public spaces' that alternative movements may arise and contest issues of citizenship and democracy" (Mitchell 1995:117). Hanna Arendt (1958) stresses the significant materiality of public space when she argues that anything that appears in public, anything that can be seen and heard by the people, and has the widest publicity constitutes reality:

> "Compared with the reality which comes from being seen and heard, even the greatest forces of intimate life – the passions of the heart…maintain a shadowy existence unless they are transformed, deprivatized, deindividualized into a shape to fit them for public appearance" (51).

Articulating a right to 'be' in public implies a notion of inclusiveness that becomes a 'rallying point' for successive waves of political activity that have effectively worked to enlarge constitutions of the public. Mitchell (1995) argues that excluded groups thus can employ the rhetoric of 'inclusion' to argue for their 'right' to be part of the public because the material nature of 'the public' enables ideology to transform from idea to action. By *claiming*

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[1] Rights movements of the twentieth century, for example, from women's suffrage, African American rights, to most recently the rights of gays to marry – all have worked to underscore the exclusionary nature

space in public, by *embodying* public spaces, social groups themselves are able take a material form and stand the chance of entering the dialectical realm of the public sphere. In this way, we can see that although truly public spaces are an absolutely essential *entry* point into a democratic society, a right to *be* in the city and a right to *make* the city are two very different things. Lefebvre (1995) articulates this important distinction by differentiating between simply the right to 'be' in space, and the right to urban life itself. Urban space, in his mind, must operate in a dialectical manner, and this is where the distinction between public space and the public sphere becomes most acute: the public sphere becomes conceptually a more inclusive concept *not only* when our ideas about who constitutes a public are broadened, but also when public constitution embodied through agency becomes more inclusively informed[2]. This historic relationship between public space and the public sphere is central to understanding the important ideological role public space plays in contemporary society.

The Production of Public Space

Many urban scholars have argued that much of the traditional political and democratizing role of public space is being subverted to facilitate the efficient flow of capital in urban space (Davis, 1992; Sorkin, 1992;

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of the historical public realm.

[2] An acute example of this distinction occurred during Montréal's annual St. Patrick's Day Parade last spring when a young woman of Nigerian-Irish decent was crowned the first ever 'Black' Parade Queen. On the day of the parade, while her 'heavily secured' float marched down the busy street, she was doused with a bucket of white paint-like substance. Unlike the front page headlines that widely celebrated her crowing, this overt act of disgrace and discrimination failed to make the news with any of the major Montréal dailies (see Richard Burnett "Black St. Paddy's queen gets whitewashed" Hour.ca April 1st, 2004).

Merrifield, 2002; Mitchell, 1995, 2003). Lefebvre (1991) opines that modern capitalism is working to empty space of any ideological content that conflicts with the efficient flow and accumulation of capital. Through the 'logical' rhetoric of 'history' and the 'market', capitalism works to establish its own ideology that abstracts, systemizes and separates space from its social context. In modern capitalist society, the expansion and acceleration of capital accumulation is premised on the construction of material infrastructure; spatial processes including urban design and architecture are structured in a way to maintain and intensify the continued operation of this mode of production. Lefebvre's theory specifically embeds the profession of urban planning and design within the social forces that subvert the particularities of our socio-spatial experience for the sake of perpetuating the advanced capitalist system. Lefebvre uses the term 'abstract space' to signify how the space represented by planners, policy makers and urban designers is removed from its specific social context. Urban space, treated as an abstraction in master plans and civic documents, assumes a near homogeneous group of rational economic actors. These abstract representations of space designate new uses (and users) of space through the creation of plans, design idioms and social programmes. Although these plans appear to be neutral and impartial, understanding the social processes that went into their creation can serve to illuminate their partial and political elements.

In Ley's (1996) seminal work <u>The Making of the Middle Class,</u> he asserts that it was the pro-growth regimes characteristic of the Fordist model of urban governance that allowed for the *naturalisation* of capital accumulation and business interests into the city, such that they were able to gain hegemony amongst other more socially orientated interests. There are few places where this *naturalisation* is more evident than the increasing privatisation of public spaces (Davis, 1992; Sorkin, 1992). Kayden (2001) documents a specific tangent of this penchant for privatisation that began in New York as early as 1961. Through an official policy referred to as 'incentive zoning', this strategy offers floor area bonuses to private developers in exchange for the provision of official 'public' spaces in their development projects. His study documents some of the problems or 'violations' with these 'privately owned public spaces' such as denial of public access, annexation for private use and diminution of required amenities. These violations stem from the fact that although inclusion of these public spaces enhances the prestige and rental value of the property, truly open access to the public is seen as a cost or a burden to the proprietor.

Incentive zoning such as this has been replicated in several North American cities, including Montréal. In fact many of Montréal's privately-owned 'public' spaces are intricately linked through an underground network, commonly referred to as the 'Underground City'. In Brown's (1989) critique of this 'City', he notes that while the indoor spaces of the underground

create nodes of spatial interaction between various city-centre activities, they "create a contrived environment that has the illusion of spontaneity but, in reality is carefully orchestrated" (78). In this 'city' operating through a public-private partnership, organic interactions become 'sanitized beyond recognition'. Brown argues that the inaugural development of this network in 1962 marks a significant transition point for definitions of public space. While for centuries civic and commercial functions had enjoyed a rather symbiotic relationship in city streets and squares, the creation of this new type of space, while exhibiting 'public' qualities, was nevertheless undeniably constructed (and thus managed) strictly for commercial purposes.

The control over these spaces should work to provoke inquiries of the 'publicness' of these spaces, especially since hired managers, and private security (rather than elected officials and public policing agents) are the primary administrators. But instead, widespread initiatives such as these are contributing to the commodification of public space, as the management and design of 'truly' public spaces come to mimic these contrived environments. Discourse concerning the management of public space is often filtered through the lens of surrounding business interests, rather than focusing on the role of public space itself.

PUBLIC SPACE AND AESTHETIC CONCIOUNESS

A new strategy of entrepreneurialism in local governance has emerged as a necessary way to secure a city's competitive advantage amidst fiscal constraints in the global economy (Ley, 1996; Jessop, 1999). A major basis for this competition is the representation of a city through its image and culture. The new service sector and information economy are far less place-based than the manufacturing and natural resource-based industries of the past. This structural refocusing from heavy industry to service and knowledge-based industry means that the role of the cities is in the processes of being redefined. To attract and secure increasingly mobile capital, and an increasingly mobile workforce, a heightened emphasis has been placed on the particular image and aesthetics of the city, and civic leaders now must place-market their particular locality as being safe, culturally active, and attractive to a bourgeois aesthetic (Madanipour, 1999). Beginning in the mid-1980's, 'culture' became contracted into the language of economic development policies, as governments at all levels "began to recognize the role of cultural industries in economic development and urban renewal. From this time on, aggressive cultural policies have been associated with intra-urban synergies and tourism...lauded for their ability to attract talent and create a new image for a city, foregrounding the growing importance of representation" (Leslie and Rantisi, 2003). As old industrial cities attempted to reconstitute their image to attract capital in the new economy, their focus became directed toward consumption, spectacle, and leisure with civic officials stressing the 'livability' of the city and supporting infrastructure projects to enhance its international status

and cosmopolitan flavor. As Zukin (1995) remarks: "In an era in which the 'symbolic economy' has risen to replace a seemingly more stable industrial based economy, the 'culture of cities' is everything" (187).

The dominant ocular landscape of this transition to the new cultural economy is shaped by international financial headquarters, grand hotels, and conference centres, casinos, and public buildings marked by signature architecture (Davis, 1992; Ley, 1996; Mole 1996; Levine, 1999; Germain and Rose, 2000). Governments at all levels attempt to develop and maintain a city's cosmopolitan status through the provision of these major infrastructure projects and also by sponsoring international spectacles and events in urban centres such as festivals, Olympics and world expositions (Mole, 1996). At the micro-level beautifying, servicing and securing urban public space serves to connect these buildings and provide settings for the spectacles. These new public spaces become "one of the vehicles of the changing image of the city in a very competitive global marketplace" (Madanipour 1999:146-147). Thus although public space design is only one tangent of a comprehensive redevelopment strategy encountered in the contemporary city, its appropriation into this new symbolic image economy takes on heightened significance when contextualised through its ideological role.

The overwhelming interest in public space (re)development since the 1980's[3] suggests that public space has become a ubiquitous target for 'aggressive cultural policies'. A 'positive' image of public place, it is rationalised, can attract capital in order to boost employment, enhance revenues of local businesses and raise the standard of living in that particular location. Public spaces as such become commodities themselves, valued for their ability to contribute to the 'quality of life', as well as the 'quality of the citizen' in the city. The only trick, it seems, is how to best to create these spaces to ensure their 'success', because, unlike some other infrastructure projects related to the production of a 'cultural economy' public space is by its very definition, is a place where everyone has access.

MANUFACTURING THE PUBLIC: THE IDEOLOGY OF SPATIAL DESIGN

Design often circumscribes the behavioral rules of public space, communicating what is allowed and what is prohibited, one of the most common uses of design for social control is to regulate access or activity (Francis, 1989). A number of urbanists have researched the relationship between design and control of space. Jane Jacobs, in her seminal book The Death and Life of Great American Cities (1961) called attention to a number of ideas related to design and social control: Territoriality, or a clear demarcation between public and private space; surveillance so that potential offenders are reluctant to use the space; and activity, because lively action increases surveillance and reduces criminal opportunities. Ocsar Newman

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[3] See Gehl and Gemzoe 2000 for examples of new public space projects created since the 1980s.

(1973) discusses the relationship between urban design and criminal activity in his book Defensible Spaces suggesting that subtle psychological or symbolic building features can be more important in crime prevention than the physical properties of boundary themselves. William H. Whyte published a book and short film entitled The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces, (1980) documenting his extensive research on public spaces in New York City, which served to demonstrate how design can influence 'pro-social' behaviour in large urban centres.

But Kilian (1998) and others have argued that ontological frameworks such as these used in public space design seemingly have as their goal a plan to fill the streets with 'normal' users, designing spaces that will discourage 'undesirables'. The 'eye on the street' from this perspective, can itself be seen as a rather Panopticon tactic, a surveillance system provided by the 'natural proprietors of the street'. Evaluating public space design from these perspectives can promote ignorance toward the way in which other factors work to influence spatial forms.

Foucault's (1977) analysis of Bentham's Panoptican illuminates just how social processes embody spatial form. According to Foucault, Panopticism, when viewed as a design model, employs only architecture and geometry to enforce power relations onto space. In Benthan's world public life was associated with disorder, conflict, spectacle, a space of sensational chaos marked by violence and disorder. Thus the panoptic scheme could be used

as a rational means to deal with "a multiplicity of individuals on whom a ...particular form of behavior must be imposed" (380). Architecture, it was discovered could be used to "alter behavior, train, or correct individuals", without the employment of fortress- like structures, but rather with 'simple economic geometry' (378). This is because it works to perfect the exercise of control through "reducing the number of those who exercise it, while increasing the number of those on whom it is exercised" (380). In this way, architecture and geometry can act directly on individuals, giving power of 'mind over mind', and increasing the efficacy by its preventative character, such that the public eventually is a produced effect of autonomous disciplinary control.

The significance of Foucault's critique is its ability to draw attention to the power structures behind attempts to control behaviour and access to space through architecture and design. Jacobs' ideas, for instance when applied under a neoliberal ideology, have been criticized for contributing to the development of public space that takes full advantage of this 'sense of loss' in public life to create idealized, nostalgic and active – but ahistorical, sanitized public spaces (Kilian, 1998). Zukin (1995) for example, cites the case of an urban revitalisation project in New York's Bryant Park whereby the park's social fabric was 'improved' (through the elimination of 'undesirables') by redesigning its consumption uses, a strategy she terms 'domestication by cappuccino'. Similarly, Mitchell's (1995) study of the People's Park in Berkeley documents how volleyball courts were designed as

a strategy of animation to eliminate undesirables from the park. Other more subtle design codes, such as those employed in the design of Vancouver's new Public Library, while not overtly exclusionary, do project a feeling of discomfort and awkwardness for certain users (Lees, 1997). The coliseum-like design of the library draws on representations of authority; a pink cobbled courtyard clearly defines the 'public space' of the library from the public space of the street – where no political activity may occur, nor leaflets be distributed. Private security guards patrol the spaces of the library because, according to the Chief of Security, "this is a private space owned by the City...who allow people to use it" (Lees, 1997:338). Lees suggests that these modes of exclusion and ordering are themselves woven into a much deeper class interpretation of 'who' belongs 'where'.

Deutsche (1996) has argued that this new urban-aesthetic discourse has used aesthetic ideologies to support an oppressive program of urban restructuring. She maintains that much contemporary public art is evaluated more for its 'usefulness', and 'functionality' in helping to design urban public space, rather than its artistic integrity. This promotion of the new public art aligns itself with the broader process of urban restructuring and gentrification as cities now struggle with competing 'urban lifestyles' in global spatio-economic restructuring. Attaching 'the public' to art and space, she says, is one means of granting uneven urban development democratic legitimacy. Under unified banners of such urban redevelopment strategies as civic beautification, cultural integrity and the like, official public art

combines forces with urban design and architecture to re-image urban space in a way that works to suppress its conflictual character (Deutsche, 1996). In other words, the marriage of art and urban design to 'the public' is a way for municipal governance to negotiate between civic responsibilities and transnational economic practices in an attempt to strengthen the economy *and* facilitate plausible premises of equity.

RATIONALISING SPATIAL DESIGN

The shift in the city's economic base from manufacturing to service and knowledge sectors has undermined significant parts of the workforce, most notably the low-skilled male labourer. At the same time there is an increasing exchange value being placed on public space through urban 'revitalisation' projects, there is also an increasing use-value being placed on public space by those displaced by policies of economic restructuring. Public spaces, have become refuges for the homeless and deinstitutionalized, places of socialisation for those displaced from their towns and cities by declining resource-based economies (Germain and Rose, 2000), for unconventional youth displaced from large urban centres by policies of 'zero tolerance' and declining social programmes (Parazelli, 2000). These uses disrupt normative perceptions of what public space is 'for', offering unwanted material 'evidence' of the 'side-effects' of inequitable development policies, and interfering with positive aesthetic image of the city. According to Deutsche the homeless "constitute a crisis in the official representation of the city" (1996). Poverty is a structural rather that incidental feature of the

city's urban redevelopment strategy. These individuals are products of wage and property relations and of governmental policies allocating spatial resources to the uses of commerce and real estate while withdrawing them from social services such as affordable housing (Deutsche 1996). Their presence in public spaces exposes tangible and visible failures of both our social and economic systems. In an empirical study of homelessness in Canada and the US, Dupuis (2000) remarks, that "the most striking feature about current homeless [issues] is its divorce from the urban economy and society" (15).

What this means is an increasing socio-economic polarisation between users of urban public space. On one side of the dichotomy exists the obsolete industrial worker, seeking a level of urban space in which to subsist. On the other, the highly skilled worker, demanding a certain aesthetic standard in urban form. Thus, to enable city officials to compete in the new economy, design strategies become a necessary tactic to combat the increasing 'colonisation' of public space by homeless, economically and socially marginalized persons, and itinerant youth, because these so-called 'undesirables' interrupt the projection of the city's 'positive' image. Amster (2003) citing a study on homelessness by the American National Law Centre for Homelessness and poverty says that "[a]esthetic' concerns are generally expressed in terms of preserving and protecting the 'quality of life' of the community and often include overt desires to 'remove unsightly people' from public view...and to make downtown areas 'welcoming to all' (NLCHP,

1999:55). Contemplating the conflicts and battles in and about New York's

Tompkins Square Park, Harvey (1992:104) writes:

> "We cannot understand the events within and around the park or strategize as to its future uses without contextualising it against a background of the political-economic transformations now occurring in urban life. The problems of Tompkins Square Park have, in short, to be seen in terms of social processes which create homelessness, promote criminal activities of many sorts (from real estate swindles and the crack trade to street mugging), generate hierarchies of power between gentrifiers and the homeless, and facilitate the emergence of deep tensions along the major social fault lines of class, gender, ethnicity, race and religion, lifestyle and place-bound preferences".

Smith (1996) maintains that city officials are intent on eliminating 'undesirables' from public space for two interrelated reasons. Firstly, in an increasingly competitive global economy there is a perceived necessity to market the image of the city as a cosmopolitan, cultural centre; and secondly, spatial design and animation policies combined with a policy of 'zero tolerance' on criminal activity and social 'disorder' can been seen as an effective political strategy of making the city 'safer' for its 'normal' residents. If public spaces today are designed to be represented as 'safe, comfortable and secure' (Ville de Montréal:1990), a homeless person, or itinerant youth in a public space turns this ideal into polar opposite as now the space represents "disorder, unrest, and conflict" (Deutshe, 1996).

CONCLUSION

Cities of the world have been witnessing a restructuring of space in response to the imperatives of global capital accumulation, with shifts in the economic base of global cities exerting an enormous impact on urban space

and the physical environment. This chapter has attempted to explore the relationship between contemporary public space development and political economy by linking urban cultural policy, urban aesthetics and spatial control. Empirical evidence indicates that public spaces are being designed and managed to exclusive rather than inclusive nature, and with the increasing infiltration of global capital agendas into urban policy and structure, heavily controlled and highly orchestrated public spaces are in danger of becoming the ubiquitous form of the urban landscape. Thus it appears that the normative ideal of 'the public' is at risk of becoming more closely aligned with the ideology of commerce, with public spaces being appropriated into the realm of urban economic/cultural policy and thus increasingly seen as mere arenas though which to secure global economic flows.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

The methodological framework for my empirical investigation focuses on understanding the relationship between process and form in the shaping of urban public space. Rather than focusing exclusively on the site itself and examining the actions in it, I am interested in the dialectical processes concerning it. In this way, I am following a basic methodological position proposed by Harvey (1997) which suggests that "social processes, in giving rise to things, create the things which then enhance the nature of those particular social processes" (23). But while a space, once constituted, can work to enhance the nature of particular social processes, (such as Brown (1989) suggests through his case study of Montréal's underground 'city'), it also can work to establish material sites of resistance, producing what Lefebvre has termed, 'differential space' (1991). Regardless of the will or the way a space is conceived and created, once materialized, it becomes open to a wider range of interpretations and uses. Eugene McCann, (1999) who has used Lefebvre's concept differential space to examine how public space is produced in Lexington Kentucky, notes that public space is "always in a process of being shaped, reshaped, and challenged by the spatial practices of various groups and individuals whose identities and actions undermine the homogeneity of contemporary cities" (168).

A set of questions were developed in an effort to guide this empirical examination of the theoretical and practical issues developed within the conceptual framework: i) out of what context did the concept plan for Berri Square emerge, specifically the design and social programming?; and ii) how did Berri Square, once realised, go on to operate in a dialectical manner, in ways that worked both to enhance and resist these processes? The remainder of this chapter is devoted explicating the specific methods chosen to operationalise these research questions, and the rationale behind these choices in terms of their specific application to addressing the primary research questions. This chapter now turns to a discussion of the empirical research methodology.

WHY THE QUALITATIVE APPROACH?

Qualitative method has been defined as "a set of tools developed to pursue the epistemological mandate of the philosophies of meaning", providing access to " the motives, aspirations and power relations that account for how places, people and events are made and represented" (Johnson, Gregory et al, 2000:660). The qualitative researcher seeks to understand how the social world is constructed through the intersection of cultural, economic, social and political processes, employing methods that seek not to test preexisting theories, but build instead on grounded theory through intensive empirical research (Limb and Dwyer, 2001). My research objectives directly engage a mandate aimed at uncovering the specific relationship between meaning and design, use and control; how 'space' is constructed

under the influence of social processes. A set of research tools were developed in order to explore these objectives.

According to Marshall and Rossman (1999), the qualitative researcher generally employs at least three methods of data collection: i) participation observation in the setting; ii) in-depth interviewing; and iii) document analysis - or interpretation of texts. Triangulation of these methods allows the researcher to draw on diverse sources in an attempt to maximize her understanding of the research questions. In the implementation of this research, each of these tools was adopted and where appropriate, triangulated with other data, and thus require a brief review.

INTERPRETATION OF TEXTS

The interpretation of texts is an integral component of qualitative research (Limb and Dwyer, 2001). Texts, like maps and other forms of visual or written abstractions of the material and social world, "are ways of representing, interpreting, commenting on and indeed exercising political geography" (Johnson, Gregory, et al 2000:660). The main texts consulted for this research were archival documents such as plans, budgets and minutes, produced by the City of Montréal. In addition, media articles published in the popular daily press and weekly press (*The Gazette, La Presse, Mirror, Hour, Voir*) were examined to structure an historical account of behaviours, activities, and conflicts that have occurred in the square. These media

reports at times also offered valuable insight into public perception of the square. These secondary sources were triangulated with the primary data to historicize the political, economic and cultural conditions that led to the conception of this public square.

INTERVIEWING

Interviews are a tool employed by the researcher to acquire an understanding of the subject's experiences - their perception of the world and the various meanings they ascribe to it. It is explicitly *subjective* as it seeks "to access the world as people think it is and has been" (Limb and Dwyer, 2001: 184). The interview process was devised out of a specific methodological framework that aimed to gain a critical understanding of the social processes involved in the production of this space. Thus, the interview strategy had a dual purpose: First, to investigate the context from which the concept plan, specifically the design and social programming, emerged. Second, to investigate how this space once constituted, defined the social processes concerning it.

Interview Strategy

The interviewing strategy for this research began from an inquiry into design processes and outcomes and was followed by an inquiry into some of the specific activities and behaviours observed on the site - a strategy directly alignmed with my research questions. According to Marshall and Rossman (1999) the form of an interview can be structured, semi-structured or

informal, with the choice of technique depending primarily on the demands of the research questions. My questions explicitly called for both an intellectual and experiential knowledge of the subject matter. Thus my strategy for recruitment was to focus on key individuals who had been or currently were involved in the design, programming, maintenance or control of the study site. Each individual had unique knowledge about the subject, calling for a less structured approach toward interviewing. This semi-structured approach meant my role was to guide a conversation, framed through a series of specific questions developed prior to the interview. These questions, related to each respondent's area of expertise, were devised to structure and guide the format of each interview (see Appendix A).[4] This approach allowed me to guide each respondent through their appropriate area of expertise, allowing them to give expression to their knowledge based on their own understanding of the issues. This method assisted me in operationalising the research objectives into a series of interview questions that would correspond to his or her engagement with the subject matter.

Validity Concerns

There are several concerns regarding the validity of the interviewing processes as a method of data collection, especially when each interview is unique, as is the case with elite interviewing. These concerns are: a narrow perspective of the subject manner, inaccuracy of information, rationalization

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[4] A written request was made to conduct each interview with potential participants. I described to each participant the nature of my research project as well as the specific aim of the interview. Prior to

of actions, and intentional lying (Limb and Dwyer, 2001). Attempts to overcome these concerns were made by triangulating the data collected in the interviews with other data sources, specifically site documentation from the City of Montréal, media reports and, when applicable, verifying the information collected from one respondent with another.

Interview Process

I conducted six interviews during the period of December 2003 to May 2004[5]. The average length of each interview was approximately one hour. A list of participants listed in chronological order by date interviewed is presented in Table 3.1. My inquiry began with an attempt to investigate the details concerning the plan or *'Cahier de Charges'* (Ville de Montréal, 1990) for Berri Square and its relationship to the general process of planning and development in the city. To answer this question I conducted interviews with individuals who were responsible for the concept, design and programming for Berri Square. This included the two landscape architects, the director of the Studio Department at the city, and a member of the executive council from the city who has been in office both before and since the square's conception. To better inform my research on the specific user groups and activities on the site, as well as some of the perceived problems concerning the space, I interviewed two police officers that have patrolled both the study

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commencing each interview I verbally informed each interviewee of their freedom to discontinue the interview at anytime, as well as their right to have their identity remain anonymous.

[5] Three other individuals and one organisation were contact for interviews, but did not respond to my requests. These were: Melvin Charney, artist of the oeuvre in Berri Square. Shirley Roy, UQAM professor who has studied itinerant youth in Berri Square; Réal Beauregard, Director of Parks, Ville Marie Borough; and *Réseau d'aide aux personnes seules et itinérantes de Montréal* (RAPSIM)

site and the surrounding area for several years. I also interviewed the head of *Mouvement Action Justice* (MAJ). MAJ is a group that councils youth on their legal rights in public space. It was established in response to the mass arrests at a political demonstration in Berri Square in 1996. Each interview was recorded on tape and later transcribed verbatim for subsequent analysis.

Interview date	Participant
16.11.03	Peter Jacobs, Landscape Architect for Berri Square
18.12.03	Yves Manseau, director of *Mouvement Action Justice*
27.01.04	Bernard St. Denis, Director of the Studio Department at the *Division de l'amenagement des parcs du Service des loisers et du developpment communitaire* (SLDC) at the time Berri Square was conceived and created.
02.03.04	Stephanie and André - Police officers from Station 21, Ville Marie Borough
04.05.04	Philippe Poullaouec-Gonidec, Landscape Architect for Berri Square
06.05.04	Helen Fotopoulos, elected municipal political (Plateau-Mont Royal), director of Parks, and member of the executive committee at the city.

Table 3.1: Interview participants

3.3 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Participant observation involves research within the study environment and it served to inform my research on how the space is used, appropriated and controlled. As a researcher immersed in the study environment, I was able to observe the place and its immediate surroundings, noting events, activities and behaviour of and relationship between users of the space and the design of the environment. The main advantage of participant observation in this study was its ability to provide a rich and detailed

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account of the social activity patterns in the space, and a broad contextual perspective of everyday life as it unfolded in Berri Square.

Goals and Structure

As stated above, participant observation was able to inform my research by structuring an experiential account of the everyday activities and activity patterns within Berri Square. The goal was to provide a descriptive first-hand account of both the physical and social attributes contained within my research environment- to reveal how everyday users of the space appropriate it - specifically in ways that appear to subvert the intentions of the spaces as envisioned by city officials. The documentation of these activities is important because it in turn affects the social control of the site by authorities. Users of public squares or parks will utilize the space at varying times depending on their personal schedule as well as the purpose of their trip, and most often will be drawn from the immediate surrounding area. Thus, in order to accurately capture shifting demographic or activity patterns based on exogenous temporal changes my on-site observation times varied accordingly. Visits to the study site generally occurred in one of four shifts: 11:00-15:00; 15:00-18:00; or 18:00-21:00, and 21:00-24:00. My strategy for participant observation involved being in Berri Square three – five days per week commencing on August 15th and terminating on November 15th. After this period, site visits were made with less frequency and duration, usually once or twice a week for duration of about 30 minutes. On twelve separate occasions, I visited the study site between the

hours of 24:00 and 4:00. These visits did not extend to more than 30 minutes - their primary purpose being to observe any activity in the space outside park opening hours.[6] This routine allowed me to establish a record of activities as well as acquire a sense of the regular users of, and uses for, the square. Written documentation was made on site and was afterwards followed up by a more detailed description of events and activities observed on the site.

Observation was funneled from an initially very broad area of interest without predetermined categories to a focused observation to verify developed themes. As Marshall and Rossman (1999) suggest, the value of this approach is that the researcher is able to discern recurring behavioural and activity patterns through early analysis of field notes, discovering themes and patterns as they emerge over time. While activity patterns and user classification were important components of participant observation, equally important was examining how these two factors ostensibly related to specific design and locational attributes as well as the social control enforced on the space by the authorities.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has detailed the methodological framework through which this research was operationalised. Because the investigation called for a focus on understanding the relationship between process and form in the shaping of

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[6] Under a City of Montréal by –law public parks are closed to visitors between the hours of 24:00-6:00

urban public space, specific qualitative methods were employed to collect data. These research tools allowed for a comprehensive empirical investigation of the case study within the constraints within which this research was conducted[7]. Once the investigation processes ended, I began conceptualizing and classifying the data into themes and categories based on my primary research questions. The results of this thematic classification process are presented in the following chapters.

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[7] Such as financial and temporal constraints.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONSTRUCTING SPACE: IMAGINING BERRI SQUARE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the findings to the first question of my empirical research: What were the intentions behind the concept and design of Berri Square; and out of what social context did they emerge? After a brief geographical and historical introduction to the study site, I present my findings collected through document analysis and interviews with the landscape artists, planner, and city councillor involved in the formulation of the concept and design for Berri Square.

The Place

Berri Square[8] is situated in the heart of the Latin Quarter, a unique and lively area of the city housing a mix of institutional, commercial (retail and office) and residential uses (figure 4.1). The area takes its name from the Latin Quarter in Paris, which has become an important historic and cultural district in the city associated with artists, intellectuals, and bohemians. It has a long history of political unrest: In 1871, Place Saint Michel became the centre of the Paris Commune, and in May 1968, it also became the site of the infamous student-led uprising.

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[8] Since its inception, Berri Square has been refereed to as Place Berri, Place du Quartier Latin, Place du 350e, Place Émilie Gamelin, and Park Émilie Gamelin. The only official *name* change of the public space
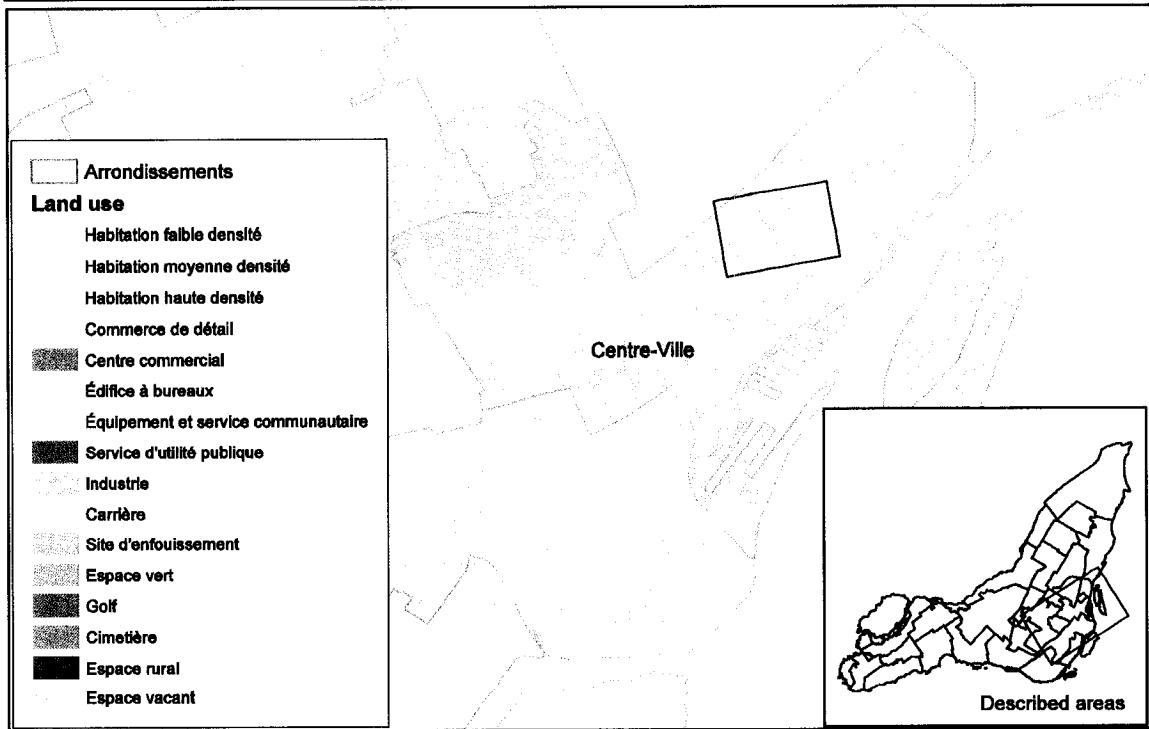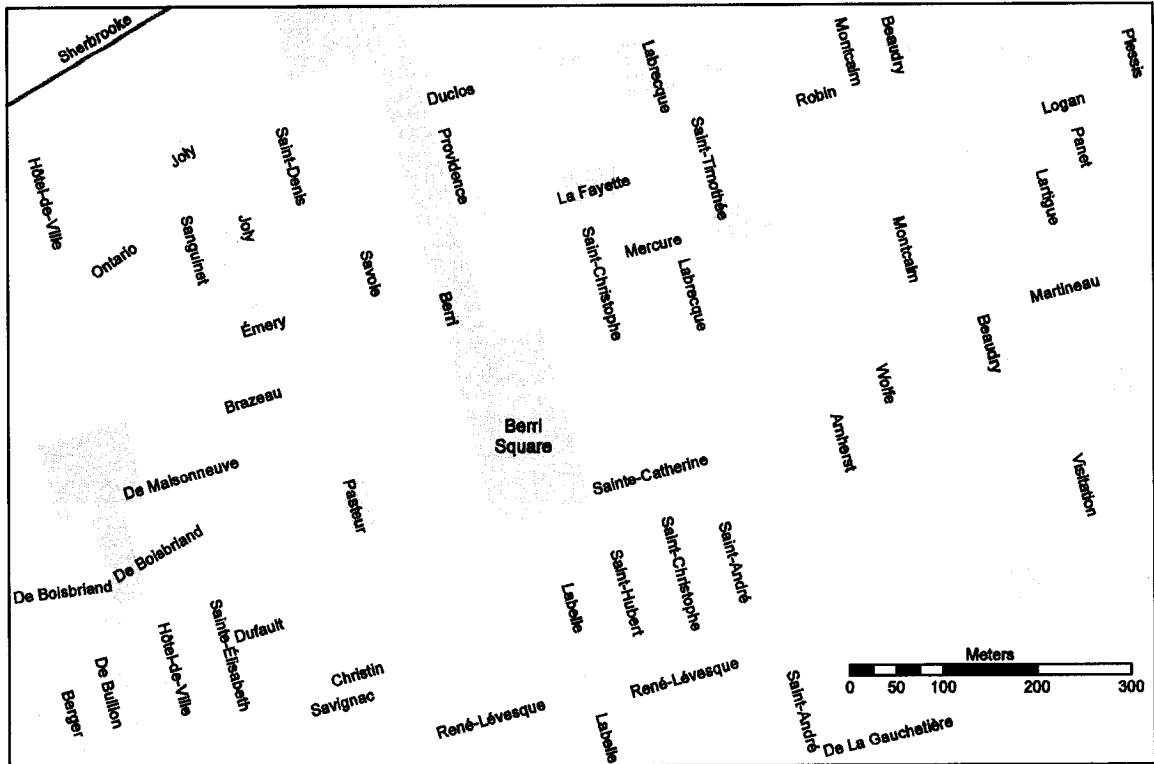
Figure 4. 1 Berri Square: Located in the Latin Quarter; Borough of Ville Marie. The Latin Quarter, about 800 metres east of the CBD (Centre-Ville), is characterised by an eclectic mix of land uses. (Source: Ville de Montréal, 1999)

occurred 1995, when it was changed from Berri Square to Place Émilie Gamelin. In 1996, its *status* was changed from place to park. Both of these changes will be discussed in the following chapter.

Not unlike its Paris namesake, Montréal's Latin Quarter is one of the more diverse areas in the city. Walking through the streets, one will encounter a diversity of people from various ethnic, class and social backgrounds engaged in a multitude of activities. Although its is characterised by a rather eclectic composition of land uses, there is a strong cultural element in the Quarter, fortified by such institutions as the National Film Board, *Bibliotheque Nationale, Cinemathèque Québecoise, Université du Québec à Montréal,* CÉGEP *de Vieux Montréal* and *Théâtre St. Denis.* While there is not a strong residential component in the Quarter itself, the area is situated in the south-east region of Ville Marie, a borough containing just over 4% of Montréal's population. Ville Marie is one of the fastest growing residential areas in the city, with a growth rate of 4% (where as the population of the city of Montréal grew only be 0.01% between census years). The areas both north and east of Berri Square have a dense residential composition, consisting largely of the typical Montréal-style row housing. The borough is distinct in Montréal in other ways. It has the lowest homeownership rate in the city, with less than 1% of dwellings being single-family houses (compared to 12% in the rest of the city). The residents of the borough are the most mobile population in Montréal; 64% of residents having moved the past five years. Children and youth (under 19) represent only 9% of the population, compared to 12% in the city of Montréal. The borough also has the highest rate of households below the low-income cut-off, 52%, where the average for the city is 35% (Ville de Montréal, 2003).

The site that was to become Berri Square measures just over one hectare; it is a block surrounded by four major arteries of vehicular circulation: Berri; Ste. Catherine; St. Hubert streets, and Blvd de Maisonneuve. Ste. Catherine Street is one of the most important pedestrian arteries in the city (refer to Figure 4.1). From both an architectural and land use perspective the square's immediate surroundings have undergone substantial modifications over the decades, which has inflicted it with its rather irregular composition. The block is bordered to the north by 'Station Centrale', containing the primary long distance (national and international) bus station serving greater Montréal and some rather immense parking lots. Place Dupuis, a towering office complex, shopping mall and hotel forms the eastern margin. To the south, along Ste. Catherine, there is a series of buildings containing a mix of retail and office space. Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), an immense and insular building, runs the length of the block's western margin. Up until 1998, on the block's north-west corner stood a large building called the *Palais de Commerce*, which operated as a indoor skateboarding park "Taj Mahal' from 98-2002, and prior to this, as the *Palais de Congrés* (Figure 4.2).
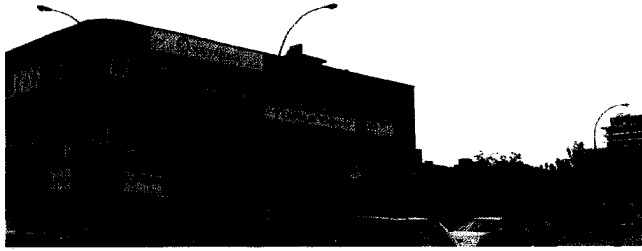
Figure 4.2 The block is bordered by various buildings of mixed use and style and size giving it an irregular vertical composition (from the top: Station Centrale, Place Dupuis, various buildings along Ste. Catherine St, and UQAM) (photos by author, 2003-2004)

Historical background

There exists a rich lived history within this area; this brief section discusses the specific history of site now occupied by Berri Square. In 1842 a wealthy widow by the name of Émelie Gamelin transformed a house situated on Blvd de Montigny (now Blvd de Maisonneuve) at the corner of St. Hubert into "*Asile de la Providence*", a hospice dedicated to the provision of care to aged and ailing residents of the city (Figure 4.3). In the years following, Gamelin founded a religious congregation called *Soeurs de la Providence* (Sisters of Providence) and acquired several other buildings nearby, opening up a soup kitchen, community garden and rooming house[9] (www.soeursdelaprovidence.com).

Figure 4. 3 *"Asile de la Providence"*, or *"Hospice St. Joseph"*, on the corner of **Blvd de Montigny and St. Hubert** (source www.soeursdelaprovidence.com).

The work of this congregation continued on this site for more than a century, their clientele increasingly drawn from transient, and displaced

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[9] In 1851 Emelie Gamelin fell victim to cholera she contracted from a patient in her care at the hospice. In October of 2001 for her work as founder of this congregation, she was 'beautified' (a step in the process of canonization in Roman Catholicism). In Canada, for her moral obligation toward the provision of health care, she has been referred to as the 'mother of Medicare' (www.soeursdelaprovidence.com).

workers of the rapidly industrialising port, situated less than 700 metres away (Moore, 1951, see figure 4.4).

Free Lunch Lines Grow in City
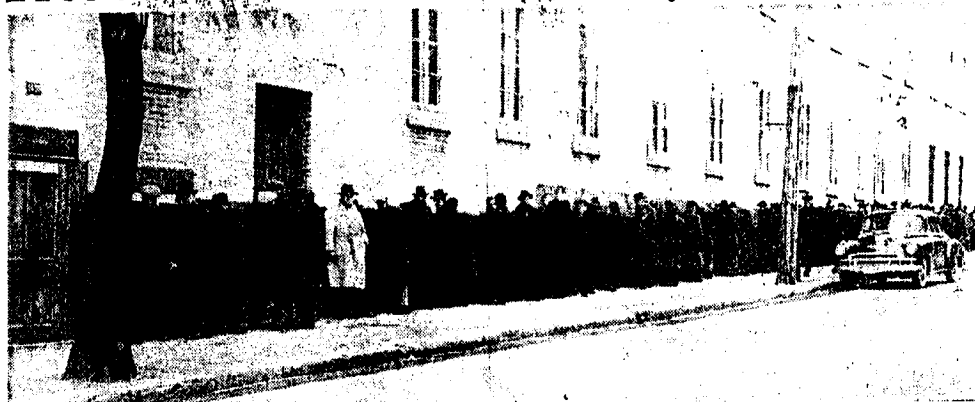
Figure 4.4 A line of men waiting for free lunch at the soup kitchen run by the Sisters of Providence (Source: Moore, 1951)

However by the early 1960's, the City of Montréal had set its eyes on this land. Underneath was to be the hub station of the new métro system - one of Drapeau's showcase pieces in the World Fair, Expo 67[10]. Thus the city acquired the site and all of its buildings and they were demolished to permit the construction of the new underground transportation hub - Berri Métro station. Once construction of the métro was complete, the *édicule* to the métro was erected on the site, with the remainder of the area converted into a parking lot, with "aucune trace visible de ce legs religieux" (Ville de Montréal, 1990:5). Thus, for nearly a quarter of a century, the area served as a car park, mainly for the workers of Hydro Quebec, Palais de Commerce, Place Dupuis and UQAM– all constructed throughout this period and

[10] In fact Drapeau, (and other francophone nationalists) wanted this area to become 'the new CBD'. Because it is situated much closer to the French-speaking majority, it was envisioned as new urban growth

located within a 200 metre radius of the site (St. Denis, 2004). It was not until 1989 that it was tagged as a potential site for a new public space that would be constructed as part of the one of the *'grands projets'* to celebrate Montréal's 350 year anniversary (St. Denis, 2004).

MONTRÉAL TURNS 350: SETTING THE STAGE FOR SPECTACLE

Montréal, of course, is not inexperienced in tourism-focused *'grand projets'* – under the ambitions, authoritarian leadership of Mayor Jean Drapeau, Montréal began its dramatic quest for international recognition, first with Expo 67, followed by the 1976 Olympics. But by the 1970's, the city's declining economic base (historically rooted in both manufacturing and finance) meant that civic officials, along with provincial and federal governing agencies began struggling to restructure its industrial base amidst a much more competitive global economy[11] (Fotopoulos, 2004). In 1986 the Government of Canada issued the so-called 'Picard Report' in which a plan was laid out to create an international vocation for Montréal by concentrating on attracting headquarters of international organisations to the city[12] (Levine, 1999). Since the 1980's, Montréal has seen an influx of new or refurbished 'cultural spaces' in the form of museums, galleries, festivals, and other public entertainment and recreation facilities[13].

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pole for the francophone population. Hydro Quebec, Radio Canada, and the old *Palais du Commerce* are all material remnants of this political strategy (Germain and Rose, 2000).

[11] Between 1975 and 1982 Montréal's unemployment rate more than doubled (Kresl and Proulx, 2000).

[12] At the end of the millennium Montréal was second in North America only to Washington DC in terms of numbers of such international organisations (Germain and Rose, 2000).

[13] For example: Museums such as the Canadian Centre for Architecture, *Pavillion Demarais* at *Musée des beaux-arts*, McCord Museum, and The Biodome; festivals such as The International Jazz Festival, *Juste*

In 1992, Montréal would be 350 years old, thus, an agenda was set for major urban revitalisation projects that could be showcased throughout (and beyond) the 350-days of celebrations, the anchor project being the $125 million *Vieux-Port* and the $58.2 million Biodôme (Levine, 1999). These projects, not unlike the *grand projets* of the Drapeau era, were seen as a way to boost the economy through tourism related revenues. The anniversary celebrations were of also of symbolic importance to the city; they represented a concerted effort to re-establish Montréal's international presence as a 'world-class city' (Levine, 1999; Germain and Rose, 2000; Fotopoulos, 2004). According to Bernard St. Denis, who at the time headed the Studio department at *Division de l'amenagement des parcs du Service des loisers et du developpment communitaire* (SLDC), this anniversary was crucial to the square's conception. The municipal administration wanted something that could be a 'showpiece' and could comfortably and spectacularly host a series of events and shows throughout the birthday celebrations:

> "The key fact was that this square was to be built within the context of a number of other revitalisation projects that were to be undertaken as a part of the 350th anniversary celebrations. So the conception of this square began in 1989, and the project was to be finished by the opening of the celebrations in 1992. There was a bit of a showcase element to it, in terms of Montréal's *savoir-faire* in urban matters. This was an important part of the municipal administration's motivations"
>
> (St. Denis, 2004).

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pour Rire; and Divers/Cité; and public recreation and entertainment facilities such as Lachine Canal, the Casino and the Old Port (Levine, 1999).

CONSTRUCTING SPACE: IMAGINING BERRI SQUARE

The architects indeed embraced this discourse in their conceptual plan; the anniversary celebrations would play a strategic role in the conception of the square, offering "une occasion justifiée et privilégiée pour experimenter une nouvelle façon de faire" (Poullaouec-Gonidec 1995:101). Peter Jacobs and Philippe Poullaouec-Gonidec were the landscape architects for Berri Square, and worked closely with Bernard St. Denis at SLDC. The square was designed to integrate a work of public art that would be commissioned through a public art competition sponsored by the city. The winner of the competition, Melvin Charney, is a local artist who has attained both domestic and international recognition[14].

Even before its inception, Berri Square was distinguished from other public places and squares in the city in several ways: It was built at a cost of 5.5 million dollars, at the time, the most expensive public square project undertaken by the city (Duncan, 1992). Of these funds, $550,000, or 10% of the total project, was dedicated to Charney's fee and the cost of supplies, labour and installation for the artwork (Ville de Montréal, 1991). It was also the first time the city had an open competition for a public work of art and at 10% of the total costs, the budget for this particular oeuvre would far exceed a 1% criteria that would later define the standard dedicated to public

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[14] Charney's most recent work includes a monument to human rights in Ottawa centre, and the public gardens for the Canadian Centre for Architecture. His work is also housed in several cities in Europe and the United States. He is, however, most famous locally for his installation "*Corridart dans la rue Sherbrooke*," a major project created for the international 1976 Olympic Games in Montréal. This particular instillation aimed to draw attention to the recent wave of demolitions of historically significant

art projects in the city. The creation of Berri Square signified the beginning of an increasingly integral role that art and culture were going to play in urban policy formation. Helen Fotopoulos, an elected official and member of the ruling MCM party at that time characterises this particular period as "the beginning of a cultural assertion process from the point of the city". Up until this point, "culture...was equated with recreation", overlooked as a specific development strategy (Fotopoulos, 2004). The development of a concept plan for Berri Square led to a 'consciousness building process' on the part of the fragmented cultural departments of the city. And, in 1990, drawing on the model of Berri Square, a public art strategy was introduced, laying out the basic tenets of how to proceed, such as the introduction of a jury system and a public art competition. This was meant to democratise the process, conveying a sense of legitimacy to public art instillation[15]:

> "This period represented a shift from where you just accept public art sort of as a gift, or favour process... its public heritage...so if it hasn't gone through some sort of process, it becomes a kind of patronage that you don't want to encourage"
> (Fotopoulos, 2004)

Thus, the *Service de la culture* was established at City hall, consolidating into one department all of the libraries, *maison de la culture*, the festivals, grants and the public art department.

Indeed, the 'visioning' of Berri Square was couched within a much larger concept plan to consolidate the borough of Ville Marie's cultural role in

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buildings in Montréal. The artwork itself was demolished under the orders of Mayor Drapeau immediately prior to the opening ceremonies.

terms of its 'personality and image' at the local, regional and international

scale (Ville de Montréal, 1990, 1992; Fotopoulos, 2004; Poullaouec-Gonidec

2004; St. Denis, 2004). Poullaouec-Gonidec recalls that:

> "[l]a ville cherchait à produire une place publique afin de
> redéployer l'essor économique et culturel du quartier...l'UQAM
> qui cherchait une place et une rue Ste-Catherine, une rue St-
> Hubert qui essayait de se redéfinir. Donc le projet se voulait de
> redefinir l'espace urbain du quartier. La ville souhait créer une
> place expressive afin que la Place Dupuis et l'UQAM puissent
> s'épanair en s'appropriant la place. Le tout dans une stratégie de
> levier au développement"
>
> (Poullaouec-Gonidec, 2004)

This plan was fortified in the City of Montréal's Master Plan of 1992, under a

section entitled the "Berri Concentration of Mixed Use" (Ville de Montréal,

1992: 17). The plan called for the development of a 'prestigious' image for

the area centred on the creation of the square; a conversion of Berri Street

into a "landscaped urban boulevard with wide sidewalks;" and the

development of east-west pedestrian-orientated commercial links between

St. Denis, Berri and St. Hubert, (Ville de Montréal, 1992:96). An intensive

program was envisioned to improve public property, creating specific spaces

(both public and private) which could host cultural events such as festivals

and art exhibitions. Berri Square was to be the centrepiece of these plans,

conceived to be comfortable, secure, inviting and stimulating for the user

(Ville de Montréal, 1990). "La Place Berri devait, du point de vue de la Ville,

être le point focal du renouvellement anticipé du centre-ville Est, porté par

les développements immobilier en cours" (Jacobs et Poullaouec-Gonidec,

1989). The design and programming of the square would favour year round

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[15] This democratization process was an integral part of the overall political strategy of the MCM

use, offering "une gamme d'experiences physiques et sensorielles" (Ville de Montréal, 1990:5).

The architects thus, were faced with the task of materialising this vision: "Nous avons poussé plus loin cette nouvelle vision économique en proposant que la place Berri devienne *une vitrine du savoir-faire* local et renforce le sentiment recherché d'appartenanace culturelle" (Poullaouec-Gonidec, 1995:105, emphasis added). UQAM was strategically positioned to be a 'key element' in the city's revitalisation plans for the 'Berri Concentration' because for some time the city had wanted to supplement the institution with an exterior space that would 'open it up' to the street. The university's art gallery is located opposite to Berri Square's western side, and thus in fact had the potential to be opened up to street access at Berri and Ste. Catherine streets, with the square offering space for "cultural use –shows, exhibits, etc" hosted by UQAM. Reconsidering the relationship of the UQAM pavillion to the square within the context of a cultural programme would also solve another problem that faced the new square. At the time of the proposal, the buildings surrounding the square were, for the most part, indifferent to their surroundings. According to St. Denis, the UQAM pavillion "is a perfect example of an enclosed institution with no regard to the quality of the public experience on the street" and the idea was to open up the pavillion, "to rethink the whole relationship with the building in regard to its surroundings" (2004). The buildings on the square's northern

administration (Demchinsky, 1989).

border were also proposed for significant modification. Both Station Centrale, as well as *Palais du Commerce* were intended for relocation and/or replacement with buildings that would better shape the square's urban façade (St. Denis, 2004; Ville de Montréal, 1990). Thus, the plans for the square were made with an expectation that the area surrounding the square was going to be subject to significant modification.

St. Denis also recalls a significant preoccupation with the fact that this new public space was designed and designated as a 'square': "this was the first square to be built in Montréal in something like thirty years. We wanted it to reflect an up to date *savoir faire* in terms of public spaces", and at the time "there was no square of any kind in the eastern part of downtown"[16] (St. Denis, 2004). Public squares represent a significant divergence from a more traditional 'park-like' image that tended to occupy public space planning practices because they are decidedly more *urban*, reflecting a more contemporary approach to park planning. According to St. Denis, a typical Victorian square, or "a park in the shadow of Mount Royal" would not suit this place (2004). The square would be a project that demonstrated an adaptation to the 'new realities' of urban life; a public space that would offer a spectacle of events year round (Ville de Montréal, 1990). This was not only a very urban, contemporary approach to park planning, but in fact intended

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[16] Din Bumbaru, programme coordinator at heritage Montréal commented several year later that "[i]t is rare these days for the city to build squares, the notion of public place having acquired grass, swings, and soccer goalposts in the modern age", said. "The wealth of a city is in its public places, but not just grass and swings...Some areas really command squares"(Gyulai, 2003). Indeed Berri Square was at the time envisioned as one such area.

to move as far away from an "Olmsteadian" approach to planning as possible: "car il ne s'agit en acun cas d'établir une équivoque avec le Mont Royal" (Ville de Montréal 1990:6).

Another unique feature of the square was that it was designed to be heavily programmed long after the anniversary celebrations wound down. Berri Square was to be "a permanent space to house events of all kind' with 'year-round programmation'. The main programme for summer was to be a venue for outdoor art exhibitions, and other cultural festivals. A café was also going to occupy the site. This café was to be a permanent pavillion, intended to be, "an architectural volume -elegant but simple – with all the necessary services…[It] would be given to a concessionaire who would come up with a proposal…in terms of cultural activity associated with a bistro-café…and more in terms of the animation of the square than through the usual café – doughnut formula" (St. Denis, 2004). This pavillion would operate throughout the year, in the fall and winter serving as a skate rental shop for an artificial ice rink that was to occupy a large portion of the square. This ice rink would have an elaborate cooling system installed underneath the section of the square for where it was intended, enabling it to operate from October to April. St. Denis described the logic behind this seasonal 'strategy of animation':

> "At the time we were designing the square, the city [councillors] wanted us to come up with concrete solutions to eliminate the vagrants, the punks, the skinheads whatever – people they didn't want to see there. In other spaces, not Berri Square in particular, I've also seen councillors ask not to put benches into the public space because it would attract vagrants that would sleep there.

> And we [SLDC] consistently found these kinds of requests
> ridiculous and irresponsible to a certain degree. So basically
> Berri Square was designed in the most straightforward manner
> to be the focus of an interesting kind of city life, not by a strategy
> of exclusion, but by a strategy of animation. That is why the ice
> rink, the café – the programming part of the project was so
> important to it. So there are some things you can do by
> designing spaces, but there are other things that are probably
> more efficient and can be achieved by occupying the built space"
>
> (St. Denis, 2004).

To relieve the city from the ideological and financial burden behind this

'strategy of animation', the management of the café and ice rink would be

handed over to the private sector for management.[17]

Although the architects were told to design a space that would eliminate

marginals and as well as discourage public assembly, both maintained that

a public space by its very nature, would and should be at the very least

open to *everybody* (Jacobs, 2003; Poullaouec-Gonidec, 2004). Thus

although he considered the strategy of animation as representative of "a

paradigm shift" for public space conception in the city, in order for the

programming to work effectively, the square had to be 'visibly accessible' to

and from every corner, so 'it felt secure'. Any conception of the site had to be

grounded in a sense of openness (Jacobs, 2003). Thus, the architects'

preliminary analysis focused on three interrelated perceptions:

> "First, that the area was going to grow, it was going to become
> much more important than it was. Second, that there was a very
> diverse group of people who were going to use this
> park...business people, administrators, students, tourists,
> shoppers, drug people, and the whole gay village. I mean it was

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[17] UQAM would oversee the management of the ice rink, and the café would be managed by a private restaurateur (Poullauec-Gonidec, 1995).

just absolutely an unusual mix of people. Lastly, the park had to be absolutely secure. If there were hidden corners, if there were places to hide, it wasn't going to work. So a sense of perceived openness was an absolute formula and absolute constraint.... There was no way that this was going to mix if people could jump out of the bushes...This was a public space...everyone had to have access. But on the other hand, if everybody has access, then you've got to feel secure."

(Jacobs, 2003)

Thus if the programming aspect was going to work, it needed to be couched within a design that would not allow it to be colonised by some users at the expense of others. A sense of security had to embody the square's physical design. The design plans for the site employ artistic rhetoric that serve to ground the desire for both a 'sense of security' as well as the social programming aspect.

Landscape Design

The concept plan for Berri Square was envisioned as a *'narration paysagère'*. It intended to act as a metaphorical interpretation of the composition of Montréal's urban landscape: "le flanc des terasses montréalaises, l'eau issue des terrasses, et les plateaux minéralisés de l'urbain" (Ville de Montréal, 1990:5). Out of this metaphor emerged a symbolic landscape composed of these three elements: *'plan incliné'*- or a sloped lawn invoke an image of a multi-terraced expanse stretching from the top of Mont Royal to the shores of the St. Lawrence river; *'l'eau'* – brooks, channelling through the moderate escarpment[18]; and *'plateaux minéralisés'* – a large stone surface, a material

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[18] Although the water was to be an integral part of the conception, the actual design of the water element, would be left up to the artist for interpretation.

translation of the duality of nature and culture that confronts urban space' (Ville de Montréal, 1990). These metaphorical compositions would be realised through a sectioning of the site into a series of rectangular fields, each rectangle functioning as an interpretation of the *narration paysagère* (Figure 4.5).
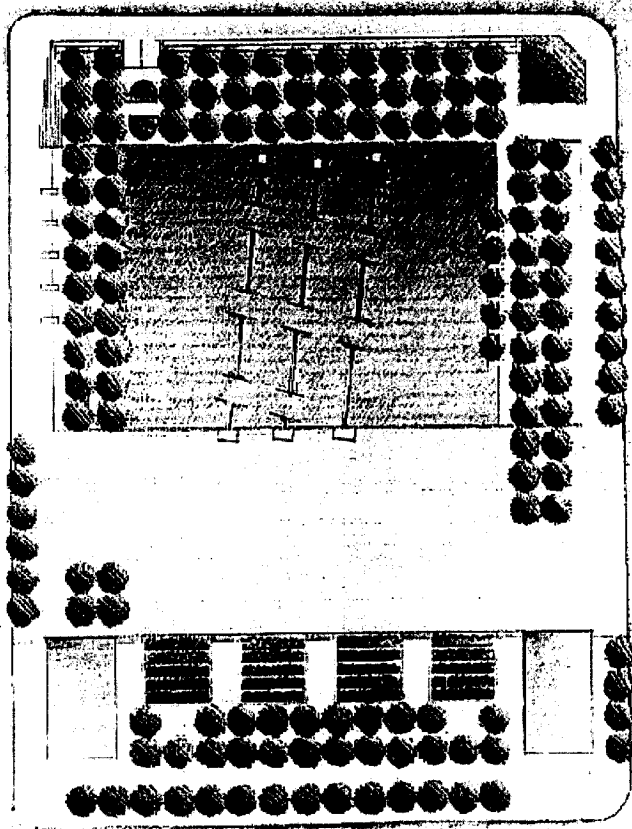
Figure 4. 5 The landscape architects concept plan for Berri Square: a *narration paysagere* composted of a series of rectangular fields. (source: Jacobs, 2003).

Jacobs', idea was essentially to work with the natural topographical incline (3.5% - or about 4 metres incline down from Boulevard de Maisonneuve to Ste. Catherine street[19]), to create an enclosure – but one that would maintain an open character and at the same time allowing adaptability for a

variety of programmed activities (Jacobs, 2003). The sloped lawn thus would remain open, but would be bordered by three rectangular gravel fields, lined with maples. These features would merge into the open surface, or 'plaza', which itself would flow into Ste. Catherine Street through a series of partitions, with the actual border onto the street acting as a promenade with ample seating to watch the pedestrians streaming by (Jacobs, 2003;Ville de Montréal, 1990). Lastly, the façade of the *édicule* to the métro station was to be reconfigured to better align the vertical scale of the square with the surrounding buildings - particularly Place Dupuis and UQAM. The idea was to create a two story building with an observation deck on the roof so that one could: "sortir du sous-sol (du métro) pour monter au premier étage du Square Berri pour ensuite prendre appuie sur un balcon/passerelle pour observer le paysage du Square" (Ville de Montréal, 1990:7). This new *édicule* would serve a secondary function as a storage space for the compressor needed to maintain the artificial ice rink.

L'oeuvre

The artwork was intended to be a structural element of the space that would embody the three elements of the design's conception advancing the idea of a '*narration paysagere*'. The art was envisioned as a site-specific aesthetic strategy in which context was incorporated into the artwork itself. It was to perform three specific functions. It would serve to identify the place; structure the space, and animate the square (Ville de Montréal, 1990). With

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Montréal 1990

these functions considered, the artist was given a certain degree of flexibility in his or her interpretation provided that the concept did not interfere with the intended seasonal programming of the space (Ville de Montréal, 1990). A call for submissions to professional Quebec artists was made through newspapers and various media, resulting in fifty individual entries for the competition. Five finalists were selected, and the artists were presented with the *cahier de charges* for the project and instructed to develop an *oeuvre* that would enhance the artistic integrity of the landscape artists' design. Jacobs was a jury member, and according to him the competition "wasn't even close". The other five submissions were "hopelessly inappropriate...personal statements...of angst and whatever". Charney's submission clearly addressed a more "public persona", and most importantly, followed the aesthetic philosophy mandated by the *cahier de charges* which called on the artwork to structure the space itself (Jacobs, 2003). Charney's winning conception for the square is entitled "*Gratte ciel, cascades d'eau/rues ruisseaux...une construction*". The focus of the work is directed toward three sculptures situated at the north end of the square that represent both the cliffs of Mont Royal, and the skyscrapers or 'les autres 'montagnes' of the city (Charney, 1990). In the plans for the site, Charney envisioned water cascading from these three sculptures, channelled into canals that traversed the sloped lawn converging into a series of basins submerged in the open plaza (Figure 4.6).
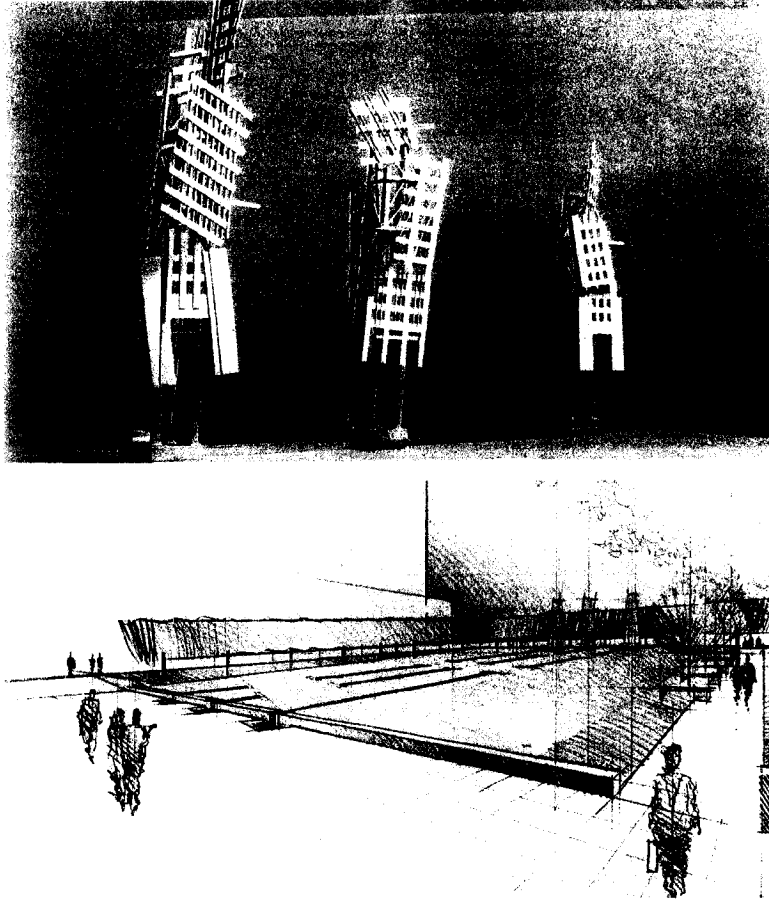
Figure 4. 6 Charney's concept plan for 'Gratte ciel, cascades d'eau/rues ruisseaux...une construction'. (source: Jacobs, 2003)

These installations would serve to identify the square and its' fragmented urban composition, and structure both its vertical alignment and spatial orientation. Charney's plan for the artwork clearly engaged the 'strategy of animation' discourse. He envisioned the water cascading out of the sculptures as a backdrop to the spectacles that would occupy the plaza space: the canals would offer a cooling effect on hot summer days and provide a place for children to play with their boats; and the bridges over the canals would serve as seats for spectators to observe the events and activities occurring at the lower level (Charney, 1990).

CONCLUSION

By using the discourse of Montréal's 350th anniversary celebrations, the city was able to employ a specific strategy to legitimise the redevelopment of the area. This plan focused on a particular aesthetic ideology that centred particular design techniques and on a 'strategy of animation' with the hopes of cultivating a particular type of public life. This technique would also serve to dissuade 'undesirables' from using the space. The 'making' of Berri Square, was seen within the context of the municipal administration's larger political goal to consolidate the cultural role of the Latin Quarter, reflecting a heightened awareness of the role of culture and aesthetics as an urban regeneration strategy. The concept plan for Berri Square represents a 'paradigm shift' in public space policy: the square would operate as an everyday spectacle of urban life. This, in turn would serve to fortify the cultural attributes of the area, and solidify the Latin Quarter as a cultural centre in Montréal.

Chapter Five

Design Outcomes: International Acclaim or Public Disdain?

"Place Berri is not an ordinary square, but an informal oasis in the middle of Montréal, where people relax during the summer in T-shirts as if they were at the beach".

Jan Gehl and Lars Gemzøe, "New City Spaces" 2000

"[P]lace Émilie Gamelin est à peine plus vivante que le stationnement qu'elle a remplacé".

Nicolas Bérubé, "Place Émilie Gamelin: Acte manqué" 2000

Introduction

Having considered the particular social processes that went into creating Berri Square, this chapter examines the outcomes of the concept and design processes. How did Berri Square, once realised, go on to operate in a dialectical manner, in ways that worked both to enhance and resist the processes that influenced its creation? Based on findings derived from participant observation, triangulated with data collected from interviews, and interpretation of various media, I attempt to answer this question, drawing a composite of the social and aesthetic outcomes of Berri Square, once materialised in space.

Berri Square, once realised became a powerful space of representation. The abstract space of Berri Square realised through the work of designers and artist was celebrated publicly amongst the cultural elite. The historical significance of the site represented a powerful space of memory to the Sisters of Providence. Meanwhile the social life in the physical space was best known for its 'disorder' and illicit activities - a far cry from what was imagined in the concept plan.

These contradictions are perhaps one of the square's greatest ironies, but it has also meant that Berri Square has become the site of a struggle over definitions of the public, over 'who' belongs 'where' in urban space.

Berri Square opened in 1992, and programmed with events to commemorate the 350th anniversary of the founding of Montréal. Playing host night after night to concerts, plays, and other festivities, some believed it would go on to represent a test, a kind of laboratory for a new urban life in the city (Dostie, 1992). The square was also unique in the sense that it was the first time a modernist approach (see figure 5.1) had been taken as a design concept for an urban public space in the city (Jacobs, 2003; St. Denis, 2004).

Figure 5.1 Berri Square: a modernist approach to landscape design (photo by author, 2003)

This innovative approach to landscape architecture and public art attracted critical acclaim from local and international elite in the world of both art and architecture. In the years following its inception, Berri Square was featured in a book by Gehl and Gemzoe (2000) internationally renowned architects and

academics[20]; listed in an international Gallimard guide as a fine example of landscape design; awarded a *"Mention spéciale'* by the *Ordre des architects du Québec,* and featured in several publications as an example of good public space design (Vanlaethem 1995; Choko, 2000). But the representational power that the square had acquired did not really enter into a broader public discourse until the square's particular aesthetic philosophy was challenged by a proposition made by the Sisters of Providence, who were pressuring the city to reflect the history that was attached to the site.

THE POLITICS OF PUBLIC ART

Charney's *oeuvre* emerged out of an aesthetic philosophy that purported that the meaning of artwork should be shaped in relation to its context. This philosophy is reflected first in the mandate for the square, as set out in the *Cahier de Charges,* and subsequently in Charney's proposal for the *oeuvre* (Ville de Montréal, 1990; Charney, 1990). This particular philosophy has been used to promote site specific public art that helps define the spaces themselves, and emerged to counteract the construction of 'ideological' art (Deutsche, 1996), often constructed as part of a social process of historical memorialisation. However, Berri Square's aesthetic integrity was threatened when a conflict arose between maintaining the square's aesthetic and incorporating elements of historic symbolism into the square (Jacobs, 2003). The Sisters of Providence had been lobbying the city for some time to reflect the benevolent work done by their founder Émilie Gamelin on this site (Fotopulos, 2004). It was not until

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[20] With examples drawn mostly from Europe (but also North America, Australia, South America, Japan and Saudi Arabia), Berri Square was one of only three spaces in Canada featured in their collection and the only site in Montréal.

1995 however, under new leadership of Mayor Pierre Bourque, that the city decided to pacify the Sisters by making concrete proposals to incorporate some of this specific history into the square. The first stage in this processes was the renaming of the square to honour Émilie Gamelin, thus on September 25th 1995, Berri Square officially became Place Émilie Gamelin (Lalonde, 1995). This renaming of the square was commemorated by serving free soup in memory of Gamelin's soup kitchen on the site decades earlier. In addition, documentation of the work of Émilie Gamelin and the Sisters of Providence was engraved into each side of the granite walls bordering the northern part of the square. However, when the majority of city councillors voted to erect a statue of Gamelin, the perceived destruction of the square's aesthetic form was met with serious opposition from Montréal's cultural elite, "set[ting] off sirens in Montréal's art community" (Curran, 1997). This was because the statue, which was to be a didactic monument to the religious leader, would conflict with the conceptual artwork already occupying the site. According to the critics, both active in the press and at City Hall, a traditional, ideological object had 'no place' in an 'ultra-modern' square that was conceived and landscaped as a 'complete concept' (Ville de Montréal, 1997; Curran, 1997). Executive council member Helen Fotopoulos argued that it is difficult for artists to have access to public space in which to display their work; thus, when the city actually does succeed in creating a place that offers free, public, everyday access to contemporary art, we should promote *it*, and *not* 'cut and paste' replicas of reality (Ville de Montréal, 1997; Fotopoulos 2004).

The councillors were not alone in their criticisms, opposition to the plan was voiced publicly in the press from nearly all members of Montréal's cultural elite including the founder of the Canadian Centre of Architecture, directors from both Montréal's Museum of Fine Arts and Contemporary Arts, as well as architects, art teachers, and art editors. The cultural elite argued that by placing a 'traditional' statue into space housing a very 'contemporary' *oeuvre,* the city would be openly dismissing the aesthetic value of one of Montréal's most successful squares. The elite argued that the 'destruction' of the squares aesthetic would effectively create to a climate of contempt amongst artists and architects and that this contempt could spin off into an erosion of municipal support for cultural policies (Curran, 1997; Fotopoulos, 1997; Poullaouec-Gonidec, 2004; St. Denis, 2004). Fotopoulos explained because Berri Square was the first time the city had had an open public competition for public art instillation in the city it was perceived as a 'democratisation' of the city's policy on public art. The representational power of Berri Square as progressive, innovative design concept was solidified through this public debate, evidenced in the fact that the statue eventually was placed not in the square itself, but inside the *edicule* that stands on the square's south-west corner.

Paradoxically, this "talk of the cultural milieu" (Curran, 1997) that served as an arena to highlight the perceived aesthetic value of the space by the elite also worked to emphasize that regardless of the aesthetic accolades it received, the square was not attracting the sort of 'public' that would presumably appreciate it. Melvin Charney's response to this contradiction serves to highlight the divergence between the public attached to the art, and the public 'attached' to

the space itself: "Quand je passe devant et que je vois qu'elle a été envahie par les punks et les squeegees qui y lavent leurs chausettes, je suis plutot content parce que les pieces tiennent le coup, ce qui est non negligeable quand on fait de l'art public" (Petrowski, 2000).

## THE SOCIAL LIFE OF A SMALL URBAN SPACE

"If that same park were somewhere else in the city, well that would be awesome, but they put it right downtown –where there are homeless, where there are drugs...Every downtown has a place for this - this is ours"
                                                          Stephanie, Police Officer station 21, 2004

The social life of Berri Square stands in stark contrast to the perceived space filtered through the lens of aesthetics and design. It is a resident base for drug trafficking, and a provisional soup kitchen for the homeless. Its smooth granite walls and barren concrete plaza have made it a favourite spot for skateboarding. And it has become Montréal's most often used public space for political protests. "Actually, what is happening is that the public took control of the space, and did all sorts of things, including sleeping under the trees. Now the city is being dragged in kicking and screaming to do something about it" (Jacobs, 2003).

EVERYDAY LIFE IN BERRI SQUARE

Berri Square is not an under-utilised public space. The graph depicting density of use (figure 5.2) shows the average number of people using the space over the course of a day, with the peak number of users (203) occurring between the hours of 15:00 and 18:00.
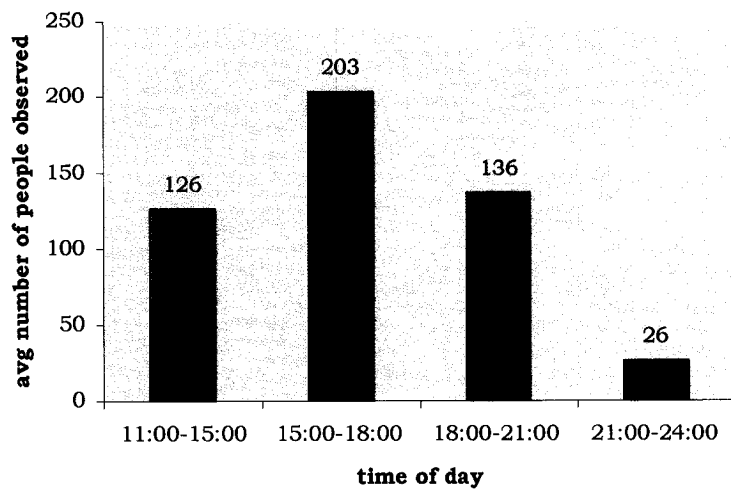
Figure 5.2 Density of use based on time of day

Like the Latin Quarter itself, it is used by an eclectic mix of people, but as can be seen from figure 5.3, certain user groups dominate the use of the space at certain periods, contributing to the impression that the square has been 'taken over' by particular user groups.
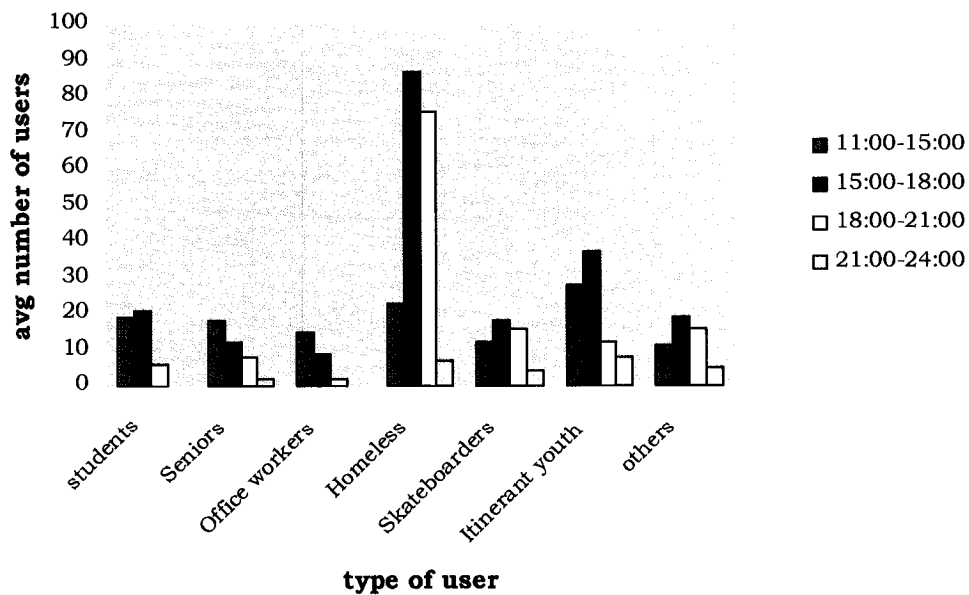
Figure 5.3 Density of use by type of user

Even though the foremost everyday users are itinerant youth and homeless people, based on observation, office workers, students and seniors emerged as a category of regular users of Berri Square [21](Figure 5.3). The grassy slope, the granite ledge bordering the plaza, and the promenade of Ste. Catherine St, are heavily used areas especially by students, office workers and seniors. Seniors are especially attracted to the unusual metal chairs aligned to face Ste. Catherine St. (figure 5.4)

Figure 5.4 These unusual metal chairs are heavily used, especially by seniors (photo by author, 2003)

Other users included individuals such as tourists and families –people that used the square, but did not form a dominant visual presence relative to other users.

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[21] Recall from chapter 3 that my method for classifying users was funneled from an initially very broad area of interest without predetermined categories to a focused observation to verify developed themes. User classification developed over time, allowing me to establish categories of 'regular' (i.e. everyday users) as they emerged over time.

There are several factors that contribute to the impression that the square has been 'taken over' by particular user groups. For example, one of the reasons for the skewed distribution of homeless people in the square is because between the hours of 16:00-18:00 a daily food distribution service to serve the homeless (run by a local religious charity) operates out the promenade, drawing on average people 78 clients per day (figure 5.5). This service has been operating out of Berri Square for six years[22].

Figure 5.5 The food provision service operating out of Berri Square attracts an average of 78 clients per day (photo by author, 2003)

Itinerant youth are another significant and visible user group, who tend to congregate under the tree-lined slopes, the grass and on the ledges of the promenade. One other highly visible user group is skateboarders. Although there is a 'no-skateboarding' sign in the square, skateboarders appreciate the open surface of the plaza and its raised granite border, and thus the square draws an average of 50 skaters per day. Other than the activity of the skateboarders, the plaza generally an empty space, not used with any significant frequency.

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[22] In late fall, a sleeping bag distribution campaign to serve the homeless also operates out of Berri Square.

Drug trafficking was also an overt and obvious activity in the square. Although those trafficking drugs most often congregate near the *edicule* on Ste. Catherine and Berri (most likely to establish a habitual 'place' as well as to capture the heavy volume of pedestrian traffic), on occasion, drug sellers and seekers would approach potential clients (by muttering 'pot' or 'coke') regardless of their location in the square. Pot smoking and alcohol consumption were regular, overt activities in the square regardless of the hour. Panhandling was also prevalent. On the occasions where I visited the square after 24:00, I observed prostitutes working the promenade bordering Ste. Catherine St. Although there was no evidence of shelters during the observation period, homeless people would often been seen sleeping in the square - on the grass and under the trees. The square is used as a place to sleep by homeless throughout the day, however, as seen in figure 5.6, it is also on occasion, used by families, or other less visible users.

Figure 5.6 Homeless people use Berri Square daily as a place to sleep and rest – alongside 'less controversial' users. (photo by author, 2003)

Elements of Social Control

However, because the 'undesirables' are the most visibly present group, there is a significant degree of social contestations between these particular users and the police (Manseau, 2003; André, 2004). This debate, played out in the press, has centred on equal access to the square by all users, appropriation by some groups at the expense of others, and the heightening levels of police harassment. (Wilton and Meannie 1996, Wilton, 1996; Curran, 1997; Derfel, 1998; Moore, 1998; Mainville, 1999; Bérubé, 2000; Lepage, 2001 Gravenor, 2003; Myles, 2003; Lejtenyi, 2004) It is worth quoting at length one users response to an article written in defense of non-discriminatory policing practices in the square:

> I walk in the area twice a day, and observe a permanent presence of so-called 'marginals' in the park... I have never witnessed any aggression, 'uncivil' action or harassment of any kind from the marginals...If there is any aggressiveness or any harassment in this park it is partly due to the police...One afternoon, while I was...waiting for a friend, two marginals sat beside me... two police officers approached and...told one of the marginals to get out of the park or he would be given a fine for *flânerie*. Surprised by the intervention, I told the officer: "You should tell me to get out first, I was there before them`. The police officer, probably terrorized by my tie and jacket, did not answer, ignored me...and continued to yell at the marginals...and pulled out a pen to fill out a fine...I took out a business card from my jacket and hand it out to the marginals. I told them I would defend them and denounce these discriminatory acts. One of the officers threatened to arrest me for not letting her do her job. I dared her to do it; the other officer put away her pen and said to her colleague: ``Let's go, we will come back later``."[23]

(Rivard, 2003)

The tension described in this narrative does play out in the square. Throughout the observation period, the police regularly patrolled the square. This action usually involved driving their cruiser into the centre of the plaza, remaining in

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[23] Translated from French by Guillaume Neault, 2004

their vehicle to perform surveillance duties, exiting only to make an intervention. There were no particular peaks in police presence; regardless of the time of day, I would observe at least one visit to the park. When police do make an intervention, it is generally directed toward two specific user groups – the 'punkers' and those trafficking drugs in the square. The metró security also patrolled the square, although with less frequency, performing the same act of driving into the plaza to observe activity. Although not authorised to make interventions outside of STM property, they do have an agreement with the police to assist with the surveillance of the square (André, 2004). In May of 2004 the borough of Ville Marie launched a four month pilot project, installing video surveillance cameras in and around the area surrounding Berri Square. This act of surveillance aims to discourage drug trafficking in and around the square by providing police with 24 surveillance capacities (Fotopulos, 2004).

Elements of Spatial Control

The actual design once realised bears evidence of spatial control embodied through design principles, and certain elements of the design have also been subject to modification since the square's inception in 1992. Entrance to the site is limited: Berri St. has only two entrances into the square; St. Hubert and Blvd. de Maisonneuve, only one. On the promenade that borders Ste. Catherine St., the busiest pedestrian street in the city, access is funnelled through the square by a series of walled partitions. None of the doors of the *edicule* open into the square, but directly onto the corner of either Berri or Ste. Catherine Sts (figure 5.7).
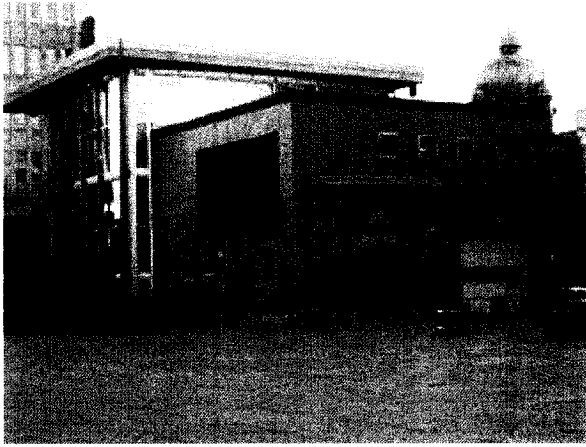
Figure 5.7 There is no access directly onto the square from the *edicule* (photo by author, 2003)

There were a series of metal benches under the area canopied by trees bordering Blvd de Maisonneuve. All of these have been removed (figure 5.8).

Figure 5.8 The tilting metal benches adjacent to Blvd de Maisonneuve have been removed (colour photo by author, 2003; black and white photo courtesy of Pierre Gauthier, 2002)

Seating areas have also been reduced on the promenade because most of the benches there have been removed (Jacobs, 2003). Charney's *oeuvre* was designed to have water flowing out of the sculptures to be channeled through the canals and into pools submerged in the plaza and light fixtures are embedded into the sloped grass to illuminate the sculptures at dusk. Not once during the observation period was the water or light element of the design in operation (figure 5.9).
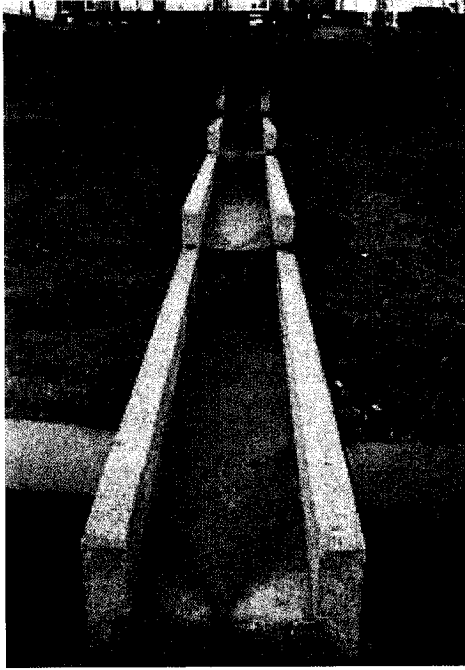
Figure 5.9 The canals are void of the water that was envisioned to flow down the terrace into the plaza (photo by author, 2003)

BERRI SQUARE: BEHIND THE FAÇADE

Clearly the square is not functioning as it was envisioned during the conception and design process. According to those involved in its creation, the primary reason for its social 'failure' is a result of the fact that the two main pillars of social programming - the artificial ice rink and the café, never materialised. The landscape architects, along with St. Denis, head of SLDC, maintain that their conceptions were carried out accordingly, but the square's full conception - so essential to the coherence of the plan - was not realised (Jacobs, 2003; Poullaouec-Gonidec, 1995, 2004; St. Denis, 2004). Poullaouec-Gonidec believes that this is due to several factors "inhérents à la production de cet espace public" which arose out of a conceptual misunderstanding between the architects and the municipality (Poullaouec-Gonidec, 1995:106). The architects were instructed to create a design that would facilitate the implementation of

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various social programs; a space that would represent a 'paradigm shift' in public space production in the city, demonstrating Montréal's *savoir faire* in urban matters both from an aesthetic and social perspective. Thus the architects' design "était *de facto* confronté à la tradition du savoir faire municipal aux plans conceptual et technique" (Poullaouec-Gonidec 1995:106). However, the city, regardless of how much they encouraged the architects and artist (both financially and strategically), in the end regressed back toward their limited traditional conception of public space as being programmed only to the extent that was 'typical' (socially and technically) of public places or parks. According to Jacobs, "it was not a question of money but mentality" (Jacobs, 2003). St. Denis recalls that before the architectural volume that would house the café could even begin construction there was political pressure on the city not to build it. The merchants and other restaurateurs in the area "didn't want the competition [of another café] so they put pressure on the administration not to go through with the proposition" (St. Denis, 2004). As for the ice rink? Most of the equipment to produce the artificial ice rink was installed, but essential components are missing: the compressor ('Zamboni'), and a pump for running coolant through hoses that would be submerged in the frozen water. These, according to St. Denis, would end up costing the city an additional $250,000 to acquire. And after the administration's fiscal hangover resulting from Montréal's 350th anniversary celebrations, "that kind of investment on behalf of the city was viewed as less and less legitimate, and the administration just dropped the idea after a while" (St. Denis, 2004).

Berri Square *does* service various cultural events. During the observation period for this study, one organized event took place in the square: an 'Alternatives' workshop. And various festivals such as Divers/Cité, and Nuits d'Afrique use Berri Square to hold events. In 2002 and 2003 the city opened an ice rink in the square, but without the proper refrigeration in place the rink was subject to melting and rarely used (figure 5.11)

Figure 5.10 The skating rink in Berri Square (photo by author, 2004)

But compared to the programming envisioned in the concept plan, relatively little programmed activity takes place in the square. So although there is a certain degree of staged animation in this public space, it is not quotidian, and because many of the programmed events fence off the area and hire private security, it projects an exclusionary image. And thus, without the everyday seasonal 'strategy of animation' in operation, those that this strategy was aiming to exclude began working to shape the social life of the space. Thus the square has cultivated at least two very distinct and socially polarised user groups: "If the plaza has a problem, as it does – it's that the location near the bus terminus and low-rent rooming houses makes it as convenient a hangout

for panhandlers as it is for students and summer concertgoers" (Curran, 1997).
In fact the square, especially compared to its high public expectations based on
the initial concept plan and the brief, but heavy programming in its past, was
largely viewed as being largely neglected by the city (both in terms of
programming and maintenance) and increasingly perceived as a fiscally
irresponsible public space project (Bérubé, 2000).

Soon after the programming for the anniversary ran down, itinerant youth,
prostitutes and the homeless began appropriating the square, and by 1995
were the square's dominant everyday users (Parazelli, 2000). At this time, under
a city of Montréal by-law, the square was open to the public 24 hours a day.
Although Charney had envisioned the *ruisseaux* as a place "où les enfants
peuvent jouer avec leurs bateaux" (Charney, 1990), the water flowing from the
sculptures into the canals was principally used as a place for washing clothes
and bodies. This propagated feelings of insecurity and resentment among other
users, including UQAM students, merchants from Place Dupuis, the hotel, and
other nearby businesses (Wilton, 1997; Parazelli, 2000). The police described
the sense of place in the square:

> "People in the neighbourhood have seen what is going on in the
> park, and they avoid it. Women tell us they are scared to even walk
> through the park. There are not a lot of people getting attacked in
> the park...but harassment –a lot! For food, change, whatever. Some
> people just see it as a park for skaters - these skaters don't care
> about other people around, other people who want to use the park,
> they are in their own world".
>
> (Stephanie, 2004)

The police also maintain that the square receives attention from many of the
'wrong kind' visitors arriving in the city from 'Station Central', the regional and

long distance bus terminal across the St. from the square. Although plans were made to relocate this facility (St. Denis, 2004), it has remained both structurally and functionally intact since Berri Square's inception. In addition to the bus station, the area around Berri Square is home to a variety of services and support structures for marginalised youth, homeless, and other community outreach services: "All of the community groups, social groups are in the area. So everybody who comes to town, goes to this area" (Stephanie, 2004). According to police this means that Berri Square plays a strategic role in socialising newcomers to this area:

> "Street kids come here...from all over on the bus and when they arrive, the first thing they see is the park, and they see they can get their drugs, and from this they get to know the dealers. The dealers tell them how to work the street., and they quickly learn about all the services for homeless people in the area. Here they have whatever they want – medical help, needles, food, shelter, anything. If I were a homeless person [Berri Square] is where I would be for sure"
>
> (Stephanie, 2004).

Berri Square has the reputation as 'the best place to get drugs' in the city (André, 2004). The police recall when the square was actually partitioned into three sections, with each one controlled exclusively by three independent criminal organisations. "Up until 2000, the Hell's Angels controlled the area bordered by Ste Catherine St. and *l'edicule*, and the rest of the park was divided equally between two different Mafia organisations". After the police arrested the key members of one of the Mafia gangs, the Hell's Angels forced the other group out so that the Angels now have exclusive 'rights' to traffic drugs in the square (André, 2004). Although drugs trafficking exists in other parks in the city, from the perspective of the Hells Angels, Berri Square has proved to be the most

'lucrative' (Kalogerakis, 2002), and, as discussed previously, is indeed an obvious and overt activity in the square.

Although the outright elimination this illegal activity is 'impossible', because "this is organised crime we are dealing with you know", the city has asked the police "to show that we have it under control... because if we didn't...it would be absolute chaos. A free for all" (André, 2004). One failed attempt at controlling drug trafficking included removing the pay phones that are situated on the south-east section of the square. The phones were eventually replaced due to a wave of complaints[24] to the city (Stephanie, 2004). In fact, the police suggested that 'the only way you won't have any problems is to put the policeman [there] 24 hours a day" (Stephanie, 2004).

A SQUARE BY ANY OTHER NAME...IS NOT A SQUARE.

In April of 1996, the police circulated a petition to gather support for the city's plans to modify the square's designation to a park, which would legally allow them to restrict access to the area throughout the night[25]. In the weeks following, the city, citing complaints from nearby businesses of drunkenness, public urination, drug trafficking, and petty crimes, re-designated the square, which was considered a public place and thus open 24 hours a day, into a city park, which closes nightly from 24:00-6:00 (Parazelli, 2000).

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[24] The complaints were launched and led by civil rights group *Mouvement Action Justice* (Manseau, 2003).
[25] Although by now it had officially changed its name to Place Émilie Gamelin, it was still designated as a 'square' under the city's zoning by-laws.

According to Yves Manseau, director of *Mouvement Action Justice* (MAJ), beginning that summer, social profiling by police against itinerant youth, punkers, and homeless people began to rise (Manseau, 2003). Those targeted were being ticketed not only for being in the space after-hours, but also for minor by-law infractions such as occupying more than one space on a park bench, walking on the grass, and spitting (Parazelli, 2000; Manseau, 2003). These offences prompted a group of youths to organise to "combat a police campaign of harassment and intimidation...designed to expel them from the downtown park" (Wilton, 2004). Calling themselves *Jeune Actifs Marginaux*, their aim was to educate homeless youth and punkers of their legal rights in public spaces[26] (Manseau, 2003). Although the police did attempt to establish relationships with these regular users by sending the same police officers to the park everyday, tensions between the police and the youth mounted (Parazelli, 2000; André, 2004). On July 29th, 1996 a massive demonstration led by *Jeune Actifs Marginaux*, brought over 250 youth and civil rights advocates in Berri Square for a collective act of civil disobedience denouncing the square's closure. A flyer promoting the demonstration against the square's closure read:

> "As the corporate monopoly on land continues to grow, our free public spaces become fewer and fewer. Such is the story of Berri Square. Once a place for all, now closed for business and open only to the well-groomed"
>
> (Wilton and Mennie, 1996)

André, one of the officers on patrol that night described the demonstration: "I was there all night long. We were tolerating them, they were dancing and singing and having a fire. But when the fire got to be 10 feet high, we intervened" (André, 2004). This intervention resulted in 70 people being

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[26] This group changed names by the end of the summer into *Mouvement Action Justice*.

arrested, charged with illegal occupation of a city park and brought to jail. For the remainder of the summer, Berri Square became the site of regular protests against the actions taken by the city and the police in attempts to control the square, with the largest protest taking place on August 24th, and attracting over 100 people (The Gazette, 1996).

Deeming the actions by the police against the arrested demonstrators to be unjust, MAJ (formerly *Jeune Actifs Marginaux*) along with another youth advocacy organisation decided to file a class action lawsuit against the city for their treatment on the night of July 29th (Manseau, 2003). Manseau, who was one of the protestors arrested that night reasons that although it was a "petty offence...they held us for hours and made us suffer a lot you know for such a stupid offence" (Manseau, 2003). However, while they were doing their research for the case against the city, they "discovered that [Berri Square] wasn't a park, but a square! We found out that they had changed it to a park without respecting their own procedures...required to change [the designation] of a public place...So what they did was illegal!" (Manseau, 2003). In September of 1998, a Municipal Court judge ruled that the city bylaw was illegal because although city council voted to change the use of the site from a public place to a park, they did not actually change the zoning through a process requiring public consultation (Kalogerakis, 1999; Manseau, 2003). In 2003 the Superior Court authorised the collective action lawsuit against the City of Montréal by those arrested at Berri Square for '*flânerie nocturne*' between 1996 and 1999 when the square was illegally designated as a park (Myles, 2003; Manseau, 2003).

So although the city did eventually succeed in changing the designation (and hence opening hours) of the square in 1999 (André, 2004), since the night of July 29th, MAJ has become government-funded operation providing legal council to:

> "aide les citoyens qui ont vécu de la brutalité policière lors d'une arrestation, ou encore ceux qui ont subi des comportements abusifs de la part d'un policier, d'un avocat, d'un procureur ou d'un juge sur le territoire du Québec : intimidation, force excessive, harcèlement, langage injurieux ou toute autre forme de non respect des droits fondamentaux"
>
> (www.majquebec.org)

Yves Manseau reasons that because MAJ was in many ways 'conceived' *in* Berri Square, emerging out of the conflict between police and the 'disorderly' youth, "Square Berri has become...an important as a symbol for us...To this day I continue to participate in a lot of public action that starts there". (Manseau, 2003). Indeed, Berri Square is still a popular site for political protests and public demonstrations, whether they are topical events such as a WTO protest in 1999, or annual rallies such as the "National Day against Police Brutality". Based on media content analysis of political events, it is the most active political space in the city (see Appendix B). Manseau reasons that although Berri Square is in an idea location (both in terms of access to the metró and geographic centrality), there is a fundamental underlying reason for the square's political element. The youth were a part of that space long before the square was even conceived, and the space in that way has become a symbol of resistance for all marginalised people who have become, or have always been, 'out of place' in society. Because of these factors combined, Berri Square has become "a very natural rallying point" (Manseau, 2003).

CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented the results of the second objective of the research: How did Berri Square go on to define the social processes that influenced its creation, in ways that worked both to enhance and resist these processes? As shown in the findings, Berri Square, once materialised has gone on to do both. While Berri Square was able to fulfill its design objectives, the fiscal constraints placed on the city meant that the social programming aspect of the square was left unfinished. This has translated into the creation of a rather eclectic, multi-layered social space (perhaps not surprising given the area in which it is situated). The concept plan's lack of historical memorialisation to the work on the site by Émilie Gamelin and the Sister of Providence identified a (forgotten) public attached to the history of the site. The abstract space of the square, realised through art and design, has succeeded in cultivating a particular public, but a public attached only to this abstract space. And there is quite another public cultivated out of the everyday life of square that has developed within and around the historic and contemporary use of the space and its environs. The space itself through its creation has facilitated the emergence of a conflict over social and physical representation in the city. The question for urban policy makers thus becomes - how best to think about ways to mediate this conflict?

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

"Societies are improvisatory affairs, made from moment to moment and by many hands: they are of their very nature open and unfinished"

David Malouf, "Country Imagined – Democracy and National Identity in a Global Culture" 2004

THE BREAKING (OR RE-MAKING?) OF BERRI SQUARE

This thesis has sought to situate the production of a particular landscape within the social processes from which it was conceived and realised, examining the dialectical way public space is 'produced' in the city. By exploring the reasoning and rationale behind the design intentions of Berri Square, it aspired to locate this planning process within the larger socio-economic and political context out of which it emerged, illuminating the processes involved in its design, development and management. By examining the outcomes of this design process, it aimed to illuminate how the life of this landscape has worked to both enhance and resist the social processes that went into its creation. This chapter contextualises the findings of the empirical research in an attempt to understand ways to think about future policy and planning for public spaces.

Ley (1996), drawing on the case of Vancouver, argues that Canada's more socially progressive ideology (as compared to the United States) has meant that Canadian public spaces are in less danger of losing their democratizing principles. However Lees (1997) cautions against adopting this view, citing

examples of how Vancouver's 'livable city' ideology has created exclusionary, apolitical public spaces in an effort to coax suburbanites back to the city. But the results of this research call for a more complex understanding. Shifts in municipal policy and structure suggest that aesthetic principles were being recognized for their strategic role in urban development and economic revitalisation. Created as a showpiece to demonstrate Montréal's *savoir-faire* in urban matters, Berri Square, it was hoped, would enhance the city's cosmopolitan status, re-imagining Montréal in an image to suit the requirements of post-industrial urban space. Its particular design and programming strategy offer evidence of an attempt by city officials to fortify the cultural potency of the Latin Quarter, and attract more capital investment to the area. The concept plan for Berri Square was only part of this urban revitalisation strategy, and the 'making' of Berri Square, thus can be seen within the context of the municipal administration's larger political-economic goal to consolidate the cultural role of the Latin Quarter, reflecting an increased awareness of the role of culture and aesthetics as an urban regeneration strategy. Although envisioned as a 'public' space, the city explicitly aimed to exclude certain members of the public as well as certain democratic public actions (such as assemblies or protests). A strategy of animation combined with a specific aesthetic ideology would serve to both execute and legitimise this goal. Berri Square represented a 'paradigm shift' in public space: programming four seasons of activity into the space centred on festivals, art, leisure and consumption would work to cultivate a particular public; designing an open space 'accessible from every corner'

would give this public a sense of security. It would also enable more efficient and effective surveillance of the space by both the police and other of the more 'natural proprietors of the street' (surrounding businesses and institutions for example).

However, as shown through the findings in chapter five, Berri Square was created, defined and subsequently appropriated by groups of users who have given it quite distant cultural meanings. There was a public identified with the struggle to invoke a sense of history into the square. There was also public attracted to the abstract space of Berri Square realised through the work of the designers and the artist. Then there is the public that has perhaps become the most controversial and visible – the public attached to the everyday life in the square. Thus Berri square, almost since its inception has become in many ways the consummate urban space, where the dialectic between differential visions of what constitutes public space – from a aesthetic, historical, social perspective are constantly being contested and negotiated. Based on the findings of this case study, I would argue that public space in the contemporary city *is* being designed and managed to serve the needs of the new service economy. But the public is not a passive nor unified entity, and the more limited our definitions of 'the public' become when conceiving, designing and managing spaces, the more the spaces in which these ideas are materialised become liminal spaces. This thesis has sought to illuminate this dialectic, so that policies can be constructed that – rather than further marginalising users and histories, -

can instead seek out ways to creatively manage the space without destroying its democratic element. Harvey in his critique over the struggles in Tompkins Square Park has suggested that:

> "social policy and planning has to work at two levels. The different faces of oppression have to be confronted for what they are and as they are manifest in daily life, but in the longer term...the underlying sources of the different forms of oppression in the heart of the political economy of capitalism must also be confronted...in terms of capitalism's revolutionary dynamic which transforms, disrupts, deconstructs and reconstructs ways of living, working and relating to each other".
>
> (1992:114)

Although Berri Square is unique to Montréal in many ways, the processes that went into creating it and the problems that have been associated with it since its creation are not. The spaces of the city have always been used as a political canvas onto which dominant ideologies are transcribed. Public space is no exception. However, underscoring the projection of hegemonic ideologies onto public space is its role in the articulation of democratic ideals. This means that public space is at once a material site of hegemonic projections as well as a material sight of resistance to this hegemony. It is one of the places where our 'right to the city' is most forcefully challenged and most violently cultivated. It very well may be the first and last place where we learn how to define, and nurture the development of socially just city. Andy Merrifield writes "Authenticity will arrive, if it arrives, by going forward through this dialectic not by having recourse to some romantic non-contradictory but non-existent ideal" (2002:15).

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In 1992 when Berri Square opened amidst Montréal's 350th anniversary celebrations it symbolised the start of a consolidation of the Latin Quarter's cultural role both internationally and domestically. Various financial and social pressures however, have impeded the process. But there are many indications that this 'vision' for the Quarter has not subsided. This fall, the new *Bibliothèque Nationale* is scheduled to open directly across from Berri Square. Although not as 'Disney' as its Vancouver cousin, it is nonetheless immense architectural structure, and could also be considered as Lees (1997) has suggested in her study in Vancouver, a 'beachhead for gentrification'. In the spring of 2004 the Tremblay administration unveiled its plan to inject 3.2 million dollars into 'revitalising' Ste. Catherine St, from St. Urbain to de Lorimier, which has community organisers concerned about the further marginalisation of some of the area's residents:

> "We've seen the transformation of public spaces into municipal parks over the years, with park regulations enforced on them, meaning less tolerance. So when we have these kind of large projects, we see that the city isn't interested in us".
>
> (Lejtenyi, 2004:5)

Meanwhile the police have also said that due to policies of 'zero tolerance' in other cities, they have seen an influx of street kids coming into the city, and only expect this trend to intensify in the coming summers (Stephanie, 2004). The pressures being placed on this area are mounting and the conflicts between its various uses and values will continue to escalate until creative ways to manage them are articulated. An examination into some of the institutional and political constraints barring this articulation is a way

toward beginning this process. In addition, an examination into how everyday users understand, use, and relate to the space will assist in illuminating how both real and imagined tensions affect the public attached (or not) to its everyday life.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDES

INTERVIEW PETER JACOBS: November 16th, 2003

- I understand you were a part of the committee that responsible for the conception of Berri Square, - how was this committee formed, and what kind of mandate did it have?
- How was Berri Square, as a concept, intended to fit into the larger development plans for the area?
- Could you tell me about how the specific design objectives were made for this space, and how you intended to meet them?
- How did you incorporate issues of social and urban morphology into the square's conception?
- The *cahier des charges* for the square says it's a "*projet adapte aux nouvelles realities de la vie urbain*" - a Victorian square design is not adequate for this space. Can you elaborate on what this means? How did you tackle this as a design concept?
- The work of art was intended to be a structural element of the space, why was this important for the square's design? You were on the selection jury - what characteristics were your looking for in the proposals? (for example Richard Serra's tilted arc raised many questions as to the role and function of the word 'public' in art, how was the idea of public incorporated in the selection of art?)
- The plan for the square calls on it to be a place of programmed events, how did you factor this idea into a design concept?
- The Sisters of Providence's desire have some material representation of the square's history generated a lot of controversy - was there any thought given to putting some historical context into the square during the conception/design process? Why/ why not?
- The square has not met its objectives as envisioned in the concept plan – can you explain some of the reasons why?
- Are you aware of any alterations to the square since its inception?

- Can you tell me about *Mouvement Action Justice* and its relationship to Berri Square?
- What has happened since the 1996 arrests in terms of legal action both against those arrested and against the city?
- A lot of political activity takes place in Berri Square- why do you think it has become such a politically active space? As a political space how does it compare to other spaces in the city?
- How do the police respond in general when the space is used for protests?
- What makes Berri Square in particular, a place where itinerant youth gather?
- Social profiling – is it a problem in Berri Square, and why?
- Who are the police targeting?
- Is it just Berri Square or are other public spaces targeted by police?
- Have you noticed any changes to the design of the space since its inception?

Interview with Bernard St. Denis: January 27th, 2004

- What was your role in the planning of Berri Square?
- How did Berri Square, as a concept, fit into the larger development plans for the area?
- From you experience would you say that public spaces in general are taking on a more important role in urban design and planning? Why, why not?
- What was your mandate for the square; from where did it arise, and how did you set out to meet it?
- How did the social and urban morphology of the area tie into the square's concept?
- Can you describe the concept plan envisioned for the square?
- How did you solicit proposals for the landscape design, the artwork?
- Why was the artwork such an integral part of the square's design? Was this a new paradigm for public art in the city?
- What were some of the obstacles you encountered in working through the materialisation of the square – from concept to realisation?
- Can you comment on the programming aspect of the square? Why did you
- The Sisters of Providence's desire have some material representation of the square's history generated a lot of controversy - was there any thought given to putting some historical context into the square during the conception/design process? Why/ why not?
- Why did the square fail to meet its objectives as envisioned in the concept plan?
- Are you aware of any alterations to the square since its inception?

INTERVIEW WITH STEPHANIE AND ANDRÉ: FEBRUARY 5TH, 2004

- How long have you been working in and around the Latin Quarter and Berri Square in particular?
- Were there problems like drug trafficking for example, before the square materialised...when it was a parking lot?
- How would you characterise the area's social composition?
- What is going on in Berri Square? Who goes to the square? Who do you have problems with and why?
- Do you feel that the design in anyway contributes to the problems in the square? Does the design aid or hinder your surveillance capabilities?
- How would you respond to the accusation of social profiling by the police in the square?
- Do you have a mandate from the city to clean up the square?
- Can you tell me about how the regulation of the square, in terms of closing hours arose – from where did the impetus for changing it to a park arise?
- How do you enforce this law? Is it useful?
- What happened leading up to and after the arrests in July 1996?
- How has the square changed over time in terms of use/design?

Interview with Philippe Poullauoec-Gonidec: May 4th, 2004[27]

- How was Berri Square, as a concept, intended to fit into the larger development plans for the area?
- Could you tell me what your mandate was; how the specific design objectives were developed for this space, and how you intended to meet them?
- How did you incorporate issues of social and urban morphology into the square's conception?
- The *cahier des charges* for the square says it's a *"projet adapte aux nouvelles realities de la vie urbain"* - a Victorian square design is not adequate for this space. Can you elaborate on what this means? How did you tackle this as a design concept?
- The work of art was intended to be a structural element of the space, why was this important for the square's design, and how did this affect your concept for the square's design?
- The plan for the square calls on it to be a place of programmed events, how did you factor this idea into a design concept?
- The Sisters of Providence's desire have some material representation of the square's history generated a lot of controversy - was there any thought given to putting some historical context into the square during the conception/design process? Why/ why not?
- How was the public/private partnership to work with the café and ice rink?
- The square has not met its objectives as envisioned in the concept plan – can you explain some of the reasons why?
- Are you aware of any alterations to the square since its inception?

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[27] Interview conducted in French with translation assistance.

INTERVIEW WITH HELEN FOTOPOULOS: MAY 6TH, 2004

- What was your role in the planning of Berri Square?
- How did Berri Square, as a concept, fit into the larger development plans for the area?
- What was the city's impetus for wanting to develop a specific identity for the Latin Quarter?
- From you experience would you say that public spaces in general are taking on a more important role in municipal planning? Why, why not?
- What was the mandate for the square; from where did it arise?
- How did the social and urban morphology of the area tie into the square's concept?
- Why did the city go outside the parks department for the landscape design process?
- Why was design seen as such an important part of the planning processes?
- The social programming aspect of the square was an integral part of the concept plan – how did this particular idea emerge and what was the rationale behind it?
- The artwork in Berri square was intended to structure the space. Is the city moving toward this trend of using art to structure the space? Why/why not? What is the city's policy for public art, and how did the city develop the policy? Has it changed over time?
- The Sisters of Providence's desire have some material representation of the square's history generated a lot of controversy - was there any thought given to putting some historical context into the square during the conception/design process? Why/ why not? How did the debate transpire at the city? Was there any public input - other than that of the Sisters - in the debate?
- In terms of management of the square – over the past 7 years there seems to be a trend toward asserting more control over the space on behalf of the city – especially now with the surveillance cameras – is this indicative of the city's future direction for public space policy?

APPENDIX B: POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN BERRI SQUARE 1992-2003[28]

Year	Activity
1992	
1993	• "Hitting the streets: new publication aims at city's homeless" (King June 15th, 1993) • Student protest (Gazette, March 25th, 1993)
1994	• 400 attend overnight vigil against poverty (Norris, Nov 18, 1994) • Welfare reform protest (Gazette, March 11, 1994) • Rally against poverty (Townsend, Oct, 18th 1994)
1995	• Student protest (Gazette, Jan 26, 1995) • 100 protest against police brutality (Hustak, Oct 1, 1995)
1996	• International Women's Day protest (Gazette, March 9th, 1996) • Protest Health care (Gazette June 13, 1996) • Seniors protest against drug plan (Gazette, June 16, 1996) • Punkers protest July 29th (Wilton and Meannie, July 30th,1996) • Punkers picnic protest (Wilton and Mennie, July 30, 1996) • Food not Bombs protest (McKenna, Aug 11 1996) • Punkers protests (Gazette, Aug 25th, 1996) • Overnight vigil (Gazette Oct 30,1996) • Anti poverty protest (Scott and Gatehouse, Oct 30 1996) • Education protest (Gazette Oct 25th 1996) • 100 march against police brutality (Block, Dec 15 1996)
1997	• March for Jesus (Gazette, June 1 1997) • Anti police brutality march (Manseau, 2003)
1998	• Anti Police Brutality (Manseau, 2003) • Friends of Guinea-Bissau (Gazette, July 5th 1998)
1999	• Anti police brutality (Gazette, March 15th 1999) • Student protest (Bowen, Sept 29th, 1999) • 200 protestors (Boshra, Nov 25 1999) • WTO protest (Gazette, Dec 4th, 1999) • ATSA Political instillation "Refugee Camp" (Cardinal, December, 20th, 1999)
2000	• Anti police brutality (Boshra, and Van Praet, March 16th, 2000) • Education protest Feb 25th, 2000 Gazette • Religious march (June 10 2001) • Jan 22, 2000 • ATSA Political instillation "Tent City" (December, 2000)
2001	• Artists protest (Greenaway and Gyulai, Feb 27th, 2001) • Anti police brutality (Malboeuf, March 15th, 2001) • Pot legalization protest (Barry, May 3rd, 2001) • AIDS march (Phaneuf, Sept 22 2001) • Squatters protest (Solyom, Oct 4, 2001) • ATSA Political instillation "Tent City" (December, 2001)
2002	• Anti police brutality (Chouinard, March 14th, 2002) • Activists for pot (Block, May 5 2002) • FTAA protest (Gordon and Moore, Nov 1, 2002) • 150 gather to remember Lizotte (Gazette, August 17th, 2002)

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[28] Recorded in the press, or by personal observation

	• International Women's Day (Gazette, March, 9th 2002)
2003	• Anti police brutality march (March, 15, 2003) • ATSA political instillation "Etat d'urgence au centre-ville" (Morisette, 7th, December 2003)