CANADIAN JOURNAL of
URBAN RESEARCH
REVUE CANADIENNE de RECHERCHE URBAINE

Geographies of belonging: Socio-spatial inequalities in Calgary, Alberta

Aimee Benoit*
Department of Geography and Environment, University of Lethbridge

Ivan J. Townshend
Department of Geography and Environment, University of Lethbridge

Tom Johnston
Department of Geography and Environment, University of Lethbridge

Jan Newberry
Department of Anthropology, University of Lethbridge

Abstract
Cities across North America have seen growing socio-spatial inequalities and income polarization since the 1980s. According to many commentators these are products of the adoption of neoliberal policies and economic restructuring. Drawing on concepts of belonging, this paper uses case studies of diverse Calgary neighbourhoods, one of Canada's most income-polarized cities, to explore how participants experience and negotiate socio-spatial inequalities in their everyday lives and routine spaces. Thematic analysis of in-depth qualitative interviews and participatory maps underscored that neighbourhoods are highly dynamic socio-spatial constructions with complex geographies of both encounter and difference. The study offers insights for research and policy within urban contexts to promote neighbourhoods as more inclusive places of belonging.

Keywords: belonging; Calgary neighbourhoods (Alberta); socio-spatial inequality; income polarization

Résumé
Depuis les années 1980, les villes d'Amérique du Nord ont connu des inégalités socio-spatiales croissants et une polarisation des revenus, liées à la politique et l'économie néo-libérale. S'appuyant sur les concepts d'appartenance, cet article utilise des études de cas de divers quartiers de Calgary pour explorer comment les participants vivent et négocient les inégalités socio-spatiales dans leurs vies et espaces du quotidien. L'analyse thématique d'entretiens qualitatifs et de cartes participatives a souligné que les quartiers sont des constructions socio-spatiales dynamiques avec des géographies complexes à la fois de rencontre et de différence. L'étude offre des perspectives pour les politiques urbaines et la recherche afin de promouvoir les quartiers plus inclusifs.

Mots-clés : Sens d'appartenance, quartiers de Calgary (Alberta), inégalité socio-spatiale, polarisation des revenus

Canadian Journal of Urban Research, Winter 2021, Volume 30, Issue 2, pages 62–79.

ISSN: 2371-0292

*Correspondence to: Aimee Benoit, The Department of Geography & Environment, UHall & AWESB, 4401 University Drive, Lethbridge, Alberta T1K 3M4 Email: aimee.benoit@alumni.uleth.ca

Introduction

Since the 1980s the neoliberal political and economic environment, alongside factors such as globalization, increasing migration, and the withdrawal of the state from the provision of social welfare, has intensified uneven urban development in Canada (Walks 2009; 2020; Grant et al. 2020). Income polarization has resulted from the tendency for wealth to be directed towards the already very wealthy, leaving an ever-widening gap between the richest 1% and "the rest of us" (Yalnizyan 2010, 14). Researchers have shown that income inequality and income polarization have important spatial dimensions, in particular a growing tendency for "like to live with like" (Chen et al. 2012, 877), and geographic concentrations of both poverty and wealth (Walks and Bourne 2017; Grant et al. 2020). These trends are concerning for their potential to exacerbate difference, exclusion, and distrust between social groups at either end of the income spectrum (Walks and Maaranen 2006).

Research on income polarization and socio-spatial inequality has converged around the concept of the "divided city," which scholars in various countries have adopted to represent urban spatial fragmentation (e.g., van Kempen 2007; Allegra et al. 2012). Much of the divided cities research has evolved from earlier work on segregation, particularly human ecology and factorial ecology approaches, which continue to be important in understanding urban change (van Kempen 2007). However, the idea of the divided city goes beyond economic or racial segregation, covering a range of "political, economic and social cleavages" and their spatial manifestations (Allegra et al. 2012, 560). Divided cities literature places more emphasis on the changing role and priorities of the state, and the related structural constraints that influence residential patterns (van Kempen and Murie 2009). At the same time, Marcuse and van Kempen (2002, 50) point out that "cities are not 'naturally' divided: they are actively partitioned" by a range of social actors and processes, only one of which is the state. They highlight the complexity of divisions between internally heterogeneous social groups, noting that such divisions can sometimes be desirable, voluntary, and consistent with democracy—such as with nonexclusive ethno-cultural enclaves that promote the welfare of their members (Marcuse 1997).

A significant body of neighbourhood change research in Canada has used the divided cities concept to analyze socio-spatial patterns of change over time (Hulchanski 2010; Grant et al. 2020). Using the neighbourhood as a primary unit of analysis, these studies have mapped census data in order to understand how income inequality is distributed spatially in major metropolitan centres. Although the results vary from city to city in keeping with place-based differences, several broad trends have been observed. As Bourne and Hulchanski (2020) summarize, rapidly growing and wealthier cities such as Toronto and Calgary have seen the greatest increase in inequality, while cities with the highest levels of inequality serve as key destinations for immigrant communities and are dominated by younger professional workforces. Among other insights, the studies reveal that socio-spatial polarization has both economic and racial dimensions; however, although concentrations of racialized communities can be found, cities in Canada do not seem to exhibit evidence of ghetto formation as seen in the U.S. (Walks and Bourne 2017; Harris 2020).

Other approaches to neighbourhood change research in Canada have provided insights into various spatial processes through which socio-spatial inequalities are produced. For example, Rosen and Grant's (2011) mixed-methods research has shown how gated communities have been used as "a spatial strategy for managing difference" (p. 780), symbolically segregating residents based on class, ethnicity or religion. Neighbourhood revitalization schemes have also played a role in exacerbating inequalities. Using a qualitative case study, Rose (2004) examined Montreal residents' experiences of what she calls the "'uneasy cohabitation' of gentrification and social mix" (p. 280). Commonly promoted as means toward more socially inclusive neighbourhoods, these approaches can instead create new forms of segregation, thus calling into question their ability to meaningfully counter income polarization (Lees 2008; Rose et al. 2013).

Overall, recent studies of neighbourhood change in Canada have identified patterns of income inequality and polarization between neighbourhoods, revealing important insights into structural characteristics and inequalities (Murdie and Logan 2014; Grant et al. 2020). However, the dynamics of socio-spatial inequality *within* neighbourhoods are less well understood, despite the fact that, as Kitchen and Williams (2009) argue, change is most strongly felt at the community level. In this paper we use a qualitative approach to understand how people make sense of and participate in neighbourhood change. We thus contribute to the relatively small body of research that looks at

neighbourhood change in Canada from residents' perceptions and experiences (Gosse et al. 2016). We begin by reviewing the concept of belonging as a theoretical lens for examining neighbourhoods and other place-based contexts. We then turn to the dynamics of income inequality in Calgary—which, according to recent analysis, is second in terms of neighbourhood income inequality among major Canadian cities (Townshend et al. 2018; 2020). In exploring the empirical data from our research, we use the lens of belonging to understand how socio-spatial inequalities unfold in the everyday lives and routine spaces of Calgary communities.

Conceptualizing neighbourhood belonging

As summarized above, globalization, increasing mobility, and neoliberal forms of governance have all contributed to new forms of inequality in cities (Myles et al. 2000; Walks 2009; 2020). Wood and Waite (2011) argue that these processes have both disrupted and increased individuals' desire for "'locally-based' belonging" (p. 201). Yet for the most part, belonging has yet to be explored in research on neighbourhood change and socio-spatial inequalities, despite its importance as both a resource for cohesion and social well-being, and as a basis for exclusionary behaviour and social divisions (Wood and Waite 2011). A focus on belonging orients this study toward residents' heterogeneous experiences of their neighbourhoods and the "politics of social boundary-making" (Youkhana 2015, 12) through which socio-spatial inequalities are produced.

Many contemporary scholars, in particular human geographers, have theorized belonging as a complex process through which people "make a place in the world" (Mee 2009). Belonging is relational in nature, developed through interactions with other people (Wright 2015); but it is also fundamentally linked to place, and individuals' affective place attachments at potentially multiple scales (Mee 2009; Wood and Waite 2011; Askins 2015; Wright 2015). Individuals may choose to link their personal biographies to a particular place, which Savage et al. (2005) call "elective belonging"; however, belonging also requires acceptance by others (Bennett 2015). Thus Bennett (2015) argues that belonging should not be seen as a taken-for-granted part of life but rather an "active and rhythmic practice" through which an "ethic of care" forms between people and places (p. 955).

Theorizing belonging as a practice, rather than a state, highlights ways in which belonging is enacted and contested through competing meanings about "who belongs in place, what sorts of activities belong in place" (Mee 2009, 844). Scholars have analyzed how belonging is enacted through "spatial performances" such as car boot sales (Gregson and Rose 2000), neighbourhood celebrations (Elwood et al. 2015), clearing snow (Bennett 2015), or even lawn care practices (Fraser et al. 2016). These spatial performances are saturated with power (Gregson and Rose 2000), naturalizing what Fortier (1999, 42) calls "terrains of commonality" that define the dynamics of fitting in. Similarly, Benson and Jackson (2012) and Elwood et al. (2015) explore place-making activities that produce and reproduce place-based identities and normalize social difference. For Elwood et al. (2015), residents enact and normalize neighbourhood ideals through everyday behaviours and interactions. For example, middle-class residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods reproduce middle-class norms in their efforts to "improve" neighbourhoods through housing aesthetics, civic participation, and the creation of enclaves with coffee shops or yoga studios. Place-making and place maintenance practices, the latter of which are actions focused on warding off unwelcome change (Benson and Jackson 2012), are thus deeply political; they work to consolidate class boundaries, while also contributing to inequality within neighbourhood settings.

Belonging is therefore fundamentally about power relations, which moves the concept from a personal feeling of belonging, toward institutionalized patterns of belonging aimed at particular collectivities—in other words, the boundaries that separate people into "us" and "them" (Yuval-Davis 2006; Youkhana 2015). As Yuval-Davis notes, debates on the politics of belonging centre on the question of "who 'belongs' and who does not, and what are the common grounds…that are required to signify belonging" (p. 207). Thus, while they entail criteria and classifications that define membership within a group, the politics of belonging are more explicitly about the specific social encounters and boundaries that exclude (Yuval-Davis et al. 2018). Such boundaries can be both discursive and material but are often also spatial (Antonsich 2010; Yuval-Davis et al. 2018). Moreover, practices that maintain boundaries within neighbourhoods—such as place-making and place maintenance practices (Benson and Jackson 2012)—are central to an understanding of socio-spatial inclusion and exclusion (Antonsich 2010).

On the other hand, there are also possibilities for disruption and resistance to structures of power. Just as place-making practices can produce powerful boundaries within communities, they can also be a way for residents to resist socio-spatial oppression and to challenge normative views of who belongs and how they "should" belong

(Elwood et al. 2015; Tomaney 2015). Balassiano and Maldonado (2015) see "lived placemaking"—people's day-to-day actions and social relationships—as empowering acts through which individuals become intimate with their surroundings. Place-making offers a way for marginalized communities to redress inequalities through collective ownership, such as housing co-ops, or by appropriating space for community gardens (Sutton and Kemp 2011; Veronis 2007). Place-making strategies such as these can help empower newcomers (Jupp 2008), and can press government toward more inclusive participatory processes (Balassiano and Maldonado 2015). They also provide opportunities for "progressive, alliance-building moments" (Elwood et al. 2015, 125) across classes where even middle-class residents may question previously unexamined norms about idealized neighbourhoods. Therefore, while place-making activities can consolidate exclusive boundaries between insiders and outsiders, they can also work to challenge exclusionary practices toward what Wright (2015, 402) calls more "hopeful belongings."

Research design

Calgary, Alberta, a western Canadian city of just over 1.5 million people that serves as the administrative hub for Canada's oil and natural gas industry, offers us an excellent laboratory to explore the issues raised here. As of the 2016 Canadian census, Calgary had the highest average household income of all Census Metropolitan Areas in Canada. However, since that time the city has experienced a major economic downturn leading to greater dependence on social assistance, and high levels of both debt and vulnerability in several communities (Community & Neighbourhood Services 2010; Eremenko 2018). A closer analysis of census data reveals that Calgary has the highest levels of income inequality between individuals and the second highest neighbourhood income inequality in Canada, after Toronto (Townshend et al. 2020). It is therefore a rich setting for researching neighbourhood belonging and the relations of power that structure socio-spatial inequalities.

To better understand these inequalities, we used a multiple case study design based on qualitative interviews and a participatory mapping method in selected neighbourhoods in Calgary. Our aim was to study neighbourhoods manifesting a range of different income characteristics, both in terms of income *levels* (i.e., *relative* to the metropolitan average), and in terms of intra-neighbourhood income *diversity* or *inequality* (i.e. income homogeneity or heterogeneity *within* the neighbourhood). In order to select appropriate neighbourhoods, we first measured (based on 2006 census data) all census tracts (CTs) in the census metropolitan area (CMA) on two variables: i) the average income ratio, measured as the average individual income in each census tract relative to the CMA average individual income, and ii) the Gini Index of income inequality within each tract. The CTs were then cross classified by quartiles, leading to a typology of 16 different combinations (Figure 1). To ensure maximal differences in the neighbourhoods selected we focused on the areas defined by the CTs associated with the extremes of this typology. For example,

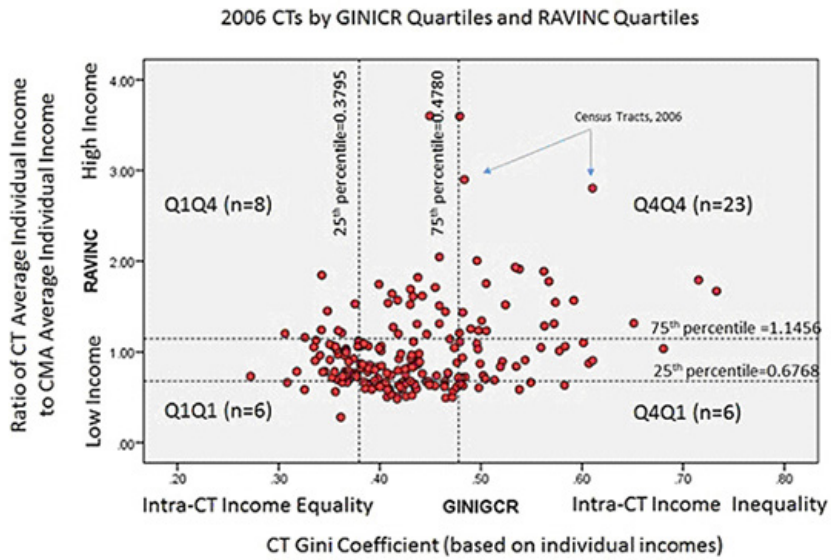

Figure 1
2006 Calgary Census Tracts by Gini Coefficient quartiles and Average Individual Income quartiles

Q1Q1 were the CTs with the lowest quartile income ratio and lowest quartile Gini Index (i.e., low income and income heterogeneous). Type Q1Q4 were low income and income homogeneous, type Q4Q1 were high income and income heterogeneous, and type Q4Q4 were high income and income homogeneous.

We scrutinized the designated neighbourhoods (community areas) that spatially intersected with these CT configurations and selected eight Calgary communities for the present case study (Figure 2). Mount Royal, briefly, is a historic inner-city neighbourhood in Calgary's southwest quadrant; it is divided into Upper Mount Royal (characterized by large estate homes and affluent residents) and Lower Mount Royal (dominated by multifamily housing and a busy retail strip). Chinook Park/Kelvin Grove/Eagle Ridge (CKE) comprises three distinctive residential areas: Eagle Ridge is another affluent neighbourhood with estate homes, while Chinook Park and Kelvin Grove are fairly culturally homogenous, middle-income neighbourhoods developed in the 1960s. McKenzie Towne is a master planned neotraditional community in southeast Calgary with a mix of housing types and a relatively young, middle-income population. Hawkwood, first developed in 1981, is an established upper middle-class suburb in northwest Calgary, which encloses a semi-gated area called the Uplands. Bridgeland-Riverside is an inner-city community located just north of the Bow River in the city's northeast quadrant; historically working-class, the neighbourhood is now rapidly gentrifying, though it also includes a number of non-market housing complexes. Also considered inner-city, Capitol Hill is just northwest of downtown. It was developed in the mid-twentieth century with a mix of single- and multi-family housing and is also experiencing a rapid influx of newcomers. Dover, in the southeast, has roots as a working-class neighbourhood with a concentration of affordable housing units; today it is home to many recent immigrants and is in the early stages of redevelopment. Finally, Martindale, in the northeast quadrant, was developed in the 1980s as a "starter home community" and has a high number of racialized and immigrant communities. Overall, these neighbourhoods represent a range of demographic and income profiles (both income level and income diversity), historical development patterns, physical characteristics, amenities, and geographical locales within the city.

We used two data generation methods. First, we conducted in-depth interviews with 50 residents from across the case study communities in order to understand how participants experience their neighbourhoods. We used a maximum diversity purposive sampling approach, designed to enable meaningful comparisons between residents with a range of experiences (Seale 2012; Mason 2018). We were particularly interested in ensuring variation in age, gender, income, housing tenure, household composition, and ethno-cultural characteristics, with attention to the ways in which these categories intersect in specific contexts. As the research progressed, we used theoretical sampling to address issues that emerged during preliminary data analysis as needing further investigation (King and Horrocks 2010). After identifying a need to better understand the experiences of renters, seniors, and members of specific ethno-cultural groups, we then used snowball sampling to access some of these harder to reach participants through existing contacts (Kristensen and Ravn 2015).

With approval from our university's "Human Participant Research Committee," we followed Tri-Council ethics protocols during the interview process, and used a semi-structured interview guide to minimize leading questions while allowing for exploration of emergent topics. The interviews, which lasted between 30 and 90 minutes, were digitally recorded, and participants were given an opportunity to review and approve verbatim transcripts. We then analyzed interview data using an "abductive" thematic analysis strategy that moved back and forth between the data and broader theoretical concepts, to identify patterns and meaning (Mason 2018). We began by coding descriptive data from interview transcripts, then grouped these codes into hierarchical analytical categories. Finally, we developed the categories into four broad themes that help to conceptualize how participants experienced geographies of belonging, in relation to our research questions and wider theoretical concepts (Riger and Sigurvinsdottir 2016).

As a second data generation method, we used a form of participatory mapping to collect more spatially specific data that would enrich our understanding of residents' place-based experiences. Critical and participatory mapping practices can generate deeper insight into individuals' complex lived experiences and affective relationships with places (Boschmann and Cubbon 2014; Panek and Bendiktsson 2017). Because they centre individuals' spatial knowledge, participatory mapping practices can also encourage "critical spatial thinking" about the socio-spatial processes involved in both the production of inequality and forms of resistance to it (Gordon et al. 2016).

In view of the potential barriers involved in digital mapping tools (see discussion in Zhou et al. 2016; Panek and Bendiktsson 2017), we used paper sketch maps following a process outlined by Boschmann and Cubbon (2014). Of the 50 qualitative interview participants, 30 chose to take part in the mapping exercise. To minimize bias introduced by pre-existing data, they were provided with a base map of their community and surrounding areas. These maps

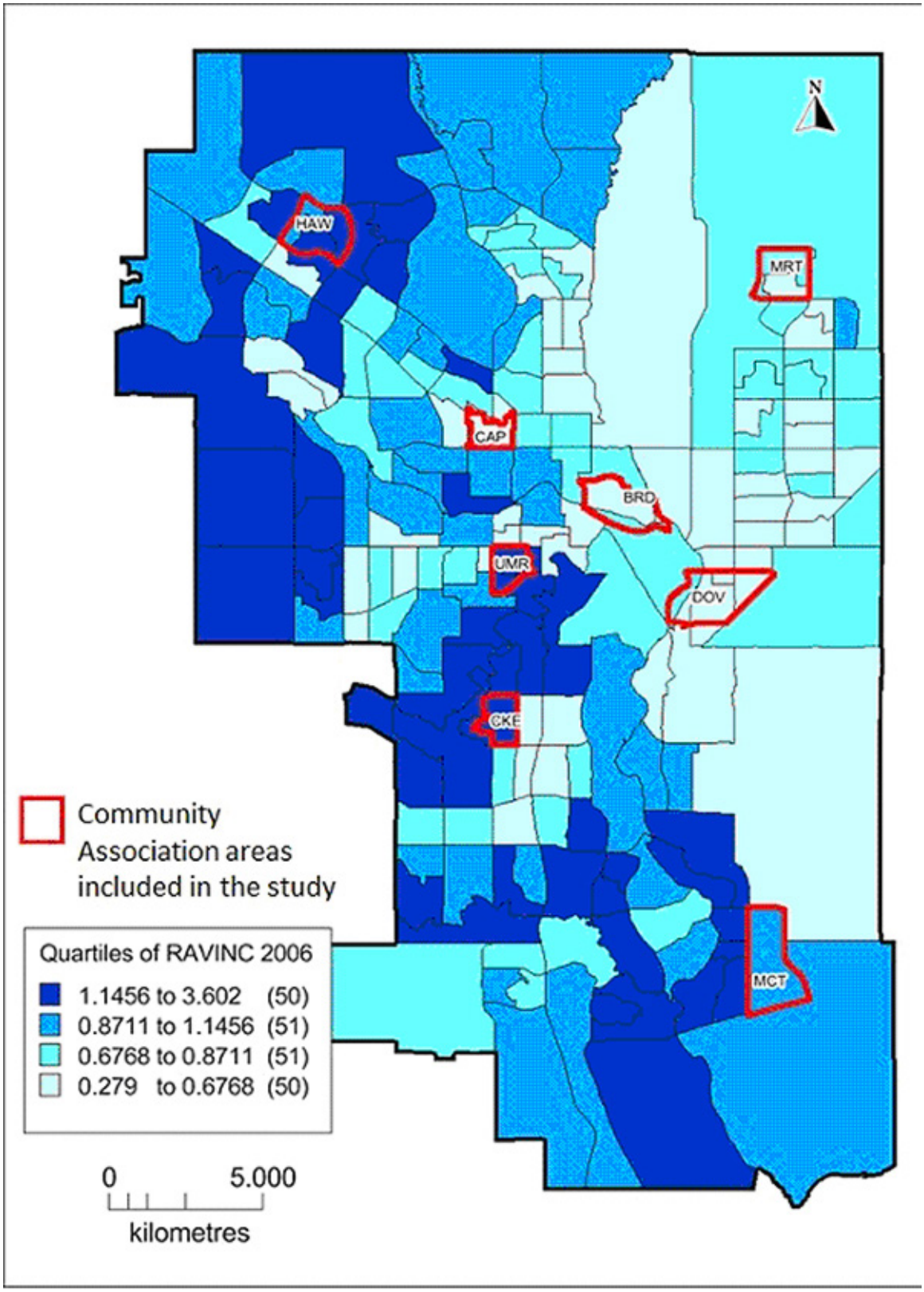

Figure 2
Map of Calgary showing case study communities by Community Association areas, and Census Tracts by Quartiles of Average Individual Income Ratio (RAVINC)
BRD: Bridgeland-Riverside; CAP: Capitol Hill; CKE: Chinook Park/Kelvin Grove/Eagle Ridge; DOV: Dover; HAW: Hawkwood; MCT: McKenzie Towne; MRT: Martindale; UMR: Mount Royal

identified, for orientation purposes, only road networks and major places such as schools, parks, rivers and other attractions (Zhou et al. 2016). Participants were asked to draw a line around the area they considered to be "their" neighbourhood and to mark: a) places where they felt a strong sense of belonging; b) places where they typically connected with other people; c) places where they did not feel they belonged; and d) other places that were important in their day-to-day lives. They were invited to use any annotation method they desired in order to elicit affective and personal representations (Boschmann and Cubbon 2014). Finally, participants were invited to make written comments and to take part in a follow-up interview to further discuss their responses. An additional 24 interviews were conducted, bringing the total to 74.

We followed Boschmann and Cubbon's (2014) recommendations again to digitize the maps in order to permit overlay exploratory analysis. Using the open-source Google MyMaps application, we compiled one composite map per case study with individual layers for each participant, marking points, routes and neighbourhood boundaries they identified. This facilitated comparison between resident-defined neighbourhood boundaries and administrative community boundaries (see Lohmann 2016) and allowed us to visualize areas of agreement or disagreement amongst participants.

Geographies of belonging

In this section we present the results of our analysis of the interviews and participatory maps, which generated rich insights into the ways in which neighbourhoods were meaningful to participants and the emotional relationships between people and their place-communities. Our analysis enabled us to explore the "nodes" and "moorings" that van Kempen and Wissink (2014) theorize as the locations where, in the context of increasing mobility and flows, various networks come together in individuals' day-to-day lives. The mapping activity enriched the in-depth interviews by offering a visual representation of neighbourhood places where people and practices converge to both encourage and preclude feelings of belonging. In this section we discuss four broad themes that we generated through thematic analysis, which help to illustrate participants' geographies of belonging: defining neighbourhood; places of belonging and connection; places of not belonging; and divided neighbourhoods.

Defining neighbourhood

In the qualitative interviews, participants described their neighbourhoods in terms of their physical features, amenities, histories, and the characteristics of residents. Some of the neighbourhood boundaries that participants identified on their maps aligned closely with formal community boundaries. This was particularly the case for those drawn by participants who were very active in their community associations. While recent movers typically identified smaller areas around their home street or block, longer-term residents also tended to include a broader circle of friends' homes, businesses, and community facilities; in addition, they were more likely to reference and identify with the neighbourhood's history and unique sense of place.

Other participants defined their neighbourhoods in a more functional way based on such considerations as walkability. For instance, newly established Dover homeowner Justin mapped the part of his community that seemed more familiar to him and his partner "because we've spent time on foot within that area more than other areas; we ride our bike through that area a bit more, we've met people on the street a bit more." Meanwhile, "bike and foot distance" were the primary criteria for Maria's neighbourhood boundary in Chinook Park. As a mother of young children and a recent immigrant from a smaller American city, the walkability of the neighbourhood strongly influenced Maria's feeling of belonging:

> Having schools within walkable distance, having some stores that we could access on foot…at least for me it's a very important part of feeling like you have a place.

Residents of older inner-city neighbourhoods often felt that physical urban morphology characteristics such as gridiron street pattern, boulevards with trees, and front porches helped foster what one participant in Bridgeland called a "sense of accessibility," in contrast to newer neighbourhoods with curvilinear street plans and large front attached garages which have the effect of alienating households from the "street". Carol, a retiree and homeowner in the upper-income neighbourhood of Hawkwood, commented on the difficulty of navigating "closed streets" and the area's

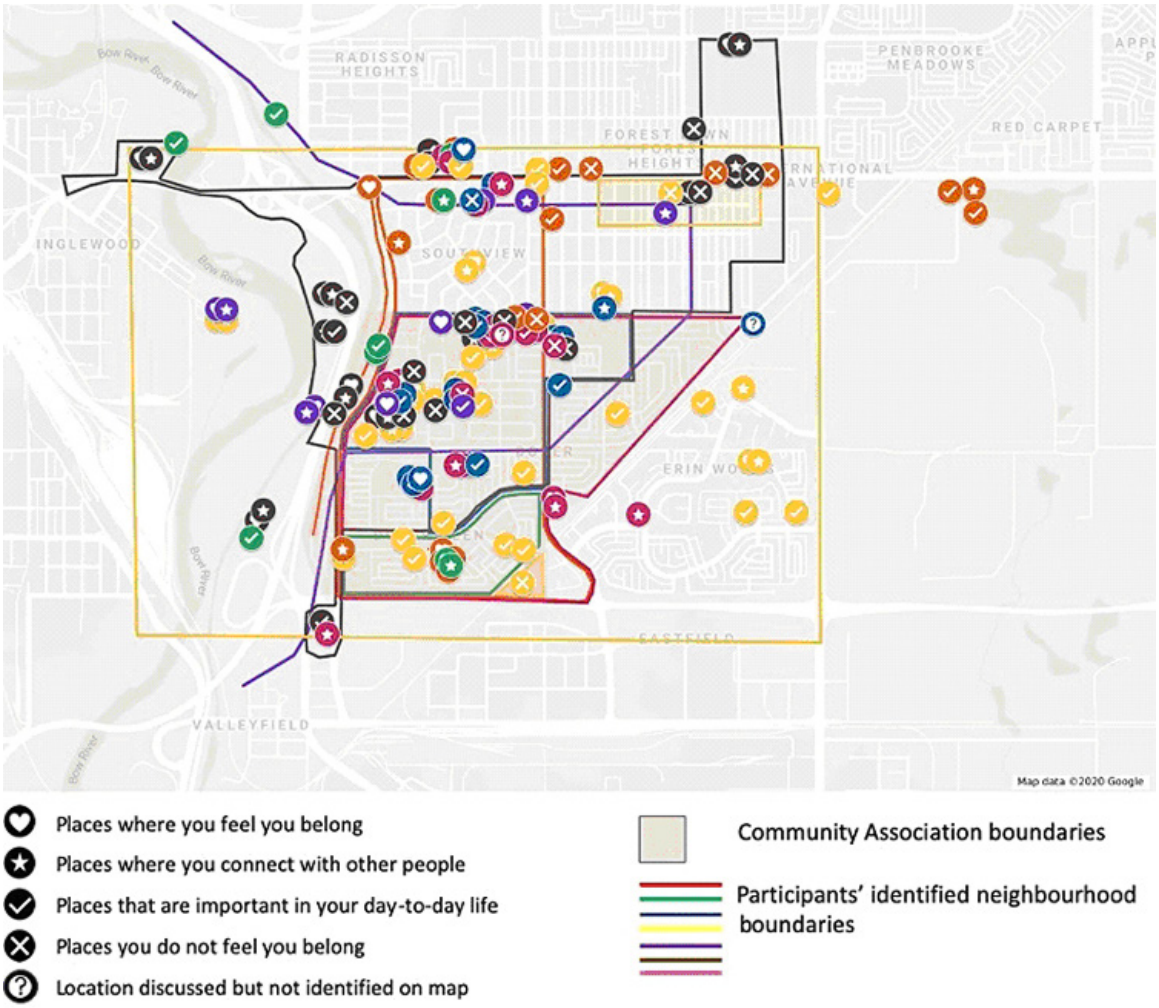

Figure 3
Digitized participatory maps of Dover (overlaid)
The interactive version of the Google MyMaps can be enlarged for a more detailed view, and each point is annotated with participants' comments. The base map may also be changed to include additional geographical information.

"locked-in design." She questioned, "what does it do to a neighbourhood when you can't easily access one part to another?" As these examples suggest, a neighbourhood's physical environment and morphology played a role in how residents experienced the space, and the extent to which they felt they belonged. Some residents—typically those who were more dominant within neighbourhood politics and social life through the community association—felt more connected to their broadly defined neighbourhoods. For most people, however, the neighbourhood was a much more fluid space constituted through a variety of day-to-day practices and interactions.

Places of belonging and connection

The theme of 'places of belonging and connection' incorporates five sub-themes: ownership, encounter, intersecting webs, fitting in, and in-between places. The first, ownership, relates to a deep emotional investment in particular places of belonging, which many participants represented on their maps with the use of a heart symbol. Almost all respondents identified their own homes and blocks as the places where they felt the strongest sense of belonging. Clare valued her "local" lifestyle in the gentrifying neighbourhood of Bridgeland-Riverside; not owning a vehicle she typically walked with her husband and young daughter to nearby restaurants, markets, and their child-care facility. She commented that the familiar streets near her home felt like they were "partially mine." This possessive framing suggests an opportunity for Clare to belong based not on her duration of residence, but on the congruence between her chosen place of residence and her own life story, which Savage et al. (2005) describe as "elective belonging."

However, the same claim to ownership also resonates with what Kern (2016, 443) calls "place-taking," a process whereby middle-class values and consumption-oriented spaces within gentrifying areas exclude more marginalized individuals from a sense of place or belonging. In contrast to Clare's experience, Samira had lived her whole life in a nearby affordable housing unit with her mother, a first-generation immigrant from north Africa. Samira associated her home with fear and insecurity after witnessing repeated fights and incidents of abuse in her building. She described feeling increasingly out of place as her neighbourhood was redeveloped and she became alienated from newer and more expensive amenities. Rather than shopping at the local specialty markets, Samira typically used public transit to buy groceries at a large supermarket three neighbourhoods away. The day-to-day spatial practices that Clare enjoyed within her neighbourhood also inadvertently worked to shape Samira's feeling of not fully belonging, even within the area where she had grown up.

Participants also described places of belonging that fell into the sub-theme of encounter. Aside from their own homes, many places of belonging overlapped with places where participants typically connected with or encountered others. The homes of friends or family were especially important to participants' feeling of well-being, as were green spaces, community centres, and recreational facilities. Public spaces provided opportunities to meet friends or existing acquaintances from neighbourhood-based activities, but also to develop new social contacts. They constituted what some sociologists refer to as third places, which serve as meeting places for people who are "ostensibly different from oneself" (Oldenburg and Brissett 1982, 276; for an empirical example see Williams and Hipp 2019). Over time, regular encounters in these spaces contribute to familiarity, and ultimately cohesion.

Unlike the day-to-day commercial locations associated with more transactional encounters, participants also associated particular types of establishments with deeply felt belonging and connection. For some residents independent, local, or multigenerational family businesses offered a more meaningful interaction than more corporate places of consumption. Dana, a homeowner in Dover, described a locally owned convenience store as being important

Figure 4
Digitized participatory maps of Hawkwood (overlaid)

because "we're recognized and we know the people there well enough to go beyond an interaction of just purchasing, into more of a friendly conversation." In the culturally diverse, lower income neighbourhoods of Martindale and Dover, familiar smells and tastes in ethnic food stores offered comfort and helped bridge immigrants' past and current homes. Places of consumption were thus important to participants' spatial routines and the ways in which they experienced belonging in their neighbourhoods. Some also became *de facto* gathering spaces for residents who did not have access to, or did not feel comfortable in, other shared public spaces.

As these examples suggest, participants commonly framed belonging not only in relation to places themselves but to the social encounters that occurred within those places. As Huizinga and van Hoven (2018) have reflected, belonging often emerges and is experienced in everyday local contexts and specific neighbourhood places. However, the quality of encounter is significant in shaping belonging; residents identified many "transitory spaces" where they experienced "fleeting encounters" (Huizinga and van Hoven 2018, 313) in their day-to-day lives, but without any significant emotional dimension. In contrast, repeated encounters with neighbours in community halls or parks helped constitute richer dimensions of belonging in place by normalizing contact between neighbours. This more sustained connection enabled friendships and caring bonds to develop. In the words of Ann, a renter living in Capitol Hill, this connection was "the secret sauce [to] feeling like you belong."

However, several participants identified community hubs as being unwelcoming if they were dominated by a "core group" that was perceived to represent their own or a limited range of interests. Likewise, places of worship offered congregants an opportunity to affirm cultural connections and celebrate together; but they could also feel unwelcoming to non-members. CKE resident Mark described community events hosted by a local church as feeling exclusionary to him: "in some ways they're a bit of a community gathering spot… but we're non-religious people, so 'you're in the church or you're not'." These comments are a reminder that individuals can have very different emotional connections to the same place depending on whether or not they belong in cultural, religious, economic, or other terms. They illustrate how neighbourhood spaces can be ambiguous, fostering both belonging and exclusions at the same time.

The third sub-theme relating to places of belonging and connection was captured by the concept of 'intersecting webs.' Individuals with younger children often developed these types of networks within their neighbourhoods through chance encounters with the same families at playgrounds, schools or family-oriented community events. These repeated interactions with people at similar life stages often developed into deeper friendships and contributed significantly to a feeling of belonging in place. One participant observed that she developed a greater interest in building connections with neighbours after she became a parent:

> It has to do with having a child now, and you're sort of seeking out a community as a parent. Or you happen to be at the playground and see the same people over and over again; or you go to the kids' Halloween party and you see the same people—definitely I feel a sense that [this] is my community. I belong here."

However, in some cases schools posed a barrier to belonging when school catchment areas did not align with community association boundaries—meaning that some children's designated schools, and therefore friend networks, were located outside of the neighbourhood. Other parents deliberately chose alternative educational options. For example, in the culturally diverse, lower-income neighbourhood of Dover, white, middle-class homeowner Sarah decided to home school her daughter in order to avoid the "unique set of challenges" present in their neighbourhood schools—notably the high number of English as Second Language (ESL) students. Both cases reduced opportunities for children and parents to meet or interact with others living close by.

The fourth sub-theme, fitting in, was also important to participants' geographies of belonging. Many participants talked about feeling a stronger sense of belonging when they "fit" demographically or lived among residents with similar characteristics. For example, Justin commented that in Dover, "there's other people of our same age and place in life… I guess kind of financially we belong here because this is a place we could afford, so there is some kind of practical belonging there." Others felt at home among people from their own ethno-cultural background. For Aruna, a single mother who had immigrated from India, it was particularly important to have access to the familiar foods and customs available in Martindale:

> Every second person I see is coming from my kind of culture… So it's easy to relate, smile, talk. We have shops where we can go to, where we can find our own stuff… it gives me a sense of belonging, you know? I am in a place where I have people from my culture, talking the same language, eat what I eat, go to prayers where I go to prayers.

Several white, Canadian-born residents of diverse neighbourhoods like Dover or Martindale did value the opportunity to interact with individuals from different ethno-cultural backgrounds. However, Lauren, an upper-middle class homeowner in Mount Royal reflected on her sense of ease with neighbours she identified with:

> I don't know if it's a sense of comfort, or just… Yeah, I just keep coming back to the word belonging. An area where you feel comfortable with other people; a sense of belonging and you're a unified group.

As reflected in this comment, this study in general resonates with previous research suggesting that people feel comfortable living in more socially homogeneous than mixed environments (e.g., Savage et al. 2005; Watt 2009).

Finally, participants often spoke positively about a sub-theme we labelled "in-between places"—a term used by Huizinga and van Hoven (2018) to describe transitory zones such as walking paths or bus routes. In contrast to the sedentary places of belonging discussed thus far, these routes could become somewhat stabilized through repeated use and interaction with the same people. For example, Wendy, a resident of the master-planned neotraditional community of McKenzie Towne, said, "there's certainly some people I've gotten to know because they walk on my pathway all the time… we chit-chat and kind of know where each other lives." However, while they may have been friendly, those relationships tended to remain localized to the routes themselves. One participant who regularly interacted with others while walking or biking in Dover commented that nothing had "blossomed into 'I know you from the pathway; let's go to a barbecue' or something like that." As noted above, a similar superficiality was associated with the dry-cleaner, grocery store, or other day-to-day commercial spaces that participants identified on their maps. These in-between places did not tend to engender relationships that shifted the way participants perceived one another or translate into a deeper "respect for difference" (Valentine 2008). Yet they were important to participants' day-to-day routines and contributed generally to their sense of being at home.

Places of not-belonging

In the interviews and mapping activity, participants were also asked to identify places where they did not feel they belonged. Some associated 'not-belonging' with a feeling of ambivalence for places that were simply not part of their normal routines or experience—for example, schools (for participants without children or with grown children), or areas where they simply had not "tested [their] welcome," as Capitol Hill resident Ann put it. Others described not-belonging as a feeling of intimidation or fear associated with places where they felt unsafe. For example, four different women living in Bridgeland-Riverside marked an area near an overpass as "super sketchy," "unwelcoming," or having "rough characters, begging, drinking, camping and drugs" (see bottom left corner of Figure 5). Residents of other neighbourhoods also talked about safety but, other than similar examples in Dover associated with prostitution and police activity, they did not identify specific places where they felt unsafe.

Another form of not-belonging was related to feelings of exclusion. In some instances, this involved whole areas of a neighbourhood, such as the Uplands in Hawkwood. Symbolically gated through a small unstaffed guardhouse, the Uplands is a Common Interest Development (CID) (Townshend 2015) that comprises just over two hundred households with exclusive access to a recreation centre. Rebecca, a mother of a young son in Hawkwood, commented, "I don't feel welcome [in the Uplands] because we're not allowed to use the facilities…and we don't have a recreation centre in the neighbourhood available to the rest of the community." Middle-class, stay-at-home mother Maria made a similar comment about CKE (Chinook Park, Kelvin Grove and Eagle Ridge)—three distinctive neighbourhoods combined as a single community for administrative purposes. Maria identified the significantly higher-income area of Eagle Ridge as a place she did not feel she belonged, even though she occasionally walked through the area with her children. Participants from other neighbourhoods also identified locations such as a members-only club, a golf course, or higher-end specialty food markets, which were beyond their financial means and therefore made them feel unwelcome.

Some places of exclusion were less tied to income than to other cultural dynamics. One Indigenous woman felt excluded by a mixture of racism, sexism and ageism that she and her children had experienced at their community

Figure 5
Digitized participatory maps of Bridgeland-Riverside (overlaid)

centre. On the other hand, white, middle-class homeowner Brent commented that he felt excluded at times in Martindale because members of dominant ethno-cultural communities could be "unfriendly and unaccepting if you aren't part of their clique." Meanwhile Gwen viewed a community hub in Martindale as an exclusive space because it was dominated by social agencies and never available for grassroots community events. She found it was "very difficult to actually occupy that space; they have some gatekeepers there to keep you out." In general, residents of lower-income and culturally diverse neighbourhoods such as Dover and Martindale identified a greater number of exclusive places than residents of more homogeneous, higher-income areas such as Hawkwood or McKenzie Towne.

Divided neighbourhoods

The final theme generated through data analysis was 'divided neighbourhoods,' which encompasses distinctive features that participants spoke about and mapped in association with socially and spatially differentiated areas in their neighbourhoods. The theme of divided neighbourhoods encompasses three distinct sub-themes, which we discuss here: transportation arteries, upper and lower sections, and pockets.

Major transportation arteries had an important role in creating perceived divisions within neighbourhoods. For example, Capitol Hill is bisected by a busy north-south artery, and the location of amenities and community facilities relative to that artery created differential access and exacerbated a sense of separation for several participants. Amaya, a young mother living east of 14 Street, felt disconnected from her community because, as she said:

> There isn't a presence as a community as much on this side. There's no signage to say, 'this is Capitol Hill,' but there is a sign on that side of 14th. There isn't a community hall here… You can't see community at work on this side of 14th.

Likewise in CKE, in Calgary's southwest quadrant, the isolation of Eagle Ridge to the west of a major artery contributed to one participant's sense that sometimes it "doesn't feel part of the other two [neighbourhoods]."

Another consistent form of division was related to distinctive 'upper' and 'lower' sections, or the similar notion of an elevated ridge within some communities. Physical distinctions between Upper and Lower Mount Royal were mirrored in residents' perceptions of the neighbourhoods' socio-economic status, with one resident describing the lower section as more transient and "lower-income." Bridgeland-Riverside is similarly characterized by a steep escarpment that demarcates both spatial and social divisions between the two historically distinct communities. Participants associated Bridgeland, above the escarpment, with redevelopment, gentrification, and a higher socio-economic demographic, while Riverside was identified with more immigrants and low-income residents. As long-time Bridgeland homeowner Barb commented, "if you were to say, is there a part of your community that's poor? I would have to say yeah, it's probably down there." In a similar vein, residents of both Hawkwood and Dover talked about a "ridge" that defined areas of higher income and exclusivity within those neighbourhoods; as one participant put it, "in west Dover there are lots of well-off people, and south Dover they say is not so well developed. So one part of Dover is perceived to be okay, the other part not so okay."

Further to the more linear neighbourhood divisions created by transportation arteries, escarpments or ridges, participants also talked about particular 'pockets' reflecting divisions along social categories such as age, ethnicity, income, or class. For example, the southeast portion of Bridgeland-Riverside has earned a reputation as an "old folks' ghetto," as a younger participant put it. Margaret, an elderly resident of the district, half-jokingly reflected, "we're just surrounded by seniors. Now, I would really like to see some younger people—children! I call it the ghetto; they get mad at me, but what else can you call it?" While they would not specifically avoid this area, some participants commented that its association with elderly residents meant they had little cause to go there.

Like age, class differences played a major role in how people distinguished "their" neighbourhood. In reflecting on the area of the map that she had identified as her neighbourhood within CKE, Maria felt that, "there's a real socio-economic boundary…because everything in that circle is on the same level of housing." Individuals living within certain "pockets" or circles may feel a greater sense of belonging based on similarity with their neighbours; or they may feel excluded from the broader area, depending on the dynamics of social power that work to define the pockets to begin with. For example, older areas in central and east Dover were widely perceived to be "quite poor" in comparison to what lower-income renter Brooke described as the "rich part of the neighbourhood…[where] there's some huge, big houses—obvious wealth." Middle-class, white homeowner Gary was even more explicit about the distinctive pockets as he perceived them:

> If you're in East Dover you're working-class, blue collar, you have a truck…If you're in Dover proper, odds are you have some sort of social assistance—that's just the way it's looked at. If you're in Dover Glen, you're probably in the $120-140,000 income for the family, and you're quite happy to just hide away from everybody else.

As this comment illustrates, place identities that develop over time influence residents' perceptions of those areas as either rich or poor; these perceptions in turn reinforce place identities that help to define who belongs and who does not.

A similar process can be seen more broadly in the fluid ways that neighbourhood boundaries are shaped by areas' reputations. Several participants commented on Dover's reputation as "the 'hood"—a label they felt had inaccurately developed through proximity to other reputedly "bad neighbourhoods." A homeowner in Dover recalled how acquaintances reacted when he decided to move to the neighbourhood:

> In ways people would talk about Dover, they would lump it all in with the northeast, which then tells you something about how people think about the northeast… We all just get lumped in to the, you know, 'dirty, shifty, northeast part of the city' kind of a thing. So Dover's more of an idea to them than an actual place.

The shared meanings attached to places were further defined by visual cues, such as how well properties were cared for. In Martindale, Aruna disliked seeing derelict vehicles or "areas where, when you walk in and you drive by, you don't see the houses very well kept. They're older, you know, that kind of feel." Visual cues also informed participants'

feelings toward higher-income areas. As Chinook Park resident Maria said of Eagle Ridge, there is "a big socio-economic gap between 'us' and 'them'… You can tell when you're in a different realm of money. It's just big houses, big lots, expensive cars; yeah, there's just money over there."

Meanwhile some socio-spatial divisions occurred more along racial lines, with participants in both Hawkwood and Dover noting pockets of "mainstream," Indigenous, or ethno-cultural communities. One long-term, white homeowner in Dover described how an area with affordable housing complexes had become run-down. In referring to his map, he explained,

> If you take a look at this area, you'll notice it has one of the highest concentrations of Native Canadians—I don't care what term you want to put to them—in all of Calgary. And that was [created by the affordable housing agency] Cal-Homes. What they did was they started almost like a mini-range war. And the range war was, the WASPs cut their grass while the Aboriginals watched the weeds grow… *Then* they started to bring in an immigrant population.

This remark, and the identification of socio-economic pockets generally, illustrates how individuals with social power can contribute to exclusive geographies through "disaffiliating strategies" in which they distinguish themselves spatially and discursively from "other social classes" (Watt 2009, 2875). In associating racist stereotypes with a particular geographical space, it also provides an example of the "territorial stigmatization" discussed by Wacquant (2007), which, over time, serves to reinforce boundaries that signal who belongs in which places.

Discussion

The themes identified in this study illuminate complex geographies of belonging within diverse Calgary communities, providing insights into how residents experience and understand processes of neighbourhood change. Most participants in this study had a clear sense of their neighbourhood's identity, even when their own day-to-day spatial routines extend far beyond formal neighbourhood boundaries, and despite the vastly different ways in which they defined those boundaries. Indeed, the highly differentiated ways in which neighbourhoods were represented on the participatory maps speaks to their importance not just as "places" but as intersections of places, people, and day-to-day routines.

Using the lens of belonging enabled a deeper understanding of the "nodes" and "moorings" that van Kempen and Wissink (2014) have theorized as the places where networks come together to make neighbourhoods meaningful in people's daily lives. Participants felt deep emotional connections to specific neighbourhood places that figured prominently in both their lived experiences and their neighbourhood ideals. Places where they felt the strongest sense of belonging, however, tended to be places where they connected with other people. Public spaces such as parks and community centres were key spaces of encounter, often across social difference, and provided opportunities for repeated and often sustained connection. Recreational amenities and local places of consumption contributed to feelings of belonging, although to a much lesser degree where interactions were more transactional in nature. Conversely, participants also described ways in which they experienced not-belonging as a result of inaccessible amenities, the negative reputations of particular locations, or other exclusionary dynamics that played out in specific spatial contexts. As much as positive emotions generated a sense of well-being and connection, negative emotions such as fear limited participants' mobility and the range of places they felt comfortable being.

Participants also identified distinct morphological characteristics that influenced their experiences of belonging, and which signaled underlying socio-spatial inequalities. The forms of division that recurred across communities were ridges (as in Hawkwood), upper and lower sections (as in Mount Royal and Bridgeland-Riverside), major transportation arteries (as in Capitol Hill and Chinook Park/Kelvin Grove/Eagle Ridge), and 'pockets' (as in Dover), all of which were particularly meaningful to the ways in which residents perceived and experienced spatialized difference. These neighbourhood characteristics highlight ways in which the "divided cities" concept (van Kempen 2007) also applies at smaller intra-neighbourhood scales. While the qualitative approach of this study cannot offer direct comparisons to the statistical analysis that underpins most divided cities research in Canada (e.g., Grant et al. 2020), it does suggest shared perceptions of certain areas within neighbourhoods where geographic concentrations of both poverty and wealth are clearly identifiable.

Overall, this paper thus supports an approach to urban research that recognizes neighbourhoods as highly heterogeneous socio-spatial constructions, with porous boundaries and internal variations. Scholars have cautioned against one-dimensional or essentialist explanations of inequality in cities (Allegra et al. 2012; Shelton et al. 2015; Marcuse 2016), in favour of a more nuanced understanding of socio-spatial relations and people's lived experience of neighbourhood change. In exploring the ways in which socio-spatial inequalities are meaningful to residents of diverse Calgary neighbourhoods, our study adds a finer and more complex perspective than what is visible in statistical analyses based on the notion of a homogeneous neighbourhood unit. For example, Dover (predominantly lower income) and Hawkwood (predominantly higher income) were both selected for this study as relatively uniform neighbourhoods in terms of income. However, participants identified pronounced income inequalities within both communities, which were often expressed spatially. The "pockets" of disadvantage or wealth that were identified through interviews and participatory maps might be easily missed by analyses conducted at coarser neighbourhood scales. What's more, while income was indeed the most pronounced form of difference between areas, our empirical data reveals that inequalities were also constituted through a combination of income and other intersecting categories. Overall, the way participants experienced and understood socio-spatial divisions within their neighbourhoods was influenced by each place's history and identity, by visual cues and shared meanings associated predominantly with class and race, and by participants' own geographical and social positions.

Conclusion

Townshend et al.'s (2018) research on neighbourhood change in Calgary since 1970 revealed increasing income inequality, which is both racialized and spatially manifested. The present study confirms these findings, while contributing new insights into how such changes are perceived and experienced within diverse neighbourhoods. It provides convincing evidence that the "divided cities" concept is applicable at the inter-urban, intra-urban, and intra-neighbourhood scales, illuminating specific geographies of exclusion and belonging within neighbourhoods. As Modai-Snir and van Ham (2018) argue, urban inequality affects each neighbourhood differently "based on their starting positions" (p.115); this paper suggests that it also affects each individual within a given neighbourhood differently based on their social positionings. Thus, while neighbourhood income is important in structuring socio-spatial inequalities, other factors, particularly class, race, ethnicity, gender, and age, often work together to shape how individuals experience inequalities, and who is most affected. This reflects work by Youkhana (2015) and Yuval-Davis et al. (2018), who call for an intersectional understanding of belonging and not-belonging, and attention to how different social hierarchies mutually constitute one another.

In the context of increasing mobility and globalization, scholars have questioned whether the neighbourhood remains important in individuals' lives (e.g., Kingston et al. 1999; Amin 2004). We have shown here that it does, though not in the same way or to the same degree to all residents. As we have found, neighbourhoods are understood and experienced differently based on the characteristics and identities of the places themselves, and individuals' own intersecting social positions. Some individuals valued their neighbourhood as an important part of their lifestyle, identity and overall feeling of belonging. Others described their neighbourhood in terms of more day-to-day, functional spaces such as walking routes, shopping places, or the homes of nearby friends or family—while some felt little attachment at all. Neighbourhoods emerged as dynamic spaces that integrate both material and imagined dimensions. As combinations of people, places and everyday spatial routines, they are key sites for emotional connection and experiences of belonging; they are also highly contested, divided sites where differences matter. Finally, while the study reported here relates to a single city, it seems likely to us that the findings could well apply to other ethnically and socially diverse cities in Canada. The only way to test that idea is through additional research.

Acknowledgement

This work was supported in part by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Subgrant #22 of the Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership Grant (SSHRC 895-2011-1004).

References

Allegra, M., A. Casaglia, and J. Rokem. 2012. The political geographies of urban polarization: A critical review of research on divided cities. *Geography Compass* 6(9): 560–574.

Amin, A. 2004. Regions unbound: Toward a new politics of place. *Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography* 86(1): 33–44.

Antonsich, M. 2010. Searching for belonging. An analytical framework. *Geography Compass* 4(6): 644–659.

Askins K. 2015. Being together: Everyday geographies and the quiet politics of belonging. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 14(2): 470–478.

Balassiano, K. and M. M. Maldonaldo. 2015. Placemaking in rural new gateway communities. *Community Development Journal* 50(4): 644–660.

Bennett, J. 2015. 'Snowed in!': Offbeat rhythms and belonging as everyday practice. *Sociology* 49(5): 955–969.

Benson, M. and E. Jackson. 2012. Place-making and place maintenance: Performativity, place and belonging among the middle classes. *Sociology* 47(4): 793–809.

Boschmann, E. E. and E. Cubbon. 2014. Sketch maps and qualitative GIS: Using cartographies of individual spatial narratives in geographic research. *The Professional Geographer* 66(2): 236–248.

Bourne, L. and D. Hulchanski. 2020. Inequality and neighbourhood change: Content, concept and process. In *Changing Neighbourhoods: Social and Spatial Polarization in Canadian Cities,* eds. J. Grant, A. Walks and H. Ramos. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 5–30.

Chen, W.-H., J. Myles, and G. Picot. 2012. Why have poorer neighbourhoods stagnated economically while the richer have flourished? Neighbourhood income inequality in Canadian cities. *Urban Studies (Sage Publications Ltd.)* 49(4): 877–896.

Community & Neighbourhood Services. 2010, Winter. *Indices of community well-being, 2006 for Calgary neighbourhoods.* Calgary: The City of Calgary. http://www.calgary.ca/CSPS/CNS/Documents/indices_of_well_being.pdf.

Davies, W. K. D., and I. J. Townshend. 2015. New urbanisms: From neo-traditional neighbourhoods to new regionalism. In *Theme cities: Solutions for urban problems,* ed. W. D. Davies. London, UK: Springer, 17–62.

Elwood, S., V. Lawson, and S. Nowak. 2015. Middle-class poverty politics: Making place, making people. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 105(1): 123–143.

Eremenko, J. 2018. Poverty in Calgary. *A Picture of the incidence and experience of low income in Calgary and area.* Calgary: Vibrant Communities Calgary. https://enoughforall.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Poverty-Snapshot-2018.pdf.

Fortier, A.-M. 1999. Re-membering places and the performance of belonging(s). In *Performativity and belonging,* ed. V. Bell. London, UK: Sage Publications.

Fraser, J., J. T. Bazuin, and G. Hornberger. 2016. The privatization of neighbourhood governance and the production of urban space. *Environment and Planning A* 48(5): 844–870.

Gordon, E., S. Elwood, and K. Mitchell. 2016. Critical spatial learning: Participatory mapping, spatial histories, and youth civic engagement. *Children's Geographies* 14(5): 558–572.

Gosse, M., H. Ramos, M. Radice, J. Grant, and P. Pritchard. 2016. What affects perceptions of neighbourhood change? *The Canadian Geographer* 60(4): 530–540.

Grant, J., A. Walks, and H. Ramos. 2020. Evaluating neighbourhood inequality and change from a national comparison. In *Changing neighbourhoods: Social and spatial polarization in Canadian cities,* eds. J. Grant, A. Walks and H. Ramos. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 215–234.

Gregson, N. and G. Rose. 2000. Taking Butler elsewhere: Performativities, spatialities and subjectivities. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 18: 433–452.

Harris, R. 2020. Plus ça change: Neighbourhood inequality in Canadian cities since 1900. In *Changing neighbourhoods: Social and spatial polarization in Canadian cities,* eds. J. Grant, A. Walks and H. Ramos. Vancouver: UBC Press, 31–52.

Huizinga, R. P., and B. van Hoven. 2018. Everyday geographies of belonging: Syrian refugee experiences in the Northern Netherlands. *Geoforum* 96: 309–317.

Hulchanski, J. D. 2010. *The three cities within Toronto. Income polarization among Toronto's neighbourhoods, 1970-2005*. Toronto, ON: Cities Centre, University of Toronto.

Jupp, E. 2008. The feeling of participation: Everyday spaces and urban change. *Geoforum* 39: 331–343.

Kern, L. 2016. Rhythms of gentrification: Eventfulness and slow violence in a happening neighbourhood. *Cultural Geographies* 23(3): 441–457.

King, N., and C. Horrocks. 2010. Chapter 3: Designing an interview study, 25-41, in *Interviews in qualitative research*. London, UK: Sage Publications.

Kingston, S., R. Mitchell, P. Florin, and J. Stevenson. 1999. Sense of community in neighbourhoods as a multi-level construct. *Journal of Community Psychology* 27(6): 681–694.

Kitchen, P., and A. Williams. 2009. Measuring neighbourhood social change in Saskatoon, Canada: A geographic analysis. *Urban Geography* 30(3): 261–288.

Kristensen, G. K., and M. N. Ravn. 2015. The voices heard and the voices silenced: Recruitment processes in qualitative interview studies. *Qualitative Research* 15(6): 722–737.

Lees, L. 2008. Gentrification and social mixing: Towards an inclusive urban renaissance? *Urban Studies* 45(12): 2449–2470.

Lohmann, A. 2016. Geographic Information Systems. In *Handbook of methodological approaches to community-based research. Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods,* eds. L. A. Jason and D. S. Glenwick. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 93–102.

Marcuse, P. 1997. The enclave, the citadel and the ghetto: What has changed in post-Fordist U.S. *Urban Affairs* Review 33(2): 228–264.

——. 2016. Depoliticizing urban discourse: How "we" write. *Cities* 44: 152–156.

Marcuse, P., and R. van Kempen. 2002. *Of states and cities. The partitioning of urban space*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Mason, J. 2018. *Qualitative researching, 3rd ed*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Mee, K. 2009. A space to care, a space of care: Public housing, belonging, and care in Inner Newcastle, Australia. *Environment and Planning A* 41(4): 842–858.

Modai-Snir, T., and M. van Ham. 2018. Neighbourhood change and spatial polarization: The roles of increasing inequality and divergent urban development. *Cities* 82:108–118.

Murdie, R., and J. Logan, J. 2014. *Bibliography and review of neighbourhood typologies with a focus on Canada, the United States, and Australia/New Zealand*. Research Paper 233, Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership. http://neighbourhoodchange.ca/documents/2015/04/murdie-2014-nhood-typologies-bibliography-review-rp233.pdf.

Myles, J., G. Picot, and W. Pyper. 2000. *Neighbourhood inequality in Canadian cities*. Working Paper No.160, Business and Labour Market Analysis Division, Statistics Canada.

Oldenburg, R., and D. Brissett. 1982. The third place. *Qualitative Sociology* 5(4): 265–284.

Panek, J., and K. Bendiktsson. 2017. Emotional mapping and its participatory potential: Opinions about cycling conditions in Reykjavik, Iceland. *Cities* 61:65–73.

Riger, S., and R. Sigurvinsdottir. 2016. Thematic analysis. In *Handbook of methodological approaches to community-based research. qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods*, eds. L.A. Jason and D.S. Glenwick. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 33–41.

Rose, D. 2004. Discourses and experiences of social mix in gentrifying neighbourhoods: A Montréal case study. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 13(2): 278–316.

Rose, D., A. Germain, M.-H. Bacqué, G. Bridge, Y. Fijalkow, and T. Slater. 2013. 'Social Mix' and neighbourhood revitalization in a transatlantic perspective: Comparing local policy discourses and expectations in Paris (France), Bristol (UK) and Montréal (Canada). *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37(2): 430–50.

Rosen, G., and J. Grant. 2011. Reproducing difference: Gated communities in Canada and Israel. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35(4): 778–93.

Savage, M., G. Bagnall, G., and B. Longhurst, Eds. 2005. *Globalization and belonging*. London, UK: Sage.

Seale, C. 2012. Sampling. In *Researching society and culture, 3rd ed.,* ed. C. Seale. London, UK: Sage, 134–152.

Shelton, T., A. Poorthius, and M. Zook. 2015. Social media and the city: Rethinking urban socio-spatial inequality using user-generated geographic information. *Landscape and Urban Planning* 142: 198–211.

Sutton, S. E., and S. P. Kemp. 2011. Place: A site of individual and collective transformation. In *The paradox of urban space. Inequality and transformation in marginalized communities,* eds. Sutton and Kemp. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 113–134.

Tomaney, J. 2015. Region and Place II: Belonging. P*rogress in Human Geography* 39(4): 507–516.

Townshend, B. Miller, and L. Evans. 2018. *Socio-spatial polarization in an age of income inequality: An exploration of neighbourhood change in Calgary's "Three Cities."* Research Paper 241. Toronto: Cities Centre, University of Toronto. http://neighbourhoodchange.ca/documents/2018/04/socio-spatial-polarization-in-calgary.pdf.

Townshend, B. Miller, and D. Cook. 2020. Neighbourhood change in Calgary: An evolving geography of income inequality and social difference. Chapter 9 in *Changing neighbourhoods: Social and spatial polarization in Canadian cities,* eds. J. Grant, A. Walks, and H. Ramos. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

Valentine, G. 2008. Living with difference: Reflections on geographies of encounter. *Progress in Human Geography* 32(3): 323–337.

Van Kempen, R. 2007. Divided cities in the 21st century: Challenging the importance of globalization. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 22(1): 13–31.

Van Kempen, R., and A. Murie. 2009. The new divided city: Changing patterns in European cities. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* 100(4): 377–398.

Van Kempen, R., and B. Wissink. 2014. Between places and flows: Towards a new agenda for neighbourhood research in an age of mobility. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 96(2): 95–108.

Veronis, L. 2007. Strategic spatial essentialism: Latin Americans' real and imagined geographies of belonging in Toronto. *Social & Cultural Geography* 8(3): 455–473.

Wacquant, L. 2007. Territorial stigmatization in the age of advanced marginality. *Thesis Eleven* 91(1): 66–77.

Walks, A. 2009. The urban in fragile, uncertain, neoliberal times: towards new geographies of social justice? *The Canadian Geographer* 53(3): 345–356.

——. 2020. Inequality and neighbourhood change in the Greater Toronto region. In *Changing neighbourhoods: Social and spatial polarization in Canadian cities,* eds. J. Grant, A. Walks and H. Ramos.Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 79–100.

Walks, A., and L. Bourne. 2017. Ghettos in Canada's cities? Racial segregation, ethnic enclaves and poverty concentration in Canadian urban areas. *The Canadian Geographer* 50(3): 273–297.

Walks, R. A., and R. Maaranen. 2006. Gentrification, social mix, and social polarization: Testing the linkages in large Canadian cities. *Urban Geography* 29(4): 293–326.

Watt, P. 2009. Living in an oasis: Middle-class disaffiliation and selective belonging in an English suburb. *Environment and Planning A* 41: 2874–2892.

Williams, S. A. and J. R. Hipp. 2019. How great and how good? Third places, neighbor interaction, and cohesion in the neighborhood context. *Social Science Research* 77: 68–78.

Wood, N., and L. Waite. 2011. Editorial: Scales of belonging. *Emotion, Space and Society* 4: 201–202.

Wright, S. 2015. More-than-human, emergent belongings: A weak theory approach. *Progress in Human Geography* 39(4): 391–411.

Yalnizyan, A. 2010. *The rise of Canada's richest 1%*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.

Youkhana, E. 2015. A conceptual shift in studies of belonging and the politics of belonging. *Social Inclusion* 3(4): 10–24.

Yuval-Davis, N. 2006. Belonging and the politics of belonging. *Patterns of Prejudice* 40(3): 197–214.

Yuval-Davis, N., G. Wemyss, and K. Cassidy. 2018. Everyday bordering, belonging, and the reorientation of British immigration legislation. *Sociology* 52(2): 228–244.

Zhou, X., D. Li, and L. Larsen 2016. Using web-based participatory mapping to investigate children's perceptions and the spatial distribution of outdoor play places. *Environment and Behavior* 48(7): 859–884.