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Article

Redistributing More Than the LGBTQ2S Acronym? Planning Beyond Recognition and Rainbows on Vancouver's Periphery

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Abstract
Just urban planning recognizes sociocultural differences and addresses inequality by implementing redistributive mechanisms that move beyond urban neoliberal practices of aestheticization and festivalization. Such planning practices are only beginning to address sexual and gender minority recognition in central urban areas while metronormative assumptions about their geographies absolve suburban municipalities of accountability for LGBTQ+ inclusions. In suburban municipalities, therefore, an LGBTQ+ politics of recognition rarely synchronizes with a politics of redistribution to foster sustained and transformative responses across the professional and managerial boundaries between planning and other local government functions. Consequently, a reparative civic "rainbowization" stands in for transformative urban planning, producing only partial and commodifiable inclusions in the landscape that become absolution for inaction on more evidence-based goals and measurable targets. Drawing on a database of public-facing communication records referencing LGBTQ2S themes for three adjacent peripheral municipalities in the Vancouver city-region (Burnaby, New Westminster, and Surrey), this article analyses the tension between contemporary planning's civic actions of LGBTQ+ recognition and outcomes of redistribution. In suburban municipalities, a rainbow-washing politics of recognition sidelines transformative planning and policy resulting in little more than the distribution of the LGBTQ2S acronym across municipal documents.

Keywords
LGBTQ2S; rainbowization; social inclusion; suburbs; transformative redistribution; Vancouver

Issue
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1. Introduction

Urban planning scholars have foregrounded justice as a political ideal in dialogue with questions of democracy, equity, and diversity in central cities (see Fainstein, 2010; Marcuse, 2009; Soja, 2010). "The just city" requires that urban planners critically examine the "distributional inequalities" of spatial injustice (Soja, 2010), policymaking processes that bring about equitable outcomes (Fainstein, 2010), and "commons planning" that addresses the power relations inhibiting its attainment (Marcuse, 2009). Focused primarily on American inner-city areas, however, "the just city" literature neglects the classed, gendered, and racialized exclusions that stretch across city-regions often leaving hetero- and cis-normativity intact. This central-city bias coincides with a general neglect of LGBTQ+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer) planning issues and a limited understanding of the communities encompassed by this acronym (Doan, 2015). As a result, the just city's LGBTQ+ subjects—who "hold prestigious positions but face discrimination in many aspects of their lives" (Marcuse, 2009, p. 253)—are described in homo- and metronormative terms, belying the intersectional spatial injustices

facing LGBTQ+ populations across metropolitan areas. "The just city" literature, therefore, has yet to address suburban LGBTQ+ constituencies and the tensions arising from their demands for municipal recognition and redistribution through planning practice.

While just planning practice seeks to rectify injustice through a politics of redistribution and recognition, it often results in "maldistribution and misrecognition" because the alleviation of one form of injustice merely exacerbates another (Rankin, 2010). Described by Fraser (2008) as the "despised sexuality," LGBTQ+ communities are caught in this conceptual dichotomy, commonly receiving partial recognition of difference rather than the redistribution of necessary municipal resources within city-regions (Misgav, 2019, p. 541). This dichotomy is intensified in suburban contexts where development agendas are often prioritized over social planning and scalar frameworks situate LGBTQ+ equalities in national legislation, exonerating municipalities of materializing recognition and redistribution beyond "rainbowization" (Bitterman, 2021). The rainbow motif—an internationally recognized rallying symbol of safety and community for LGBTQ+ people—is a ubiquitous planning response to legislation that demands LGBTQ+ recognition that simultaneously permits the neglect of a more just municipal politics of redistribution. As a global, yet non-specific, place-brand of welcome, inclusion, and safety, this motif becomes "rainbow-washing" when co-opted by municipalities to "perform progressiveness" in the absence of substantive urban planning frameworks (Ghaziani, 2014).

This article argues that limited municipal governance commitment to LGBTQ+ communities, combined with a metronormative assumption of queer absence in suburbs (Podmore & Bain, 2021), results in suburban planning practices that focus on municipal rainbowization. Peripheral municipalities privilege a symbolic politics of LGBTQ+ recognition and avoid synchronizing it with transformative redistribution across professional and managerial boundaries resulting in a performance of progressiveness that provides absolution for inaction on more evidence-based goals and measurable targets. Drawing on three adjacent case studies (Burnaby, New Westminster, and Surrey) from the Vancouver city-region (Figure 1), the article details how Canadian suburbs address LGBTQ2S (the acronym used to signal the long-standing presence of two-spirit communities within the Vancouver city-region) inclusion through urban planning practices. It begins by reviewing the social inclusion planning literature and describing the research methodology. A database of public-facing records informs the empirical analysis which distinguishes between civic actions of LGBTQ2S recognition and civic outcomes of LGBTQ2S redistribution. The conclusion addresses how

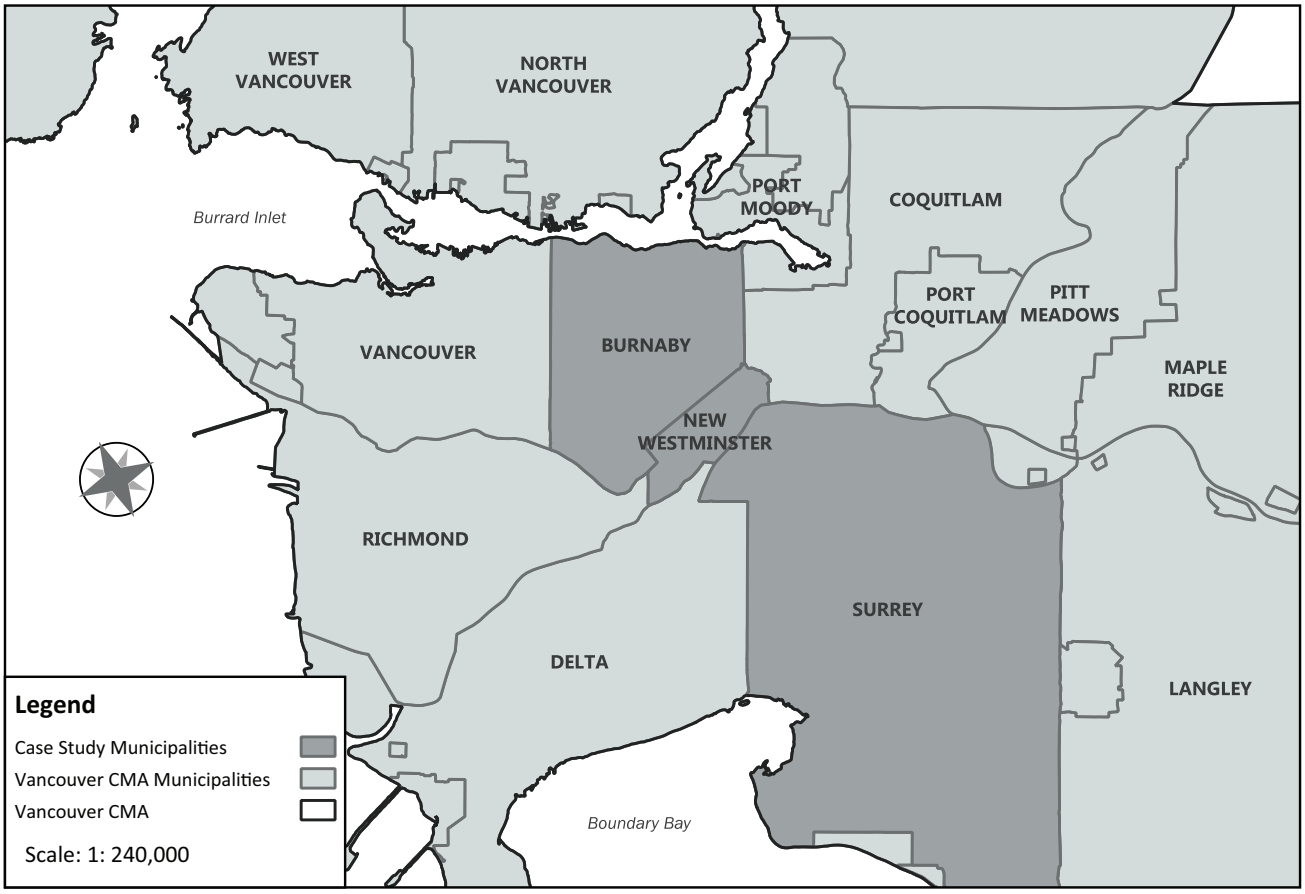


Figure 1. Map of Vancouver city-region case-study peripheral municipalities.

suburban planning's rainbow-washing practices perpetuate a municipal sidelining of LGBTQ+ inclusion that stymies redistribution outcomes.

2. Planning for LGBTQ+ Social Inclusion Across City-Regions

In an era of neoliberal urbanism, urban planning has become complicit in forwarding development models premised on entrepreneurial subjectivities whilst leveraging diversity paradigms to celebrate "difference" and stress "inclusion" (Rankin, 2010). Social inclusion planning practices seek to symbolically expand governance boundaries using "substantive civility" to extend the rights and responsibilities of political membership to marginalized groups (Bannister & Kearns, 2013, p. 2706). While inclusion policies strive to "show respect to…less valued and less visible social groups" and enhance their social engagement (Bannister & Kearns, 2013, p. 2714), social groups must achieve a legitimate presence as a political constituency to be considered for inclusion. Achieving such legitimacy is contingent upon "a political and policy reaction against social exclusion" (Jackson, 2014, p. 49), a multi-dimensional process of disaffiliation for individuals or social groups from the societies they live within (Gerometta et al., 2005). While "exclusion" featured prominently in late-20th-century European and British policy discourses, urban neoliberalism's prioritization of market rule, the commodification of diversity, and private-wealth accumulation later made it unpalatable (Brenner et al., 2010). By addressing barriers to inclusion, social exclusion confers legitimacy on minority constituencies, but it rarely gains policy traction in neo-liberal policies because it highlights the "problems and deficits of those labelled excluded" (Cameron, 2007, p. 397) and lacks the semantic flexibility of social inclusion (evincing participation, encounter, visibility, and wellbeing; Bain & Podmore, 2021).

Debates between philosophers Nancy Fraser and Iris Marion Young foregrounded the political tension between social inclusion as recognition and social exclusion as maldistribution. Fraser (2000, p. 107) questioned the displacement of social movement "claims for egalitarian redistribution" by a reification of "the idiom of recognition"; instead, she proposed a focus on "misrecognition" that goes beyond identity depreciation to also counter economic maldistribution as injustice. For Young (2000), Fraser's (2000) recognition/misrecognition binary was too simplistic because just redistribution still requires the process of recognition to bring minority group particularities into public dialogues about the redistribution of the common good. With specific reference to LGBTQ+ recognition, Hines (2013) draws attention to the role of governance systems in setting the terms for recognition/misrecognition by creating the language categories that bring minoritized groups into civic being and requiring the adoption of terms that are external to the group's frame of reference. Employing "buzzwords that have different meanings for different stakeholders" (Jackson, 2014, p. 50), urban planning practice is part of the governance systems that shape municipal recognition/misrecognition, determining which socio-cultural groups can be defined within its parameters.

To work through tensions of municipal recognition/misrecognition, progressive planning practice has promoted community consultation, participation, and empowerment (Sandercock, 2000). Such practices of recognition often leave intact maldistribution because they narrow the definition of socio-cultural groups and do not address misrecognition. Community consultation is unsuccessful if it does not redress exclusions that internally limit community participation (James, 2013). Participatory planning practices that "showcase" the most mainstream representatives of marginalized groups are limited tools for addressing maldistribution because planners simply stage "institutional listening" (Fenster & Misgav, 2020, p. 199) by choosing "who they want to listen to and select the reasons why they should be included" (Listerborn, 2007 p. 69). With respect to sexual and gender minorities, such staging merely promotes recognition for "an essentialist, mainstream national(ist) and consumer(ist) LGBTQ identity, to the exclusion of other sectors of the community and the safe spaces that serve them" (Fenster & Misgav, 2020, p. 199), but it cannot absolve planners of the more substantive policy changes necessary for redistribution. Planning for redistribution requires spatial arrangements that enhance citizen access to collective resources without inadvertently excluding users who may lack consumer power (Fincher & Iveson, 2008). "Transformative redistribution" demands the enhancement of solidarity through situated knowledge networks that rework governance procedures and frameworks in ways that can support social change (Rankin, 2010, p. 195). It "resocializes" the economy and restructures underlying frameworks to create alternative modes of surplus appropriation that can correct "inequitable outcomes" (Rankin, 2010, pp. 192–193). Such substantive restructuring is onerous and political; it cannot be the responsibility of urban planners alone because it necessitates "collaboration across seemingly intractable differences" in support of "critical activism" (Rankin, 2010, pp. 195, 227).

Combatting LGBTQ+ misrecognition and maldistribution in the planning process means confronting the metronormative conflation of a liveable LGBTQ+ life with central-city neighbourhoods (Halberstam, 2005). Suburban redistribution is unlikely if planners in peripheral municipalities do not recognize LGBTQ+ populations as suburban constituencies. Such a spatial mismatch may be compounded by planner unfamiliarity or prejudice (Listerborn, 2007). As Fraser (2008) specifies, misrecognition stems from cultural devaluation leading to maldistribution. For suburban LGBTQ+ constituencies, therefore, a politics of recognition is only the first step which should be followed by a politics of redistribution to

ensure the provision of public resources and their distribution across the intersections of the LGBTQ+ acronym (McQueen, 2015). For the urban planning scholars Fincher and Iveson (2008), redistribution involves spatial arrangements that enhance citizen access to, and allocation of, collective resources, infrastructures, and services without inadvertently excluding some users who may lack consumer power. Never independent from recognition, "transformative redistribution" cannot be "formulated at a distance within planning institutions" because it demands the enhancement of solidarity through situated knowledge networks that rework governance procedures and frameworks in ways that can support social change (Rankin, 2010, p. 195).

While equalities legislation has legalized LGBTQ+ recognition and redistribution frameworks in many nations, municipalities continue to grapple with its local materialization (Doan, 2015). Suburban municipal misrecognition may be further exacerbated by a metronormative trope that LGBTQ+ communities are localized in central-city areas, homonormative assumptions about LGBTQ+ subjects, planner unfamiliarity and prejudice, and local morality politics (Bain & Podmore, 2021). For planners, LGBTQ+ populations are "non-conforming" because they challenge the hetero-cisnormative ordering of space through their housing arrangements and community practices (Forsyth, 2001). Municipalities have nevertheless used an array of practical strategies to foster LGBTQ+ recognition and build social inclusion. Common strategies include anti-discrimination ordinances (Cravens, 2015), municipal advisory boards (Murray, 2015), neighborhood preservation (Doan & Higgins, 2011), community memorialization (Zebracki, 2018), housing initiatives (Forsyth, 2001), community centers (Misgav, 2019), and safe spaces (Goh, 2018). Gorman-Murray (2011, p. 141) lists the following social inclusion practices adopted by queer-friendly municipalities in Australia: queer competency training; LGBTQ+ organization liaising; funding LGBTQ+ community groups, programs, and events; and integrating LGBTQ+ constituencies into the community. These initiatives strive to enhance the recognition of LGBTQ+ populations, but they rarely lead to transformative redistribution.

For municipalities, the rainbow motif—often a rainbowized crosswalk in a symbolic location—can be a simple solution to a lack of municipal LGBTQ+ recognition (Muller Myrdahl, 2021). A non-specific place-brand, "rainbowization" can be used to symbolically code a municipality as "queer-friendly" using flags, banners, crosswalks, and stickers to foster a sense of welcome, inclusion, and safety (Bitterman, 2021), but it also accelerates "queer regeneration" and QTBIPOC necropolitics (Haritaworn, 2019). Furthermore, when the rainbow's symbolic and aesthetic politics of recognition are not "accompanied by significant commitments that stretch across the silos of municipal government," rainbowization "is not enough" because hetero-cisnormative forms of maldistribution in urban planning remain unchallenged (Muller Myrdahl, 2021, p. 52). The "queer-friendly" hypervisibility of municipal rainbowization can moreover become "rainbow-washing" because it sanctions municipalities to "perform progressiveness" (Ghaziani, 2014) while simultaneously sidestepping fundamental questions about LGBTQ+ redistribution and potentially concealing homonegative civic strategies of inaction, avoidance, and apathy (Brodyn & Ghaziani, 2018). In suburbs, where planners focus on managing "desirable landscapes full of prized real-estate commodities" (Grant, 2009, p. 14) at the expense of social planning ideals, rainbowization provides municipalities with visible evidence of LGBTQ+ recognition but reinstates suburban hetero-cisnormativity by suppressing questions of LGBTQ+ maldistribution.

3. Methods

This article reads public-facing municipal records for civic planning actions of LGBTQ2S recognition and outcomes of LGBTQ2S redistribution. It treats peripheral municipalities as the formal institutional "upper ground" of procedural and interpretive authority (Fischer, 2003). It identifies municipal actions and strategies that discursively articulate LGBTQ2S public understandings of civic recognition and signal potential opportunities for redistribution. Fragmentary elements of the municipal record referring to LGBTQ2S themes provide evidence of civic actions and outcomes for analysis. Actions of civic recognition surface LGBTQ2S differences in public dialogues and create the language categories that bring them into being. Outcomes of LGBTQ2S redistribution are actions that guide urban planners—in concert with policymakers, politicians, and activists—to create connections across municipal agendas (Cohendet et al., 2010; Rankin, 2010). These outcomes can gradually concretize and stabilize frameworks for LGBTQ2S social inclusion and potentially be integrated across multiple municipal departments and committees thus offering avenues for more substantive transformation of bureaucratic structures.

This article emerges from a large, multi-year project on queering suburbs in Canada's largest cities, focusing on pre-selected case studies for the Vancouver city-region. In contrast with other suburbs, Burnaby, New Westminster, and Surrey have the highest densities of suburban same-sex households in the 2016 national census, the most frequent references in the print media, and evidence of LGBTQ2S activism. Its data includes informational interviews, census-data analysis, discourse analysis of print media and municipal public-facing communications records and focus groups, and photo-elicitation interviews with LGBTQ2S suburbanites. The article focuses on the data compiled for the project's LGBTQ2S-supportive social inclusion policy database (1995–2020; see Bain & Podmore, 2021). This database was developed from public-facing communication records (e.g., council and committee minutes and

departmental reports, plans, policies, and strategies) collected using LGBTQ2S keyword searches on the case-study municipalities' websites. All references to LGBTQ2S subjects and themes were extracted, organized by municipality, and temporally sequenced (Table 1). The data was further coded to identify the governance actors (politicians, municipal representatives, service providers, para-public agents, community groups, and activists), actions (awards, delegations, funding requests, other requests, presentations, proclamations, and reports), and outcomes (adopted, denied, funded, recommended, and referred) of each case-study municipality. Additional coding distinguishes municipal strategies and policy initiatives from the actions of LGBTQ2S community service providers and activists while also identifying LGBTQ2S events to communicate who is doing the governance work of recognition and redistribution.

Interpreting municipally specific actions and outcomes, the analysis identifies where and how municipalities support (or not) LGBTQ2S recognition and redistribution within their governance bureaucracy. Focusing on the role of urban planners in facilitating LGBTQ2S inclusion through plans, policies, and practices, the analysis also identifies key stakeholders, municipal department

Table 1. The movement of LGBTQ2-inclusive actions and outcomes through City Hall (documented in council and committee minutes, departmental reports, municipal policies, strategies, and plans) in Burnaby, New Westminster, and Surrey, 2003–2020.

Year	Burnaby	New Westminster	Surrey
2003	—	—	*National AIDS Awareness Week* (SM: p)
2004	—	—	**Anti-Bullying By-Law** (CS → PC: r)
2005	—	—	**Social Well-Being of Surrey Residents** (PDD → SCC: r, **c**, **rf**) **Social Well-Being of Surrey Residents** (PDD → SCC: r, **c**, **rf**)
2006	—	—	**Social Well-Being of Surrey Residents** (PDD → SCC: r, **c**, **rf**) Surrey Urban Youth Project (FTD → SCC: fr, r, **c**) **Workplace Human Rights Policy** (HRD → SCC: r, **c**, **rf**)
2007	—	—	**Social Well-Being of Surrey Residents** (PDD → SCC: r, **c**, **rf**) Diversity of Celebrations (TDD → MAC: pr)
2008	—	—	*Surrey HIV-AIDS Awareness Week* (SM: p) **Human Rights Policy and Respectful Workplace Policy** (CS & HRD → SCC: r, **c**, **rf**)
2009	—	—	—
2010	—	*NW Pride Day* (NWCC & NWM: d, p)	2010 Calendar of Events (HRD → MAC: pr) **Safe Harbour Program Project** (MAC: d, pr)
2011	**School Board SOGI Policy** (SB41 → SIC → BCC: pr, **a**, **c**)	**Century House Inclusion Enhancement** (DSD & PRC → NWCC: fr, r, **a**, **c**)	*Annual Pride Festival* (FTD → FC → SCC: d, fr, pr, rq, **c**, **f**) *Surrey Pride Weekend* (SM: p)
2012	*Our City of Colours* (SIC → PBD → BCC: d, pr, r, **a**, **c**, **rf**) **Canadian Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination Membership** (PBD→ SIC→ BCC: r, **a**, **c**)	*NW Pride Festival* (NWCC: fr, r, **f**) **Safe Harbour Implementation Program** (PBDD → MAC → NWCC: pr, **a**, **c**, **rf**)	*Surrey Pride Weekend* (SM: p) *Spirit Day* (SM: p)

Table 1. (Cont.) The movement of LGBTQ2-inclusive actions and outcomes through City Hall (documented in council and committee minutes, departmental reports, municipal policies, strategies, and plans) in Burnaby, New Westminster, and Surrey, 2003–2020.

Year	Burnaby	New Westminster	Surrey
2013	**Burnaby Social Sustainability Strategy** (BCC → CPC: r) Youth Citizenship Awards (BYVC → BM: aw)	**Century House Inclusion Enhancement** (PBDD → CSIC: pr) **Safe Harbour Implementation Plan** (PBDD → CSIC: pr) **Safe Harbour Implementation Plan** (DSD → NWCC: r, pr, **a**, **c**, **rf**) *NW Pride Festival* (PCRD → NWCC: d, pr, r)	**Masterplan for Housing the Homeless** (PDD → SCC: r) *Anti-Bullying Film Contest* (DAC: pr) *Annual Pride Festival* (FTD → FC → SCC: r, **c**, **rf**) *International Day of the Pink* (SM: p) *Surrey Pride Festival* (SM: p) **Surrey Official Community Plan** (PDD → SCC: r) Information from the 2011 Census (PDD → SCC: r)
2014	—	*NW Pride Festival* (DNW-BIA → NWCC: r, rq, **c**, **rf**) *NW Pride Festival* (ESD → DNW-PC: r) *NW Pride Festival* (FITD → NWCC: fr, r, **f**)	**Young Women and Civic Engagement** (HRD & PRCD → SCC: r) *Pride Festival* (SCC → FTD → FC → SCC: d, fr, r, **c**, **dn**, **rf**) Pride Flag Raising (SCC → CMD → CC → SCC: d, rq, **dn**, **rf**) *GLBTQ History Exhibition* (SCC: d, rq, **a**)
2015	—	*NW Pride Festival* (NWCC: d, pr)	**Surrey Steps Up** (FTD & PRCD → SCC: fr, r, **c**) Surrey Pride Society (SCC: d, rq, **a**) *LGBTQ History Exhibit* (SCC: d, pr, rq, **a**) *Surrey Pride Day* (SM: p) *Tucked and Plucked* (PA → CDAC: r) **Provincial Blue-Ribbon Panel on Crime Reduction** (CMD → PSC → SCC: r)
2016	*International Day of the Pink* (BM: p)	**New West Pride Accessibility Initiative** (AAAC → NWCC: d, pr, r) Gender-Free Washroom Signs (YAC: r) Gender Neutral Washrooms (CSIC → NWCC: r, **c**)	**Sustainability Charter 2.0** (CM → SCC: r, **c**, **rf**) *Pride Festival* (FTD & PRCD → SCC: fr, r, **c**, **rf**) **Surrey Local Immigrant Integration Strategy** (PDD → SCC: r, **c**, **rf**) *Orlando Commemoration* (SM: p) *Surrey Pride Day* (SM: p) **Homelessness and Addictions in the City Centre** (PDD → SCC: r, **c**, **rf**) 2017 Staff Inclusion Calendar (HRD & PRCD → SCC: r, **c**, **rf**)

Table 1. (Cont.) The movement of LGBTQ2-inclusive actions and outcomes through City Hall (documented in council and committee minutes, departmental reports, municipal policies, strategies, and plans) in Burnaby, New Westminster, and Surrey, 2003–2020.

Year	Burnaby	New Westminster	Surrey
2017	—	*May Day Celebrations* (MDTF→ YAC: d, r)	**We Are Surrey** (PDD → SCC: r, **c**, **rf**) Metro Vancouver Homeless Count (PDD → SPAC: pr) **Human Rights Policy and Respectful Workplace Policy** (CM & HRD → SCC: r, **c**, **rf**) Sher Vancouver (FTD → SCC: fr, r, **c**, **f**, **rf**) *LGBTQ+ Newcomers Day* (SM: p) *Surrey Pride Day* (SM: p) **Surrey Local Immigration Partnership** (PDD → SCC: r, **c**, **rf**)
2018	*International Day Against Homophobia and Transphobia* (BM: p) *Burnaby Pride Day* (BM: p) *Pride Festival* (BCC: d, fr, **f**) *Pride Flag Raising* (BCC: d, rq, **a**) Permanent Rainbow Crosswalks (SCAC → ED → BCC: r, rq, **rf**)	**School Board SOGI policy** (SD40 → YAC: r) Gender Neutral Washrooms (CSIS: d, pr, **c**) New Aquatic and Community Centre (PCRD → AAAC: r) Canada Games Pool (PCRD → CSIS: pr) Proposed Modular Housing Project (PBDD → CSIC: d, pr, **c**) **Respectful Workplace and Human Rights Policy** (HR → NWCC: **a**)	Sher Vancouver (FTD → SCC: fr, r, **c, f**) *Pride Weekend* (SM: p)
2019	Youth Citizenship Awards (BYVC → BM: aw) *International Day Against Homophobia, Transphobia, and Biphobia* (BM: p) Rainbow Crosswalks (ED → BCC: r, **a**, **c**, **f**) *Burnaby Pride* (FB → EC: fr, r, **c**, **f**) *My Artist's Corner* (FB → EC: fr, **f**) *Burnaby Pride* (ED → BCC: r, **a**, **c**) Additional Rainbow Crosswalk (ED → BCC: r, **a**, **c**) *Burnaby Pride Week* (BM: p)	**Compassionate City Charter** (PBDD → CSIC: d, pr, **c**) New Westminster Aquatic Centre (PCRD → CSIC: pr) **Seniors Care for LGBTQ2s+ Persons** (SAC: r)	Cultural Grants Program (FTD & PRCD → SCC: fr, **f**) **Social Equity and Diversity Committee** (CSD → SCC: r, **c**, **rf**) *LGBTQ+ Pride Week* (SM: p) Surrey White Rock Integrated Youth Collaborative (SCC: d, pr)
2020	*City Involvement in Burnaby Pride* (PBD & PRCSD → EC → BCC: r, **a**, **c**, **rf**) **Comprehensive and Inclusive Signage Program** (BCC → PRCC: r) Aquatic and Arena Project (PBD, PRCSD, & ED → FMC: r, **c**) *Festival of Learning* (FAC → PRCSD → PRCC: fr, r, **a**, **f**)		Cultural Grants Program (PRCD → SCC: fr, **c**, **f**, **rf**) **Social Equity and Diversity Committee** (PDD & CSD → SCC: r, **c**, **rf**)

Table 1. (Cont.) The movement of LGBTQ2-inclusive actions and outcomes through City Hall (documented in council and committee minutes, departmental reports, municipal policies, strategies, and plans) in Burnaby, New Westminster, and Surrey, 2003–2020.

	Burnaby	New Westminster	Surrey
ABBREVIATIONS	BYVC: Burnaby Youth Voice Committee BCC: Burnaby City Council BM: Burnaby Mayor CPC: Community Policing Committee EC: Executive Committee ED: Engineering Department FAC: Festival Advisory Committee FB: Festivals Burnaby FMC: Financial Management Committee PBD: Planning and Building Department PRCC: Parks, Recreation, and Culture Commission PRCSD: Parks, Recreation, and Cultural Services Department SB41: School Board District 41 SCAC: Sustainable City Advisory Committee SIC: Social Issues Committee	AAAC: Access Ability Advisory Committee CSIC: Community and Social Issues Committee DNW-BIA: Downtown New West Business Improvement Association DNW-PC: Downtown New Westminster Parking Commission DSD: Development Services Department ESD: Engineering Services Department FITD: Finance and Information Technology Department HRD: Human Resources Department MAC: Multicultural Advisory Committee MDTF: May Day Task Force NWCC: New Westminster City Council NWM: Mayor PCRD: Parks, Culture, and Recreation Department PBDD: Planning, Building, and Development Department PRC: Parks and Recreation Committee SD40: School Board District 40 SAC: Seniors Advisory Committee YAC: Youth Advisory Committee	CC: City Clerk CDAC: Culture Development Advisory Committee CMD: City Manager Department CS: City Solicitor CSD: Corporate Services Department DAC: Diversity Advisory Committee FC: Finance Committee FTD: Finance and Technology Department HRD: Human Resources Department MAC: Multicultural Committee PA: Performing Arts PC: Police Committee PDD: Planning and Development Department PRCD: Parks, Recreation, and Culture Department PSC: Public Safety Committee SCC: Surrey City Council SM: Mayor SPAC: Social Policy Advisory Committee TDD: Training and Development Department

Notes: "→" indicates movement of actions and outcomes between council, committees, and departments; recognition actions: aw = award, d = delegation, fr = funding request, pr = presentation, p = proclamation, r = report, rq = other request (non-funding); redistributive outcomes: **a** = adopted, **c** = recommended, **dn** = denied, **f** = funded, **rf** = referred; LGBTQ2S-related planning: **municipal policies, strategies, and plans**, *events*, other.

and committees, the types of issues raised and addressed, and instances of LGBTQ2S community representation. Recognition actions and redistributive outcomes were coded and counted (Figures 2 and 3) with all but negative reactions and refusals representing recognition. Practices that specifically name LGBTQ2S populations were considered acts of "recognition" while those that directed resources or led to policy changes were considered "redistributive." Analytical attention was also directed toward rainbowization to appreciate its performative limits and its curtailment of social transformation.

4. Civic Actions of LGBTQ2S Recognition

Across municipalities, reports were the most common action of recognition (Figure 2). As civic documents, reports describe the responses of municipal departments and committees to legislative inclusions, non-governmental organization presentations, or localized LGBTQ2S activism in the form of community requests. They are discursive records of changing bureaucratic understandings of local LGBTQ2S communities and civic issues of resource and service provision. Urban planners, most especially a smaller subset of social planners (who seldom have as much influence within municipal administrations as their land-use-trained counterparts), play a role in generating reports on community planning that provide the broader context of inclusion, access, and support; but these only occasionally reference LGBTQ2S people as members of minoritized populations. Indeed, there were no municipal reports focused on planning for sexual and gender minorities.

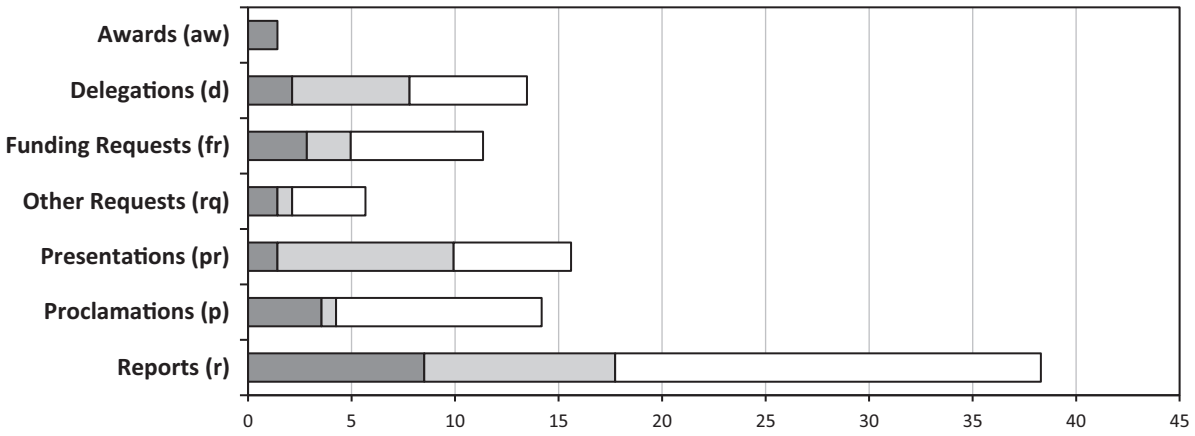
The second most frequent action is presentations, a standard means of sharing information in civic fora. Presentations by internal civic actors detail the possibilities of making redistributive changes such as

rainbowizing infrastructure or funding LGBTQ2S-specific events. When developing municipal social inclusion programs, presentations from urban planners at council (often, social planners who are trained to view problems from multiple perspectives, find negotiation-based solutions and build dialogue with marginalized communities; Sandercock, 2000), to departments, or in committees circulate technical knowledge and evidence (statistical, cartographic, or qualitative). Presentations by LGBTQ2S community activists and competency advisors in such fora also raise awareness and offer opportunities to have their own claims "recognized." In both Burnaby and New Westminster, social planners played key roles in drawing LGBTQ2S activists into community-wide consultations on more redistributive concerns (e.g., public safety, housing, homelessness, seniors' care, youth programming, and recreation opportunities).

The third predominant action is mayoral proclamations issued on behalf of their municipality as a way "to promote good relations, particularly across ethnic and cultural cleavages" (Cooper, 2018, p. 121). As the honorary figurehead of a municipal regime, a mayor can issue decrees much like the monarchs or emperors of the past. For neo-liberalizing city governments, Pride proclamations are municipal opportunities to demonstrate adherence to nationalized equalities legislation, while performing LGBTQ2S inclusion "as if the belief was its own" (Cooper, 2018, p. 123). Mayoral proclamations are performances that can be local (for municipal Pride days or weeks), or more national or international in scale (e.g., International Day Against Homophobia, Transphobia, and Biphobia, or International Day of the Pink). While struggles over activist requests for mayoral Pride proclamations were initially contentious in both Surrey and Burnaby, by the late 2010s, such symbolic acts were normalized. Pride proclamations are now part of the rainbowization process, with local LGBTQ2S activists requesting such micro-symbolic performances that only briefly confer them recognition because they are offered few other avenues. Proclamations are, however, an inconsequential inclusion tool for municipalities because mayors can perform and minute them as part of a list of community groups briefly receiving recognition at a council meeting or even take them outside of city hall for pride events or flag raisings.

The fourth most common recognition action was the reception of delegations by the city council and through the civic backrooms of social inclusion committees. For city officials, hosting LGBTQ2S delegations creates the political opportunity to introduce specialized vocabularies to city hall and showcase civic rainbowization by listening to select representatives articulate community needs (cf. Fenster & Misgav, 2020). Delegations enter civic fora by invitations to the most publicly visible and active LGBTQ2S community leaders who have fostered relational linkages with civic allies as their "champion" (Cooper & Monro, 2003). Such delegations may give presentations, make proposals, and/or provide supporting evidence that foregrounds the voices and lived experiences of LGBTQ2S constituencies, granting them "due recognition" by practically acknowledging their needs and "expertise" (Young, 2000). In council chambers and committee meetings, LGBTQ2S delegations appear occasionally as "bearers of political claims," embodying queer issues and giving them brief appearances as matters of "public importance" (Ruez, 2016).

The fifth most common action of recognition is the reception of funding requests from LGBTQ2S community groups or non-profit organizations that include LGBTQ2S participants. Under neoliberal urbanism, the non-profit industrial complex is the most common site of LGBTQ2S service provision (Beam, 2018), a sector heavily reliant



	Reports (r)	Proclamations (p)	Presentations (pr)	Other Requests (rq)	Funding Requests (fr)	Delegations (d)	Awards (aw)
Burnaby	9	4	1	1	3	2	1
New Westminster	9	1	9	1	2	6	0
Surrey	21	10	6	4	6	6	0

Figure 2. Percentage of total recognition actions by case-study municipality with counts.

upon voluntary labor and the small financial inputs of municipalities through competitive community granting processes (Mananzala & Spade, 2008). As Beam (2018) cautions, non-profitization reproduces a bifurcated affective economy that pinkwashes the performance of inclusion for funders while burning out staff and perpetuating the oppressions and continued marginalization of community work as charity. Within civic governance, funding allocation is usually the purview of finance committees and departments, but urban planners may validate and justify requests that dovetail with strategic priorities for (super)diversity or reconciliation (e.g., rainbowized festivals, events, and commemorative opportunities). Such practices may also involve civic investments in rainbow infrastructure (e.g., flag poles, crosswalks) and/or necessitate the technocratic issuing of permits, insurance, parking, and road closure for events.

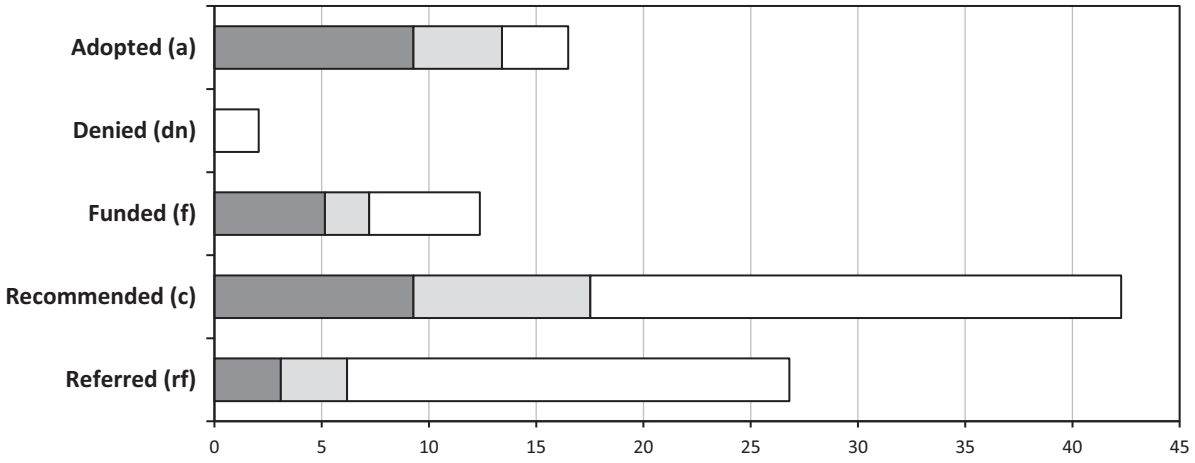
The sixth and seventh most common recognition actions are requests from community groups (other than funding) and the announcement of civic awards. The imagination of community requests is often limited to rainbowization in the use of city hall for exhibits, the installation of rainbow infrastructures (flags or crosswalks), or municipal Pride sponsorship. These requests, often made in writing, provide documentation that attests to the existence, mandates, and accomplishments of LGBTQ2S activists and community organizations. In their mediating role between city hall and the community, urban planners may provide civic support for such non-funding requests while, behind the scenes, they may also investigate their realization through the technocratic procedural mechanisms of departments and the legitimizing plans and policies that determine their viability. Civic awards provide opportunities to rainbowize civic leadership by singling out individual LGBTQ2S people, most commonly youth and seniors. Like proclamations, they are part of the competition for recognition among diverse publics but are more individualized. The process of nomination deliberation raises the profile of LGBTQ2S activists and their organizations as reports and information circulate through different committees.

In the case-study municipalities, Burnaby and Surrey's recognition actions were overwhelmingly reports and proclamations while presentations and delegations were exceptionally high in New Westminster. For years, Burnaby did almost nothing to recognize its LGBTQ2S populations, relying solely on the same mayoral proclamation—that the mayor never read aloud and went directly into the minutes—every year. This rhythm changed following the 2018 election, after which the social planner could begin to champion municipal LGBTQ2S recognition. In Surrey, the homonegative politics arising after a 1999 schoolboard ban of same-sex books (Bain et al., 2020) raised the issue much earlier and was followed by HIV-status activism that challenged the municipality to recognize the local LGBTQ2S community. Surrey's religious constituencies (fundamentalist Christian and South Asian Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh communities) have reigned in progressive mayoral reforms such that LGBTQ2S inclusion is not on the agenda of its planners and recognition is limited to mention of the LGBTQ2S acronym in reports, recycled proclamations, applications for small pools of funding, and largely unsuccessful requests for rainbowization (e.g., for flag raisings and use of the city hall plaza). Recognition actions extend beyond rainbowization in New Westminster, a former working-class city and city-regional leader in compassionate social inclusion (Bain & Podmore, 2021). Its reports, presentations and reception of delegations demonstrate the synergistic alignment of civic leader-LGBTQ2S community activist networks with urban economic redevelopment initiatives and the power of its social planner's inclusion enhancement projects to extend the redistributive concerns of LGBTQ2S activists about access to housing, municipal facilities, and seniors' care facilities across departmental silos. Urban planners, therefore, played a key role in facilitating (or not) LGBTQ2S recognition actions, but mayoral leadership and municipal social inclusion priorities were also determinants in the municipal scaling up of LGBTQ2S recognition from activists, local community organizations and para-public institutions, and dispersal throughout governance departments.

5. Civic Outcomes of LGBTQ2S Redistribution

Five types of LGBTQ2S redistributive outcomes were identified (Figure 3). Referrals (of applications and proposals to departments for technocratic and bureaucratic investigation before the final decision-making process) were the most common followed by recommendations (regarding proposals and plans from council to specialized committees). The adoption of resolutions that enhance the city's diversity profile (implementing social plans, changing infrastructure, and granting permission to temporarily use civic spaces) were third, followed by the funding of LGBTQ2S groups and targeted projects. Although rare, there were two instances in Surrey when community requests were denied by council, an outcome of maldistribution that is explored in greater detail elsewhere (Bain & Podmore, 2022).

When city councils and committees make recommendations acknowledging LGBTQ2S constituencies, they demonstrate a commitment to the redistributive process. Requests and proposals promoting LGBTQ2S redistribution often enter the governance process through the backdoor of specialized socio-cultural advisory committees—the social consciousness of municipalities—whose recommendations can indicate which groups are most deserving of redistributive resources (Cooper & Monro, 2003). In Burnaby, it was the Social Issues Committee, following a presentation from the social planner in 2012, that recommended City Council join Canadian Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination forcing the adoption of a non-discrimination clause regarding LGBTQ2S



	Referred (rf)	Recommended (c)	Funded (f)	Denied (dn)	Adopted (a)
Burnaby	3	9	5	0	9
New Westminster	3	8	2	0	4
Surrey	21	25	5	2	3

Figure 3. Percent total redistribution outcomes by case-study municipality with counts.

populations. Burnaby's social planner, working closely with non-profits and the City's Parks and Recreation Department, also did the groundwork to support a motion that the City's Executive Committee permanently fund Burnaby Pride in 2020. In New Westminster, the social planner led the 2012–2013 Century House Social Inclusion Enhancement project (the municipality's first redistributive initiative to include LGBTQ2S residents) with the recommendation of the Community and Social Issues Committee and the support of Development Services and the Parks, Recreation, and Culture Committee. In Surrey, neither the Multicultural Committee nor the Diversity Advisory Committee ever recommended any targeted policies addressing LGBTQ2S constituencies to council. No urban planners ever initiated plans for LGBTQ2S inclusion. References to LGBTQ2S constituencies mostly appear in lists of minoritized groups in documents addressing inclusion (e.g., social wellbeing, youth engagement, social sustainability, anti-racism and immigrant integration, homelessness and addictions, and Indigenous relations).

Referrals demonstrate the integrative role played by urban planners in bringing LGBTQ2S social inclusion measures to fruition and illustrate the synergies between departments and committees. In Burnaby, a delegation from Our City of Colours proposed a poster campaign to raise awareness of LGBTQ2S ethno-cultural diversity to the Social Issues Committee in 2012 which was referred to the planning department (Bain & Podmore, 2022). The planners then enlisted the assistance of the Parks, Recreation and Cultural Services Department to prepare a City Council report. Initiated by a citizen request to the Sustainable City Advisory Committee, Burnaby's 2018 rainbow crosswalks were also the result of such interdepartmental referrals. Before recommending the proposal for six rainbow crosswalks to City Council, the Committee referred the proposal to the Engineering and Finance Departments to determine materials, placement, and funding. In New Westminster, the social planner presented a 2012–2013 proposal to participate in the Safe Harbour program (a provincial anti-racism safety training program that includes LGBTQ2S) to the Multicultural Advisory Committee and the Community and Social Issues Committee which referred the proposal to Development Services for clarification before requesting council adoption. Surrey's most notable referrals have been employed to block LGBTQ2S rainbowization requests for flag raisings and Pride sponsorship. In 2014, for example, a request to raise the rainbow flag on the municipal pole was referred by council to the city manager for clarification of flag protocol and then denied (Bain & Podmore, 2022).

Adoptions by City Councils represent public governance commitments emerging from dialogues with multiple publics. Municipal adoptions in support of LGBTQ2S redistribution are often positively correlated with the size of the city, the availability of "interest group resources," and the presence of "strong networks of advocates" (Cravens, 2015, p. 22). In Burnaby, there were only two adoptions before the mayoral regime change of 2018 and only one—the Our City of Colours poster campaign—was LGBTQ2S-specific. With a new mayor championing redistribution for LGBTQ2S citizens through rainbowized Pride festivities and crosswalks after 2018, strong networks of non-profit advocates aligned with city representatives to initiate multiple adoptions and with them, rapid municipal change. A long-standing municipal leader in LGBTQ2S inclusions, New Westminster, ironically, has few official adoptions (4% of all outcomes) due to the independence of its Pride organization and its annual dedicated civic funding which makes it unnecessary to seek regular approval from city council. Despite

its size, Surrey has few LGBTQ2S-specific adoptions (3% of all outcomes) other than the sanctioning of two queer history exhibitions in the foyer of City Hall in 2014 and 2015. Since the largest municipality has the fewest adoptions, size was not a determining factor in municipal LGBTQ2S redistributive adoptions. Instead, adoptions were determined by the availability of LGBTQ2S resources and the strength of LGBTQ2S advocacy networks, especially those of civic champions such as progressive mayors and senior social planners.

Since mayors have the political power to prioritize LGBTQ2S inclusion, mayoral leadership determines LGBTQ2S redistribution outcomes with urban planners providing the technical expertise to justify municipal infrastructural adaptations and funding. In Burnaby, mayoral regime change made it possible for the social planner to lead the organization of the city's first Pride event in 2018, chairing a committee that brought together local non-profits and municipal departments to rapidly realize funding for the first event and crosswalk. This planner then leveraged Pride to change the municipality's institutional culture by dispersing LGBTQ2S knowledge to the engineering, maintenance, transportation, and finance departments and securing permanent funding for this event in 2020 (Bain & Podmore, 2022). In New Westminster, early mayoral support for a Pride event in 2010 led to the rapid incorporation of LGBTQ2S constituency concerns and the formation of New West Pride as a stand-alone community organization with dedicated municipal funding since 2015. Such strong mayoral support has meant that its social planner can focus on integrating LGBTQ2S populations into social inclusion projects and participatory planning fora while also redistributing access by providing gender-neutral restrooms and changing rooms in municipal facilities and studying exclusions in seniors' care facilities. In Surrey, limited mayoral support and a planning department commitment to land use and other social groups has meant that LGBTQ2S activists must directly confront politicians during council meetings to make their demands for transformative redistribution. With no "champion" planner nor dedicated funding, they must work with the Parks, Recreation, and Culture Department for annual grants to fund Surrey Pride and support local LGBTQ2S community groups. These three configurations therefore demonstrate that mayoral commitment opens the municipal opportunity structure to LGBTQ2S recognition, paving the way for social planners to facilitate transformative redistribution. Thus, transformative redistribution for LGBTQ2S constituencies in peripheral municipalities requires investment in the practice of social planning and the extension and integration of the social inclusion portfolio across municipal departments.

6. Conclusion

This article has argued that urban planning in the suburbs of the Vancouver city-region rarely aligns an LGBTQ+ politics of recognition with transformative redistribution in ways that can be sustained across professional and managerial boundaries. It suggests that the specificity of recognition for suburban LGBTQ2S residents does not lead to integration into fundamental municipal governance arenas such as housing provision, poverty reduction, public security, public transit infrastructure, or service provision. In many respects it appears as if nothing is being redistributed within local governments other than variations of the LGBTQ2S acronym. Within Burnaby, New Westminster, and Surrey, LGBTQ2S issues occasionally appear in more substantive reports and documentation, but only with passing reference and in response to national and provincial legislative equalities provocations. While over time, variations of the LGBTQ2S acronym were increasingly incorporated into municipal public-facing records, none of these municipalities had plans or policies specific to the LGBTQ2S population. Suburban LGBTQ2S populations were never an urban planning or policy priority; instead, they are "rare events" and after-thoughts, often listed amongst marginalized "others" who lack representation, are disadvantaged, and are assumed to live elsewhere (read central city; Cravens, 2015).

In the three case study municipalities, LGBTQ2S recognition actions (awards, delegations, funding requests, other requests, presentations, proclamations, and reports) were more prevalent than any redistributive outcomes (adopted, denied, funded, recommended, and referred). The increasingly concentrated and persistent civic use of the rainbow was frequently deployed to stand in for a more substantive integration of LGBTQ2S concerns. Burnaby became especially reliant upon the rainbow as a marker of inclusion in the suburban landscape and as compensation for years of civic neglect. This practice of surplus visibility contrasts with Surrey, where there is limited municipal rainbowization and outright rejection of social inclusion rituals that promote LGBTQ2S recognition. As the bridging municipality between Burnaby and Surrey, New Westminster's rainbowization is readily apparent, but behind public displays, participatory mechanisms facilitate the incorporation of LGBTQ2S concerns into departmental initiatives. However, the lack of commonality regarding governance and urban planning practices across the three municipalities also indicates the ongoing peripheralization of LGBTQ2S interests by local suburban governments. As the fragmentary character of the database suggests, none of the municipalities had a coherent program for LGBTQ2S municipal recognition in planning or governance.

Given the rarity of such outcomes, the current analysis points to the potential role that urban planners, especially social planners, could play in augmenting the number of tangible deliverables to integrate LGBTQ2S populations into municipal redistributive mechanisms. Numerically outnumbered by land use, transportation and economic development planners, a few, active social planners on the progressive edge of their practice do the

bulk of LGBTQ2S social inclusion work. Any realization of a just city also necessitates that urban planners move beyond the relative comfort of a colourful visibility politics and understand the limits of rainbowization as recognition. As Cooper (2018) cautions, citifying the rainbow and its symbolic economy as publicly held city property (e.g., through festivals, crosswalks, stickers, posters, and banners) risks reducing LGBTQ+ equality gains to "festivalized" versions of diversity. While such performative progressiveness permits the navigation of complex suburban morality politics, it is readily co-optable by other agendas, notably neoliberal suburban redevelopment strategies that emphasize commercial revitalization and festivalization (Ghaziani, 2014). To resist such rainbow co-option, planners require inclusion commitments from municipal leadership and the opportunity to extend them across municipal departments (Muller Myrdahl, 2021). If such commitments are to support transformative redistribution they further require "internally-diverse advisory committees, LGBTQ2S community-led engagement, and the collection of LGBTQ2S-sensitive disaggregated data" (Muller Myrdahl, 2021, p. 52).

Transformative redistribution is a means to resocialize the economy and restructure the underlying frameworks that produce inequalities. Necessarily political, it cannot be the responsibility of urban planners alone. Within municipal governance frameworks, planners have the responsibility to collect, track, and communicate relevant demographic data that informs the evidence-based goals and measurable targets of municipal social inclusion plans and policy frameworks. The national census is the primary source of same-sex household data, but its portraits of LGBTQ+ residents are necessarily troubled and incomplete, resulting in erasures and marginalization (Frisch, 2021). These administrative data discontinuities make evidence-based inclusion goals and measurable social planning targets for LGBTQ+ residents difficult to formulate. Until it is possible to benchmark the resource and service needs of heterogeneous suburban LGBTQ2S populations that are markedly divided by income, ethnicity, religion, family status, household structure, and politics, they will remain "a marginalized group" despite their concerns not being marginal to planning (Forsyth, 2001, p. 354). As Doan (2015, p. 258) reminds, planners play a critical role in empowering "diverse LGBTQ interests to work together and plan for the future of the whole community" by creating spaces to gather, socialize, and organize outside of gay villages. It is imperative, therefore, to build upon LGBTQ2S recognition and its playful performances of rainbowization as municipal progress, by feeding transformative LGBTQ2S redistribution through all municipal departments and committees.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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