# **Resourceful Cities**

Berlin (Germany), 29-31 August 2013

# Urban Form and Territorial Bonding:

Delimitating Home Ground

Laurence Leduc-Primeau\*

Paper presented at the International RC21 Conference 2013

Session: 04. Boundaries and (B)orders – Theorizing the City through its Confinements and Connections

(\*) Urbanisation Culture Société Institut National de la Recherche Scientifique 385 rue Sherbrooke E., Montréal, QC, Canada, H2X 1E3 laurence\_leducprimeau@ucs.inrs.ca

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#### **Abstract**

This paper, based on a case study in the region of Montreal (Quebec) explores the way individuals delimitate their home ground, and seeks to better understand the relationships between its boundaries and the built urban environment. It postulates that (1) the symbolic boundaries of home ground will tend to be placed at concrete ruptures in the fabric of the city, (2) ruptures offer options; the more there are, the more diversity there will be between the shapes and extents of home grounds, and that (3) different boundaries will converge more when ruptures are stronger. Even if many factors play in the complex relationship human behold with the environment, this paper shows that the said hypotheses tend to be verified. Part of the relationship goes however unnoticed. If the choice to "conform to" or "confront" urban form is indeed an individual one, some borders are deeper rooted than others and this strength is (at least partly) related to urban form. Furthermore, this papers shows that neighbourhoods where home grounds perceptions offer greater similitude possibly create a stronger and more unique "here" and "we", making the "other" stand out and may, in time, tend to be more exclusive.

# **Urban Form and Territorial Bonding: Delimitating Home Ground**

Through an exploration of individual experiences of space in two neighbourhoods of Montreal (Quebec), this paper aims at improving our comprehension of the links between the built environment and the relationships established with it. More specifically, it addresses the question, and effects, of the concordance (if any) between the symbolic boundaries of home grounds<sup>1</sup> and the concrete ruptures and perceptual shifts in the fabric of the city.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Following the work of Stanton (1986), "home ground" is here defined as "the mental form and geographical extent of those places that evoke a feeling of being near home"; one's appropriated territory.

Most studies on the delimitation of either the neighbourhood or the home ground stated great divergences in participants' answer (shapes, extents) but seldom questioned the implications of such variations (see for example Aitken & Prosser 1990; Coulton, Korbin, Chan, et al. 2001; Minnery, Knight, Byrne, et al. 2009). As a partial answer to this shortcoming, and drawing from Moles and Rohmer's work (1998), the initial hypothesis for this work was that sudden discontinuities of the perceived space (ruptures) create an "inner wall" (paroi), generating "an outside and an inside, a here and an elsewhere, and in the end, separating Self from Others" (Moles & Rohmer 1998: 55). What these authors are postulating is a concordance between symbolic boundaries, and concrete borders, if borders are understood in the broad sense of physical ruptures in the fabric of the city. They add that the stronger the fracture, the more likely individual boundaries are to converge. From there, we postulated that a complex environment, having more variations and breaks in it, would offer more possibilities than a homogeneous one to anchor one's personal boundaries.

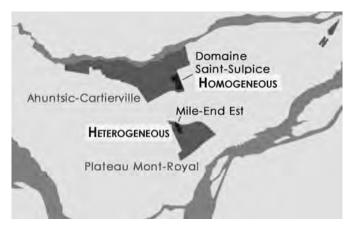
In order to assess the extent to which reality concords with these hypotheses, walking interviews were conducted in two neighbourhoods of Montreal (Quebec) that differ greatly in their physical characteristics. One, heterogeneous and complex, the other, homogeneous and simple. Following the hypotheses, (1) the participants should tend to chose ruptures in the fabric of the city to anchor their boundaries, (2) the home grounds of the participants of the heterogeneous and complex site should vary more than those of the homogeneous and simple site and (3) major ruptures should make the participants' home grounds converge more (in both sites). Two neighbourhoods, the Mile-End (North-Eastern part) and the Domaine Saint-Sulpice, both in Montreal, were chosen to conduct the interviews, as they satisfied the looked for characteristics (heterogeneous vs. homogeneous), while having enough similarities to allow comparison. That is, a certain degree of mix land use (proximity to amenities), diversity of housing facilities (and of revenues within the population), important ruptures nearby,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Author's translation. Original text (in French): « Ainsi, il suffira de faire varier brusquement avec l'éloignement une quelconque des perceptions de l'individu : diamètre apparent, audition, résistance au déplacement, température, odeur ou couleur pour édifier dans son esprit une paroi, un dehors et un dedans, un ici et un ailleurs, et, en définitive, séparer le Moi des Autres ».

and relatively easy access to public transportation (see Figure 1 for the localisation of the two sites).

The Mile-End (North-Eastern part) and the Domaine Saint-Sulpice

Figure 1: Close-up of the Island of Montreal, with selected sites in their respective districts



Source: Laurence Leduc-Primeau

The first area was chosen for its heterogeneity. Indeed, the Mile-End (in the Plateau Mont-Royal district, one of Montreal's most densely populated area) is known for its multiculturalism and recent gentrification. The Northeast portion, which was selected for this study illustrates well the diversity of uses, the architectural eclecticism and the remnant of industrial past for which the Mile-End is famous. On the chosen site, there are notably a train track, massive warehouses and vacant spaces. Moreover, many different ambiances cohabit, and many arteries cut the space. All these characteristics make the Mile-End an environment highly stimulating for the senses, with many variations and ruptures in the fabric of the city, ranging widely in their strength (see Appendix I for maps of the chosen sites, with the major ruptures highlighted).

The heterogeneity of the fabric can be contrasted with the homogeneity of the Domaine Saint-Sulpice area, in Ahuntsic-Cartierville district. It was chosen for the relative simplicity of its urban form and the low sensorial stimulation and perceptual ruptures it offers. It is mostly residential, quiet, green, with a curvy street design inspired by the City Beautiful Movement. However, its development was subsequent to the development of

the surrounding area and it inherited from a road system largely disconnected from the main arterial network.<sup>3</sup> It is, moreover, bordered by important ruptures (an elevated highway, important arteries, and a train track), making it almost an enclave.

Participants were asked to take the interviewer to places outside their residence "where they feel strongly at home" and to places "where they feel strongly 'not at home". Open questions were asked along the way in order to define their home ground. As little reference as possible was directly made to the built environment while conducting the interviews. At the end, participants were asked to draw on maps their home grounds, its boundaries, and what they perceived to be the major borders nearby (regardless of the impact these had, or not, on their home grounds).

## Do symbolic boundaries coincide with the concrete ruptures of the city?

As expected, individuals' boundaries converged much more in the homogeneous and enclosed territory than in the heterogeneous one. Out of the ten participants of the Domaine Saint-Sulpice, nine had a home ground that was neatly encompassed in the historical boundaries of the site (see Appendix II for a synthesis of the Domaine Saint-Sulpice participants' boundaries). By contrast, in the Mile-End, the home grounds were much more divergent. Answers varied more in shapes (more irregular forms), extents (wider variation, from very small to very large) and landmarks used as limits than in the Domaine Saint-Sulpice. In the Mile-End, the strongest convergence of individual boundaries were found northbound (the train track) and westbound (the Mountain – Outremont – Park Av.), where, even though individual answers diverge, there seems to exist a zone more or less agreed upon (about 70% of the respondents' answers converge in the same area). Moreover, these two directions coincide, more or less with

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Historically, this land was the Sulpicians' natural reserve. Seigneurs of Montreal until the English Conquest, they kept for their personal usage what is now known to be the "Domaine Saint-Sulpice", a piece of land of approximately 1,8 km<sup>2</sup> that was preserved from urbanisation up until the 60's, while the surrounding land was largely developed by 1914 (see Archambault-Malouin 2002 for a detailled history of the site).

the historical delimitations of the Mile-End.<sup>4</sup> South and east, however, there is very little convergence, no single answer rallying more than 30% of the participants, and almost never coinciding with the official limits of the Mile-End (see Appendix III for a synthesis of the Mile-End participants' boundaries). Corroborating the hypothesis, those two directions (north and west) are the ones with the strongest ruptures. In the north, the train tracks are coupled with an elevated artery and a fenced-in vacant space with little possibility to cut through, except in designated underpasses (about one every 500 m). And in the west, "The Mountain" (Mount Royal), an important landmark creating a "green" rupture, descends into Outremont district (a green and luxurious district that was until not so long ago a city within the city<sup>5</sup>). Park Av., in the same area, is an important road, as much for the automobile traffic it supports as for its commercial activity. These items create a border zone that seems to regroup many of the participants' boundaries. In short, major ruptures, both in the Domaine Saint-Sulpice and in the Mile-End do seem to have an impact on the delimitations of home grounds.

Moreover, the smaller shifts in ambiance also seem to have an impact on the delimitation of home grounds. For example, three sections (related to the site's historical development and architectural characteristics) were delimited in the Domaine Saint-Sulpice prior to the interviews. Even if the built environment is generally homogeneous, the north zone (built between 1962-65) is mostly comprised of assorted bungalows and duplexes, while the south zone (built around 1985) is filled with four-story-high condominiums complexes (eight apartments per building). In the center, there is a more eclectic zone, with a spacious park, social housing projects and a small shopping mall. All participants but one<sup>6</sup> had a home ground that stopped before reaching the beginning of the farthest zone (see Figure 2 for a graphical overview). If the center zone can be part of participants' home grounds, regardless of whether they live north or south, it

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> However, even if the name "Mile-End" can be found on a map that date as far back as 1859 (see Boxer 1859), its boundaries have been changing over time. For example, northbound, it was until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century going well over the train track. Even today, its delimitation changes according to the different administrative instances mapping it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The city of Outremont, known to be the Francophones *bourgeoisie*'s city, was merged to the city of Montreal in 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> One participant in the Domaine Saint-Sulpice had a very vast home ground (encompassing most of Montreal's island).

seems that the "other zone" (that is, either the north zone for those living south, or the south zone for those living north) is not.

Three zones

Louvain

North

Louvain

North

Center

Center

Center

Center

Conter

C

Figure 2: Home grounds of participants (north and south), and relation to three distinct ambiances zones<sup>7</sup>

Source: Laurence Leduc-Primeau

One participant had a particularly striking comment about it during the interviews: "I don't have a feeling of belonging regarding that [the condominiums]. It's another kind of enclave. I have the feeling that the people living there, they're people with a territory X. My own territory of belonging is more up there [up north]. [If I had been living south instead of north], I would have never been in the other territory [north], I'm pretty sure". 8

Because bigger houses are situated in the north section, families with children tend to live more north, while south, there is a greater proportion of couple without children, and elderly living alone (see Appendix IV, for graphical repartitions of families within the Domaine). Nonetheless, there are no notable distinctions between race or revenues between the south and north sections of the Domaine. However, the center is somewhat distinct, due to the social housing projects. The most likely explanation for this division in home grounds seems to be in the different ambiances, perceptual ruptures that are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Two participants' home grounds are not shown on these maps. One, because its territory was extremely vast, the other, who was living in the exact center of the Domaine, because its home ground included both north and south sections.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Participant 2-04. Author's translation.

created by the "center section". The park, coupled with the social projects, high towers, and the mall seems to create a rupture that generates a border zone, albeit different from the ruptures previously mentioned, yet implicitly followed by most. However, the park, far from functioning as a "green wall", <sup>9</sup> as one could have expected, seems to be used by a wide variety of residents, and be a place where they cohabit in peace, and sometimes mix. The center zone seems to work rather more like a "porous dike" – a shared space that nonetheless contains and refrains "strangers" from exceeding it.

On the contrary, in the Mile-End, there are no clear convergences rallying a majority of participants. However, some participants have mentioned different ambiances that had an impact on the delimitation of their home ground. For example, many talked about Laurier St., 10 stating that "it does not fit here", "it's not part of the Mile-End", "there's a different character, the shops, the people". Others love its presence. Regardless, it is seen as standing out, labelled pretty clearly by participants as a "different" place. Many will mark it with a red cross (not home) while drawing on maps, even though it is within the zone they marked as home ground. Perhaps the most striking, Laurier St. is not, however, the only illustration of exclusions related to ambiances. Many referred to the "feeling" of a place or another, some to odours (emanating from the pool, for example), others to luminosity, linking these feelings with the delimitation of their home ground. Quite interestingly, a participant referred to the different ambiances nearby as "small boxes", pieces of streets rather separated that pile up, making it difficult for her to qualify with one single word her surrounding environment: "you enter a new street, and you have the impression that it's completely another ambiance". 11 The idea of the small boxes, piled up, summarizes many participants' impression of the Mile-End.

Following the same pattern, the walking interview also showed that the perceived borders (barriers) converge a lot more in the Domaine Saint-Sulpice than in the Mile-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Solecki and Welch (1995) describe a "green wall" as such: "parks, like other large, single-use land spaces, can act as sharp dividing lines separating highly segregated residential neighborhoods in urban America. In extreme cases, boundary parks may also function as barriers between neighborhoods and discourage passage between them".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Laurier St. is a commercial street, rather fashionable and posh at this height.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Participant 1-05. Author's translation.

End (see Appendix V for an overview of the identified barriers). In the Domaine, all barriers mentioned or drawn on the maps but one were the four main ruptures identified by us prior to the interviews (shown in Appendix I). In the Mile-End, with the exception of the train tracks, there seems to be almost no convergence in the perceived borders, even less so than in participants' boundaries.

Those results would tend to confirm the stated hypotheses that (1) individuals do tend to choose a rupture in the environment as an anchor for their own symbolic boundaries, (2) an environment with more ruptures and sensorial variations "generates" territories that are more divergent than an homogeneous one and (3) boundaries seem to converge more when the fracture is stronger. However, stating it as such could mask the richness of the relationships built with space, subtleties that the next section will address.

Subtleties, contestations, contradictions and individual choices

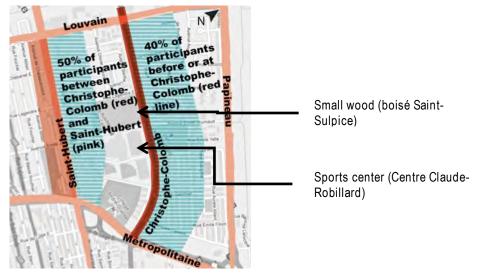


Figure 3: Domaine Saint-Sulpice, a split between participants' boundaries

Source: Laurence Leduc-Primeau

The comparison of the perceived borders and participant's home grounds boundaries is particularly interesting in the case of Domaine Saint-Sulpice's west bound. If the home grounds of a majority of participants coincides on three lines (north, south, and east) with the historical boundaries of the Domaine (or do not go further), there is however a

split westbound between the historical boundaries of the Domaine (Saint Hubert St.) and the first main rupture when leaving the Domaine (Christophe-Colomb St.) (see Figure 3).

To justify its inclusion in their home grounds, participants whose westbound limit went over Christophe-Colomb St. talked about the sports center (Centre Claude-Robillard) and the small wood (boisé Saint-Sulpice) that can be found between those two streets, and that are, statedly, important to them. Indeed, having a reason to go somewhere, or finding a place attractive, was often mentioned (in both sites) and apparently play an important role in the definition of home ground and could be a sufficient reason to "kick your butt and get moving". 12 Even though it implies an "effort", an interesting shopping street, friends, family, green spaces, or other element of interest might be an incentive strong enough to modify the would-be patterns "imposed" by borders. Another example, in the Mile-End, there was a participant who rarely crosses Saint Laurent St., because of the traffic, and the lights that slow down his progression. But in summer, there's a charming ice cream shop, the owner is nice, "so I go there almost every night. It's very seasonal". 13 Others will say that they do not go "there" because there is "nothing to do", but that they would gladly go "there" should an interesting restaurant, shop or café open. For others, what matters is not so much the borders, but the fact that despite the ruptures, a delicate balance in the city is maintained. They often referred to it as a "feeling of connection", a patchwork between the elements of the city, generally related to its organic development, something to do with human scale. For example, a participant said: "as long as you have this feeling of being surrounded by 'normal life'. you still find that things are connected, not like when you go to Laval<sup>14</sup> and you have a big highway with huge stores, box-like, and you're like wow, what the hell is this? Gods scale or something". 15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Author's liberal translation of participant 2-03's expression.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Author's translation. Participant 1-07.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Laval is the first municipality north of the island of Montreal. Although the term could be lengthily discussed, Laval is, for many, the "epitome of suburbia".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Author's translation. Participant 1-02.

In short, even though there seems to be a relation between borders (ruptures) and boundaries (home grounds), it is definitely not strict nor determined. Factors such as attractiveness or "connectivity", and individual choices, make the home grounds vary and can make them "overcome" the ruptures of the city. Furthermore, home grounds are in many cases flexible and can vary, for example, according to seasons or means of transportation.

## A conscious relationship?

There remains the question of participants' awareness to the relationship they have with their environment, and how much of what they say actually reflects the relationship they truly behold with it. Proshansky et al. state that: "Even though physical settings are typically the 'backgrounds' for social interactions and social processes, far, far more of the properties of these settings are assimilated to some degree as aspects of placeidentity than one would expect or certainly than the individual is aware of" (1983: 75). In the case of the aforementioned division, westbound, on the two main boundaries in the Domaine Saint-Sulpice (see Figure 3), we could ask ourselves if the participants were aware of the site's history and if the city's fabric had anything to do with their choice of boundary even if their statement was generally about the site's beauty, or the fact that they use the sport center for many activities. That being said, one participant, particularly knowledgeable about the site's history and urbanism, did mention that west of St Hubert St., the fabric changed, tightened, and that one could see quite clearly that the constructions were from another time. 17 It is however fair to assess that most were probably unaware of this fact. Nonetheless, these two streets, presenting major ruptures for different reasons, were chosen by almost all participants.

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<sup>7</sup> Participant 2-07.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Some people do not have a home ground at all. Their territory of belonging is restricted to the inner circles of their private spaces. Others have a territory than spans to the extent of their familiarity, changes as familiarity evolves. The unknown being their limit. Many participants' territories had changed over time. Different life stages, parenthood, tenure, can all play a role in the existence or non-existence of that territory of belonging outside of one's residence. But this is outside of the scope of this paper.

The example of the three identified sections in the Domaine Saint-Sulpice is also interesting (see Figure 2). Despite the very strong convergence of answers, the vast majority of participants did not explicitly mentioned "the other zone" in the interviews. Apart from the aforementioned very explicit reference to different territories (participant 2-04), it is not clear whether or not these sections have an existence in the minds of participants. They do not exist officially and while drawing on the maps during the interviews, most participants gave the impression that they did not end their home ground at a "widely known and shared boundary" but more likely that each had, individually, the vague feeling that this is where their home ground ends, without knowing that others would end it at the same place.

Furthermore, many ruptures that had been identified prior to the interviews did not come up as much as predicted during the walking interviews. Even if the train track north of the Mile-End was the most frequently identified barrier, it has been less spontaneously addressed by the participants than foretold. Same can be said of the industrial zone, with its high warehouses (see Appendix I, in yellow), an example among others. Even if it creates a major rupture in the environment, very few talked about it. It is possible that the warehouses form for most a "blank zone", what Augoyard (1979) calls an exclusion, an absence; an area that is not even perceived, that does not exist. Given that about 80% of the participant of the Mile-End, did not include this zone in their home grounds, it is a fair assumption that at least part its role goes unnoticed.

The fact that many talked about their relation with their physical surroundings as being a "non generalizable one, which varies according to one's life stage, interests, history and social relationships", but that many convergences have been highlighted tends to confirm that at least some degree of this relationship is not taken account for by the participants (although that measure varies, some being extremely aware of it, others none at all<sup>18</sup>).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Nothing says that the degree to which the environment plays a role, however, is equivalent for all, and consistent through lifetime.

## Significance and limits

However these exclusions are not without implications. The interviews showed that the barriers and ruptures play a role on frequentation. If it demands an effort, if it is not attractive, if it is not part of one's perceived reality, it is less frequented. Frequentation is strongly related to one's familiarity with a place. During the interviews, familiarity with the physical elements of a place and/or with its people was the most mentioned factor as an answer to "what is home ground" (home ground is "where I know my way around", "where I know the buildings and shops", "where I recognize people's faces in the street and they also recognize me"). This relationship between the shape of a city, its impact on frequentation and, in time, with familiarity and home ground delimitation deserves more attention.

Curiously, or maybe not so, the most frequent reason that was given by the participants to exclude a place from their home ground was related to its absence of interest ("I don't have any reasons to go there", "there's nothing to do"). And it is, most certainly, the impression that they have. But how can one truly know what things of interest lie somewhere they don't go? This apparently benign question is not so benign when we start looking at the depth of those "evictions" or "exclusions" or the frequency with which participants mentioned "adapting" themselves by negating, or not seeing anymore places they wish were not there. As an example, a participant particularly aware of space's impact on her life said about the train track in the Mile-End: "North, it's the barrier I was talking about earlier. It's where it starts to be less human, with the train track, and the underpass. It's a pity because right after, it's the Italian neighbourhood, a very nice place. But because there's this barrier, we go much less. It's not far, but it creates an impression or distance". It is, of course, possible to overcome these, as previously shown. Some do. But others don't.

If the choice to "conform to" or "confront" urban form is indeed an individual one, we can say that some borders are deeper rooted than others and that this strength is (at least

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Author's translation. Participant 1-11.

partly) related to urban form. From the interviews, it seems that homogeneous neighbourhoods bordered by strong ruptures "generate" home grounds that offer more similitudes, and where the perception of borders are more widely shared. It seems that strong borders offer less possibility of divergences, as showed by the high degree of concordance between participants. Logically, frequented areas are more similar in strongly bordered neighbourhoods. There are fewer possibilities.

Moreover, the interviews raised the question of the "habitable". For Augoyard (1979), *l'habitable* is defined by the possibility to stop, to dwell. A place (*endroit*) is "in this sense, an appropriable area [...] that is to say, somewhere where we *could* stop<sup>20</sup>" (Augoyard 1979: 112). The non-habitable is absently lived, leaves unmoved and unconcerned, if frequented at all. If the concept is interesting, the interviews mostly showed that what is perceived as habitable or non-habitable varies between participants. Perhaps without great surprise, space in the Mile-End (eclectic neighbourhood) is much more contested than in the Domaine Saint-Sulpice. That is to say that a given location in the Mile-End is more likely to be "a place where I feel strongly at home" for some and simultaneously "a place where I feel strongly not at home" for others. It seems that the definitions of the liveable vary more in that neighbourhood, while meanings of place or more agreed upon in the other.

In time, could neighbourhoods with clear, deeply rooted borders and convergent home grounds further a more homogeneous image of the city and its inhabitant? If the question is open and no straight answer can be given, both neighbourhoods' participants relationships with their social housing projects can be highlighting on this matter. Both had inside the chosen sites what is called in French an HLM. If it has almost never been mentioned in the Mile-End interviews, it was a major topic of discussion for almost all participants of the Domaine Saint-Sulpice. Even if no real threat of major incident have been mentioned, most participants talked about their uneasiness and sometimes fear regarding the inhabitants of the said projects. One clearly

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Author's translation. Emphasis as in original text.

summarized the majority's feelings by talking about a "visible clash of classes"<sup>21</sup>. And visible is the key word. In such a homogeneous territory, where the "here" is enclosed in strong borders, and where the home grounds, instead of organically overlapping and spreading in different ways are stopped more or less all at the same place in space, could it be that it generates, in time, a more unified and thus more exclusive vision of the "we" and make the "others" *de facto* more visible and problematic? Without turning this debate on the one about gated communities, the relationship between the ruptures of the city and barriers (borders), home grounds (non)similitudes and exclusivity of the "we" should not be overlooked when thinking territories, belonging, representations and interactions. If most, if not all, humans will give themselves boundaries on which to anchor themselves, the fact that most territories converge might potentially raise a very different situation than if they all overlap and merge. A total absence of rupture, however, could raise other problematic situations. It would be interesting to pursue similar studies in such spaces.

That being said, the study is rather exploratory. It raises more questions than it gives answers, and should be understood as such. Many factors such as education, culture, sex, age, among others, obviously play a major role in the divergences found between the two neighbourhoods, even if precautions were taken to assure a wide representation, and a diversity of participants.

#### Conclusion

Nonetheless, the findings suggest that even with all the other possible factors taken into account, there is a relationship between the ruptures in urban form (concrete borders) and home grounds definition (symbolic boundaries). The strongest ruptures have the most impact, and home grounds' boundaries tend to be put before or at these major ruptures, rarely further than them, thus creating a zone of convergence. Smaller ruptures, shifts in ambiances are also relevant, albeit less often consciously so. However, interest, activities, attraction towards a place, among other elements, can play

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Author's translation of an expression of participant 2-09.

a role in home grounds delimitation, and make it go against its "natural" tendency to be influenced by ruptures in the fabric of the city. Even if there is a great variation between the participants awareness of the impact the physical environment has on their home ground delimitation and even if the actual impact might vary widely amongst individuals, it seems that for most, part of the role of the physical environment in home grounds delimitation goes unnoticed, as showed by the gap between participants' verbal answers during the interviews, and the comparison of their different home grounds. In time, territories that generate home grounds that are more similar could further a more exclusive vision of the "we", where the "other" stands out, more visible. These insights ought to be continued in further studies.

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This research was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and the Fonds de recherche du Québec - Société et culture.

# **Appendices**

Appendix I - Chosen sites and main ruptures	I
Appendix II - Domaine Saint-Sulpice, participants' boundaries	III
Appendix II - Mile-End, participants' boundaries  Appendix IV - Perceived borders (barriers)	

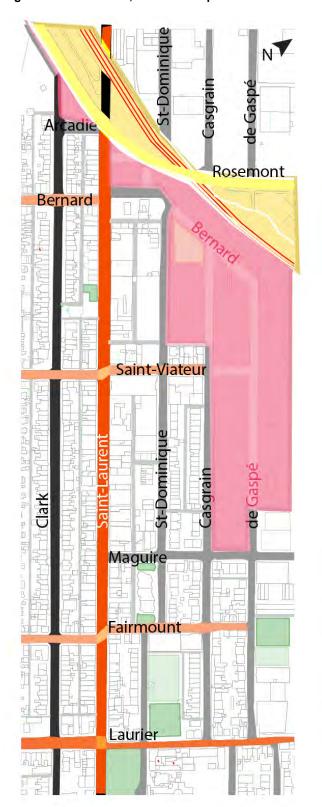
# Appendix I - Chosen sites and main ruptures

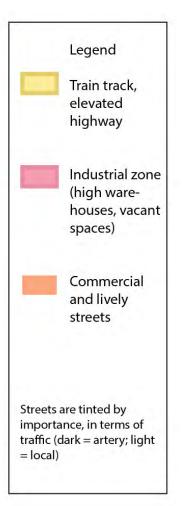
Figure 4: Domaine Saint-Sulpice, with main ruptures within the site (and bordering it)<sup>22</sup>

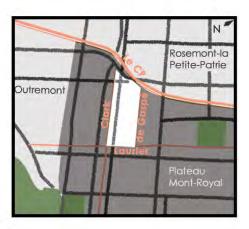


 $<sup>\</sup>frac{}{}^{22}$  In both Figures (4 and 5), the ruptures outside of the chosen site are not shown.

Figure 5: Mile-End Est, with main ruptures within the site

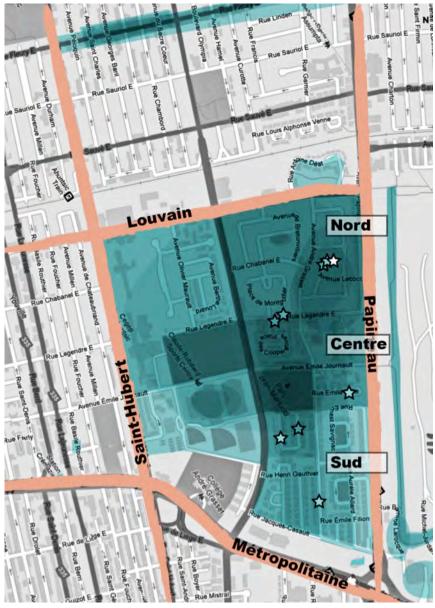






# Appendix II - Domaine Saint-Sulpice, participants' boundaries

Figure 4: Domaine Saint-Sulpice, home ground of nine participants  $(/10)^{23}$ 



Source: Laurence Leduc-Primeau

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Some satellites points are outside of the boundaries of the historic Domaine Saint-Sulpice (blue area at the top and right ends of the map). They were left as drawn but not considered for analysis, as home ground in the initial research was conceptualized as a continuous territory, the interest lying in its boundaries, the first "break" only was considered.

## Appendix III - Mile-End, participants' boundaries

Table 1: Mile-End, individual boundaries, when chosen more than once, with total count. Areas of convergence highlighted in bold<sup>24</sup>

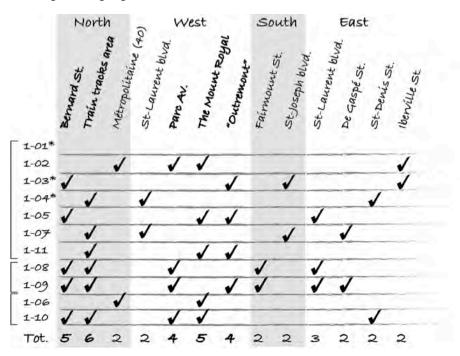
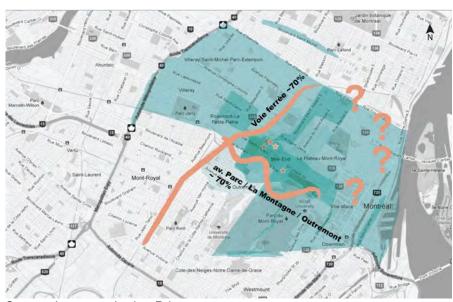


Figure 5: Mile-End, schematisation of the convergence of individual boundaries<sup>25</sup>



Source: Laurence Leduc-Primeau

<sup>24</sup> Participants are sorted by proximity of residence. The ones with an asterisk (\*) had a particularly irregular shape of home ground; boundaries are thus approximated. Since territories' shapes are not always regular, some participants have more than one boundary in the same cardinal direction.

25 The "north" of Montreal is not the geographic north. North in Table 1 refers to "north" as Montrealers do.

It is actually northwest.

# Appendix IV - Repartition of families within the Domaine Saint-Sulpice

Figure 6: Concentration of couples with children

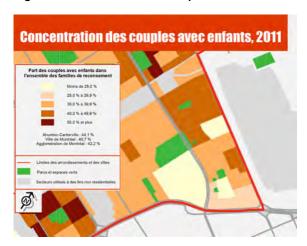


Figure 8: Concentration of single-parent families

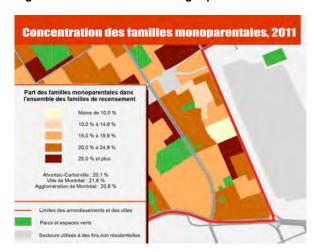


Figure 7: Concentration of couples without children

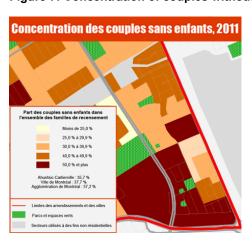
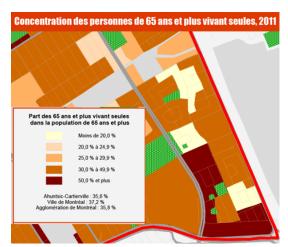


Figure 9: Concentration of 65+ living alone



Source : Atlas sociodémographique [excerpts] (Ville de Montréal 2009)

# Appendix V - Perceived borders (barriers)

Table 2: Domaine Saint-Sulpice, borders drawn on maps (black) and mentioned during the interviews (grey)<sup>26</sup>

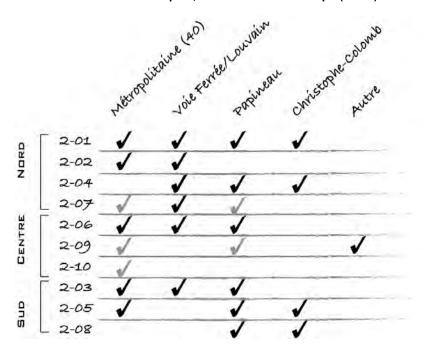
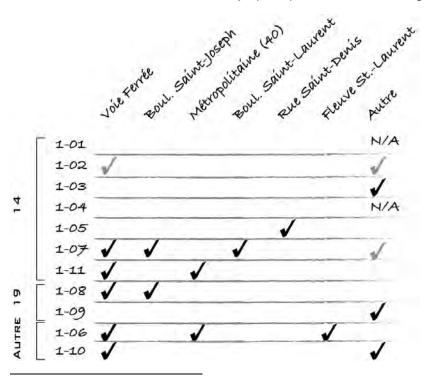


Table 3: Mile-End, borders drawn on maps (black) and mentioned during the interviews (grey)



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> In both tables, the "N/A" under the category "Autre" means that no border were mentioned or drawn. For the Mile-End, a check mark under the category "Autre" means that a border was mentioned, but not more than once (same case as for the three last ones, but they are not all named).