NORTH OF NORTH STREET: GREEN SPACES, IDENTITY, AND THE MIDDLE
CLASS

by

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the two most important women in my life. To my loving partner Tierney who has helped support me from the beginning of my thesis to its bitter end, helping keep me grounded and ensuring I leave the basement at least once or twice a day. And to my mother Vicki, who had to endure reading papers and assignments of questionable quality throughout the better part of my undergraduate degree. I would not be writing this thesis here today without her willingness to underline the same mistakes for years until I finally figured out how to write.

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ABSTRACT

How do residents in Halifax Nova Scotia's North End experience and use public green spaces within the city? Researchers argue that public green spaces in cities are important for the overall health and wellbeing of urban populations, yet they are often located in areas of high socio-economic wealth (Heynen et al, 2006). Do residents of the North End, once a largely working-class area, experience any kind of "green deficit"? Drawing on fieldwork conducted in North End green spaces and semi-structured qualitative interviews with white middle-class North End residents, I argue that the latter experience nuanced green deficits (lack of wooded space). While all participants valued green spaces highly, certain conflicts over their use were apparent. Green spaces in the North End often act as proxies for larger debates about the area's history, drawing issues of class, race, and white privilege into arguments about how local green spaces are used.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

Urban Political Ecology (UPE)

Point Pleasant Park (PPP)

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Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION

Among the most visible features of cities in industrialized societies are public green spaces. Often promoted as destinations for local residents and tourists, public green spaces like parks and commons are important elements of urban environments. Not only are they seen as attractive spaces for people to visit and interact with nature, they can have positive influences on the overall urban environment. Green spaces can beautify urban landscapes, improve the health and overall quality of life for individuals in nearby neighbourhoods, and foster social connections between residents. However, with the reported benefits of utilizing green spaces, what happens when people are unable to access them? What if the spaces they access are poorly maintained and unsafe? My thesis examines these questions through the experiences of green spaces among middle-class residents of the North End of Halifax, Nova Scotia and explores how residents incorporate green spaces into their daily lives.

Social scientists from various backgrounds often examine the impacts public green spaces have on urban environments and how people interact with them. Research on parks, commons, and dog runs highlights that these spaces are highly valuable: socially through maintaining and fostering safe spaces for community engagement, economically because of the physical space they occupy, and health-wise for the physical benefits they provide (Heynen et al. 2006). As a result of their social and economic importance, green spaces are sometimes clustered in and around higher income areas, or spaces that are socioeconomically powerful (Boone et al. 2009, Heynen et al. 2006, Milbourne 2012). This organization of green spaces in socioeconomically powerful areas

can contribute to "green deficits" in lower income areas. Green deficits are described by authors such as Heynen et al. (2006) as areas that lack access to green space, especially relative to other neighbourhoods. These patterns are have been explored in large cities that have transitioned from industrial to post-industrial environments. Conceptualizing green spaces as valuable resources is one way researchers concerned with urban inequalities have examined how socio-economic forces shape and develop urban environments.

Given the social importance of green spaces and the benefits they provide urban environments, it is important to understand how these spaces are distributed and experienced by residents as the people who could most benefit from access to these spaces are often the ones who experience green deficits. The current case study is an examination of how green spaces are experienced by middle-class residents living in the North End of Halifax, Nova Scotia. The North End, once a largely working-class area, has had its social landscape significantly changed by disinvestment followed by reinvestment, gentrification, and urban renewal.

For the purposes of this study, semi-structured interviews were conducted with eleven participants to generate qualitative data on how people use and experience green spaces in the North End; how they define where the North End begins and ends; and what impact social class has on their relationship with green space. As well, I conducted fieldwork in North End green spaces to observe how people utilize these spaces as part of their daily routines, and to enhance data generated through the interview process.

In this thesis, I argue that struggles over green spaces act as proxies for larger debates occurring within the city of Halifax. The debate over the closing of an off-leash

dog park on the former site of Africville illustrates how conflicts over dog walking and green space are informed by larger histories of structural racism and white privilege within Halifax. The North End provides a good case to study for the intersection of class, race, green space, and defining local identity because of its high local visibility and the transformation of its social landscape.

Halifax and the North End

The city of Halifax, Nova Scotia, is one of the oldest urban environments in North America. The city has public green spaces throughout it, most notably the Halifax Common and Citadel Hill, which are two expansive green spaces that occupy the majority of the central region of the city. These two green spaces divide the city between the North End and the South End. The South End has been historically marked by stronger socioeconomic status and is home to Point Pleasant Park, one of the city's largest and most heavily wooded parks.

Contrasting with the South End, the North End is historically marked by weaker socioeconomic status. The North End is roughly located between Cogswell Street (southern border), Windsor Street (western border), and the opening of the Bedford basin (northern border). While this is the general location of the North End, as in most broad neighbourhoods there are many smaller distinct areas within it, such as, in this case, the Hydrostone, Bloomfield or Uniacke Square. Having been home to much of the city's working-class population during the 19th and 20th centuries, the North End was once the site of local manufacturing enterprises. The North End experienced several waves of urban development since the 1950s. This resulted in a heterogeneous mixture of different social classes in the area, creating a valuable research site for understanding relationships

between class and experiences of green space. Moreover, since Halifax is a relatively small city, residents potentially have easy access to both rural and urban green spaces. There are a variety of nearby lakes, parks, and wooded spaces directly outside Halifax's urban core, providing residents with opportunities to explore and interact with a variety of spaces both within and outside the North End. This distinct social mix and geographical location means that the North End provides a fertile site for examining how urban residents experience and interact with public green spaces.

North Enders, Green Space, and the Expanded Middle Class

Before examining the accounts and lived experiences of North End residents and how they incorporate green spaces into their lives, it is important to situate my thesis among the existing literature on green spaces, social class, and Halifax, which I do in Chapter 2. Drawing on both qualitative and quantitative research, my work contributes to the growing body of literature examining the lived experiences of green spaces through the accounts of local residents who utilize green spaces in their daily lives. Following that, in Chapter 3 I outline the methods used to generate my data. In Chapter 4 I engage the social class backgrounds of participants and how this informs their relationships to green spaces in the North End. I explore participants' experiences, making the case that differences in perception are indicative of not a singular but an expanded middle class. While there are differences within the middle class related to access and use, overall green spaces are valued in similar ways across the expanded middle class.

Following the discussion of participants' experiences as members of the middle class, in Chapter 5 I examine local boundary drawing in relationship to where the North End begins. Local boundary drawing was very important to informants, and influenced

not only how they conceptualized themselves as North Enders, but also what green spaces they used or thought of as "local". This chapter serves as a way of exploring participant's engagement with the social and physical landscapes of the North End. Through their definitions and exclusions we see how the North End has been reimagined and its boundaries shifted over the past fifty years. Examining how these boundaries are drawn by North End residents is also significant not only because of what people include within the bounds of the North End, but also what they exclude. The Gottingen Street area was often excluded from North Enders' definitions of the North End, which is significant when considering the history of institutionalized racism within Halifax generally and the North End specifically.

Lastly, in Chapter 6 I explore how participants actually experienced green spaces in the North End. The chapter highlights the different ways people utilized green spaces and how they incorporated them into their daily routines and mental maps of the city. Containing both observations carried out in the field as well as participant accounts, I explore how these spaces operate for residents on a daily basis. This chapter draws from local conflicts both from within my data set and from larger discussions happening currently in Halifax between the Africville Genealogical society and North End dog owners, over the proposed closing of an off-leash dog park on the site of what was once Africville. Experiences of green spaces are inextricably shaped by class positions, as the following chapter will illustrate through a review of relevant literature.

Chapter 2 LITERATURE REVIEW: CLASSING GREEN SPACE IN THE CITY

There is a growing body of literature that examines how ecological spaces impact the built and social environments within cities. Much of the research conducted on how ecology impacts urban environments is informed by a theoretical perspective known as Urban Political Ecology (UPE). This argues that ecology can be seen as a valuable resource within urban environments, and that like many other resources, it is often sequestered in higher income areas, producing deficits in areas of lower income (Boone et al, 2009, Heynen et al. 2006, Milbourne 2012). In the North End green spaces are socially valuable spaces for local residents, but what role does social class play in how these people actually use or experience public green space? Do middle-class residents experience green deficits in any form?

The following literature review is structured to engage with the central themes and ideas that underpin UPE as a theoretical perspective. Firstly I examine existing literature on the historic construction and contemporary struggles over public green space (2.1). This highlights both the continued conflicts found within green spaces, as well as the role social class plays in the ways green spaces are morally and legally regulated. The second section (2.2) looks at the concept of social class, and examines how it has been conceptualized historically. This historic examination informs how I have operationalized social class for my thesis (2.3) as a way of differentiating between social class backgrounds, and how I view the "expanded" middle class. Finally, the last section (2.4) takes the previous literature into consideration and articulates how I utilize UPE as a theoretical perspective to inform the current research project.

2.1 Public Green Space

Development of Modern Urban Parks

Urban green spaces are a relatively recent development in industrial countries, emerging as a response to urbanization and the increasing industrialization of urban environments. This development created new kinds of social and material landscapes within cities often characterized by social class differences. Industrial production was located in urban areas primarily to be close to large labour pools and centres of consumption. The result of this new industrial environment was what some urban dwellers saw as a "degradation" of the city. The physical environment of industrial cities was often marked by a large, concentrated working-class population, and an increase in various forms of pollution.

During the 19th century the groups who were most vocal and critical of the social realities of industrialization were the newly emerging upper-middle and upper-classes. These groups, many of whom had been made newly wealthy through urban industrialization, advocated to local city planners and municipal governments to improve the urban core to "deal with" the aesthetic and social realities of heavy industrialization (Gabriel 2011, Taylor 1999). These wealthy individuals and groups were the owners and beneficiaries of urban industries, and found that in creating these productive centers in cities, they were fostering social and environmental conditions that they found offensive.

The result of these aversions to industrial production, before these industries were moved out of cities in the 20th century, was the creation of modern public green spaces. The most recognizable of these public green spaces is the urban park, which was created as a site of recreation for city dwellers. These parks were designed to create a counterbalance to the pollution and urban degradation associated with industrial

production by manufacturing a "natural" environment within the city. Early urban parks were constructed to mediate experience with nature, through the use of pathways and careful planning; residents were able to safely walk through a "natural" environment as a form of relaxation and recreation (Gabriel, 2011).

Parks following this pattern exist in Halifax. The Public Gardens was created in 1867 and represents an experience of "nature" that is highly structured and facilitates particular forms of recreation and experience (walking, quiet contemplation) while physically and socially restricting others (running, playing sports) (accessed from www.halifaxpublicgardens.ca/about/). These parks were seen as hygienic spaces that helped clean the urban environment, acting as an "antiseptic" against industrial pollutants. Authors examining the development of urban parks are aware of the irony intrinsic to this process; the artificial creation of "natural" spaces for the social elite by those who cultivated the destruction of the "original" environment. As I will discuss below, these public parks sought to cleanse not only objectionable environmental contaminants associated with urban industrialization, but objectionable human contaminants as well.

Parks and Moral Governance

What is clear from this examination of the early development of urban green space is that public parks are conceptually linked to ideas about acceptable social class participation and behaviour. Urban parks provided a natural space in which "acceptable" norms of behaviour and recreation could be enforced, so that the lower classes might become more refined (Gabriel, 2011). Parks were designed to emulate romanticized ideas of rural environments, and patrons often followed specific pathways through parks that

mediated and helped construct this idealized experience in a way that spoke to upper-class sensibilities. The upper-classes could experience a carefully managed and manufactured "natural" environment, while the lower classes often experienced these spaces as performing social regulatory functions. The kinds of activities that the working-class often understood as recreation (free play, sports) were constrained, and the public consumption of alcohol was explicitly forbidden. Nate Gabriel (2011) refers to this mentality as "environmentality" in which a mediated experience of nature serves a social regulatory function, policing the behaviour of disadvantaged social classes. The working-classes were unable to enjoy these spaces in the ways that spoke to their class position, and were passively and actively encouraged to participate in upper-class leisure activities. This "environmentality" effectively policed working-class behaviour and presence within early urban parks. This idea will be examined further in Chapter 6, using a contemporary example from Halifax to illustrate how working-class ideas about the use of green space are often constrained by the middle and upper-classes.

Contemporary Struggles over Green Space

What we see from examining the social regulation of green spaces is that the working-class have historically been symbolically and often, therefore, physically excluded from green spaces because of a variety of reasons (often related to appearance or recreation habits). In this way public green spaces have been spaces of social conflict that excluded the working-class unless they conformed to upper-class standards and sensibilities. In the contemporary setting, public parks and other green spaces are often still sites of this kind of class-based conflict or antagonism, and the high visibility and social value attributed to these spaces helps make these highly contested spaces. Conflicts about the proper use of space and what constitutes socially acceptable behaviour are often

fought through public parks as these spaces are seen as exemplifying the idea of public space within cities.

Complicating the social and economic importance of green spaces, an important distinction needs to be made between public and private green spaces. Public green spaces such as urban parks are (in theory) open to all urban residents for use. However, this relationship can become complicated by economic and social interests (Low, 2000). Low argues that the (re)construction of public spaces often deliberately attempts to control certain kinds of undesirable behaviour. Attempts to control behaviour and membership of public spaces are often aimed primarily at the most socially marginalized individuals in a society (Catungal & McCann 2010, Dooling 2009, Gabriel 2011, Mitchell 1995). Contemporary public green spaces often continue to exclude vulnerable urban residents such as homeless people or other marginal groups. Both John Catungal and Eugene McCann (2010) and Don Mitchell (1995) explore this marginalization of vulnerable groups. Catungal and McCann critically engage with the discourse and controversy surrounding the brutal murder of a gay man in Vancouver's Stanley Park, and Mitchell's case study looks at the physical expulsion of a well-known homeless population from the People's Park in California. In both cases public green spaces became the site for larger discussions rooted in homophobia and a desire to ignore extreme poverty. The kinds of urban class-based moral regulation, with its origins in the governance of early public parks, continue to manifest in contemporary settings. While it may not be as overt as it once was, codes of behaviour and acceptable social action remain heavily scrutinized within public urban spaces.

Private green spaces account for a considerable amount of total urban green space. Green spaces found on private properties add to the overall "green-ness" of a city, but typically restrict public access, thus excluding the general public. Gardens, backyards, lawns, etc. are all considered private spaces accessible only with permission or consent (Rotenberg, 1999). Relationships between public and private green spaces become complicated by economic and social influences. Low's account of plazas in Costa Rica (2000) shows how when private businesses and promotion of international tourism are combined with the design of public spaces, the needs of local populations and marginal groups are seen as secondary to creating an attractive area for businesspeople and tourists. From Low's research, it is clear that socio-economic interests often dictate who green spaces are created for.

Examining the history of parks demonstrates the important intersections between green space use, and class. As working-class and socially marginalized groups have historically been subject to explicit and implicit regulation within green spaces, these kinds of struggles continue in modern parks.

2.2 Historical Operationalization of Class

While it is important to understand how green spaces have historically been, and continue to be informed by class-based narratives, at its core is an implicit interpretation of what social class *is*. In order to fully understand what it means to argue that working-class recreation and participation in green spaces continues to be constrained and held to the standards imposed by the middle and upper-classes, we must first dissect what we mean by social class, and how these ideas have themselves been developed.

The concept of social class was developed analytically by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the 19th century. Social class was a way to study and describe the differences between social groups during early capitalism and the industrial revolution, and the ways in which these differences were intrinsically tied to labour and economic capital (Marx, 1867). For Marx and Engels, a person's relationship to the means and modes of production defined them as belonging to a particular social class. An assembly line worker obligated to sell their labour for a wage had no control over the means of production, and thus was a member of the working-class. Marx contrasted the working-class "proletariat" against those who owned the means of production, the bourgeoisie, and these two classes were necessarily engaged in an economic and political struggle marked by exploitation of the working-class. Marx also described the emerging middle class as "situated midway between the workers on one side and the capitalists and landowners on the other...[who] rest with all their weight upon the working basis and at the same time increase the social security and power of the upper ten thousand" (Marx, 1863/1991 p. 85). Therefore, for Marx and Engels, social class at its core describes the economic differences between groups in societies. These economic relationships inform other parts of an individual's life such as the places in which they live, and what they are able to do outside of the labour sphere. Although foundational for the study of class as a concept, Marx and Engels' perspective on social class can be difficult to apply in defining one class from another, especially in contemporary societies. While Marx and Engels' concepts of class did explore issues surrounding social reproduction, different forms of cultural distinction, and other factors beyond the economic sphere that defined class, these ideas were more fully developed and contextualized by other scholars

throughout the remainder of the 19th and the 20th centuries. Subsequent analyses of class depend heavily on Marx and Engels, and have continued to develop their ideas amid ever changing global labour environments.

Following Marx and Engels, researchers continued to refine ideas about social classes and what distinguishes them from each other. In the 20th century, scholars made further distinctions between social class groups, specifically with the solidification of a clerical and administrative middle class, sitting between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie classes (Giddens, 1973). Additional markers were employed by scholars alongside economic capital in the late 20th century to further contextualize class differences as being about more than just material capital, including more ephemeral forms of distinction related to social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984). Mike Savage et al. argue that "social class is a multi-dimensional construct indicating that classes are not merely economic phenomena but are also profoundly concerned with forms of social reproduction and cultural distinction" (Savage et al., 2013 p. 223). As a result, contemporary studies of social class take into consideration the kinds of cultural products people consume, the social circles they are connected to, the places and the conditions under which people live, as well as the kinds of education and employment they are able to access. It is important to clearly outline how I am using "the middle class" as a concept, therefore I will attempt to provide a working definition for the purposes of this research. The middle class is the large, normative social class that sits between traditional the traditional working-class and elite, often distinguished by having some economic power while still requiring active participation in non-elite labour environments. Often times the middle class is operationalized by researchers according to purchasing power,

profession, or its median income positon (Billingham & Kimelberg 2013, Savage et al. 2013). Its positon between two historical class positions allows the middle class to encompass a substantial amount of variation, creating a multitude of middle classes.

While scholars have borrowed from the foundational tenets of Marx and Engels perspectives on social class, they often continue to avoid clear and concise definitions of social class in the same way their predecessors have. On the surface, social class is a simple and straightforward concept. It is clear that there are specific social and economic differences between a person begging on the street and a business professional tossing a nickel into their cup. Many contemporary scholars struggle with providing clear accounts of how they understand and utilize social class. Many researchers either use class as a concept without dissecting it explicitly (Duneier, 1999), or only use it as a secondary or descriptive category in their research focusing on other units of analysis (Zukin & Kosta, 2004). As a result of the historic and contemporary difficulties inherent to discussions and examinations of social class, in this chapter I highlight the specific way I am describing and utilizing class in an attempt to clearly engage with the topic as it relates to the lived experience of North Enders.

2.3 Operationalization of Class in this Study
As social class has been defined and operationalized in a variety of ways in previous research, it is important to clearly outline the way that I utilize social class, and how I distinguish it within the current study. After examining existing literature on class distinction, I have chosen three primary variables with which to operationalize social class: *employment, education, and housing*. These three markers of class emerged from

existing literature as both concrete markers that could define class relationships, and that could be generated through qualitative interviews in a non-invasive and concrete manner.

In order to understand social class it is necessary to engage with the kinds of paid work that participants were involved in. In both historical and contemporary examinations of class, employment is one of the most important and visible markers of differentiating between social class backgrounds. Education has also historically been a decisive marker of social class and in many cases is tied directly to employment options and opportunities. How people are educated often informs the forms of labour that they eventually take up (Willis, 1981). Education, or access to education, also highlights important social capital within the West. And finally, I utilize housing as another practical and concrete way to engage with social class. The kinds of economic and social arrangements that people enter into in regards to their housing are a strong indicator of social class in urban environments (Savage et al., 2013). Researchers studying housing tenure highlight how people without significant social or economic capital are often forced to reside in less expensive and therefore less prestigious forms of housing (Gregory, 1999). There is a clear relationship between the kinds of housing people can afford and their social class. While one's housing tenure does not specifically place a person in one particular group or another, taken together with other elements such as employment and education it can be used to differentiate participants between different lived class experiences.

What is the Middle Class?
As mentioned previously, my recruitment strategy only allowed me to gain access to middle-class North End residents. It is therefore important to define the middle class

before engaging in an examination of the variations within North End middle-class experiences. Some researchers define the middle class along purely economic variables, defining the middle class as encompassing the "middle percentile" in terms of income distribution (Billingham & Kimelberg, 2013). Other researchers see the middle class as encompassing a variety of middle classes, making up those that sit between the traditional working-class and the elite (Savage et al. 2013). Relative to the traditional working class the middle class has more economic and social opportunities, yet is still socioeconomically weaker relative to the social and economic elite.

Despite the "rise of the middle class" in the mid-20th century as a result of the post-war prosperity experienced throughout North America (Ley, 1996), the middle class as a concept has existed in various forms since the writings of Marx and Engels, who were aware of the presence of a clerical class that sat in between workers and owners. Never fully participating in either ownership or productive labour, often distrusted by both the elite and the working-class alike, the white collar middle-class served intermediary and administrative roles in productive labour enterprises. Researchers such as Anthony Giddens (1973) and Ralf Dahrendorf (1959) dissected the emergence and proliferation of the middle class, highlighting more its relationship towards labour than social and cultural exchanges. What is important to draw out from this is that its pervasiveness in Western societies has made this class position the default position. As well, combined with global neoliberalism and the historical erosion of working-class solidarity over the 20th century, this has produced an environment in which labeling oneself as either elite or working-class could be seen as problematic.

Other scholars have complicated the middle class, highlighting its diversity. In their examination of the BBC's Great British Class Survey Experiment, Savage et al. (2013) utilize an expanded framework for defining class positions within the middle class. Whereas the elite and traditional working-classes have changed little by comparison, there has been important diversification among the middle class, such that it cannot be accurately described by one single class position. They identify seven distinct class positions, of which "the middle class" is made up of three distinct categories (established middle-class, technical middle-class, and new affluent workers) (Savage et al. 2013). These middle classes are differentiated by measures such as income, savings, property value, peer employment statuses, and cultural consumption patterns. Where the established middle class has varied cultural consumption patterns and relatively high household income, Savage et al. contrast this against the technical middle-class, who have slightly lower household income, but more narrow consumption patterns and less variation among acquaintances' employment types. Savage et al.'s work highlights that modern studies of the middle class need to take into consideration the multiplicity that is inherent within this class position often assumed to be monolithic in composition. My thesis contributes to this perspective on the middle class, showing the kinds of variation found within it and how that relates to use and perceptions of green space.

Another nuance found within discussions of the middle class is the phenomenon of "middle-classing it". In her examination of the social class histories of her graduating class, Sherry Ortner (2003) argues that many of her working-class peers were able to "make it" and live middle-class lives in terms of their consumption habits. They were able to buy homes, cars, send their children to university, and were able to participate in

normative middle-class activities despite occupying a working-class identity in terms of employment and familial history. In Ortner's case study, she argues that many of her classmates were able to "make it" by utilizing valuable cultural and familial resources as well as being employed at a time and place where wages were high and homes were cheap in the local housing market. This concept will be revisited in Chapter 4.

The middle class is in many ways marked by a combination of consumption habits, sociocultural norms, and economic resources. While discussions in popular culture rely on "knowing" what makes people middle-class, the markers I have outlined are employment status, education, and housing tenure. As highlighted by researchers such as Dahrendorf and Giddens, and made statistically meaningful but Savage et al., elements of both the working-class (work as a social "good") and the elite (consumption habits) are encompassed by the middle class creating a multiplicity of middle class(es).

In the following sections I will be directly engaging with participants' experiences and daily life in the North End I argue that similar to the findings of Savage et al. (2013) there are significant variations between middle-class experiences. With the expansion of the middle class in the post-war boom of the 1950s in North America, waves of gentrification and urban redevelopment in the North End, and changes to labour practices and norms, the middle class(es) have expanded and diversified. What it means to be middle-class in the North End mirrors the widening of the middle class generally, and has expanded to incorporate elements of both upper and working-class experience.

2.4 Urban Political Ecology

Given the importance of both green ecological resources within urban spaces, and the importance of social class in relation to green spaces, some researchers utilize a

framework that takes both class and ecology into consideration, known as Urban Political Ecology (UPE). As a theoretical framework, UPE specifically focuses on the ways in which social class and the environment interact, specifically within urban environments. Erik Swyngedouw and Nikolas Heynen describe this perspective by saying, "Marxist urban political ecology provides an integrated and relational approach that helps untangle the interconnected economic, political, social and ecological processes that together go to form highly uneven and deeply unjust urban landscapes" (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003, p. 898). Research informed by UPE often interprets ecological spaces or objects as specific units of analysis, and examines how people interact with them and how they are arranged within urban environments. Some critical social science research draws connections between the accumulation of capital and parks or trees, but UPE specifically looks at these green resources as highly valuable within urban environments, and argues that they are arranged within cities for the benefit of elite groups and members of the middle class, often producing "green deficits" within working-class or socially marginalized areas. UPE takes a Marxist lens to describe the distribution of green inequalities within urban environments, with a critical perspective that sees these flows as one form of exploitation among many facing the working-class.

UPE overlaps with other critical perspectives such as those utilized by researchers examining governance within urban environments. Nate Gabriel (2011) borrows heavily from UPE in his historical examination on the creation and social production of urban parks. As well, Gabriel borrows from literature surrounding governance and governmentality, creating a framework known as "environmentality". His theoretical underpinning is rooted in UPE, but he also "takes up the questions" posed by researchers

such as Heynen about "what constitutes the urban or the natural?" (Gabriel, 2011). In this

way, Gabriel is interested in how governance and social control is created by urban parks,

and how dominance is enforced within urban environments. Through examining the

development of photographic representations of the natural, Gabriel highlights the

"conceptual distance" created through images and representations of very particular ideas

about nature and how urban residents interact with it (Gabriel, 2011, p. 132). While

Gabriel, like Heynen, is interested in understanding the connections between capitalism,

urban development, and inequalities, his focus on how images and discourses around

ideas of nature highlights his use of both UPE and environmentality frameworks in his

research design. This overlap highlights the ways in which UPE can be an effective

theoretical framework for examining multifaceted issues related to green space. Issues

such as identity and place-making, moral regulation, and urban displacement can be

examined through UPE because of the critical ways ecology intersects with many aspects

of urban life. While urban ecology is largely considered a passive element within cities, it

provides a crucial unit of analysis when examining the many ways people interact within

urban environments, and how often these interactions are tied up in issues of social class.

The UPE framework is founded in a deep Marxist tradition, emphasizing the

relationship between inequality and material goods such as green spaces. By

operationalizing ecological elements in cities as valuable resources, UPE allows

researchers to examine the ways ecology is arranged within cities, in the same way as

buildings, cars, or specific types of businesses. Nikolas Heynen, in his 2006 study within

Milwaukee utilizes UPE to examine how tree canopy coverage is distributed within the

city. Having shown the ways in which ample tree coverage provides positive benefits for

urban environments (reducing damage from flooding, lowering average temperatures, oxygenating the surrounding area, increasing biodiversity etc.) He draws a connection between areas marked by different social classes and the degrees to which tree coverage exists. Heynen demonstrates that Milwaukee like many cities in the United States, has ample canopy coverage in affluent areas, and sparse coverage in impoverished ones. UPE in this case study draws connections between the material ecological elements of an urban environment, the social, economic, and legal conditions that foster or prohibit those elements, and social class distributions. Other UPE studies follow similar approaches to Heynen's work, arguing that there are clear connections between class and access to ecological resources, and that these differences highlight the ways in which social class is made manifest in the built environment of cities, and often further disadvantages lower socioeconomic groups.

Urban Political Ecology is an effective way to interpret both quantitative and qualitative data generated on the interactions between class and green space. Whereas studies from researchers such as Heynen et al. (2006) focus on interpreting quantitative data on how people interact with ecology in their environments, studies such as mine highlight these kinds of interactions through qualitative measures. Utilizing a theoretical framework predicated on understanding the social and economic value of green spaces and green resources allows me to interpret interview data in a way that highlights how the environment intersects with class, in meaningful ways.

In my thesis, I use UPE both in the theoretical formation of my research project, and in how I evaluate and analyze interview data and experiences of middle-class people's perceptions of green spaces in the North End. UPE has been a useful tool for me

to construct this project, allowing me to conceptualize green spaces as a valuable ecological resource within cities. This also informs my focus on both green spaces and social class, which are both intimately connected within UPE research. While my study is not focused on historical class and green space (Gabriel 2011, Taylor 1999), nor on quantitative measures of ecology (Heynen et al. 2006), my research utilizes qualitative interview data to explore how this intersection of class and green space is experienced by middle-class people on a daily basis. By exploring residents' experiences of both class and green space, my project provides access to important nuances of experience that may be ignored by other UPE research. My research contributes to larger UPE literature by providing a subtle, situated perspective on how people experience green spaces and social class on a daily basis.

Chapter 3 METHODS

My primary research question was: how do middle-class North Enders use, understand, and experience "green space"? Secondary to that question were two more. Do people from different social classes experience green space differently? And do North Enders experience a green deficit in their local environment? As research on how public green spaces impact urban environments continues the benefits associated with having access to green space become increasingly apparent (Heynen et al., 2006). In light of this research, it is important to understand how people living in cities actually experience these spaces and determine if their local green spaces provide them with these physical, social, and economic benefits. Do people flock to green spaces in droves, bringing with them dogs, children, and Frisbees, fully embodying a healthy and recreation filled lifestyle? Do people avoid certain green spaces for fear of conflict or deviant behaviour? Are green spaces intrinsically linked to how people experience life in the North End, and would the North End be as unique as it is without them? These kinds of questions were central to my research design. As well, my interest in the lived experience of North End residents informed my use of qualitative interviews and field observations as my primary tools for data generation.

As well as engaging participants in discussions of green spaces and how they experience them, I also asked participants questions about local boundaries. The North End is a highly visible space within Halifax, and is an area that has been extensively redesigned and redeveloped since the 19th century (Clairmont & McGill 1971, Erickson 1986, Silver 2008). Despite being a specific area of Halifax, the North End's physical boundaries change depending on "whose North End" is being examined. Asking

participants questions such as where does the North End actually begin, often generate

conflicting answers. These kinds of questions about boundaries and local identity are

important for qualitative research on people who live in a specific social and spatial

location like the North End. One way to access ideas about local boundaries and identity

is to look at individual experiences of green spaces as a unit of analysis. Green spaces

often serve as proxies for ongoing debates within urban environments because of their

socioeconomic significance, and the ways in which green spaces can become part of daily

lived experiences for many city dwellers (Catungal & McCann 2010, Gabriel 2011,

Heynen et al., 2006, Milbourne 2012). By utilizing green spaces as both a unit of analysis

and a proxy for larger social issues, insight into local identity, regional boundaries, and

experiences of spaces constructed as a public good, can be explored.

Urban anthropology has within its intellectual foundation a dual focus on both

people and the urban environments in which they live (Dooling 2009, Low 2000, Tissot

2011). People not only help to shape the social and physical spaces that they inhabit, but

are often shaped by these spaces as well. Therefore a research methodology focused on

the personal histories and lived experiences of residents within a specific area needs to

closely examine the built environment in which they live. I chose to conduct both semi-

structured qualitative interviews with current residents of the North End, as well as field

observation within public green spaces. Observational data is used to complement the

accounts and histories generated in interviews, and helps to provide context for the social

life of green spaces described by informants. In the following sections I will explain how

I defined the "North End" and further elaborate on who my research population was (see

also Chapter 4), as well as on problems and complications I encountered throughout the course of my research (see also Chapter 7).

3.1 Identifying the North End: An Iterative Approach

In terms of an explicit research methodology, the North End can be somewhat difficult to define. As I spoke about my project with other Halifax residents, everyone seemed to understand where "the North End" was; however, the definitions they produced for where it begins and ends, like those of my participants, were conflicting. Despite this general understanding held among residents across the city, the specific borders of the North End articulated by research participants varied significantly. The most common boundary produced by participants for where the North End begins is north of the aptly-named North Street (see Chapter 4). While this seems like a very clear and straightforward border examining the accounts of various North End residents shows that this is a contested boundary for some residents. In general terms, the North End is the area of Halifax, following the harbour, between the north end of the Halifax Common, and the opening of the Bedford Basin (see figure 1). Examining data generated with participants shows that there are many conflicting ideas about where the North End begins and ends, and residents have very specific ideas about what constitutes the North End, what does not.

Taking this geographical fluidity into consideration, I constructed my recruitment strategy in a way that would capture the varied definitions of the North End. I chose to engage potential participants with an open definition of the North End, one in which I accepted any and all claims to the identity of a North Ender. My specific recruitment criteria included anyone who was a current resident of the North End, meaning that they

considered their primary residence to be within the North End. If participants felt that they lived in the North End, then I accepted their claim to that identity and incorporated their definition of the North End into my own. This perspective prevented me from creating a restrictive definition of the North End, and allowed residents to help shape what the North End is for themselves, rather than trying to fit into categories they might not agree with. While the majority of my sample lived north of North Street, there were a small number of participants who lived in the area between North Street and the Halifax Common. This data provided different examples of who chooses to claim North End status, and how identity can expand beyond perceived spatial boundaries.

3.2 Green spaces in the North End: Field Observation
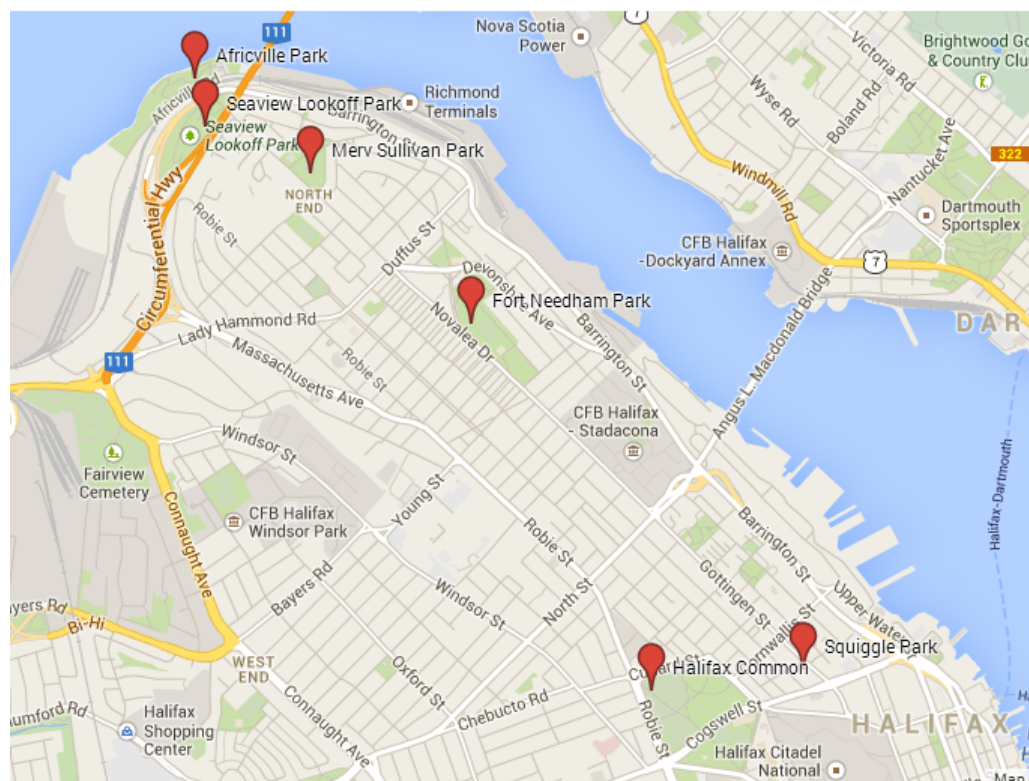
Figure 1- Map of the North End

Prior to beginning formal interviews, I conducted a series of field observations between September 2013 and November 2013. During this time period I "hung out" in different green spaces within the North End that I felt would show how North End residents use green spaces in their daily routines. This method, being an active observer in public green spaces, is commonly used by social scientists who study public space (Dooling 2009, Low 2000, Low et al. 2005, Tissot 2011). The green spaces I visited - Squiggle Park, Fort Needham Memorial Park, The Halifax Commons, Seaview Lookoff Park, and the Merv Sullivan Memorial Park, described below - are a sample of the green spaces within the North End, rather than an exhaustive inventory of them. These sites were selected because of their visibility within Halifax generally. They were all well-known and easily identifiable green spaces, and as a local resident I felt that they would provide an adequate cross section of important green spaces that would also be well-known to participants. The scope of my project did not permit me to examine in detail every single green space in the North End; however this fieldwork was important in supplementing and contextualizing the data generated through the qualitative interview process. As most of the parks that I visited are locally well known, every participant that I interviewed had some connection or relationship with at least one of them.

The observations that I carried out help to add a level of complexity or anthropological insight that enhance a critical analysis of the experiences of these North Enders who use these spaces on a daily basis. Following the examples set forth by previous research in public green spaces, I collected written notes and observations on who was utilizing these spaces, and what they actually did when they were present in the space. The most common activity people engaged in during my field work was dog

walking. Primarily these dog-walkers were white and their age ranged between mid-30s and late 50s.I recorded the movements of residents within and surrounding these spaces, and this data helps to further contextualize North End green spaces as used by a variety of different social groups for many different activities. I will briefly describe each space below, in terms of both their physical and social dimensions.

Squiggle Park

Squiggle Park is more a parking lot than a park. It is located on the corner of Gottingen Street and Falkland Street, and gets its name from a distinctive "squiggle" shaped planter that cuts through the middle of the park. I visited this space for two evenings, watching the #northbynight celebrations taking place, in which local musicians were hired by the North End Business Association to perform impromptu concerts for passersby. There is little green space to speak of in the park, the only biological element being the raised squiggle planter which has a few bushes and trees planted among dark cedar mulch. This planter was the only space available for people to sit down, and during the concerts it was populated by approximately 10 individuals in their early to late 20s who were there to enjoy the concert and the food. To the rear of the planter is a parking lot seemingly used by employees in the area, as well as a local food truck during the concerts. The front half of the park is a recently redesigned sidewalk, which stands out from other sidewalks in the area, which are clearly older and less ornate. While the nighttime concerts drew in younger, hip individuals, throughout the day Squiggle Park is often used by the socially disadvantaged residents of Gottingen Street as a place to rest, talk, and smoke. Squiggle Park is located next to a Salvation Army location, and the groups that often hang out just outside of the "Sally Ann" often move over to Squiggle

Park. In this way, the design elements of Squiggle Park provide places for residents to rest, without potential damage to the park's ecology. If Squiggle Park was designed with more grass or planters, the protection of that ecology by the city might exclude the vulnerable populations that use it as a small refuge during the day.

The Halifax Common

One of the oldest designated green spaces in the city and the oldest urban park in Canada, the Halifax Common is found in the centre of the city, separating the North End from the South End and to a lesser extent the West End. Taking up approximately 235 acres, the Common is predominantly a large grassed common area with paved pathways and sports fields located throughout. Accounts from those participants who live near the Common describe it as dividing the city between the North End and the South End. For them, the northern end of the Common serves as an easy marker for the beginning of the North End. If the city is divided into north and south quadrants by the Common, then anything north would be North End, and anything south would be South End. The Common is a popular space throughout the year, especially the summer as people gather to sunbathe, play sports, walk their dogs, and hang out. It is home to a local all-ages music venue owned by the city that is a gathering place and landmark for the city's punk and hardcore scenes. The Common is home to a variety of sports fields that are widely used by local teams for pickup games as well as organized play. While this provides important recreational activities for those participating in sports, it reduces the amount of space available for free play and dog walking during the year. As well, the recent construction of a permanent skating rink and the plaza that accompanies it has reduced the amount of available green space on the Common. My fieldwork allowed me to

interact with several dog owners out for walks, a local art student taking pictures of strangers in the park, and several groups of people just hanging out in the sun.

The Merv Sullivan Memorial Park (The Pit)

The Merv Sullivan Memorial Park (The Pit) is a large grassed "pit" in the far north of the North End, located on the site of the old Alan's Quarry between Novalea Drive and Kencrest Avenue. It has a sheer rock wall on one side and is sloped down to provide a bowl shaped park with a large football/baseball field in the centre. The sports field is frequently used in spring and fall by local schools and sports teams. As the field portion of The Pit takes up most of the flat land, sports activities significantly limit the amount of useable space by other residents. It also has a small sitting area and a playground, and is often frequented by dog walkers in the area. This was a highly visible park for several participants who I interviewed because they lived in close proximity to the park, which they said was very busy during most of the year, playing host to multiple sports activities and local festivals.

Fort Needham Memorial Park

Another park often cited by participants was Fort Needham Memorial Park. Created in the 1960s during the urban renewal of the North End, Fort Needham initially was designed to be a natural refuge from the urban landscape, making use of a natural hill to create a more secluded green environment. Currently the park serves as both a recreational space and a location for memorializing, having a playground, football field, and memorial location with information about the Halifax Explosion. Fort Needham was mentioned by participants often with negative connotations. Alongside general comments

about conflict between dog owners and the use of the sports field, several residents of the Hydrostone area had themselves been, or knew people who were physically assaulted in the park. Several participants expressed a general uneasiness and fear of people lurking in the park's wooded areas. A long-time resident of the North End also noted that the secluded nature of the park has historically made it a prime location for semi-private sexual activity.

Seaview Lookoff Park

The most difficult park to define physically is Seaview Lookoff Park. It occupies a space between a series of highways and underneath the McKay Bridge in the extreme North End, and as a result has unclear physical boundaries on several sides. The park is also close to the Africville Memorial Park, divided from it by a busy highway. Seaview has several wooded trails that facilitate walking, as well as an open field/off-leash space drawing in local dog owners, and an observation point providing people with a clear view of the Bedford Basin. Seaview Lookoff is similar to Needham in that its natural topography affords it more seclusion than other green spaces in the North End, offering residents opportunities for clandestine activities. During my observations I found evidence of drug use, and while I did not observe any other illegal activities, it is reasonable to suggest that the layout of the park and its seclusion relative to the rest of the city might make it a site for assaults. This was one of the least used parks by my sample; several participants were not even sure of its actual location, though many mentioned knowing of its existence.

3.3 Qualitative Interviews

To address questions surrounding how North Enders experience local green spaces, where the boundaries of the North End are, and what impact participants social class backgrounds play in their relationships to green space, I conducted ten qualitative, semi-structured interviews with eleven current residents of the North End (one interview was with two people at once). The only significant criterion for recruitment was that participants considered their primary residence to be in the North End. These interviews were semi-structured and allowed for free flowing conversations in an attempt to generate more in-depth accounts of personal histories. Participants ranged in age from their early 20s to mid-60s, and also differed significantly in their personal experiences of green spaces within the North End. Interviews took between 45 and 75 minutes and were transcribed for the purposes of qualitative coding and data aggregation. Participants were asked questions about their lives in the North End, where the boundaries of the North End are, how they utilize and relate to green spaces in their surrounding area, and several questions about their social class background (see Appendix C). Interviews were often conducted in local coffee shops; however a few were conducted in the interviewees' homes, which were often in very close proximity to several green spaces.

One of my initial goals with this project was to engage with participants from differing social class backgrounds who live in the North End; however, when recruiting participants, I was unable to gain access to participants from significantly different classes. While I tried a number of recruitment strategies, such as sending invitations to participate in research out on local e-mail lists, the most successful strategy was to mobilize a combination of familial and peer connections in the North End in order to gain access to local residents. Partly as a result of my own class position, then, the participants

I engaged with were all white and can all be identified as middle-class. As a result, my data set is limited in that I can only speak about the intersection of middle-class experiences, and green space. As well, my entirely white sample prevents me from analyzing first-hand accounts from non-white communities in the North End. However, my data set allows me instead to go into greater depth about how white, middle-class residents of this formerly working-class area experience and relate to green spaces specifically, and the area more generally. The intersection of race, class, and green space will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

3.4 Ethics

Throughout the course of my research I took several precautions to ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of participants. While the topic of public green spaces seems a fairly safe one in terms of possible social issues to be examined from a social scientific standpoint, dealing with people living and working in a specific neighborhood could invade the privacy of participants. Therefore, throughout the course of both the data generation and analysis portions of my project, I used pseudonyms for all participants, and informed them during the interview process that their identities would remain confidential throughout and following the course of my project. All personal names in the interview transcripts were replaced with pseudonyms. As well, I conducted my fieldwork and observations in public green spaces where there was no reasonable expectation of privacy. Moreover, the information that I recorded as observations was not personal or invasive, therefore there was no cause for ethical concern. Having established the methodological approach taken to gather data on middle-class experiences of green spaces, I begin my data analysis with a discussion of the class positions and experiences of the research participants.

Chapter 4 GREEN SPACE AND THE MIDDLE CLASS

At the time it was just a job that I did, because I worked at Ben's Bakery, through high school, so then I worked a year and said oh, I can't work this the rest of my life, right on an assembly line. So I said what should I do, so I took a trade, you know, I don't think, I didn't really have much bearing on it all, but at that time I had to do something, better than work at an assembly line, so I said I'll go to vocational school at the time, and it was like okay which makes the most money, pretty well. Electrical or plumber, hmm, electrical I'll probably kill myself [laughter] I'll take plumbing. As I said it was not really plumbing at the dockyard, but you did a bit of everything. So it worked out great, it worked out good, it worked out good. - Sam

The account above comes from Sam, a white man in his mid-50s. Sam has lived with his wife Maddison in the same home in the North End for 28 years, where they raised three children. Their home is within a five minute walk of the Merv Sullivan Park, where Sam and Maddison recall taking their children for most of their adolescence to participate in local sports. Sam has been the primary earner throughout their life in the North End, working for over thirty years as a pipefitter at the Halifax military dockyards, with Maddison supplementing his income through babysitting. Sam's account highlights his first experiences with paid labour. After spending a year working on a local assembly line, Sam realized that he did not want to continue this kind of labour, and enrolled at a local vocational school. Examining Sam's account from a critical perspective we might conclude that Sam comes from a working-class background. His family lived in the urban core of Halifax in the 1950s, where they rented a flat, and he entered the labour force in a factory setting after completing high school. However, examining the larger lived experience of Sam and his family, a different story of class begins to emerge. Sam was a tradesperson working at a military facility, he and his wife own a detached home in the North End, and his children were able to all participate in sports at various skill levels and have earned advanced university degrees. When we expand Sam's lived experiences

of class beyond his employment history or status, his life seems to follow a middle-class trajectory rather than a working-class one. While Sam and Maddison were by far the most "working-class" participants I interviewed, in that they both took vocational as opposed to university education, their lived experiences clearly connect with a normative "middle class identity". Sam and Maddison were able to "make it", similarly to participants in Ortner's study (2003). Able to live a comfortably middle-class life despite coming from a seemingly working-class background.

Research conducted on patterns of use and experiences of green spaces in other urban centres highlights the ways in which perceptions of green spaces and how people use them can be divided along social class lines. Researchers such as William Solecki and Joan Welch (1995) and Setha Low et al. (2005) examine the ways in which park usage is related to the intersections of race and class. Other researchers highlight the historical and contemporary connections between urban parks and social class. Nate Gabriel and Dorceta Taylor (1999) explore issues of governance and the history of urban parks, arguing that parks have a history of moral governance with the explicit goal of policing the working-class. Researchers examining moral governance in contemporary parks outline how weaker socioeconomic groups such as racial minorities, the LGBT community, and the working-class continue to have their behaviors governed and policed within green spaces (Dooling 1999, Mitchell 1995, Catungal & McCann 2010). However, as will be explored in chapter 5, my sample was almost entirely comprised of the middle class, preventing the kind of cross class comparison initially intended. However, there is a significant amount of variation within the middle class, encompassing a wide range of lived experiences. Participants apparently located by their employment and education as

members of the working-class fit into a middle-class framework when their class positions are looked at holistically. Like the classmates in Ortner's study, many of my participants have "made it" in the North End, and their accounts highlight the multiplicity of experience found within what I contend is an expanded middle class.

4.1 Class and Green Space

After conducting a few interviews with participants, it started to become clear that the people I was interviewing could all be described as middle-class. This was primarily because of the recruitment methods I employed, which relied on familial, peer, and social connections I mobilized to facilitate gathering participants. Partly a result of my own class position as a white, male, middle-class university student, I gained access to other white, middle-class individuals, and was unable within the timeframe of this research to generate data with participants from other social class backgrounds. The middle class positions of informants influenced the kinds of activities they reported participating in. Generally people used green spaces for either dog walking, recreation, or hanging out, which on the surface sounds like a reasonable assessment of the kinds of things people do in green spaces. However, these are only a small number of potential activities that can be carried out in green spaces (Low et al. 2005). Many other uses of green space often fall out of the paradigm of white middle-class park users, and thus were not generated in this study. Low et al. (2005) and other scholars (Catungal & McCann 2010, Gabriel 2011, Taylor 1999) who study the intersection of class and green space argue that what is considered normative park use often reflects white, middle-class recreation. Other social classes and ethnic groups tend to utilize green spaces in distinctly different ways.

Modern urban parks have, since their inception, been spaces of moral regulation. Built with molding the habits of the working-class in mind, urban parks in the 19th century became spaces of upper and middle-class recreation and cultural consumption. Seeking to educate the working-class in proper forms of recreation, urban parks often had strictly enforced rules related to both physical appearance and acceptable recreational activities. Researchers such as Gabriel (2011) and Taylor (1999) explore this history and highlight how in green spaces historically been spaces in which the working-classes have been morally regulated to fit the standards and expectations of the upper-classes. These struggles continue in contemporary conflicts within public green spaces in both explicit and implicit ways. Socially marginalized groups such as the homeless are often forcibly removed from green spaces, often because of they are perceived as breaking social norms about appropriate private/public behaviours (Dooling, 2009). Green spaces often become focal points for ongoing narratives within popular discourse about the activities and moral economies of marginalized groups (Catungal & McCann, 2010). Not only are these conflicts tied to issues of morality, but they are intrinsically tied to issues of social class an inequality as the people most often regulated within these spaces are economically or socially lower status or marginalized populations. Contemporary research on green spaces shows that they continue to operate as spaces in which what is acceptable and "normal" is dictated by the socioeconomic elite, often to the detriment of weaker socioeconomic groups.

The kinds of activities that participants often engaged in while using green spaces were exercise, dog walking, biking, holding festivals, etc. These activities are similar to the usage patterns that Setha Low et al. (2005) observed in their research on Prospect

Park in Brooklyn, New York. Low et al. argue that white, middle-class residents in the areas surrounding Prospect Park primarily utilize the park to engage in recreational activities with reduced social interaction. They further report that these white users tend to be well educated and middle to upper-class, and use the park primarily for working out and solitary refuge from the city. Low et al. contrast these usage patterns against black and Hispanic residents in the same park, showing different patterns of use that prioritize dancing, communal recreation, cooking, and visiting the park with friends. These patterns of use are related to norms of both social class and ethnicity, and show that how people interact with parks is shaped by a combination of influences, including culture and social class.

Returning to North End participants, the most pronounced difference among participants in terms of how they utilized green space was related to access to green space. Specifically participants who reported not having access to a car, or having less reliable access to one, felt that their access to green space was limited (four out of eleven). Comments about their perceived lack of choice in which green space they use were often constructed around not being able to get to different green spaces in the city, or not being able to enjoy them the way they wanted to (usually related to not being able to bring their dog). One participant who felt particularly limited by her lack of access to green space criticized the structure of the city as well as its public transportation system in her interview.

> ...these places aren't even that accessible without a car, this, transport in this city is diabolical. I just got a car in the last week, I've been without a car and I was so limited. And growing up in the city, It didn't feel like you needed a car, and now I think you definitely, this place is turning into Fort Lauderdale, everything's on the outskirts, it's you know, its big business, big corporate sort of things and, it's kind

of a shame. And so I think, even to access the green spaces here you definitely need a car, I think, the public transportations desperate.

Not only does this participant feel limited in her access to green spaces, but she specifically points to vehicle access as the only reasonable way to solve this. Participants often outlined their desire to explore wooded spaces, or to take their dogs to green spaces around the city, which was limited because of a lack of vehicle access, reducing the amount of autonomy participants have in choosing how they experience green spaces within or outside city limits. Another point to draw out from this analysis is that participants who experienced these access issues were implicitly signaling that by rights, they felt they *should* have access. That green spaces should be available to them, and that they should be experienced in a certain way is connected to issues of both social class and white privilege (see Chapter 6).

Vehicle ownership does not necessarily correlate with one particular class identity or another, but it can help differentiate between different economic levels within the middle class. While ownership of a car may be related to a variety of factors (environmental/ethical/lifestyle) more than economic interests or class position, it still does represent at some level economic or material differences between participants, and car ownership is often pointed to by participants as a factor that limits their access to green space. Those participants who had vehicles were most likely to utilize green spaces outside of the North End. Participants with cars often mentioned utilizing Point Pleasant Park, as well as traveling outside the city itself to the woods or to lakes. Participants with cars were able to access a variety of green spaces that were inaccessible to other North End residents, highlighting how subtle differences in socioeconomic status and variations

within the middle class can have significant effects on the ways in which North Enders interact with green space.

4.2 "Middle-Classing" the North End
Place-Making: Where Everybody Knows Your Name

One of the defining characters of the middle class and their reintegration into urban environments over the past forty years is the ways in which they inscribe themselves and their identities onto the city. Following the gradual move back into urban environments from the suburbs beginning in the 1960s and 1970s, middle-class residents began engaging in "place-making" activities. Michaela Benson and Emma Jackson argue in their 2012 study that place-making often occurs in through a variety of social and economic activities conducted by the middle class (Benson & Jackson, 2012). Simple things like redefining neighborhood boundaries, doing home renovations, or joining residents' associations are all symbolic and political activities that change the socio-spatial construction of a location, and for the middle class, make urban environments more welcome for "people like them". This is an important concept for my research on the North End, as the accounts generated with participants highlight the importance of the North End as a social as well as physical location. Not only do participants strongly identify as North Enders themselves, many of them are strongly invested in defining the boundaries of this coveted identity.

In their research on place-making among residents of the city of London, England, Benson and Jackson (2012) examine this process of place-making among middle-class residents of the neighborhood of Peckham. Like the North End generally, Peckham is an area that has a working-class history and over the past 30 years has undergone a process of gradual gentrification and rehabilitation by the white middle

class. Once a space characterized in the media by racialized and class-based violence, Peckham now is often referred to in relation to its trendy or artsy characteristics, as a destination for the creative. The North End is similar to Peckham because of their shared history of both working-class identity and gentrification, as well as a strong association with Black communities. As areas that were once considered "the wrong side of the tracks", as one participant described the North End during the 1970s and 1980s, Peckham and the North End have both undergone processes of disinvestment and subsequent reinvestment through gentrification. A small minority of participants (three out of eleven) who were long-time residents of the North End highlighted that it was not always the safe and welcoming area it appears to be today. It was at one point "the wrong side of the tracks" according to one participant. Most participants felt largely safe and secure in the North End, and while they did not reflect on this point, this is an example of the ways in which place-making renders spaces more comfortable for socio-economically powerful groups, such as the expanded middle class.

While there were several long-time residents of the North End, the majority had moved into the area from elsewhere, and were eager to inscribe their identities onto the environment. The boundaries that participants produced for the North End, when asked, are a 'soft' form of place-making, in that they make explicit participants' conceptualization of the area. How these boundaries are drawn can be problematic for those people who fall outside of them (see Chapter 5). While all participants engaged in implicit place-making, there were three who enacted it in more explicit forms. One example comes from a participant who is a member of a local neighborhood association, as well as being a small-scale landlord. Not only is this participant able to "cho[o]se [his]

neighbors" but he also took part in the eviction of a local drug and prostitution house from his neighborhood. This is an explicit example where this participant has been and continues to be involved in more than just the redrawing of the boundaries of the North End, but in who gets to live there. This is useful because it provides an example of one way place-making happens: influencing who is able or allowed to reside in the area. The collective place-making undertaken by participants, from the redefinition of neighbourhood boundaries to the expulsion of drug dealers, helps to redefine what the North End means to residents, which can be inclusive in some cases, and exclusive in others.

Benson and Jackson argue that even the production of middle-class narratives about a physical area and why individuals value it is an example of how the middle class construct and reimagine what, in this case, the North End is (Benson & Jackson, 2012). This is significant because the middle class have considerable social and economic power, and tend to distance themselves from racialized and classed groups that are not part of their social framework.

Mixing

As place-making by the middle class often redraws the boundaries of the "real" or "authentic" urban environment in question, there exists a parallel narrative produced by the middle class about the value of "diversity" and social mixing. One of the most often cited benefits or positive elements of living within the North End was the opportunity participants had to mix with other people and other *kinds* of people. Diversity and social mixing were often mentioned by participants, specifically surrounding discussions of housing and how housing arrangements effect their neighborhood. Social mixing, or the

value that people place on it, is often a marker of middle-class urban identity. David Ley (1996) argues in his examination of the history and formation of the Canadian middle class that the middle class began migrating from the suburban landscape back into the city during the 1960s and 1970s. This migration back into urban cores has had a significant impact on the social and economic life of cities, and is one of the primary factors in discussions of how cities have been shaped over the past 40 years, especially gentrification. This migration back into cities by an economically significant social class was socially constructed by many in the middle class as a move away from the mundane and homogenous suburban landscape. The suburbs were perceived by many of these new migrants as boring and socially uniform, and the desire to be part of an exciting and diverse environment prompted many to move back into urban cores, often home to non-white racial groups and different social classes.

However, this value placed on living in a diverse community has been shown in multiple studies to be internally conflicting for the middle class, who espouse valuing diversity on the one hand while socially and physically distancing themselves from the diverse "other". Multiple studies (Campbell et al. 2009, Gobster 1998, Smajda & Gerteis 2012, Solecki & Welch 1995) highlight the contradiction, that while many middle-class city dwellers see social mixing as important and highly desirable, they also distance and differentiate themselves from specific and diverse groups of others. Participants in the North End highlighted their valuing of diversity and mixing primarily in relation to discussions around housing and homeownership. While these discussions were not necessarily long and involved, it was clear from talking about how different forms of housing within a given area affected them, that most participants valued social mixing.

One participant described living on a street with both drunk university students and quiet old men.

> One guy sits on the windowsill of the second story, like with his feet dangling down the side of the building, and has a fishing rod with a beer on the end, and will like dangle it over people's heads. He's like "I'm fishing for friends" is what he always says. And there was like obviously rap music playing out behind them, it's clearly renters, they don't own the place, and so for us, we're a bit older, I sort of feel like "oh yeah, goofy people in their 20s around" but then you know a few houses down from me there's an old man, who I chat to a lot, and who owns his house and has a family, and it's nice to feel like "oh yes, an upstanding conversation with him about adult things" you know you kind of feel like, you know, nice. Because I think if it was all rowdy boys like that, it would be a bit like, oh this is the worst, but having a few of them is nice, but I like living among diversity, and I didn't really realize that I liked it, but I do. So I think having a mix is um, is nice in my direct neighborhood.

Implicit in this kind of narrative is the understanding that people who live in different forms of housing are socially different, and that this difference is important for the diversity of experience and social life it brings to the area. This participant did not realize how much she valued this social mix until questioned about it. However, turning a critical eye to this perspective, it could be argued that the kinds of diversity this participant are describing is just variations within middle-class experiences. University students able to "fish for friends" and old men who own their homes are socially very different, but may not represent social mixing in the same way that having local government housing, or a large immigrant community would.

What this examination of the construction of the middle class(es) highlights is the ways in which the middle classes in the North End, through their practices of place-making, redefine what they see as *the* North End. The middle class(es) are uniquely able to engage in this kind of mid-level place-making because of their economic and social power and the values they hold as new residents of urban environments. Examples such

as Peckham and the North End highlight the ways in which place-making can change an urban environment from being "the wrong side of the tracks" to being a safe and desirable urban area. However, implicit to this discussion are the issues surrounding who is excluded from the North End. Due to the history of working-class and racial antagonism through efforts such as Ordinance 50 (a powerful piece of local housing legislation, see Chapter 5) and the displacement of Africville, place-making can inadvertently exclude racialized groups that have historically been the victims of systemic violence within Halifax.

4.3 Markers of the Middle Class

Having shown some of the ways in which middle-class North Enders experience and relate to the North End generally, it is important to examine the criteria though which the sample has been identified as middle-class, and what that means. The following section will provide a breakdown of the three markers through which I identify participants as members of the middle class. The variables identified previously (employment, education, and housing) were selected for their ability to differentiate between different class backgrounds. Only having middle-class experiences to examine, however, these variables become windows into the variation found within the middle class, rather than tools to compare across classes. Employment, historically an important and defining measure of class, now sits among other factors such as education and housing tenure in my sample as measures that have been established through previous research to help define social class. The following sections will provide ethnographic accounts of how these measures inform the lived experiences of participants, and help to shape both their class position and what the North End means to them.

Employment

The types of employment people participate in, has historically been a very important and visible marker of class distinctions. Despite the diversification that has occurred within research on social class by scholars such as Giddens (1973) and Pierre Bourdieu (1984), who have expanded perspectives on class to include other forms of capital, employment is still highly valued by researchers as providing a concrete and easily identifiable measure of social class. Examining employment as a marker of social class was quite effective at determining participant's social class. An analysis of my participants' work experience reveals that there was both significant variation and similarity in terms of the kinds of work that participants engage(d) in. While most participants had held a plethora of different jobs over their careers, when we consider the labour histories and current occupations of participants, the sample was split evenly between those participants with jobs in what I call the professional sphere (five) and those in the trades sphere (five) with one participant with an unknown occupational status. Below I describe experiences of the professional sphere and the trades sphere, highlighting substantial amount of variation between experiences of employment within the sample. These spheres are categories I have created that emerged from the data, and reflect a general trend that differentiates participants in terms of types of employment, and the length and kinds of education participants have received.

Participants in the *professional sphere* had jobs that required, or were enhanced by, forms of specialized education. Often this education required significantly longer time investments than those in the labour sphere. Of these participants, there were two medical practitioners (osteopath and massage therapist), a graduate student/army reserve member, and two NGO workers. Participants currently employed in the professional

sphere often had long and varied employment histories. While this is not the case across all participants, there was a tendency for those who worked in this sphere to have had more jobs on average than their trades sphere counterparts, and for those jobs to be across a wider variety of fields. For example, while Bobby is currently a practicing osteopath, he has worked in a variety of fields, "I was a landscaper; I worked all kinds of different parts of restaurants, fine dining service, construction, retail, film". This contrasts with the experiences of those participants in the trades sphere, who tended to have fewer jobs overall in their working histories, which tended to be related to their fields of expertise.

The *trades sphere* is different from the professional sphere in a few key ways. The participants classified as being in the trades had jobs that required less formal education and participants often pursued vocational schools or colleges, drawing a connection between education and jobs considered to be traditionally part of the working-class (Lehmann, 2009). Turning back to the epigraph at the beginning of the chapter, Sam is a now retired plumber however he worked for 35 years at the local military dock yards. His wife, took secretarial training following high school and conducted a combination of domestic labour and paid childcare is another member of the labour sphere. Another now unemployed member went to culinary school and has worked for over a decade cooking on yachts, before returning to the North End. The final two members of this sphere are a retired medical transcriptionist, and a baker at a local coffee shop.

Looking from a strictly Marxist perspective, we might argue that these participants are decidedly working-class. Plumbing, cooking, baking, transcription, these kinds of jobs require a combination of specialized knowledge and manual labour. These jobs might be categorized as blue collar, or working-class, especially if we contrast them

against the white collar managerial jobs that often categorize the middle class. However, fitting into a typology of labour is not always the defining measure of a person's class background. While Sam and his wife Maddison may be considered working-class in terms of their employment, their experiences of both home and leisure time suggest otherwise. Sam had stable employment for over 30 years, he and his family were able participate in various sporting activities, and Sam has been able to retire and remain in the house he and his wife own. The same is true when exploring the experiences of other participants as well. While they may be trained in "blue collar" jobs, their lived experiences and reflections are more middle than working-class. Sam and Maddison "made it" within Ortner's (2003) framework, utilizing the economic and social capital they had access to at the time to consume and present according to middle-class sensibilities, while coming from a more working-class background.

Impact

Another theme that ran throughout these accounts was the ways in which employment impacted participant's personal histories and identities. While participants in the trades sphere were less likely to produce these accounts, professional participants often noted the ways in which their labour and work histories have impacted them as a person, and how they interpreted that. While the intent was to get participants to reflect on the intersection between labour and identity, this kind of narrative was not one that was easy to articulate. Shelly, who was particularly aware and attentive to her own history of labour and social privilege, spoke about the legacy of privilege and how it informs her interpretation of her labour history

It definitely impacts who I am…I feel like I've been really lucky with jobs, but also I recognize that I am super super privileged, even at work we've had a lot of [personal development] around privilege, and working with sensitive populations. And I guess both my parents are super educated, they weren't wealthy but they came from a lot of wealth, and they are white obviously, and live in North America, so I was like pushed my whole life to go to university, live your dreams. And it worked out. I feel like I've been given huge legs up in life, and I am aware of the point of privilege that I have, so I don't feel like it's been my own sort of ambition and drive that I got a masters and a job, I feel like I am sort of sitting on top of the history of privilege. And um, it that makes sense, I feel like it has shaped me…

This is the most reflexive account produced by the sample on the intersection of labour and identity. The level of reflection is reasonable when we consider that Shelly has an MA degree from a social science program. Shelly is seemingly well aware of the ways in which her employment history (barista, musician, teaching assistant, provincial government) has benefited from her social location as a white, well educated, and middle class individual. Shelly's account stands out because she was one of the few participants who reflected so critically about her employment history.

While responses to this form of questioning were often partial or incomplete on both sides of the spectrum, there were some responses from the trades sphere as well as the professional. Mimi, a baker living below North Street when reflecting on her labour experiences, feels that she is able to choose to work for organizations or businesses that fall in line with her personal politics and ethical concerns. The local coffee shop that Mimi works at, as an organization, is informed by ethical concerns surrounding issues such as local food production, producing organic/sustainable goods etc. Mimi's account stresses her willingness to choose employers that align with her personal beliefs.

Yeah I do think it says something about me, because I do choose jobs that are in line with my values. So being able to connect with community, um being able to connect with local foods, we buy a lot of our food product from local farmers, um,

and those are my personal values that I find reflected in the workplace that I chose to work in.

Why it is important to draw out accounts such as Mimi's and Shelly's is that it highlights the ways in which middle-class residents think about labour, and their relation to it. These accounts show women who are both educated, and informed about current issues related to inequality. Their accounts of their labour trajectories prioritize that specific ethic or moral choices often inform the work they chose to do. Ethnographic analysis of working-class experiences of labour often showcases the ways in which the act of labour is an important activity for class identity and membership in the working-class (Mollona, 2009). Work is important because of what it says about a person, whereas in these accounts from the middle class, labour is seen as something you do, but not an identity you ascribe to. One participant echoes this point speaking about how labour has affected him personally.

> What I do has completely changed who I am. It's not so much the profession but what happens as a result of my profession. I work with individuals, and I work with people one on one all day long, so it's the people who have really changed me, as a result of working with them and…in such an…I don't wanna use the term deep way but, you know, an intimate way, working one on one. So people have changed me.

Through meeting people and engaging in labour, this participant's sense of self has changed. If we could contrast these accounts of labour with clear working-class experiences from elsewhere in Nova Scotia, perhaps even elsewhere in the North End, we might see a different incorporation of labour into identity. Participants either provided short responses to questions about the impact of labour on themselves as a person, or produced accounts that suggest labour is not an intrinsic element of their personal identity. This is typical of middle classes that are not defined by their relationships to labour, but in their habitus and patterns of economic and cultural consumption.

Education

Among participants there was a noticeable connection between forms of employment and education levels. Specifically, the types of education participants attained placed them in terms of employment in either the professional or labour spheres. Examining the sample, four participants were currently enrolled or had graduated from a Canadian university, four had graduated from a Canadian college with some form of professional degree, and three had taken a trade at the Bell Road Vocational School in Halifax's urban core. Participants who were part of the professional sphere tended to have either a university degree or professional degree from a college, or were working towards one of those at the time of the interview. The two who work for NGOs both had university degrees, those who had worked in culinary environments have college degrees and diplomas from culinary schools, and those participants who were educated at a local trade school worked predominantly in related trade positions.

However, this interpretation, borrowing on older forms of the study of social class, in which the laboring and productive class (working) is divided from the clerical and managerial (middle) class, may not be beneficial in analyzing the contemporary experiences of many residents of the North End, despite their employment history. Those participants who worked in trade environments are not atomized individuals; they all have families whose own education and employment trajectories impact the lived social class experience of these individuals. Sam and Maddison, both of whom took vocational training at Bell Road Vocational School in Halifax, were able to purchase a single dwelling home in the North End 28 years ago and were able to send their three children a variety of extracurricular sporting activities as well as achieving advanced university degrees. Jo also took vocational training at Bell Road, and between her and her husband's

income as a military police officer, was able to live comfortably and move around the world before purchasing and paying of a mortgage in the North End 13 years ago. When we examine social class as a set of three factors as opposed to a singular one, we can see a considerable amount of variation among the lived experiences of a middle class that is often spoken of in popular discourse as homogenous.

Housing

Another useful measure of social class is housing tenure. Housing tenure, meaning the conditions under which a property is occupied, is a commonly used measure of social class. The kinds of economic and social arrangements used to secure housing can be a strong indicator of social class because they highlight an individual's access to different forms of economic and social capital. Recent studies on social class utilize measures such as current housing estimates to assess the economic worth of homes and how that relates with other measures to construct social class distinctions (Savage et al., 2013). What contemporary research suggests is that there is a clear relationship between the kinds of housing people can afford and their social class. Therefore the kinds of homes participants have access to in the North End can be either a way to distinguish between class backgrounds, or to highlight differences within classes.

Though there can be clear relationships between housing and social class, these relationships can also be complicated. It is not controversial to argue that people who own large homes versus people who live in public housing are from different class backgrounds, however it becomes more complicated when addressing something like the expanded middle class, where we have already seen variation in terms of employment and education. As well, when we take into consideration variables such as long term

residents, inherited housing arrangements, renting as a choice rather than a necessity, life stage, freedom (or not) to move on, the rules on what kinds of housing relate to what kinds of social class become blurred. Turning to my participants, of the ten known housing arrangements, the sample is split between five who own and five who rent their housing. This split does not correlate with the previous split between professional and trades spheres. Turning to the labour sphere, three participants own versus only two that rent, and in the professional it is reversed, three rent and two own.

Renters

Renters in the North End ranged in age from mid-20s to late 30s. Of the five renters two were currently students, two worked for an NGO, and one was unemployed. They often described renting in the North End in either neutral or negative terms, highlighting that while renting in the North End afforded them an opportunity to distance themselves from the cities large renting student body, they felt the overall rental environment in the North End was sometimes hostile or "a little weird". One participant, a white mid-20s male, who rents an apartment in what he calls a "professional and young family centred" building, describes his experiences as being a renter in the North End: "I don't feel incredibly welcome on my street to be honest. I think that there is a little bit of up nosing from the homeowners to the renters, which is interesting. Like I say, lot of professionals in that area, I'm not sure about how they feel about the big apartment building". This sentiment was echoed by other renters who seemed aware that renting was perceived by some home owners with animosity. Renters were more likely than owners to describe feeling that they were not welcome in a neighborhood, or that their ability to interact with nearby residents was limited by their housing status. Several

renters produced similar accounts to this one from Mimi, highlighting that they felt that

as renters it was more difficult for them to engage or interact with homeowners.

> It's interesting, I've got two very good friends who live within a minute walk of
> my house, who are also renting, and we you know affiliate with a lot of other
> friends in the neighborhood, and we don't really have a lot of interaction with a
> lot of homeowners on the other street, so I don't know if those long term home
> owners that dwell in one place, have more connection with each other than we
> have, with them…

Mimi, not unlike other renters, often has little "neighborly" interaction between herself as

a renter and her owning neighbors. There may be several reasons for this barrier between

owners and renters, having more to do with life trajectories and familiarity with

neighbors than social class differences.

One participant, a renter, describes a perceived relationship between owning and

renting, highlighting the visual cues that can be employed to determine if a residence is

owned by a single party, or is being rented.

> On Charles St. you know that house that is really colorful it has like red and blue?
> It's like right on the end of Windsor and Charles? It's gorgeous, just like
> painstakingly, if you look at the trim, it's like art work, it's so elaborately done,
> it's gorgeous. And then right across the street is a house my friends used to live
> in, and it is an absolute god damn garbage dump, like, it's a garbage dump, inside
> and out. Because it's not taken care of and the landlord doesn't care.

This account suggests that rental properties are highly visible in the North End. Whether

it is because of university students hanging out of their windows dangling beer cans, or

rental properties that become thoroughly destroyed due to poor property management,

this narrative of renters as highly visible and identifiable can be found permeating

participant's reflections on their own housing arrangements. Despite these accounts

suggesting that rental properties are highly visible, two retired female participants argued

that this may not always be the case.

As I have highlighted before, renters tended to be younger university students or young professionals, while owners are often established professionals with families. These barriers to interaction between owners and renters may stem from differences in social availability related to employment, education, and recreation opportunities, as well as generational differences. Though many renters in the North End live in very close proximity to owners, proximity does not necessarily guarantee social interaction, and accounts like Mimi's highlight the fact that owners and renters in many cases just do not know each other.

Comparing renters and owners, there were slightly more renters among participants working in the professional sphere than in the trades. Among professionals, three rented (only two rented among trades) and two owned their homes (three owned among trades). Overall renters tended to be younger (20s-30s) whereas owners tended to be older (late 30s-60s). Among participants in the trades sphere, the three homeowners were also significantly older than the rest of my sample and had also owned their homes for 13 and 28 years respectively.

Home Owners often had quite positive experiences of owning their homes in the North End. Owners were older than their renting counter parts, the youngest being late 30s and the oldest being mid-60s. Owners in interviews highlighted the transient nature of renters, and a small minority of owners felt that renters were less friendly, primarily because the nature of their housing situation is less permanent, and as a result renters are less invested in their current neighborhood. Participants who owned their homes did not express explicitly anti-renting sentiments, but there was a general theme that students and the transient renting population were essentially different than those who owned homes,

and that renters and rental properties could be clearly identified. Discussing renting versus owning with Sam and Maddison, Sam argued that there were hardly any flats for rent in their neighborhood in the extreme North End. Maddison argued that this was in fact incorrect. Sam began by arguing from his personal experience in Mimi's neighborhood surrounding the Halifax Common.

> There's not too many flats here, it's different if you saw flats, they're rented. I grew up, we grew up on Lawrence street most of the places were flats, a lot of flats, a lot rented there, that whole side, it was all rented, all the way up, pretty well. But as I said here, there's not too many flats, we call em flats, duplexes, there's not too many flats now…

To Sam, flats/apartments are highly visible, as someone who has experienced what it like to live there for a significant amount of time. Despite acknowledging that their neighborhood has gone through significant changes over the past 28 years, in which the families that moved into the area when they did had largely left for either the suburbs or moved outside the city, Sam still suggests that most of the houses surrounding his and Sea's home are still primarily single family dwellings. However, as this conversation continued, Maddison highlighted that in fact, the neighborhood is widely rented now.

> Maddison: There's no for rent signs but the house up here, that is rented
>
> Sam: Which one? The, Jenny's old house, the one with the orange door
>
> Sam: Is that one rented?
>
> Maddison: The one next to um, Claude's? The main one, it's rented, the minister that lives in the white house by Jim's, that's rented
>
> Sam: is it? I didn't even know that
>
> Maddison: Let's see I'm the Gladys on the street I guess, and then coming up here…that's it, everybody else owns.

It is clear that despite the "obvious" way rental properties look to home owners, there is probably more rentals in the North End than many residents are aware of. Jo, the other

extreme North End retiree corroborates this account, highlighting that there are flats and apartments everywhere in the North End, especially in the old pre-fab houses found throughout the area. While there is variation in the ways that rental and ownership are dealt with in the North End, and the degree to which either form of housing are visible and identifiable with a cursory glance, I argue that these relationships are more complicated than they initially appear.

What is clear from this analysis of the North End middle class is that there is no one *North End middle class*. Even within the small sample size examined in this study, there is significant variation across all markers of social class (employment, education, and housing) that have been identified. As we will see in the next chapter, the history of the North End would suggest that there has been a steady erosion of the working-class in the area, and as the middle class has migrated back into urban centres in the post war era, they have re-inscribed themselves onto the spatial and social landscape. Not only does this mean that the physical environment within the North End has changed, but the social environment has changed as well. How then do middle-class residents perceive the North End as a whole? How does their class identity shape their experience of North End green spaces? To answer these questions it is important to first take a closer examination at how middle-class North Enders define the boundaries of the North End.

Chapter 5 WHAT IS THE NORTH END? CREATING AND DEFINING BOUNDARIES

We had an interesting discussion about that this morning, about whether or not this shop in its location is still considered North End. On a map, where we are right now, is like the belly button of the peninsula, we are central. Um, but I feel that this neighborhood still associates itself with North End, more so than South. And I don't have a clear distinction about what is central Halifax, central is just this blend of where north meets south, east, and west. But yeah geographically, from the Commons - north is pretty much North End in my mind. - Mimi

5.1 South of North Street

The reflection above comes from a participant I name Mimi, a white woman in her late 20s, currently living a few blocks south of North Street close to the Halifax Commons. This interview was conducted at Mimi's place of work, a local coffee shop/bakery a few blocks away from the Halifax Common in what she considers to be the North End, but other participants call "Central Halifax". Reflecting on where the North End begins and ends, Mimi describes these boundaries as being flexible: though she lives and works in a more central location, she identifies herself as a North Ender, and her surrounding area to be part of the North End. Seemingly aware of the "boundary" of the North End being North Street, Mimi and her coworkers are comfortable with claiming a North End identity, despite their admittedly central location. Though she lives south of North Street, she considers that her central area is associated with the North End, and that this sentiment is shared at both a community level in the surrounding area and at an institutional level in her workplace. The issue of North End boundaries was one of the first points we discussed, and having lived in the Hydrostone area, deeper in the North End, a few years previously, she was well aware of some of the normative ideas about where the North End begins from other residents, and her new living arrangement has

highlighted the difficulties that arise from the kinds of boundaries drawn by other North End residents.

While Mimi's definition of the North End may be problematic for some other residents, for her the Central Halifax area is part of the North End despite its location south of North Street. Initially this does not seem particularly significant. To say that that residents in one area (Mimi's neighborhood), which is in close proximity to another, highly visible and recognizable location (the North End) would associate themselves with that part of town is not in itself significant. Two of the most recognizable areas in Halifax are the North End and the South End, and if these are the only ways of dividing the city, than Mimi is much closer to the North End than the South End. However, this association with the North End becomes more significant when contrasting Mimi's account with those of participants who lived much further into the North End. Participants who lived further into the North End were much more likely to define the North End as beginning at North Street, making everything south of that part of Central or South End Halifax.

Participants' identities as North Enders extended to the green spaces they utilized and viewed as being part of the North End. Participants' conceptual maps of "North End green spaces" help illustrate how they bound the area through their usage and categorization of public green spaces. The green spaces that people include or exclude from their list of "North End green spaces" speak not only to how they relate green spaces with local boundaries, but to issues of social class as well as certain classed spaces are routinely excluded from accounts. What we see is that the boundaries of the North End are sometimes contested. Different people define the North End in relation to their

own experiences, and these definitions can include or exclude certain areas of the city, negating others' claims to North End identity.

While the majority of my sample lived much further into the North End than Mimi, her experience and reflection on the ways in which boundaries are drawn and who draws them highlights how varied these boundaries can be, especially when contrasting the experiences of residents above and below North Street. In this chapter I will examine experiences like Mimi's, as well as the experiences of other residents who see North Street as a hard boundary of the area. As some of my participants lived below or close enough to North Street that their boundaries were flexible, others lived much further away from North Street and have very rigid boundaries that divide the North End from other parts of the city. One way of examining these boundaries is to look at the green spaces that are included or excluded as "proper" North End green spaces.

In order to understand the contemporary politics of identity and place-making in the North End, some attention must be placed on the history of the area and its development. Therefore I will provide below a short summary of the development of the North End from the 19th century onwards, to contextualize participants contemporary experiences with boundary making in the North End. I have chosen the 19th century as a historical starting point primarily because it was during this time period that significant changes occurred to labour and housing practices in the North End, and the legacy of these transformations still informs the contemporary social and physical environment.

5.2 A Brief History of the North End

In his historical examination of Halifax, local anthropologist Paul Erickson (1986) examines the development of Halifax from its founding in 1749, and focuses on how the

North End has changed. His historical anthropological approach is helpful in grounding and establishing context for some of the issues that my project engages with, such as local boundary drawing. Erickson looks at the North End in relation to the development of the city of Halifax, and presents a descriptive anthropological history of the area. Erickson's work as a North End resident and critical social scientist informs the kinds of historical reporting he conducts on social issues of inequality in the North End. Absent from Erickson's account however is a clear definition of what he considers to be the North End. While it is not a current or recently published work, Erickson's account provides a solid background for the historical context in Halifax. Here I will summarize important historical moments in Halifax from the 19th century to the late 20th century. This provides some context into the ways the North End as a social space has changed as a result of socioeconomic and environmental forces operating on the North End from outside its boundaries.

19th Century Halifax

During the 19th century Halifax was an important centre of shipping and industry for Canada. Halifax's natural harbor made it one of the most desirable shipping locations on the Atlantic Coast, and served as a gateway to Canada from Europe during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, as the settlement of Canada by Europeans expanded further west, the focus of development and the centres of capital accumulation moved west as well. This move was facilitated by the development of the Canadian railway system, and the importance of Halifax as a centre of industry began to shift in the early to mid-1800s (Erickson, 1986). During this period, the North End was the site of several large factories that provided goods and employment to many North End residents.

> Profit from North End industries did not remain in Halifax for very long. Some industries were undercapitalized and inexpertly managed and began to falter. But the main reason the promise of industry was broken had little to do with lock of local skill and determination. The centre of population and money in Canada was moving west, where Quebec and Ontario had access to iron and coal and water to generate cheap electricity. No sooner had the Intercolonial Railway been completed to Montreal than entrepreneurs boarded the train back to Halifax to outcompete and outbid local firms. (Erickson, 1986, p. 49)

As a result of this move of capital and population westward, the socioeconomic status of Halifax changed significantly, and this had a direct impact on life in the North End. Housing prices, historically high in Halifax, continued to rise during the 18th century, as efforts to redesign the city grew following the increased loss of local industry. As industry moved west, increasing numbers of industrial firms and factories located in the North End were purchased by Upper Canadian investors, beginning a slow bleed that decreased the amount of locally owned and operated productive industries in the area. While Halifax maintained a strong naval presence leading up to and beyond World War I, the end of the 19th century and early 20th century saw a significant destabilization of working-class life in the North End, primarily because of the relocation of local industry to Upper Canada.

Early 20th Century: The Halifax Explosion
These changes to the North End were further impacted by the Halifax Explosion in 1917 which leveled over 400 acres of the North End (Kitz, 1989). On December 6th 1917, two ships collided in the Halifax Narrows, a very narrow channel leading into Halifax's natural harbour. The *Mont Blanc*, a French munitions ship destined for the war effort in Europe, and the Belgian relief ship *Imo* collided, setting the Mont Blanc on fire. Loaded with a "deadly cargo of 35 tons of benzole, 2300 tons of picric acid and 200 tons of TNT" (Erickson, 1986 p 54-55), the Mont Blanc burned for several hours in the

Halifax harbour before detonating. The resulting explosion was the biggest human made explosion prior to the detonation of atomic weapons during World War II, and remains the largest chemical explosion in human history. Over 2000 people were killed in this explosion, with an additional 9000 injured and 25000 left without shelter. The explosion devastated the Halifax and Dartmouth waterfronts. However, the North End bore most of the property damage and loss of life, requiring an extensive multi-year clean up and reconstruction project. This was an opportunity for developers in Halifax to completely redesign a large urban area, and had a significant impact on the lives of those North Enders who survived the explosion and wanted to move back into the North End.

In 1918 the Halifax Relief Commission was created by the Provincial and Federal governments to facilitate both the relief efforts for residents displaced by the explosion, and the reconstruction of the devastated North End. More than $30 million was allocated in emergency funds for the area, and from 1918 to 1948 the commission maintained control over the rebuilding and development of over 325 acres of the North End (Erickson, 1986). The Hydrostone housing development was completed in 1921, and was part of an initial reconstruction effort in the city to provide affordable homes for survivors and their families. Overall the commission's vision for the area was that of the "Garden City", in which the area would be redeveloped with new housing, but would retain favorable elements of country living, such as existing natural landscapes and ecological resources such as trees. This redevelopment set the foundation for how the North End would be laid out and how subsequent development would continue for decades to come. This focus on the "Garden City" led to such developments as Fort Needham Park, because the natural hill that it was built on was seen as an important

feature to be preserved l through the creation of a public good such as a park. The early to mid-20th century was a period of widespread destruction and reconstruction within the North End, continuing to change the social and physical makeup of the area.

Urban Renewal: the Postwar Years

Halifax's importance as a military and navy port helped to facilitate the redevelopment of the North End. The postwar boom following World War II helped push the final wave of pre-1960s development into the North End, reducing the remaining undeveloped space. During the 1960s, new waves of urban renewal swept through the North End. The 1957 report on urban development written by Gordon Stephenson became the main strategy for the redevelopment of Halifax as a whole, and it called for a massive redevelopment of the North End. This redevelopment involved an extensive relocation and displacement of those currently living in the North End, specifically those who were living in "substandard housing". This redevelopment of existing property was directed under Ordinance 50, a controversial and powerful piece of legislation, which established new minimum housing standards for North End housing, which in turn caused hundreds of North End residents to be displaced, their homes to be bulldozed or boarded up. Ordinance 50 was strictly enforced from 1958 onwards into the early 1960s, and displaced twelve times the number of people displaced by the destruction of Africville (Clairmont & McGill 1971, Erickson 1986). With its focus on "substandard housing", Ordinance 50 targeted working-class families in the North End, many of whom had survived the Halifax Explosion and redevelopment of the North End, but were then displaced in the wake of urban renewal.

Africville

A similarly destructive but much more infamous displacement of the North End working-class was the destruction of Africville in the 1960s. Africville, a small community located in the far North End near the Bedford Basin, was comprised of Black Nova Scotians, many of whom had moved into Halifax from the surrounding areas in search of work. The community began to be known as Africville around the 1900s, the name being used initially by Whites as an insult to the people living on the fifteen acres that made up the area. Throughout the 1900s, many public facilities not tolerated elsewhere in Halifax were placed in proximity to Africville, such as an Infectious Diseases Hospital and the human waste disposal from the nearby Rockhead Prison (Erickson, 1986). Over the years, the City expropriated land and bulldozed buildings in Africville in order to install local infrastructure and run train and power lines, and eventually in the 1960s the Halifax Government forcefully relocated the community over the span of seven years by purchasing and bulldozing homes in the area, to facilitate the creation of the McKay Bridge (Clairmont & McGill, 1971).

Public perceptions of Africville both from community members and outside observers have gone through multiple incarnations (Clairmont & McGill, 1999). Jim Silver (2008) argues there were two main ways Africville was conceptualized prior to the community's destruction: The most commonly used lens saw Africville as a slum, comprised of crumbling shacks without running water and modern sewage facilities, and home to various forms of sin and debauchery. The other lens saw Africville, at least until the last decades of its existence, as a tightly-knit community centered on the Seaview African United Baptist Church, located in a near-rural setting where residents and enjoyed the magnificent view of the Bedford Basin, and lived largely independent lives

(Silver, 2008, p. 12). For Silver the first lens describes the prevailing political and social opinions of white Haligonians towards Africville, which helped provide the pressure needed for the eventual expulsion of the community.

Silver examines the creation of the housing project of Uniacke Square in relation to the history of expropriation of residents of Africville. His account focuses on the history and experiences of this community and the ways in which institutionalized racism was built into the physical and social structure of Halifax. This cycle continues in the increasing gentrification apparent on Gottingen Street today. Silver shows how residents of Uniacke Square perceive the encroaching lofts and professional condo development as an extension of a long history of racism and systemic abuse on the part of the city. The story of Africville serves not only as a testament to the legacy of racism and colonialism in Nova Scotia, but also represents the overall hostility towards the working-class in the North End more generally during this time period.

5.3 Gentrification- Postwar to Contemporary Halifax

An important element that converges with histories of class-and racially-based displacement is that of gentrification. Gentrification is a concept in urban social science often used to describe the progressive "uplifting" of an urban area by waves of reinvestment and the resettlement of an area by the middle and elite classes. This is dated to the 1970s, as the suburbs began to fall out of favour as the new ideal residence. This move back into the city was largely cultural and ideological, but is also connected to changes in both the middle class and labour spheres. As manufacturing jobs moved further outside the city, more managerial and professional jobs were created in urban centres (Hamnett, 2003). Gentrification according to Chris Hamnett (2003) is a transition within cities from an industrial to a post-industrial environment. Cities, once large

production centres housing a robust working-class, have gradually become more focused on business and service industry development, which has pushed out both manufacturing jobs and the working-class that held them. Gentrification is often marked by reinvestment and redevelopment alongside the displacement of the working-class from urban environment (Hamnett, 2003).

Gentrification is typified by the building of lofts or professional condos, cycles of renovation, the presence of creative classes and galleries, and the repopulation of an urban area by the middle classes are pointed to by researchers as signs of gentrification (Ley 1988, Ley 1996, Silver 2004). The existing literature on Halifax as well as my research findings, show that gentrification is embedded into the social and physical environments of the North End.

Gentrification in Halifax has taken many forms, and, like elsewhere in North America, has significantly altered the socioeconomic landscape within the city. In Halifax, specific changes such as the closing of the Eaton's Centre on Gottingen Street and the development of the Scotia Square Mall are cited as creating conditions that facilitated gentrification (Erickson 1986, Silver 2008). The removal of these key pieces of the economic and social foundation from the North End began the disinvestment of Gottingen Street, which was once seen as the "heart of the North End", producing the conditions facilitating gentrifying investment. (Silver, 2008). Gottingen Street is currently home to proportionally more social services than typical for a consumption centre. Jim Silver (2008) highlights this as one symptom of the disinvestment that has occurred on Gottingen and the North End generally. Businesses moved out, and social services like

the North End Community Health Centre moved in to serve the population, with this shift indicative of socioeconomic distress (Silver, 2008).

In his discussion of Uniacke Square and the impacts of gentrification in Halifax, Jim Silver (2008) utilizes the history and lived experiences of contemporary Uniacke Square residents to show both historical and active processes of gentrification. He describes Uniacke Square as one example of many social housing projects created in the 1960s. He argues that "Uniacke Square, opened in 1966, relatively quickly took on most of the characteristics so typical of large, post-war, inner-city public housing projects... It continues to this day to be characterized by spatially concentrated racialized poverty" (Silver, 2008, p. 22). Silver explores the historical implementation of urban renewal and gentrification in Halifax and, focusing specifically on the Uniacke Square housing project, highlights how Gottingen Street is a clear example of the ways in which both histories of systemic racism, and active gentrification, shape the urban environment at the expense of those most in need of social support.

As a result of multiple waves of working-class and labour reorganization beginning in the 19th century, the reconstruction efforts after the Halifax Explosion, and urban renewal projects taken on in the post war years to "improve" the area, the North End has changed drastically, especially contrasting past and present social and racial identities in the area. It is important to understand these kinds of changes in order to critically examine what the North End (and therefore its green space) means to people today. The majority of my sample however was not working-class, nor had a history of working-class heritage in the area. However, their contemporary experiences need to be contextualized in the ways in which the North End has changed over the decades.

5.4 North of North Street

Where the North End begins and ends was one of the first topics I discussed with participants. By having that discussion up front, no matter how short, it helped me to contextualize the participant's framework for identity and inclusion around the North End as a physical location. In this section I will be engaging with accounts of the North End that see North Street as a specific boundary for the North End. Some participants viewed it as <u>the</u> boundary of the North End, and others feel the North End extends beyond North Street.

In interviews, North Street was widely seen as being *the* boundary for where the North End begins. Abby, a white woman in her early 30s who lives in the Hydrostone, has spent the last decade traveling and working around the world, and has returned to the North End with her new young family. I asked her to describe where the North End begins, to which she replied "I think for me, north of North Street is the North End." Overall this was the most common definition I encountered for the boundaries of the North End. Everything north of North Street was the North End, and everything south of it was not. When I asked her to tell me more about the boundaries of the North End, pointing out that some people place the boundary further south, she added that she thinks the area south of North Street where Mimi lives "doesn't really feel North Endy to me." Abby grew up in the Hydrostone, and her stance on the boundaries of the North End conflict with those of participants below North Street, who her definition excludes. This tension was found when examining and comparing the experiences of all participants. North Street and its importance as a marker of the North End emerged as one of the most recognizable themes related to local identity throughout multiple interviews. North Street is a highly visible marker or boundary. Even if participants do not agree with it or utilize

it in their own boundary making, they are keenly aware of it as a normative marker of the North End.

North Street is a long, largely straight street that connects the Angus MacDonald Bridge to the urban core of Halifax. North Street divides the city into segments with its partner street, South Street, on the other side of the downtown core. As a street it allows vehicles and pedestrians to traverse across the city, it connects to a number of side streets, and acts as one of the main gateways into peninsular Halifax from Dartmouth. Participants often described their attachment to the street as an edge or marker of dividing the North End from the rest of the city. In total, North Street is approximately 1.67 km long, and merges with Chebucto Road before continuing on into Halifax's West End. In total, eight out of the eleven participants I interviewed specifically pointed to North Street as being the defining boundary of the North End. Seven of these participants lived comparatively far into the North End, meaning that they did not live within a short walking distance of North Street (1.7 km average distance), and three of them lived in the Hydrostone area. Common reflections on North End boundaries resulted in comments such as "growing up, I always considered the North End as being North Street, and then wrapping around and coming down around, up Almon, and just before um, Connaught Avenue…that was my idea of the North End growing up".

The work of Kevin Lynch (2002) describes a taxonomy for interpreting how the material conditions of a city inform how people understand it. Lynch outlines five concepts: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks which provide a conceptual framework for how people often conceptualize different parts of their social space within cities. North Street, utilizing Lynch's taxonomy, operates as a path, which Lynch

describes as "the channels along with the observer customarily, occasionally, or potentially moves" (Lynch, 2002, p. 30). Lynch continues outlining that paths can be walkways, transit lines, roads, train lines, or anything that facilitates or allows movement through a city, and allows the observer to engage with their surroundings in some way. Lynch also argues that while paths facilitate and allow movement through a city, they can also act as an edge. As they facilitate movement and meaning, a path can serve as a boundary or demarcation. Usually edges are impassible features of a city like a lake, or in the case of Halifax, a natural harbor. However, as paths allow for movement and construction of meaning, they can also serve as edges, allowing for differentiation between spaces. Lynch provides a perspective that informs why North Street may be viewed as a hard boundary, despite the homogeneous architecture and social construction found on both sides of the street. North Street can serve as a pathway to create meaning, and an edge to demarcate difference.

This demarcation of difference was quite pronounced for some participants. I interviewed a married couple named Sam and Maddison, who were long-time residents of what they called the "extreme North End", meaning above Duffus Street.. Sam grew up on Lawrence Street in what he calls Central Halifax, only a few blocks away from Mimi's coffee shop (which she sees as the North End). We were engaged in a conversation about the #northbynight celebrations that were put on by the North End Business Association (located on Gottingen Street, south of North Street) in an effort to draw people out to different parts of the North End to enjoy music and celebrations at nighttime. Sam reflected on these celebrations and calling the area surrounding the Halifax Commons and Gottingen Street part of the North End. In his own experiences

growing up, he highlighted how that area was considered Central Halifax, and was

distinct from the North End:

> I grew up on Lawrence Street. And on Lawrence Street there was a house that was supposed to be the centre of the city, the old peninsula, not counting Fairview or Spryfield or anything like that. So if that's the case the Commons is just, a couple, you go straight you go right into the commons right, so but like I said, if you're going to divide it north and south and have no central, than yes it probably would be the Commons, and the rest would be South End, if that's how it's placed. But as I said, us, growing up, we were always in Central, and then the West End, North End, South End, as I said, no East End.

Sam's experience was that the North End and Central Halifax were different spaces. If

the only way the city is being divided is by a north/south dichotomy, then those people

just south of North Street would be North Enders by default. However, both Sam and

Maddison contended that there was a recognizable central area of Halifax, which includes

the downtown core and the areas surrounding the commons, such as Gottingen Street,

that is separate from the North End. They took issue with the more relaxed definition of

the North End, seemingly because they did not like the association made between

stigmatized areas such as Gottingen Street and the "proper" North End. These

participants' experience is echoed by others who see this relaxing of the boundaries of the

North End to be problematic. While only a few mention Central Halifax specifically as

being its own distinct area, generally the majority of my sample, those who adhered to a

"north of North" boundary, agree that the area surrounding the Common is not part of the

North End.

Even residents who are new to the area often seem to point to North Street as a

marker of the North End. Ellen, a white woman in her late 30s, is a new resident of the

Hydrostone area. When asked where she thought the North End began, she reported that

"well I guess some of it is what people told me. North Street, so north of North is

considered the North End." She continued to tell me that she is not extremely familiar with the North End as a whole and has not explored it fully yet, highlighting that she is aware that her answer is not as well informed as it could be. However, her response still reflects a "north of North Street" perspective that was given to her by people she has met since she moved to the area. Another participant, Lucy, was also a recent resident of the North End, having only lived there for approximately two weeks at the time of our interview. Lucy moved to the North End with her partner, who was himself a former resident of the area and was moving back for employment. When I asked her where she thought the North End began, Lucy like Ellen was unsure and felt her answer was somewhat ill informed. However, Lucy pointed to a large, 24-hour Sobeys on the corner of North Street and Windsor Street as being where the North End starts.

Even new residents, who have limited experiences with the North End, can reproduce similar boundaries to those residents who have lived there for most of their lives. Lucy and Ellen both live near what Sam and Maddison would call the "extreme North End", and have boundaries that cut off the North End at North Street, formed even in the short time they have lived in the area. Even two weeks was enough for Lucy to come up with a definition of the North End beginning at the North Street, presumably informed more by her social interactions than her taking time to physically explore Halifax enough to contrast one area with another. What is clear is that for many participants, North Street is an important landmark that marks what is North End and what is not. Interview data shows that those participants who live far enough away from the boundary not to see it on a daily basis, are more inclined to adhere to it as a hard boundary that those who encounter it every day.

What is important to draw out of this analysis, especially when paired with accounts from participants emphasizing the "north of North Street" boundary drawing, is that many residents living deep in the North End have drawn the boundaries of the North End back past established historical lines. Gottingen, once the heart of the North End, is often excluded from participants' conception of where the North End begins. Gottingen Street, recently celebrating its'250th anniversary, is noted by the North End Business Association to be the historic centre of the North End (accessed from http://gonorthhalifax.ca/250th-anniversary-of-the-gottingen-area/).The "north of North Street" boundary, intentional or not, therefore cuts off not only an area that has historically been the heart of the North End and currently houses the majority of named social institutions serving the North End (North End Public Library, North End Business Association, North End Community Health Centre), but it also distances the North End from a specific community that has historically, and continues to be, institutionally marginalized.

5.5 Drawing North End Boundaries

Having previously shown how the majority of participants adhered, with various degrees of conviction, to a "north of North Street" boundary for the North End, in this section I engage with the participants who disagree with this definition and identify as North Enders nonetheless. The majority of my sample lived in the middle to extreme North End, primarily surrounding the Hydrostone area or Merv Sullivan Park. However, there were two participants who live south of North Street, and still identified themselves as North Enders. I also had one participant who lives in the "real" North End now, but who once lived south of North Street. In this section I will highlight these contentious

definitions of the North End, showing the ways in which *proximity* impacts participant's

perception of the "real" boundaries of the North End.

South of North Street

Over the course of my research I (separately) interviewed two women, Mimi and

Shelly, who lived south of North Street, yet considered themselves to be North Enders.

According to the accounts of participants who lived further into the North End, these two

women did not live in the North End and should not consider themselves North Enders.

Shelly lives approximately 150 meters from North Street, while Mimi lives

approximately 320 meters from it. Both participants are women in their late 20s, Mimi

works within the North End and Shelly travels to downtown Dartmouth for employment.

Shelly, in her account, demonstrated not only an awareness that she might not be

"properly North End" in the eyes of other North Enders, but that she feels comfortable

enough in her claim to a North End identity to vocalize this claim to a stranger.

> Well, I moved to the North End in September of 2008, and, I say the North End, It
> was Charles and Clifton, that intersection, which is technically south of North
> Street, and south of North Street is technically not North End for purists. But for
> me it's anything, I don't know it's sort of foggy, but mentally I think the
> boundaries are anything up Agricola and Robie from the Commons feels like the
> North End, if that makes sense. Like you know Tony's pizza, up from there…

Shelly's perspective on these boundaries takes into consideration the boundaries of

"North End purists" and amends them: for her these boundaries are more flexible,

extending to the houses surrounding the Halifax Commons. Shelly admits that her

perception of these boundaries is cloudy, which is what should be expected when talking

about neighborhood boundaries that are not delineated through specific geographic

boundaries that physically separate areas (i.e. bridges, walls, parks, business districts).

We continued to have a discussion about these boundaries, in which Shelly notes her

perceptions of how other North End residents might react to the rewriting of the North

End:

> Brenden: And it's interesting that you said the, North End purists, the people I've interviewed so far have been saying North Street, North Street and up, that's the line.
>
> Shelly: I know I'm a cheater
>
> Brenden: You know it's actually the um, technical boundary…is um, this side of the Commons, like the far side of the Commons
>
> Shelly: So like Tony's Pizza?
>
> Brenden: No further than that, you know where that um, big intersection is with…
>
> Shelly: The North End purists wouldn't like that

Here Shelly admits, almost in a self-deprecating way, that her definition of the North End

is a "cheat". Not only is she somewhat dismissing her own claim to North End identify

(which is not significant enough to stop or derail the interview process) but that these

"purists" would not be happy with the way she and other organizations have rewritten the

boundaries of the North End. Shelly, and those participants living below North Street, are

keenly aware that their claims to North End identity may be less legitimate in the eyes of

North End "purists". North End "purists", people who think the North End begins at

North Street and live in central areas like the Hydrostone, are in no danger of having their

identity as North Enders questioned. It is unlikely that an argument about Hydrostone

residents not being from the North End would be successful, but for those people living

on the fringes of the North End like Shelly and Mimi, these challenges to identity claims

become much more powerful.

Returning to the account from Mimi that began the chapter, we see not only an

individual who lives on the margins of North End identity, but an organization, the coffee

shop, serving the local "central" community, whose members have agreed amongst

themselves that they are a North End business and that the area is itself North End. Reflecting on this, Mimi admits that her shop is almost directly in the middle of the peninsula, making it by definition central in terms of spatial location. However, when we consider things such as the community being served by the coffee shop, the architecture comprising the homes and businesses in the area, the lack of a distinct "Central Halifax" identity, it is very reasonable to see why Mimi's coffee shop and community would claim North End identity. The areas surrounding North Street are similarly laid out and designed, as well as are comprised mostly of homes that share the similar "saltbox" style that is common in the North End. Similar to Shelly, we see Mimi and her coworkers struggling with their claim to identity and the awareness that this claim may be rejected by others because they do not meet one particular criteria that seems to be elevated above all others.

North but Reflexive
Similarly to how participants living below North Street expressed more flexible or inclusive boundaries of the North End, there were participants who were more aware of the difficulties with the North Street boundary. As was examined previously in relation to the work of Kevin Lynch (2002) North Street is both a path and an edge. While it does not block off one end of the city from another physically, and facilitates travel and engagement with its surroundings, it is still possible for residents to imbue the street with meaning, forming an edge that divides the city. In terms of real physical differences between homes and businesses on either side of North Street, they are largely homogenous. Participants who live or have lived below North Street are aware of the continuity between these two areas, but there are some participants north of North Street that are more aware of this than others. One participant, a white male in his late 30s

named Bobby who lives within a short walking distance of North Street highlighted his

awareness of the problems with North Street while still maintaining it is a useful

boundary for establishing the North End:

> Okay, so physically, I always feel like it's kind of a joke because I don't know if it's actually true or not. But they say that the North End starts at North Street, and once you, because we joke and say that once you cross North Street you're in the South End. [Laughter] because we have friends that live across from North Street and we say they are down in the south end… I consider Hydrostone and beyond, even towards Devonshire, Duffus area, so north. And obviously once you hit the water… those are my vague understandings of the physical boundaries of the North End.

Here Bobby is reflecting on the inherent difficulties with using North Street as a strict

boundary of the North End, namely what happens to people on the exact other side of the

Street. Does a block away from North Street really create such a profound difference in

experience that a person cannot claim a North End identity? Bobby highlights this tension

and his awareness of it through humor, the fact that he has this conversation with a friend

and the way that they play with definitions highlights his own awareness of how this kind

of definition fails. Having said that, though he offers more critical assessment of this

definition than many other participants, Bobby still feels that North Street is a useful

enough boundary to operationalize for his daily life.

Dean, another white male participant, this time in his mid-20 also offers a more

reflexive take on North Street than was found in other interviews. Dean grew up in a very

suburban area of central Dartmouth and has only in the past few years moved into the

urban core of Halifax. Speaking as a "Dartmouthian", he told me that he always used to

think about the city in terms of coming off the MacDonald Bridge. If he was turning

right, he was in the North End, and if he was turning left he was in the South End. While

he still subscribes to the "north of North" framework, having lived in a "central" location

previously, his account takes into consideration the inconsistent and jagged boundaries

that account for the North End

> This school year and last school year I've lived on London Street. Which I definitely feel is solidly solidly North End. The year before that I lived on Compton Avenue, which is right by the Commons. And at the time I would have defined that as the North End, but I'm not so sure any more. I think that my definition of the North End is North of North Street, uh, as cliché as that sounds, I dunno, I have a hard time with the whole, I guess the lines are really jagged, because Gottingen Street so many people consider to be North End, but I just don't, I consider that to be Central Halifax.

Having lived centrally, in the same area as Mimi, prior to moving further into the North

End, Dean's perspective has changed as he has reconsidered what the boundaries of the

North End are. Like in the account presented by Bobby, we see that they are both far

more reflexive than other residents who live further into the North End, highlighting that

these definitions might not always work, or that identity can exist south of North Street.

Dean further reflects on this point, making specific reference to the area surrounding the

Halifax commons and whether it should be called Central Halifax or North End, stating

that "anything around the Commons there, I guess anything south of North Street but

North of…umm what's a good street…anything around the Commons and that sort of

line that goes perpendicular to the line of the peninsula is central Halifax I find, including

downtown". Dean's account shows the difficulty in utilizing the rigid parameters of a

straight street like North Street to define the irregular shape of the neighborhoods and

areas between North Street and the Halifax Commons; however, he still sees both the

downtown core and these areas surrounding the Common to be Central Halifax. Both

Dean and Bobby's accounts are closer in their ideas about identity and the North End to

those raised by Mimi and Shelly, rather than those of people in the deep North End, such

as Sam, Maddison, and Abby. The accounts raised by Dean and Bobby highlight the

difficulty inherent in these kinds of definitions, and that they are more willing to explore the blurring of these lines, primarily because of their proximity to North Street.

Boundary drawing along North Street also impacts the kinds of green spaces participants utilize and how they conceptualize the area generally. Participants who adhered to a "north of North Street" boundary were far less inclined to use or even mention green spaces south of North Street. The only participants who mentioned using the Common in any capacity were Shelly and Mimi, who live very close to it. While Shelly and Mimi use other green spaces within the city, even some above North Street, participants north of North Street seem to avoid central green spaces. While this may be for proximity reasons and the relative closeness of other green spaces in their immediate vicinity, it important to note the exclusion of these green spaces. The only notable exception to this rule was the frequent mention of Point Pleasant Park by most participants. Point Pleasant Park is the cities "mega park" as noted by Dean, and as a highly visible park, was visited frequently by participants who had access to vehicles and in this study is a "green outlier" as it stands out from participants' typical usage patterns.

Almost as important as the parks and green spaces included in participants' definitions of the North End are those spaces that are excluded from it. The only parks and green spaces mentioned by participants south of North Street were the Halifax Common, Point Pleasant Park, and Citadel Hill. Participants were asked to list not only parks and green spaces they visited on a regular basis, but any that they knew about within the North End. While the city is littered with parks, it is notable that there was no mention of any green space located on Gottingen Street as being part of the overall mapping of North End parks. Gottingen Street is in fact home to several green spaces, the

most notable and closest to North Street being that surrounding the George Dixon Centre, yet even the participants who lived near the Common, close by, did not mention using these spaces. The exclusion of certain green spaces would not necessarily be problematic (knowing and listing all green spaces in the North End during an interview could be taxing). However, because of the middleclass positions of my participants, and the racial and class history and composition of Gottingen Street, the exclusion or overlooking of green spaces on the street is indicative of the social distancing from Gottingen Street we see within a "north of North Street" boundary.

These green exclusions showcase a second instance of boundary-making beyond North Street, which is related to the class and racial history of the area. The exclusion of green spaces such as the Common, the George Dixon Centre and other centrally located parks points to a "greening" of these kinds of spatial boundaries. The physical distance between these parks and North Street may be short, but the cognitive distance is much greater. North Street as a boundary helps to distance participants from green spaces such as the Common, helping to classify it and similarly located spaces as *not* North End. These green boundaries reinforce for participants the edges they have created for the North End. The distancing that many participants engage in as middle-class park users suggests that they are wary of the localized socioeconomic poverty of the area, and almost unconsciously distinguish the North End from Gottingen Street. Since green spaces often act as a proxy for larger debates (see Chapter 6), this kind of green boundary making might be just as if not more contentious for people below North Street.

Reflecting on the differing accounts of identity and boundaries among participants, those people who live further away from North Street, like Abby and Sam

and Maddison, have more rigid and clearly defined boundaries tied to North Street being the absolute border of the North End. In contrast, the accounts of people who lived below North Street show an awareness that they themselves are in some ways transgressing an established boundary by still claiming a North End identity. As well, people who live north of North but closest to North Street are often more sympathetic or at least aware of the difficulties inherent in using one street as the boundary for the entire North End.

Therefore, what is clear from these accounts of identity and boundary-drawing, is that those people who live in closer proximity to, regularly transverse North Street, or live either just north or south of the street, had more relaxed definitions and ideas about where the North End began and ended: their definition was more flexible. Proximity has a significant impact on how North Enders conceptualize who lives in the North End, where it begins and ends, as well as what "local" green spaces they use. Bounding and defining the North End will be examined again in Chapter 6, by looking at a contemporary Halifax case of the intersections between race, class, and how people use green space. Having established how North Enders conceptualize the boundaries of the North End, and how that applies to what "local" parks are, how do they actually interact with these spaces? What do people actually do or experience when they are in a green space in the North End? The following chapter engages with these questions, providing descriptive accounts of the daily life of North End public green space.

Chapter 6 GREEN SPACE AND NORTH ENDERS

6.1 The Uses of Green Spaces

One of my goals in this project was to examine how people in the North End use local green spaces. Because urban green spaces are often designed to facilitate important social interactions and recreational activities, it is important to examine how these spaces are experienced by the people who use them on a regular basis. However, it is also important to take into consideration the reasons that they may not be frequented regularly by some participants. When examining how people utilize green spaces in the North End, I found that the activities participants regularly undertook fell into fairly standard types, which are: dog walking, exercise/recreation, sociability, and experiencing nature. In the following sections I will elaborate on each of these categories, highlighting the ways in which participant's experiences of green spaces are intrinsically linked to the kinds of activities they take part in, or those that they abstain from.

The most commonly cited use of green spaces in the North End was for dog walking. Out of eleven participants, six currently had dogs that they walked on a daily basis, and two more had owned dogs at one point in their lives in the North End. Not only was dog walking mentioned frequently by participants as one of the main reasons they themselves use green spaces in the North End, but it was cited as one of the main ways other North End residents used these spaces as well. On the surface this seems to be an uninteresting observation. Green spaces are often seen as places at least friendly to dogs, if not designed explicitly for them, and it is almost common sense that people would take their dogs to a park. However, this becomes an important point when we consider the implications of having green spaces friendly to dogs and dog owners. Being able to walk

their dogs in a local green space was one of the primary motivating factors for some

participants to move to the North End. Lucy, in our short interview at the Merv Sullivan

Memorial Park, outlined that having lived in rural Cape Breton for most of her life,

having access to green spaces for her and for her dog was extremely important to her. It

was so important that it was one of the motivating factors for her and her partner to move

to the North End, rather than another part of the city. Not only is dog ownership

important in terms of motivating some participants to move to certain areas of the city,

but dog ownership itself is often a sign of social class identity, both in the ownership of

particular breeds or in the general care of dogs (Tissot, 2011). Speaking about the

importance of having a park nearby for her dog, one participant reported that:

> When we were choosing a location to live, [green space] was a priority. Other
> than there's stuff you want in your house…I need to have a park close by. We just
> went from two vehicles down to one, and if he has it most of the time I'm like,
> bus routes, parks, I need to have that, especially for her. I chose her, she didn't
> choose me. So it's up to me to keep her quality of life good. We need to get out…

This sentiment was shared by four other participants. Taking their dogs for walks in

green spaces is both practical and desirable for many participants. It gives their dogs

spaces to walk, gives themselves a chance to explore and engage with a different kind of

physical environment than the rest of the city, and provides opportunities for residents to

meet and connect with their neighbors in a safe and informal setting.

The account provided above specifically highlights the degree of importance this

participant places on green space. This participant has gone out of her way to provide not

only her dog but herself with suitable access to green space.

> Well I use them to take the dog for a walk, but that is a bit relaxing, yeah I use it
> as kind of a break. I take him to the boulevard or up to Needham Park, and it is a
> break, because if I'm at home working or something, I mean he does need to go

out, but it's a nice break, it's a nice breather. I come back feeling refreshed, it kind of changes your headspace a little bit and, yeah I use them for…taking you out of your normal routine, away from work.

During my observation in parks in fall 2013, dog walkers were the largest identifiable category of people I saw. Furthermore, participants reported that the North End is a very accessible area for dog owners in terms of having access to green spaces. Most owners lived in relatively close proximity to a green space they could take their dog to, and many of these dog owners made explicit references to the need for more off-leash areas for dogs in the North End. Sylvie Tissot (2011) argues that this idea of creating dog friendly or dog only spaces is intrinsically linked to how the gentrifying middle-class inscribe themselves onto the urban landscape. The notion from dog owners in the North End that there should be more spaces allocated for dogs could be an example of how "upper middle-class dog owners…symbolically appropriate public space and create new and arguably exclusionary places, such as dog runs" (Tissot, 2011, p 268).

Another subset of my sample utilized green spaces for some form of physical activities (eight out of eleven participants). By physical activities I am referring to engaging in either solitary or collective activities that are based in some fashion on physical exertion or recreation (e.g. throwing a ball, running, biking). Out of the eight participants who engaged in physical activities in parks, four of them specifically utilized green spaces for physical fitness, predominantly running or biking. Green spaces are well suited to physical activity and recreation, and are often designed specifically with these goals in mind, with the inclusion of physical support such as trails or sports areas. Physical activities may also not be directly related to exertion: simply relaxing within the space is a form of recreation, and green spaces support these kinds of activities as well in

both the formal and informal settings. Four participants reported using green spaces for group recreation activities. They ranged from picnics in the summer, to throwing Frisbees or playing hide and go seek. From both observational data and participant accounts, many of the larger green spaces in the North End (Halifax Common, Fort Needham Park, Merv Sullivan Park) are heavily utilized for organized sports at many levels of competition. While few participants in my sample engaged in these activities, it was reported that local schools and organizations utilized these spaces heavily during the spring, summer, and fall seasons. This point will be addressed further in a following section, but there was a sense of conflict between some of those who participated in sports activities and some of those who were seeking to utilize these spaces for other activities such as dog walking. (This conflict could be experienced even by individuals who engaged in both activities, and therefore were somewhat torn between the two sides.) Dog owners who were trying to let their dogs run off leash were routinely frustrated by the amount of space allocated for organized sports, further reinforcing their desire to have more dog friendly or off-leash spaces in the North End.

Another often cited benefit of green spaces is their ability to foster interaction and sociability between people in urban environments. One participant thought that green spaces were the perfect medium for encouraging social interactions, highlighting the potential he saw for interaction between a retirement home in his neighborhood and the neighborhood at large facilitated by green space. This participant's observation fits with the overall perception of participants that green spaces in the North End are sociable spaces. The vast majority of participants engaged in some form of sociability within green spaces, either with their own social circles or with others they may not know

personally. Even on cold mornings in November, the larger green spaces such as Merv

Sullivan or Seaview Lookoff were frequented by several people every hour, often to walk

their dogs. This point was echoed by participants who highlighted that green spaces were

themselves very dynamic and vibrant, and that they helped to foster interactions between

strangers in different ways. One informant, a newer resident of the Hydrostone who

moved to Halifax approximately one year ago from another Canadian city, highlighted

the kinds of daily interactions she observes in Fort Needham Park located adjacent to the

Hydrostone

> Well I see kids playing in the playground, you know playing catch or something. But I see a lot of people like, a lot of people use that green space at Needham for their dogs so there's usually, you know dogs playing and the people, the dogs are playing and there's a group of people talking so it's quite social. It can be a place, with the dog anyway, it's been a good way to meet people, that's how I've actually met people in this neighborhood is through the dog up in the park.

This is a typical reflection on the kinds of interactions that occur between people in these

green spaces. Children play, dogs run, and occasionally people who did not know each

other previously get to meet one another. Another participant said that when she lived

near the Hydrostone, and how she and her partner would facilitate tie-dye workshops and

puppet shows for the children living in the Hydrostone, using the boulevard as both a

meeting place and a space for holding these events. The boulevards in the Hydrostone

area are unique spaces in that they straddle the line between public and private green

spaces. While they are technically public spaces and maintained by the city, these narrow

strips of grass and trees are used by and cultivated for the residents of the Hydrostone.

This produces an environment that is more close-knit and communal than a strictly public

green space, and where events like workshops can be more easily facilitated. While it

seems that these observations are obvious and mundane, these kinds of social interactions

are the social glue that help to solidify social connections and enhance the social life of an area (Newman, 2011). Even between boulevards there are different kinds of social interactions in the Hydrostone. One participant said that her boulevard was often empty because it was known in the area that the boulevard 1 block over from hers was the one where children played. This left the boulevard in front of her house empty except for dog users. Green spaces in the North End can help to foster social interactions between residents of the North End, and the degree to which they are reported to be used suggests that they are largely successful in fostering interaction between individuals.

However, social interactions within green spaces are not always positive. Though far rarer than accounts of positive interaction, several participants talked about negative interactions in green spaces. One participant spoke on her continuing distrust of the Hydrostone area and Fort Needham Park. Having lived in the area for most of her life, this participant argued that Fort Needham has always been somewhat of an unsafe space. She cites both her childhood experiences of being beat up or spit on in the park and a recent physical assault her friend experienced in the park as evidence of safety concerns in Needham. Despite these safety concerns, this participant felt that because she did not have access to a car she had little choice but to walk her dog and young child at Needham. Another resident of the Hydrostone reflected on a shooting that happened in the area, and how for several months after Fort Needham was much less frequented by people in the community, highlighting the residents' general sense of unease in their local environment, including green spaces. From examining participants' accounts, it is clear that the park mentioned most frequently in relation to safety concerns both historically and recently is Fort Needham. Its elevated topography, combined with poor night time

lighting and secluded wooded areas have helped to facilitate its characterization by participants as a place not to go after dark.

What these experiences provided by participants highlight is that perceptions of green spaces can be altered by negative social interactions both within the boundaries of a park and outside of them. Parks, especially secluded ones, have often been the sites of deviant behavior, often by marginalized communities (Catungal & McCann 2011, Mitchel 1995), and perceptions of deviance or danger can impact how people experience these spaces. Just as easily as they can foster positive social interactions, parks can foster negative ones.

The final way in which people utilized green spaces in the North End was as a way to experience nature. What "nature" is and the tangible and intangible values that people place on it vary from participant to participant. Some people express their appreciation for nature at a surface level while others are more articulate and deep with their descriptions of the meaning of "nature" and what they get out of green spaces. While the character of this experience differs between participants, having some kind of connection to nature, or an appreciation of green spaces because of an intangible value they experienced, was expressed either explicitly or implicitly by many participants (six out of eleven). These kinds of experiences ranged from casual appreciation of green spaces, to explicitly spiritual feelings of connection to essential qualities and forces of the planet. The variation between these subjective experiences makes examining them difficult. One useful framework for engaging with this idea of "experiencing nature" is the sacred and profane dichotomy developed by Emile Durkheim (1915) to describe the fundamentals of religious experience. Durkheim argues that one of the foundational

truths about world religions and spiritual experiences is the separation of the sacred realm

from that of the profane. He argues that the world is split into two distinct domains, and

that those domains inform religious worldviews

> …the one containing all that is sacred, the other all that is profane, is the distinctive trait of religious thought; the beliefs, myths, dogmas and legends are either representations or systems of representation which express the nature of sacred things, the virtues and powers which are attributed to them, or their relations with each other and with profane things. But by sacred things one must not understand simply those personal beings which are called gods or spirits; a rock, a tree, a spring, a pebble, a piece of wood, a house, in a word, anything can be sacred (Durkheim, 1967, p. 52).

Durkheim's system is a useful framework for examining experiences of green spaces for

two main reasons. The first being that it sets up a dichotomy between conceptual

frameworks of reality that speak to participants' experiences, located firmly in a tangible

and profane space (park) while having a sacred experience of something connected to

physical space as well as to something spiritual or abstract (nature). The second benefit to

this framework is that it divides the profane (routine, practical) use of space from the

sacred (interaction with nature, spiritual connection to the earth) experience of it. The

following sections will further engage with both the sacred and profane aspects of park

use, highlighting the way in which these two spheres inform the significance of green

spaces to participants.

Profane Space

The profane experiences of green space are those benefits easily reported and

quantified through the interview process. People appreciate and value green spaces

because of the things they can do there, the people they see, or the concrete and tangible

aspects of a park or boulevard. These responses were more easily generated through the

interview process both because of my research focus on everyday experience and daily

routines, and because for most people it is easier to convey why a ball field is important than how you personally connect to nature on a spiritual level. These accounts of appreciation are less abstract than sacred experiences. Participants provided accounts such as "I think uh, I think we appreciate them more, because of our biking part right. Because when we go on these trails, like I said there's no trails up here, but we appreciate green spaces because like I said the nature part of it, going for bike rides and we really enjoy them, I think we appreciate them more. And we need them". Here is an appeal to appreciating nature, but not much explanation of what nature is. The focus of appreciation is on the profane aspects of the park, the trails and the ability to bike, while what "nature" is as a concept is less clear. When pressed to describe nature, this participant appealed to physical descriptions again (parks, woods, sports fields etc.), highlighting either that the profane was more significant to their experience of nature, or that perhaps articulating a more sacred definition of nature was unlikely given the circumstances of the interview. These kinds of accounts, mentioning the importance of parks as social spaces, as recreational spaces, as places for entertainment and fun, place significance on profane, everyday aspects of green spaces. While these concrete and profane elements of green spaces are vital to how and why people actually go to green spaces, they do not fully encapsulate the totality of experience of green spaces.

Sacred Space

The sacred element of green spaces was expressed with varying degrees of sophistication and conviction among participants. While few participants spoke explicitly and directly about a spiritual connection they felt with nature that visiting green spaces allows them to experience, most participants had some kind of appreciation or reverence for green spaces that arose from something apart from the trees and flowers. Durkheim

(1915) argues that while there are sharp distinctions drawn between the sacred and the profane, at some level these two radically different worlds are connected, through things like ritual, religious artifacts, spiritual beings etc. Participants drew connections between the two kinds of experiences. One in particular saw humans as being drawn to green spaces innately:

> I think people are drawn to that even if they don't spend time in green space necessarily, people like having it around it makes them feel safer and I think, this is my opinion, but I think that you know, essentially if you think of us as biological living things, we're part of the natural world, so naturally, no pun intended, we will be drawn to things that resonate with that innate sense of being part of the natural world.

This idea that we can experience nature through green spaces, or that nature is worthwhile to seek out, was a common thread throughout my interviews. This account highlights an inherent connection between humans and nature. This appeal makes an implicit distinction between the unnatural environments humans have constructed for ourselves, and an internal, biological drive bringing us back to natural environments.

Other participants were more explicitly spiritual in their connections to nature. One white woman in her late 20s described nature as being part of the "basic workings of the earth", and that green spaces in cities are "designed to maintain its connection to nature…to connect to nature in that space". Participants saw these kinds of connections to be meaningful and important for their overall experience of green space. Green spaces not only provide them with vital physical or profane benefits, but important sacred ones as well.

What is important to draw out of this analysis is that both sacred and profane aspects inform how participants relate to green spaces. Though the descriptions about

nature and green space vary from person to person, the common thread between them is that there is inherently something positive about nature, and getting "back to it" or experiencing it in a city is inherently good. By framing these issues within the sacred/profane dichotomy we see that there are multiple levels of engagement and relationships that participants experience in relation to green spaces. The majority of participants borrow from both spheres to inform their experiences of green spaces, and articulate significance by appealing to both of them.

6.3 The Grass is Always Greener

While it is clear from the previous sections that green spaces hold a special significance for many people, when it comes to what people value or appreciate in green space, participants' accounts conflict with one another. Researchers examining conflicts within and about green spaces highlight that parks and green spaces, because of their social and economic value, can be highly contentious spaces (Catungal & McCann 2010, Dooling 2009, Gabriel 2011, Tissot 2011). Because of the sense of ownership people feel over green spaces, and the benefits they provide to daily life in urban environments, issues of inclusion, identity and citizenship often play out in struggles over public green spaces. In the case of the North End, the largest conflict that was reported was between dog owners and sports participation.

Participants who owned and walked dogs in green spaces experienced a sense of conflict between themselves and others participating in sports, often students from local schools in the area, or families who were there watching games or practices. While there were far fewer people who participated in organized sports in my sample, many dog walkers reported that their access to the best green space (i.e. grassy fields) was severely

limited by organized sports that occupy these spaces for the warmest times of the year. Dog owners saw greater amounts of space and importance allocated to sports teams during the warmest times of the year. Dogs are prevented from running off leash in most parks in the North End to begin with, and then when organized sports are practicing dog owners have much more limited access to green space. Three participants in particular took issue with the amount of space allocated for sport activities, and said that this impacted their use of the park for dog off-leash walking or other activities. More specifically, one participant said that she, a resident of approximately one and a half years, was already aware of tension that occurs at Fort Needham Park between dog owners and athletes, "Yeah, or there's, what, football? Or things going on, there's, well there's more people but it becomes a bit more complicated because I know there's some tension between the dog park area and the football field area, so it's hard to tell a dog not to pass this line, you know?"

Another participant, a dog owner who lives near the Halifax Common but lived near Fort Needham Park for many years, speaks about this conflict in a more general sense, and doesn't feel like spaces like the Common really fulfill her need for nature within the city. Speaking of the newly built skating rink on the Common, she argues that, "before it was there, it was another sports field, in that area, which I also didn't engage with, because that's not a place to go and connect with nature, that's a place to go and use structure for playing sport". She then goes on to critique the Common for not being a "nature space", and is primarily devoted to sports activities. Clearly noting that sports fields are not nature spaces, she continues, "when I think of green spaces in Halifax, little places I know that are, urban gardens and things, they're still not places that I'm inclined

to go because it's just, uniform grass, human developed green space rather than nature

space". Her main contention is that human-developed nature space privileges uniform

grass coverage and specific mediated experiences with nature. This would not be a

problem if she had other green spaces that offered more variety in her area, but not

having a car she does not have, reliable access to other green spaces.

This dogs-versus-sports conflict was articulated very clearly by a woman who is

both a longstanding and new resident to the North End. Having grown up in the North

End, she recently moved back after living for more than ten years outside of Canada. She

found the conflicts over who gets to use what part of Fort Needham to be very troubling

and limiting for those people not involved in organized sport.

> I don't know, if there was another choice beside Needham around
> here…But…because yeah again in the summer it's kind of like, that space is
> taken up a lot by organized sports. Then you are kind of constrained between
> these two little strips, and whether you have a dog or not, there's a whole big part
> of that green space that you can't use, because it's in use for organized sports. So
> it would be nice if there was a bigger park that could be used by, just regular
> people and every, you know, all year round kind of thing. Because it does take it
> over…

This conflict ties more generally to both the perceived lack of spaces for dogs and dog

owners in the North End, and the prevalence of sports fields in North End green space.

There were several comments made by dog owners to the lack of adequate space for their

dogs to run off-leash. While I was conducing my field work I noticed lots of dogs and

dog walkers in parks, some of them letting their dogs run off-leash. However, as this

fieldwork was conducted between October 2013 and December 2013, organized sports

had ended in these parks, thus making them dog-friendly again. Participants are not

opposed to the idea of sports fields in the North End, but these do become problematic

when the majority of formal, developed, and fenced green space in the North End is

reserved throughout large portions of the year for sports participation. Compounded with the lack of dog off-leash areas and the confusion among participants about which spaces are or are not off-leash creates a situation in which conflict between people over the use of green space seems inevitable.

Conversely, those who played or valued sports and sport participation described the encroachment of dogs and dog owners as problematic. Only two people in my study took up this position but they still outlined if not conflict between the two groups, at least mild annoyance. One participant, an avid supporter of local sports whose children were highly involved in sports in the North End, made a point of outlining what dog owners were not allowed to do in public green spaces. "Well [dog owners] still do take their dogs. You can't do it during the summer, from May, most of the parks here from May until November the dogs aren't allowed because the kids are playing, same as the school yard". While there is certainly not the same level of antagonism towards dogs on the sports side as there is to sports on the dog side, it is clear that there is some level of tension between the two groups. This participant goes on to describe dogs and summer sports participation at the Merv Sullivan Park:

> So they're used quite often, like the owners throw their balls and stuff. But other than that, it's very…during the day, in the summer time you'll see some kids playing ball, organized ball, like when you're growing up you'll play some ball. And the field is used like I said after school the kids always go up there and play soccer and stuff but, I don't know.

This participant argues that there is a high level of sports participation in these green spaces. This point was highlighted by a long-time resident of the North End who told me that during the peak sports months, there are so many people using these spaces that it is almost impossible to find parking near the parks. This suggests that there is a high degree

of community involvement surrounding sports participation in these northern North End parks, which is further strengthened by the park's proximity to a nearby elementary school.

What we see here in this exchange is a difference in the kinds of physical and social elements of green spaces that people value. Green spaces become contentious when members of the group or neighborhood that the space is meant to provide for feel disenfranchised from the space at some level (Newman, 2011). When a green space is not designed to incorporate people in a way that speaks to their experiences or interests, then the space can become a focal point for local conflict. For those who value participating, or watching children participate in sport activities, it is important to keep those spaces dog-free so as not to disturb ongoing or future sports practices. On the other side, dog owners see these spaces that exclude them and prevent them from taking their dog off-leash as unfair and problematic. These different appraisals of the same space are underpinned by different values, and give rise to everyday conflicts in the daily routines of North End residents. What we can draw out of this analysis is that the same physical space can produce multiple social environments, and these sometimes competing social environments inform conflict over the use of these spaces.

6.4 Escape to the Woods
Another thread that emerged surrounding dissatisfaction in relation to green spaces, is the lack of wooded areas in the North End. In almost every interview, trees and wooded spaces were referenced in some way by participants. Trees were often mentioned alongside grass and gardens as visible markers and defining features of green spaces. One participant argues that green spaces need to have "enough space that you cannot just look

right there, and there's a road right there. That you can actually walk around a bit without coming into a road, and coming across cars and stuff." Not only are trees and grass valuable in themselves for a variety of reasons (individual health, erosion deterrent, oxygenation etc.) (Heynen et al., 2006), but having a dense collection of them helps to obscure views of the city. This point of blocking the view of the city is linked with people's experiences of green spaces, and is tied to the historical narrative that informed the creation of modern urban parks (Gabriel, 2011). Many participants came from rural or suburban backgrounds prior to living in Halifax, and trees and wooded areas were often part of their memories and experiences of nature. What my analysis shows is that trees and woods are a very important element of cultivating meaningful experiences of green spaces for many people, and that those needs are often difficult to meet for many residents in the North End.

Participants were highly vocal and acutely aware of the lack of wooded spaces that they had in the North End. Comments such as "there's nothing where you can really go and walk around and go in the woods right, a trail through the woods, and that would be nice but there's no spaces for that" or "when I think green space I think forest. That's something that I don't see a lot of in the North End" were typical. Many participants who desire a dense wooded experience often have to travel outside the city for these experiences because they cannot find that in the city. One participant who grew up in Dartmouth and lived near Shubenacadie Park commented on this process

> I will put more effort into getting out of the city than I had to when I was living in Dartmouth. I could get to my forest fix by going to Shubie Park, and you know even exploring off trails around Shubie that was very accessible to my house it didn't take all day to go there, have some forest time, then carry on with your day. So I will make a plan for a day trip or a half day trip, just to get out of Halifax and

to be in natural spaces. It takes more effort, especially because I don't have a car I have to do more planning.

This is one of the ways in which the types of green spaces in the North End, combined with issues surrounding local transportation and access, do not meet the needs of local residents. It is clear from my research that, though people feel there are generally adequate amounts of green space in the North End, specific needs for wooded or less open space are not met. What green space there is in the North End is largely developed for sports participation. Residents often travel to the South End or outside the city entirely to "get back to nature" or have meaningful experiences that are impossible without access to an urban forest or an area with denser tree coverage.

While Seaview Lookoff Park/Africville Park in the far North End has a collection of trees and several trails, it was only mentioned in passing by a few participants as a site for experiencing wooded space. When most participants spoke about dense tree coverage they cited Point Pleasant Park (PPP) as being one of the only real "wooded" areas of the city. PPP is the point of reference for many of the parks in Halifax and is often contrasted by participants against parks in the North End. These references were important because PPP is located in the deep South End of the city, and participants often incorporated it into patterns of green space use, despite its distance from the North End. PPP was mentioned much more frequently in terms of a wooded destination than Seaview Lookoff Park/Africville Park, or any other park in the North End. No woods in the North End can compete with that already cultivated in PPP. One participant recounted her experiences with both these spaces, stating that:

> What I like about parks is, I'm not much of a city walker, I don't like seeing where I can go, I don't like the straight sidewalk thing. Point Pleasant Park's great, there are a million different ways you can go, there are a lot off-leash

spaces. Needham's a field, so when I'm up there pretty much can take a ball and throw it because there's not really a lot, so it's a field, it's a football field, let's call it what it is, it's not a park …And Africville, I love Africville because the people that go there and the dogs that go there are very friendly, I find them really friendly there. I like the wooded area, those are sort of open spaces…

This participant goes on to discuss the difficulties she has in accessing green spaces in the city. She currently lives in the Hydrostone, and notes that without access to a car she really only has the ability to go to Fort Needham Park if she walks, and Africville Park if she takes a city bus. She argues that the transit system in Halifax does not provide easy access to either of these wooded spaces, and though she places high value on being outside and in the woods, she is often only able to travel to Fort Needham, which she is highly critical of. Fort Needham is on top of a natural hill in the North End, making it obscured from view from the houses surrounding it. As well, the park is poorly lit, and as mentioned earlier, this participant has herself, and has known people to have been accosted or assaulted in the park. In terms of green deficits, while participants did not experience any general deficit in green space or access to it, they did experience a nuanced deficit related to wooded space. This perceived deficit of wooded space informs some participants who have access to vehicles to visit either Point Pleasant Park, or to leave the city to get to some wooded space. Both participants with and without vehicles experience this deficit and try to alleviate it as best they can.

6.5 Uncertainty in Local Green Space Development

It is clear from the previous section that residents are well aware of the lack of wooded green space in the North End, and that they go out of their way, often leaving the North End entirely to experience it. Thinking back to the kinds of significance and value that people place on green spaces, it seems that wooded spaces are valued by participants for a combination of both 'sacred' and 'profane' values. Woods are seen as a useful and

valuable physical space that facilitate walking and recreation, but they also exemplify "nature" and tap into individual ideas about the value of nature and the outdoors. Despite the clear desire for more wooded space in the North End there is little optimism for the development of such a space.

Most participants who saw the woods as a valuable space dismissed the possibility that there would ever be more wooded space in the North End. Several participants expressed that there was no chance or room for new development of any green space, let alone wooded space. They also hoped that there would be no more retraction of the existing green space. One participant who had a very meaningful connection to trees and forest spoke about protecting what nature space there was in the North End rather than trying to develop more of it:

> So I guess, my idea of possibly improving green space in the North End, is protecting those little spaces that do exist the small pockets, like it might be unreasonable to try and find a space to develop a big park space to hold nature, so where nature does exist in those small amounts, make sure it's held, revered for what it is.

This statement suggests that this participant, and several others, seem to have resigned to the "fact" that there is no space or will to develop new green spaces in the area. Reactions like this were expressed by several participants. In general, though most people would like to see more green space, residents are aware of the physical and economic realities of creating green space. There is little remaining unused space in the North End, and residents are aware of the difficulties inherent in increasing or developing more green space in the area. A conversation with Sam and Maddison solidified this

> Sam: It would be nice to have a wooded area, but that's not going to happen …I would say they're pretty well the same. I think there's lots and lots for the kids to

play around on and stuff. But like I said it's just that you don't get the wooded space

Brenden: Is that something that you think would improve green spaces in the area? A wooded, some kind of wooded space?

Sam: You wouldn't have to go, if you, like I said if you drive somewhere and you stop on St. Margaret's Bay Road there's a park there that everybody goes out and walks, but if you had that here, in an area, you wouldn't have to go, you could walk to that area, and then, go right

Maddison: Like you said it's not going to happen

Sam: It's not going to happen, there's no space unless like you said you tear something down and then they'll build something new, to make more money [laughter].

We also see this participant make specific reference to the "fact" that this kind of development is not going to happen. The idea that there is no space left for this kind of development seems to be such a clear fact for this participant and many others that it is not even worth entertaining the creation of new or refurbished green space.

Participants are keenly aware that the North End lacks the space for the development of new green space. While approximately half my sample had access to at least one car, of the need for green or wooded space could be met with a quick drive to the South End or outside the city. However this becomes more difficult for participants like Mimi, who do not have access to a vehicle. Perceived or actual deficits in green space or kinds of green space are more problematic for participants unable to access alternative kinds of spaces easily.

6.6 Contemporary Struggles over North End Green Space
A dog walk park! They built a fucking dog walk park...To park their cars, take their dogs off their leashes, and exercise them, through the streets, and backyards, of Africville! They left a community for dead! And when it wouldn't die, they built hospitals for the criminally insane, and dumps for infectious waste. And they drove trains right through the middle of this place. And yo, no lie, they even had the nerve to smile their faces and say "hmmm we don't think this place is safe for you to live any more. And no, it has nothing to do with race. We just want a place

for our children's children's children's pets to play, and your community looks like a perfect place to build a dog walk park!"[1]

Similar to the conflict expressed by participants between dog owners and sports participation, another debate emerged recently in Halifax surrounding the off-leash dog park on the former site of Africville. This debate occurred within the realms of municipal politics and internet news commentary, is intrinsically tied to a continued history of the disenfranchisement of and racism towards the descendants of the Africville community. The Africville Heritage Trust was attempting to close an off-leash dog run that is located within Africville Park. They argue that it is disrespectful towards the history of the area to have dogs running around and defecating on the site of the community. They wanted to close the off-leash area in order to create a proper heritage and interpretive site to educate people on the history of Africville. While the dog park was officially decommissioned at the end of July 2014, it will remain open until a new location has been developed. Several news articles were published in both local and national sources that single out dog owners as opposing the closure of this area. These articles often featured an interview with one or more local dog owners, who tend to note that they understand the history of the area but would like to see the area remain open to dog owners.

One of the most common points raised in these articles by dog owners and others who opposed the closure is that the park is not dirty or full of dog scat. One of the concerns raised by the Africville Heritage Trust was that dogs are defecating in the park, which opponents seem to interpret as meaning the park is full of feces. Detractors argue that dog owners are very respectful, and the fear of feces is misplaced. However, this

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[1] Izreal, 2008, Canadian Festival of Spoken Word

framing of the narrative ignores or misrepresents the central concerns of the descendants

of the Africville community, who took issue with dogs being allowed to run and relieve

themselves on the site where their community once stood. The debate about defecation

was framed by detractors as factually inaccurate:

> It shows in this comment that you've never been there, I can guarantee you there isn't dog poop everywhere, I've seen families with children in bare feet running around. Are you suggesting these families aren't thinking either? It's a shame really that your dog never gets to experience the benefits of playing in an off leash park.[2]

Not only does this reframe the central issue as being about park conditions rather than

histories of institutionalized racism, but also the debate becomes about the needs and

preferences of a largely white, middle-class majority and how they want to experience the

"benefits" of green spaces in the North End.

This shifting of the debate towards the concerns of the white majority in the North

End is characteristic of the intersections between public green space and white privilege.

In her examination of gated communities in the United States of America, Setha Low

(2003) argues that one of the ways white privilege is maintained is through the control

and maintenance of white spaces. While her study is about the creation of private white

enclaves, her critical perspective can be applied to the case of the Africville off-leash area

as well. White privilege is maintained in part through the social control and use of public

space, and in this case, the need even to have a debate about the solution to this issue

highlights the amount of control white North Enders have over Africville, even after its

destruction. Moreover, the decision to keep the off-leash dog park open until another

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[2] Retrieved from http://thechronicleherald.ca/metro/1217174-africville-dog-park-could-be-closed-by-july-18

location can be found points directly to issues of white privilege and the preferential treatment of the "needs" of North End dog owners.

Dog runs, or off-leash spaces, are often associated with white gentrification (Tissot, 2011) which is itself intertwined with intersections of race and class. Dog owners in Sylvie Tissot's case study used the creation and maintenance of a local dog park to both demonstrate their acceptance and inclusion of "diverse" communities, while at the same time creating a buffer zone that distanced them from interacting with non-white residents. These spaces certainly served the recreational needs of white residents, but moreover, by advocating for and conspicuously utilizing dog runs, white residents actively discouraged other racial and class groups from using them (Tissot, 2011). Tissot shows how the kinds of conspicuous consumption that go along with dog ownership for white residents discourages black and Hispanic residents in the area from using the park, which is seen as a space for wealthy, white dog owners. The reframing of the debate over the Africville dog park, in which historic and contemporary racism are made secondary to how the white middle-class want to be able to use the park, is a clear example of how white privilege and green spaces intersect.

This intersection between race, class, and green space also draws attention to why local boundary drawing is so important in the North End. As was discussed before, it is problematic that North End boundaries are so often drawn at North Street, relegating Gottingen Street to "Central Halifax". Housing many descendants of the families who were displaced by the destruction of Africville, Uniacke Square and Gottingen Street are intrinsically tied up in issues surrounding definitions about the North End as well as the continued legacy of Africville. While references to Africville and Gottingen Street did

occur during interviews, they were rare and participants quickly changed the subject. Two participants specifically noted that they did not feel Gottingen Street was part of the North End, but neither of them elaborated on the subject. Both the explicit and implicit exclusions of Gottingen Street highlight that a "north of North Street" boundary distances white North Enders from the contemporary issues of black Haligonians. As well, it distances them from the continued legacy of this displacement, and helps to inform the reframing of the debate over something as seemingly simple as a dog park. Making the dog park debate about where white North Enders will be able to take their dogs, rather than the symbolic abuse currently occurring on Africville by dogs and dog owners, is connected to not only white privilege and institutionalized racism, but in the very ways that people define and bound the North End.

This contemporary case is an example of how conflicts surrounding public green spaces act as a proxy for larger social issues and inequalities. Similar to the cases raised by Catungal and McCann (2011) and Mitchell (1995), we see a public green space as the centre of a debate that is clearly informed by more than just whether or not an off-leash area remains open. Catungal and McCann (2011) argue that the debate surrounding the murder of a gay man in Stanley Park was more about general homophobia and ignoring violence directed at the gay population than concerns over the personal safety of all park users. Similarly, while there are as many as four other off-leash areas within a four kilometer distance of Africville Park for dogs to use, the thought of closing one to honour the wishes of the community that once was there is absolutely unacceptable to some, who use a narrative of continued systemic racism and inequality masked as concern for dogs.

I argue that the debate about the closure of this off-leash area is informed by a legacy of both racism and guilt on the part of Haligonians, and a desire to respect the memory of their community by the Africville Heritage Trust and its supporters. We can draw connections between this case and the concept of "environmentality" discussed in Chapter 2. Similarly to how working-class presence in early urban parks was constrained through the policing of specific activities and personal appearance, the debate over this off-leash area is articulated by proponents of the park as being about the use of the space for a very specific purpose that speaks to their class identity (Tissot, 2011). We see the usage of this space, and the debate surrounding it, veiled in the recreational needs and desires of the white middle-class. This is a clear example of both how socially important public green spaces are to urban environments, and how debates surrounding them often serve as proxies for concerns and larger issues within the surrounding society.

This chapter has described the things people do in green spaces, and analyzed some of the most significant themes that emerged from these discussions. Having described briefly the social and physical spaces I observed, I then drew on participant's accounts to reveal the ways in which people utilize and conceptualize green spaces in the North End. Highly valued by local residents, these green spaces are places where they can socialize, walk their dogs, experience nature, and play sports. The conflicts that emerge around green spaces show the high degree of value people imbue these spaces with. What is clear is that there are multiple, and often conflicting ways people engage with and value green space in the North End.

Chapter 7 CONCLUSION

7.1 Feeling "North Endy"

  This study engaged with a sample of the North End's middle-class residents,

discussing how they define and conceptualize the North End, and how that relates to their

use and narratives of local green spaces. The middle-class participants I interviewed were

all actively engaged with their local green spaces, and incorporated them in some way

into their daily or weekly routines. It was clear that specific activities such as dog

walking and experiencing nature are popular among participants and other residents in

the North End. After examining both personal accounts and observational data, it is clear

that participants did not experience a significant green deficit. The North End's size

relative to the amount of green spaces within its boundaries provided most participants

with reasonable access to green spaces. However, should participants seek out specific

green activities or experience without the means to access them (dog walking, sports,

wooded spaces) then a form of perceived green deficit is experienced. There may not be a

general green deficit, but a nuanced deficit was reported in terms of access to wooded

spaces. This is different than a general green deficit, because they actually report having

fairly easy access to many green spaces, but participants experienced limitations on their

access to wooded green spaces in particular. These perceptions are enhanced by an

inability of access to alternative spaces due to travel restrictions, which results in a

perception that certain green needs are not being met.

  As recent or long-time residents of the North End, participants see the area as

having a rich history that they take part in and find valuable. Participants were heavily

invested in their shared identity as North Enders, and while there was significant

variation in how they interpreted it, living in the area and being a North Ender was seen as a positive part of their everyday urban experience. They often responded to the idea that there is a "North End" identity, which when considering how place-making among the middle class takes place (Benson & Jackson, 2012) shows that North End middle-class residents inscribe value and identity onto the North End. As they continue to change the social and physical environment of the North End, they alter their own perceptions of the area. Boundaries such as North Street become increasingly important because of the value residents give to the area. While some participants push back against this kind of strict boundary marking, they are often the ones who transgress it most often, knowing that their definition of the North End is "cheating" while still ascribing to it themselves. Without the kind of clear-cut demarcation provided by North Street, it may be difficult for some residents to demarcate their identities as well. The physical and social boundaries of the North End are intrinsically connected, and place-making among the middle class, often through the use and experience of green spaces, solidifies that identity for them.

7.2 Future Research and Concluding Remarks

I conclude by suggesting avenues for future research and reiterating the contribution of this thesis. First, the "north of North Street" boundary is problematic for several reasons, specifically related to the larger history of the North End and the history of systemic prejudice and racism in Halifax. It is, at the very least curious that the "north of North Street" boundary excludes Gottingen Street, home to Uniacke Square and some of the historic families of Africville. I argue that some of this boundary-drawing (or redrawing) distances the perceived identity of the "new" North End – as an up-and-coming, trendy, artsy community for the middle class – from the historic legacy of

Africville and the relative poverty found in the old heart of the North End. How people draw boundaries within cities significantly shapes their – and others' – everyday urban experience. It is clear that more scholarship is required to critically engage with this kind of boundary-making in an adequate and illuminating way.

Second, there has long been, and continues to be, a substantial working-class population in the North End, which includes many African Nova Scotian residents. There is also a history of class antagonism and struggle in the North End, due both to outside forces such as the movement of investment and capital into Western Canada, and to inside forces such as Ordinance 50 and the destruction of Africville. While it is important to engage with an analysis of the middle class because of its size and social importance in North America, it is equally important to investigate working-class experiences and compare them with middleclass ones. One way that studies like mine could be improved for future research would be to make cross class and diverse sampling a high priority, thereby contributing to critical social science research on the classed and racialized treatment of different populations in the North End. As well, a direct study of contemporary working-class conditions of people living in Uniacke Square and other government housing in the North End, and how they experience daily life as the often racialized "other", would enhance the scholarship that has been done on the area a whole. With that in mind, my project does contribute to the overall scholarship and study of the North End. Although they should not be studied at the expense of more socially marginalized communities, neither should white middle-class residents be overlooked by social scientists, especially anthropologists, who have tended to focus on marginal populations while neglecting mainstream and elite groups.

My study contributes literature on contemporary and historic struggles over public urban green spaces, and with its focus on class and utilization of Urban Political Ecology as a theoretical perspective, generates qualitative information on how green spaces within cities are experienced. This perspective is valuable because much of the existing UPE literature deals with historic or quantitative analysis, whereas my qualitative research helps fill a gap in the literature by prioritizing the intersections of class and green space in a contemporary urban environment. Urban social scientists often favour studying large urban environments such as Toronto, New York City, San Francisco, Paris and so on. This creates a literature gap as smaller cities such as Halifax are overlooked (Bell & Jayne, 2009). While large cities are vibrant and engaging locations to conduct urban research, they become overrepresented in the existing literature. This project contributes to a small but growing body of academic literature on the different social landscapes within Halifax, Nova Scotia, and draws attention to both a city and an urban scale often ignored in contemporary urban social science.

North End residents did not experience any general green deficits, and often reported often using green spaces within the North End, as well as throughout Halifax. While nuanced green deficits were articulated by participants (access to wooded space), these are fairly easily remedied with access to a vehicle. Having access to a car significantly increases the ability of residents to visit rural and urban green spaces surrounding Halifax, while those without reliable vehicle access have their ability to visit different green spaces severely limited. The city's transit system does not provide residents of the North End with reliable and easy access to green spaces throughout the rest of the city. Halifax's size as both a large urban environment within the Atlantic

Provinces, and a relatively small one globally, both facilitates and hinders access to public green space.

The struggles over public green spaces in the North End are often related to much larger and systemic conflicts found within Halifax generally. In a similar way to the debates over the closing of the Africville dog-park, safety concerns articulated by participants around parks such as Fort Needham Memorial Park are related to concerns over the presence of strangers within – especially strangers who are racialized or marked as poor, and therefore seen as threatening. What is important to draw out of this analysis is the social importance of public green spaces, and their ability to cut to the heart of so many issues within contemporary North American societies. The long history of social class conflict within parks leads to the kind of social exclusion of homeless populations from parks (described by Mitchell 1995 among others), which is further exacerbated by the continued shrinking of truly public space in urban environments. Conducting research on how urban green spaces are experienced is important because of its ability to shed light on deep-seated issues within urban environments, through the examination of easily accessible and highly valued social and physical environments.

My study shows that experiences of and struggles over green spaces are embedded in the social, cultural, political, and economic contexts of their cities. As such, green spaces serve as proxies through which people debate and engage with what are in many cases deep inequalities that are found within the social and built environments of cities. Halifax is no exception: conflicts over green space in the North End demonstrate how historic racism and inequality in the past still inform and contextualize current struggles over these spaces today.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide

Details about participant's life
- How long have you lived in the North End?
- Are you from Halifax or did you move here from somewhere else?
- What do you consider to be the North End? Where does it begin and end?
- Where in the North End do you live? (Neighbourhood, land marks)
- Is there anything specific about life in the North End? What makes it different than the South End, or any other part of Halifax?

What is green space?
- When I say "green spaces" what kinds of things come to mind?
- When I say "nature" what kinds of things come to mind?
- Do you feel that you experience nature on a daily basis? Is nature something that can be found in a city?
- What do you consider green spaces to be? Just parks? What other kinds of green spaces are there in the North End?
- Do you consider alternative spaces such as the ocean, beaches, or the forest to be green spaces?
- Do you consider spaces such as boulevards or grass lining the sidewalk to be a form of "in-between" green space?
- What parks and green spaces do you know of in your neighbourhood? Or in the North End more generally?

Experiences with green spaces in the North End
- What kinds of things do you do in your local green spaces?
- How do other people that you know or have observed use these green spaces?
- What kinds of memories do you have of these spaces?

Safety of /Access to green space
- Do you feel safe and secure utilizing your local green spaces?
- Do you think there are enough green spaces in your area?
- How easy is it to get to your green spaces? How far away are they and are they convenient?
- Do you see a difference in the kinds of green spaces you have access to in the North End and those in the South End?
- How could the city improve green spaces in your area?

Education and background of participant
- What kind of education do you have? What level?
- Where did you receive your education? What schools?
- When did you receive this education? Has this form of education changed in any way since you received it?

- Describe how you perceive your personal class background? Where do you see yourself among other social classes?

Employment
- What kind of employment do you currently have?
- Have you worked different jobs over your life? If so what were they?
- Do you feel that your employment history says something about the person you are or have become?
- What kind of housing do you currently reside in? Do you rent? Do you have a mortgage? Are you a land lord?
- In your neighbourhood, what kinds of housing do your neighbours have? Do they rent or own? Are there any other kinds of housing, like housing cooperatives or rooming houses?
- Do you feel that owning versus renting homes affects your neighbourhood in any way? Do you know of other areas in the North End where there are types of living and ownership that are different from yours? Do you feel these affect daily life in these areas?

Appendix B: Participant Consent Form
North of North Street: Green Spaces, Identity, and the Middle Class

Researcher: Brenden Harvey
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Introduction

You are invited to participate in a research study being conducted by myself, Brenden Harvey, a graduate student at Dalhousie University, as part of my Master's degree in Social Anthropology. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you can withdraw your contributions to the study at any time during your participation, and up until three months after today's date by contacting me. The study will be described below, as well as the potential risks and inconveniences you may experience as a result of your participation. If you have any questions about the study please contact me.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to understand how people living in the North End of Halifax experience and relate to green spaces, taking into consideration their social class. I hope to conduct interviews with 15 to 20 North End residents between June and December, 2013.

Study Design

If you agree to participate in this study, I would like to conduct an interview with you (for roughly 1 hour) in which we discuss your experiences with green spaces in the North End. Questions will range from asking you how use these spaces, if you feel they are safe and well maintained, to how you relate to green spaces in general. I will also ask questions about your background. If you agree to participate, I will record the interview

using a digital recorder and I will take notes. Additionally, if you are comfortable with it and weather permits, I would like to go with you to a green space you use on a regular basis. This will allow me to gain a better understanding of your experience of the space.

Possible risks and discomforts

Possible risks and discomforts are expected to be minimal to negligible in this study. You are under no obligation to discuss any topics that make you uncomfortable and you can refuse to answer any questions you prefer not to answer.

Possible benefits

Participating in the study might not benefit you, but I hope to learn things that will benefit others, for example by informing urban planning policy in the North End. If you like, I can send you a summary of the study when I have finished my research.

Confidentiality & Anonymity

Your personal confidentiality is of the utmost importance for my research design. Therefore I will not include your name or other personal details like where exactly you live in my final research paper. Any identifying information that I do collect will be kept in a secure location only accessible to me and will not be included in any drafts of my project. Hand written notes will be kept in a locked box, and digital information will be password encrypted.

The information I collect will go towards writing a master's thesis, and possibly conference papers and/or publications. If I include direct quotes from your interview in these reports, I will create a false name for you to protect your identity. When I write or talk about the results of my research, I will not present anything that allows you or anyone else you talk about to be identified.

Thank you for your time

Brenden Harvey

Questions

If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact either myself or my thesis advisor Martha Radice. If you have any difficulties with, or wish to voice concern about, any aspect of your participation in this study, you may contact Catherine Connors, Director, Research Ethics, Dalhousie University at (902) 494-1462, ethics@dal.ca

I have read the explanation of this study. I have been given the opportunity to discuss my involvement in this project and any questions I raised have been answered to my satisfaction. I hereby consent to take part in this study. I also realize that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and I am free to withdraw at any time.

     _____ I agree that this interview can be audio-recorded

     _____ I agree that anonymous quotes can be used from this interview

     _____ I would like to receive a short summary of the study when it is finished

    (if so, my email or postal address is

_____)

Signature

Name:

Date:

Appendix C: List of Interviewees

Lucy F, 30s	A new North End resident, met during fieldwork walking her dog in the Merv Sullivan Memorial Park. Moved with her partner to the North End, noting green space as one of the primary reasons they chose the area.
Bobby M, 40s	Moved to the North End 15 years ago, owns four homes on his street which he rents out, sees humans as intrinsically drawn to nature and green spaces. Bobby also humorously notes the problems with his "north of North Street" boundary.
Dean M, 20s	A student and recent resident of the "real" North End. Lived around the Halifax Common before moving past North Street, studies urban green spaces at a local university.
Shelly F, 20s	Grew up in rural Nova Scotia before attending University, lives south of North Street and argues she is still a North Ender. Has a social science background and is very aware of her racial and class privilege as a middle-class, white woman.
Ellen F, 30s	Grew up in the North End, returned to the Hydrostone area after living outside of Canada for the past decade. Highly critical of Fort Needham Memorial Park and the difficulties she experiences accessing green spaces without access to a vehicle.
Mimi F, 20s	Former resident of the Hydrostone, Mimi now lives around the Halifax Common. She places a high value on wooded green space, and feels that there are few accessible wooded spaces in Halifax.
Sam M, 50s	Longtime resident of the North end with his wife Maddison, Sam is a retired plumber who values wooded spaces and whose children all used North End green spaces for sports participation.
Maddison F, 50s	Supplementing Sam's income with babysitting and other childcare activities, Maddison continues to work and she and Sam often go for bike rides along wooded trails throughout Halifax and the surrounding area. She also places a high value on wooded space and argues there is little available in the North End.