

UNIVERZITA PALACKÉHO V OLOMOUCI

FILOZOFICKÁ FAKULTA

Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky

Bc. Vlasta Turinská

Kultura Předměstí v Kanadě

Magisterská diplomová práce

Suburban Culture in Canada

Master Thesis

Vedoucí práce: Mgr. Jiří Flajšar, Ph.D.

Olomouc 2015

Zadání diplomové práce

Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci
Filozofická fakulta
Akademický rok: 2013/2014

Studijní program: Filologie
Forma: Prezenční
Obor/komb.: Anglická filologie (ANGFN)

Podklad pro zadání DIPLOMOVÉ práce studenta

PŘEDKLÁDÁ:	ADRESA	OSOBNÍ ČÍSLO
Bc. TURINSKÁ Vlasta	Libušínská 195/40, Žďár nad Sázavou - Žďár nad Sázavou	F120253

TÉMA ČESKY:

Kultura předměstí v Kanadě

NÁZEV ANGLICKY:

Suburban Culture in Canada

VEDOUcí PRÁCE:

Mgr. Jiří Flajšar, Ph.D. - KAA

ZÁSADY PRO VYPRACOVÁNÍ:

1. Introduction
2. History of Canadian suburbs
3. Toronto neighbourhoods
4. Negative effects upon society (isolation, social pressure, lack of privacy)
5. Conclusion

SEZNAM DOPORUČENÉ LITERATURY:

Bain, Alison L. *Creative Margins: Cultural Production in Canadian Suburbs*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2013.
Edwards, Justin D. *Downtown Canada: Writing Canadian Cities*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2005.
Harris, Richard. *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2004.
Harris, Richard. *Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999.
Sewel, John. *Shape of the Suburbs: Understanding Toronto's Sprawl*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2009.

Podpis studenta:

Turinska

Datum: *22.5.2013*

Podpis vedoucího práce:

JF

Datum: *22.5.2013*

Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci na téma "Kultura Předměstí v Kanadě"
vypracovala samostatně pod odborným dohledem vedoucího práce a uvedla jsem
všechny použité podklady a literaturu.

V Olomouci dne:

Podpis

Poděkování

Děkuji vedoucímu mé práce Mgr. Jiřímu Flajšarovi, Ph.D. za odbornou pomoc, poskytnutou literaturu, užitečné rady a především trpělivost.

Mé poděkování patří také celé mé rodině za materiální a psychickou podporu po celou dobu mého studia.

Content

Introduction.....	7
1. About Canada	10
1.1. Demography and Population.....	10
1.2. Settlement.....	11
1.3. Canada’s Official Geographical Concepts	13
1.4. Definition of Suburb in Canadian Culture	14
2. Central Metropolitan Areas - Analysis	19
2.1. The Latest Research	22
3. From Initial Diversity to Creeping Conformity: A History of Canadian Suburbs	23
3.1. 19 th century - From Urbanization to Suburbanization	23
3.2. Ethnic and social segregation.....	24
3.3. Speculative Boom	25
3.4. Building Houses	27
3.5. Types of Suburbs.....	28
3.6. House Financing.....	29
3.7. The Role of The State In The Shaping Suburbs 1920s-1930s	30
3.8. The Depression Caused by The Great Depression.....	31
3.9. The Period Before and During War	33
3.10. The Period After War	33
3.11. Fully Planned Corporate Suburb – Don Mills.....	35
3.12. Construction Standards.....	36
3.13. Do It Yourself Houses	37
3.14. Types of Suburbs after the 1950s	38
3.15. Diversity	38

3.16.	People’s Priorities.....	40
3.17.	Materialism as a New Lifestyle.....	40
4.	Suburban Effects Upon Society.....	41
4.1.	The Family.....	42
4.2.	The Roles of Men and Women.....	43
4.3.	Isolation.....	44
4.4.	Social Pressure and Consumerism.....	47
4.5.	More Cars, More Pollution.....	47
	Conclusion.....	49
	Resumé.....	51
	Bibliography.....	56
	Appendices.....	59
	Anotace.....	70
	Synopsis.....	71

Introduction

Canada is often depicted as a progressive and diverse country. Its official policy – multiculturalism is the reason why there is a huge amount of people from all over the world. Canada's openness and spaceness are reasons why so many people want to live there. Therefore, the population grows steadily. In my diploma thesis, I will analyze Canada's demography and I will focus on the suburban culture in Canada. The fact is that Canada's huge space allows people to live basically wherever they want. They do not have to live in overcrowded cities, breathe polluted air and be worried about their children's future. They have the possibility to choose their home. Many of them choose living in fringe areas instead of living in urban areas where they have basically everything at hand. They live in houses which look the same, commute long distances to work, but on the other hand they have a garden and can raise children in clean and safe environment which is far away from crimes.

In will divide my thesis into four parts. In the first part I will introduce Canada's demography, its population and also its geographical concepts. I will use *Statistics Canada* which is Canada's national statistical agency. I will compare the rural and urban population of Canada. I will use Canada Censuses from 1851 to the present day and I will also mention Canada's population predictions until 2061. I will attempt to come up with the universal definition of suburbs in Canada. During my analysis of characteristics of suburbs I will compare two approaches. Richard Harris in his *Creeping Conformity* gives physical and social characteristics of suburban areas and states basic criteria for identifying suburbs. On the other hand Martin Turcotte in his *Life in Metropolitan Areas* focuses on physical characteristics of suburban areas and tries to find a universal approach to suburbs.

In the second part of my thesis I will analyze the statistics of Central metropolitan areas in Canada. I will focus on urban/rural/suburban distinction. My analysis will use Turcotte's approach's criteria of identifying suburban areas. These are the distance from the city centre and population density. At the end I will compare my results with David L. A. Gordon and Isaac Shirokoff research. The aim of this part is to find out how many Canadians live in urban, suburban and rural areas.

In the third part I will attempt to give a historical outlook on suburban development. I will describe the birth of first suburbs in the 19th century when there

were no streetcars and cars. I will try to understand why Canadians wanted to move from cities to the fringe areas and why they changed city centre's lives for suburban lives. There were many social changes going on along with the process of suburban sprawl. They caused social and also ethnic segregation. With the first suburbs there was an urgent need to establish a particular state department and system of financing. The role of state was very limited at the beginning because nobody assumed that suburban life would be so attractive and desired. There was a huge speculative boom which was stopped by war. The war caused financial and social instability and stopped the suburban boom for some time. Several years after war people started moving to suburbs again. The technical progress provided better materials, faster work and not so high amount of money required to build a house. I will analyze also the situation of people and I will describe the journey from unique and diverse suburbs to stereotyped and uniform suburbs.

In the fourth part I will focus on the negative effects of suburban sprawl. The development of suburban areas brought many positive aspects to the lives of Canadians. People lived in a healthy and safe environment. They owned their houses which gave them the feeling of stability and belonging to a community. They had gardens and more space which allowed them to have new hobbies and to find different ways of entertainment. In this part I will compare the suburban dream with the suburban myth. Suburbs were designed for nuclear families but many those families ended up as dysfunctional families. I will describe the roles of men and women which were strictly given. The most people did not realize that moving from cities to the urban fringe was a big change for all family. Both women and men suffered isolation and loneliness. They felt the social pressure and did not know how to cope with it. At the end of this part I will also describe the process going from first healthy suburbs to today's auto-dependent suburbs which highly contribute to pollution and therefore cause health problems which kill thousands people yearly.

The aim of this thesis is to find out how many Canadians live in suburban areas and why do they prefer to live there instead of living in city centres. I will search the answer in statistical data and also history. I will also answer the question if the suburbs have changed during years and if so, then I will be interested in to what extent and in which aspects. I will also focus on social aspects of living in suburbs. Statistical data,

which I will use, come from official Statistics Canada. I will also use several researches to prove my assumptions.

1. About Canada

1.1. Demography and Population

Canada, the world's second largest country, is situated in the northern part of North American continent. Its total area is 9,984,670 km². Almost 9% of its area is water surface which makes Canada the largest surface area of water.¹ There are three oceans bordering Canada: the Pacific Ocean in the west, the Arctic Ocean in the north and the Atlantic Ocean in the East. Its large area is the reason why there are several geoclimatic regions which cause its geographical and natural diversity. In the north of Canada there are mostly Arctic and Subarctic climatic regions whereas in the south we can find Atlantic, Pacific, Cordilleran, Prairie and Great Lakes St. Lawrence Lowlands. There are boreal forests, the Rocky Mountains, Canadian Prairies and The Great Lakes. There are many rivers and more than two million lakes in Canada.

It is the natural diversity and harsh climatic conditions in the north which cause that the most population lives in the south of the country, on the border with the United States, where the climate is mostly continental and therefore milder. Its total population is estimated at 35,749,600 (April 1, 2015) which is up 46, 900 from January 1, 2015.² The population growth rate is 0.1% which is actually lower than it was in the same quarter in the previous year (0.2%). According to Statistics Canada the population is still increasing and Canada has the strongest population growth of all G8 countries. It is caused by natural increase – the births and deaths difference but two thirds of its growth is caused by migratory increase. It seems that migratory increase will be the main cause of Canada's population growth because the number of births and deaths is expected to

¹ "List of countries and dependencies by area," Wikipedia, accessed August 4, 2015, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_and_dependencies_by_area.

² "Canada's Population Estimates, first quarter 2015," Statistics Canada, accessed July 17, 2015, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/150617/dq150617c-eng.htm>.

be almost equal.³ Following the population statistics we can assume that Canada will have the population of 52.6 million people in 2061.⁴

Canada's large area causes not only climatic and natural diversity but also significant differences in the density of population. The huge amount of not arable land also contributes to the fact that there are places with high density and places with almost zero density. According to 2011 census Canada's population density is 3.7 per square kilometre. However, the population density in New Brunswick is 10.5, Ontario 14.1, Nova Scotia 17.4 and Prince Edward Island 24.7 per square kilometre. On the other hand all territories have the population density from 0.0 to 0.1 per square kilometre. Some provinces have also low density such as Saskatchewan with 1.8 and Newfoundland and Labrador with 1.4.⁵ The population density is a very important factor I will work with. It defines the differences between the urban and rural and also urban and suburban.

1.2. Settlement

Formally, Canada consists of 10 provinces (Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Newfoundland and Labrador) and 3 territories (Northwest Territories, Yukon, Nunavut). The four largest provinces are Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia and Alberta. They are also the most populous provinces. Together they account for 86% of Canadian's population. Another division we can make is urban/rural. People in all over the world choose to live either in the city or in the village. Naturally, Canada is not an exception.

Before analyzing the urban and rural proportion of Canadian population we need to define both terms. Intuitively, the term urban is understood as an area with high density of population and the term rural is understood as the area with low density of

³ "Migratory increase is the main source of Canada's population growth," Statistics Canada, accessed August 4, 2015, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-003-x/2014001/section01/03-eng.htm>.

⁴ "Approximately 52.6 million Canadians in 2061," Statistics Canada, accessed August 4, 2015, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/trade14a-eng.htm>.
<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-003-x/2014001/section01/01-eng.htm>.

⁵ "Population and dwelling counts, for Canada, provinces and territories, 2011 and 2006 censuses," Statistics Canada, accessed February 12, 2015, <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/hlt-fst/pd-pl/Table-Tableau.cfm?LANG=Eng&T=101&S=50&O=A>.

population. Unfortunately, there were many possible interpretations of these definitions and these vague terms were difficult to work with in geographical researches. That is why the term urban is not used anymore and it was replaced by the term “population centre” which was precisely defined. The population centre (PC) is an area with population higher than 1,000 and density higher than 400 persons per km². We distinguish 3 types of PC depending on their population. The small one has the population from 1,000 to 29,999, the medium from 30,000 to 99,999 and the large PC from 100,000.

Going back to history, the first Census of Canada took place in 1851 and provided the data about population and its rural and urban proportion.⁶ In this year, 2.44 million people lived in Canada. The country’s economy was based on agriculture and that is why 87% people lived in rural areas. The rest 13% lived in urban areas. During the following hundred years Canada’s population increased to 14 million people. The 1951’s Census of Canada showed that the proportion of people living in rural and urban areas changed dramatically. Only 38% lived in rural areas and the rest 62% lived in urban areas. It was caused by economic changes and also changes in society. The last Census of Canada showed that in 2011 only 19% of Canada’s population lived in rural areas and the rest 81% lived in population centres. The fact is that this disproportion is not caused by economic or social changes. The number of people living in rural areas is quite stable but the number of people living in population centres is still increasing and it causes that, expressed as a percentage, the number of people living in rural areas is falling down.

What I consider interesting is the composition of population in rural areas and PCs. One would suggest that people living in rural areas are mostly elderly citizens and PCs are preferred by younger people but Statistics Canada shows that 15% of people who lived in rural areas were older than 65 (the age of 65 included) and in PCs it was 17%.⁷ On the other hand the number of young people (15-29) living in rural areas is decreasing. In 2011 it was 17% which is even lower than the national average 20%. The reasons why many young people move to PCs are most likely the education (longer studies), job opportunities and having relationships and families.

⁶ Censuses before 2011 used the urban/rural terminology. Since Census 2011 rural/population centre is used. Therefore, when analyzing the data older than 2011, I will use urban/rural terms.

⁷ “Canada goes urban,” Statistics Canada, accessed July 2, 2015, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-630-x/11-630-x2015004-eng.htm>.

1.3. Canada's Official Geographical Concepts

For many decades there was only the division urban/rural. The fact is that in last years a new term came into use. The term is “suburban”. To be able to understand what this term means and if it is a part of PC or the rural area we have to go deeper and analyze Canada's official geographical concepts. Formally, Canada is divided into 10 provinces and 3 territories which is the first-level Census division. These provinces and territories we can divide into counties and regional districts which are the second-level Census division. These can be divided into municipalities which usually correspond to the third level Census subdivision. The fourth level corresponds to dissemination areas. These are small areas with population higher than 400 but lower than 700. These are the smallest official geographical units of Canada.

To be more exact and define Canada's specific geographical units we have to stay at the second-level Census division, concretely Census metropolitan area (CMA), a group of census subdivisions. It is an area which consists of several adjacent municipalities located around an urban core. The population of its core must be over 100,000. According to 2011 Census there are 33 CMAs in Canada. The eight largest CMAs in Canada are Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Ottawa-Gatineau, Calgary, Edmonton, Quebec City, and Winnipeg.⁸ The smaller sister of CMA is called Census agglomeration (CA). CA is also located around an urban core but the population of the core is higher than 10,000 but lower than 100,000. Usually, it is about 50,000. Both Census metropolitan areas and Census agglomerations with population over 50,000 are further divided into Census tracts (CT), areas with population from 2,500 to 8,000.

From the geographical concepts mentioned above you can see that the concept of suburb does not occur there. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, Statistics Canada uses well-defined terms and “suburb” has no precise and by-all-approved definition and it is a relatively new term. Secondly, there are other countries (the USA, United Kingdom, Australia) which also identify their suburban culture but define the suburb in a different way. It is caused by different historical development and different economic, political and cultural situation in a particular country.

⁸ “Population and dwelling counts, for census metropolitan area and census agglomerations, 2011 and 2006 censuses,” Statistics Canada, accessed July 17, 2015., <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/hlt-fst/pd-pl/Table-Tableau.cfm?LANG=Eng&T=201&S=3&O=D&RPP=150>.

1.4. Definition of Suburb in Canadian Culture

There are many factors that influence which place people choose to live in. Some people prefer their roots and tradition and stay in their birthplaces, the other move because of some reasons. What they have in common is the fact that there are things which they all need. The fundamental elements of life that all people need are safe place to stay and something to eat and drink. In this day and age it is not enough. People need homes, families, jobs, money, and culture. If they do not have what they need in one place, they can move to a better place. This is how suburbs came into existence. People were moving for several reasons. Suburbs were growing and today we face a new phenomenon called “suburbanization”.

As I have stated above, during the last hundred years the proportion of population living in urban and rural areas has changed dramatically. Statistics says that in 2011 more than 81% of Canadians lived in PCs. According to this data it seems that Canada is an urban nation and Canadians prefer to live in apartments, travel by public transit and enjoying the bustle of a big city. However, if we have a closer look at the term “urban” we find out that “urban” does not equal “active core”. It includes many different parts and one of it is also a suburb. Gordon and Shirokoff analysed the proportion of people living in urban and rural areas and found out that “in 2006, about 80% of the residents of Canadian metropolitan areas lived in suburbs, while only 12% lived in active core areas”.⁹ They also found out that more than 66% of all Canadian population live in suburbs. According to the last data it is 23,594,736 people living in suburban areas. This means that Canada is not an urban nation but it is a suburban nation. To understand its nature we have to determine the characteristics of suburbs and set a fixed definition.

From the official statistics it is obvious that suburbs are included in urban areas. Therefore, to get the data about suburbs we have to work with the urban data. In this part I will not focus on the rural areas data. According to Harris suburbs are usually defined in terms of the contrast to a city but the suburb is considered to be somewhere

⁹ David L.A. Gordon and Mark Janzen, *Suburban Nation? Estimating the Size of Canada's Suburbia Population* (Chicago: Locke Science Publishing Company, Inc., 2013), 17.

between the village and the city. In *Unplanned Suburbs* Harris states that this division is too simplistic and insufficient.¹⁰ One way is that we can look at a suburb as it is a marriage of a city and the village. This fusion shares the best features of both city and the village. The results of this vision are very happy. The beautiful nature, fresh air, quiet environment and the fact that you know your neighbours and children can play outside without any danger are brought together with full services (shops, schools, cultural life). In following chapters I will show that this vision is not only simplistic but it is also unrealistic and utopian.

Throughout the last hundred years when suburban culture was formed researchers tried to find a definition of a suburb. Some of them succeeded but it was only for a short period of time because with changing population also geographical concepts changed and to find the stable and constant characteristics of suburbs seemed harder and harder. That is why some researchers gave up looking for a single unified definition based on city/village division and started looking for the characteristic features that all Canadian suburbs share. In *Creeping Conformity* Harris analyzes the physical and social characteristics of suburbs and states that “suburbs are usually defined in physical terms, commonly as residential districts with low densities that are located at, or near, the urban fringe.”¹¹ Analyzing suburban culture as a ceaselessly developing complex, we have to study not only physical characteristics but also social characteristics. That is why Harris states six basic criteria of suburbs.

1. low density of development, typically of detached, or semi-detached, dwellings
2. location at, or close to, the urban fringe
3. high level of owner occupation
4. politically distinct
5. middle, or upper-middle class in character
6. exclusively residential, implying that residents must commute beyond the suburb to work¹²

Harris admits that most Canadian suburbs do not meet all these criteria. According to direct proportion, the more criteria a particular area meets, the more

¹⁰ Richard Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy, 1900 to 1950* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 11.

¹¹ Richard Harris, *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban, 1900-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 7.

¹² Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 18-19.

suburban it is. However, the most crucial criteria are definitely the location – at urban fringe and the low density of settlement. Based on Harris analysis we can give a definition of Canadian suburb as an area of detached or semi-detached houses located at the urban fringe with mostly middle class people who own their houses but have to commute to work. This area belongs to a larger area which controls it but to some extent there exists a political autonomy.

Martin Turcotte in *Life in Metropolitan Areas* agrees with Harris and says that both terms “urban” and “suburban” are frequently used in researches but there is no consensus about their meaning. He also admits that despite of these loose definitions “it is probably clear in the minds of most people who live in one of Canada's urban areas whether they live “in the city” or “in the suburbs”.”¹³ Similarly to Harris, Turcotte states several approaches to identify a suburb.

1. administrative and political boundaries
2. city's central core boundaries
3. distance from the city centre
4. neighbourhood density¹⁴

The first approach works with a concept of a central municipality. It is the municipality which gives its name to a metropolitan area. The rest of localities are considered to be “the suburban municipalities of the central municipality.”¹⁵ However, the suburban municipalities to some extent have their political autonomy. They have mayors and elected representatives. The drawback of this criterion is that borders of municipalities and its suburbs can change. The area which was 5 years ago considered suburban can become a part of central municipality and therefore become urban today. These changes in the administrative borders are caused by mergers.

The second approach examines how far the locality is from the city's central core. So, any geographic entity which is not a part of city's central core is considered suburban. This approach is very problematic because it is not clearly stated what is the city's central core and where are the city central core's boundaries. In the past,

¹³ “The city/suburb contrast: How can we measure it?”, Statistics Canada, accessed June 13, 2015, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-008-x/2008001/article/10459-eng.htm#>.

¹⁴ “The city/suburb contrast: How can we measure it?”

¹⁵ “The city/suburb contrast: How can we measure it?”

researchers usually defined the central core as the central business area of the central municipality together with adjacent neighbourhoods. Generally, we can say that today the central core is the business centre where the most services and activities occur. Turcotte defines the central core as a business centre with “the heaviest concentrations of commercial and office activity in an urban area.”¹⁶ Naturally, it is not so difficult to identify this area but the problem is the fact this area can change its size very quickly due to economic and population changes. So, there are no formal boundaries between the central core and its neighbourhoods and Turcotte admits that “there are simply too many difficulties associated with establishing formal rules for defining the central business district and the adjacent older neighbourhoods in CMAs that differ in history, size and geography”.¹⁷

Turcotte’s preferred approach is the third one which deals with the distance from the city centre. As you can see above, it is not possible to delineate the centre core but we can determine one exact point from which we measure the distance. This exact point is considered to be the inner city’s most central point. Turcotte suggests that the central point should be a city hall of the central municipality. It is because the city hall is usually situated in the historical centre of the city and it is the central point of the city. After identifying the central point Turcotte draws the rings of 0 to 5 km and 5 to 9 km, 9 to 14 km, and so on. So, we have a central point and several rings surrounding it. These rings distinguish neighbourhoods. The farther the ring is, the more peripheral the neighbourhood is. The most peripheral area is called suburban. The problem with this approach is that each CMA has a different size. In one CMA the suburban area can be located 6 km from the city hall of the central municipality whereas in a different CMA the suburban area can be located 20 km from the city hall of the central municipality. Therefore, each CMA must be analyzed individually. Other problem of this approach goes back to the history when CMAs were expanding. The areas which were peripheral in that time can be central today and the areas which are peripheral today will be central in future time.

The last approach analyzes a suburban area from the point of population density. Turcotte says that previous approach is very helpful while studying many geographical subjects but it cannot help us in studying different types of neighbourhoods (postwar

¹⁶ “The city/suburb contrast: How can we measure it?”

¹⁷ “The city/suburb contrast: How can we measure it?”

suburban neighbourhoods, traditional urban neighbourhoods). There exist neighbourhoods with very high population density and high rate of rental housing. That is why Turcotte states that the important criterion of a suburb is a low density of population and occurrence of detached or semi-detached houses. “In Canada and North America generally, the presence of single and semi-detached houses in a neighbourhood is an important factor in differentiating between residential suburbs and more urban areas.”¹⁸ So, Turcotte’s fourth approach actually agrees with Harris’ previous definition of a suburb.

Comparing both Harris’ and Turcotte’s approaches we can see that Harris focuses on suburbs as complexes. He defines them in both physical and social terms. On the other hand Turcotte focuses more on the physical characteristics of suburbs and exact methods of identifying and analyzing suburbs. None of his approaches bring stable and fixed definition of a suburb or method to identify suburbs in such a large area. He also does not take into consideration the social characteristics of suburbs such as social classes, travelling to work and ownership of houses. In my opinion, both social and physical characteristics of suburbs are important and it is not possible to identify a suburb only by physical features and statistics data. That is why I will use both statistical data and social characteristics in my research.

¹⁸ “The city/suburb contrast: How can we measure it?”

2. Central Metropolitan Areas - Analysis

As I have mentioned above Canada is divided into 10 provinces and 3 territories. According to 2014 statistics the five most populous provinces are Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, Alberta and Manitoba.¹⁹ Almost 18.9% of Canada's population lives in rural areas. However, this proportion is different in each province. The greatest proportion of people living in rural areas has Prince Edward Island with 53%. It is followed by Nunavut with 52% and New Brunswick with 48%. Nova Scotia has 43%, Northwest Territories 41%, Newfoundland and Labrador 41%, Yukon 39%, Saskatchewan 33%, Manitoba 28%, Quebec 19%, Alberta 17%, and Ontario and British Columbia 14%. When we average all these proportions it seems that the national proportion of people living in rural areas should be higher but the fact is that we have to take into consideration the population of each province and territory. The most populous Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia and Alberta have the lowest proportion of people living in rural areas whereas the lowest populous provinces Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Labrador and New Brunswick have the highest proportion. All territories have their population below 45,000 people but the proportion of people living in rural areas is extremely high, too. So, taking all the data into account we come to the national average 18,9% people living in rural areas.

To analyze the proportion of people living in PCs and suburban area I need two basic criteria: the distance from city centre and the density. The density can be divided into high, medium and low. High density means that less than 33.3% of the housing stock is composed of single family houses or semi-detached houses. Medium density it is between 33.3% and 66.6% and in low density it is 66.6% or more single houses or semi-detached houses.²⁰ The distance from the city centre we measure on a scale.

1. less than 5 km from city centre = central neighbourhoods
2. 5 to 9 km = first tier

¹⁹ "Population by year, by province and territory". Statistics Canada, accessed June 15, 2015, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo02a-eng.htm>.

²⁰ "Distribution of population, by type of neighbourhood". Statistics Canada, accessed June 15, 2015, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-008-x/2008001/t/10459/4097957-eng.htm#footnote1>.

3. 10 to 14 km = second tier
4. 15 to 19 km = third tier
5. 20 km and more = fourth tier

As I have mentioned before there are eight big CMAs in Canada. These are Toronto, Montréal, Vancouver, Ottawa, Calgary, Edmonton, Québec and Winnipeg. In almost all of them the amount of people living in high density area is the lowest which means that the lowest proportion of people lives actually in PCs and the majority lives in neighbourhoods. Toronto, Vancouver, Ottawa have the proportion from 22% to 25%, Calgary, Edmonton and Winnipeg from 6% to 12%. The only exceptions are Montréal and Québec. Montréal has 47% and Québec 30%. When we go from high density areas to medium density areas we can see that the numbers are growing, except Montréal and Québec. Toronto, Vancouver and Ottawa have the proportion from 31% to 38%, Calgary, Edmonton and Winnipeg from 26% to 30%. Montréal and Québec have 19% and 24% which is lower. When we go to the low density, which means that there are mostly single family houses or semi-detached houses, we can see that the numbers are extremely high. Toronto, Vancouver and Ottawa have the proportion from 37% to 47%. Calgary, Edmonton and Winnipeg have even higher proportion and it goes from 58% to 67%. Montréal has only 34% and Québec has 46% people living in low density neighbourhoods. The medium CMAs have the average of people living in high density about 10%, medium density 32% and low density 59%. With small CMAs it is very similar. The numbers go 13% for high density, 30% for medium density and 58% for low density. It means that people in small, medium and even big CMAs prefer living in low density neighbourhoods. The only exception is Montréal with extremely high proportion of people living in high density area. These proportions are influenced by the size and historical development of each CMA. The fact is that each CMA has different geography and therefore, in places like Toronto which has Lake Ontario which limits it, the settlement of some parts is impossible.

Applying Turcotte's approaches we can analyze all CMAs in detail. We set a fixed central point – a city hall of central municipality and then measure the distance from it. The first tier is the distance 0 to 5 km from the central point. In big CMAs this is the city centre. The proportion of people living here is between 10 and 20%. Only Québec and Winnipeg have higher proportion, 26% and 34%. In medium and small

CMA's we can see that the proportion of people living in the city centre is very high. It is 38% in medium CMA's and 50 in small CMA's. Naturally, it is caused by the smaller area. When we analyze the second tier, we get to the distance from 5km to 9 km. We can see that in this distance the proportion of all big CMA's, except Toronto, is the highest. Most CMA's have the proportion more between 30 % and 40%. So, we can say that the most people live in the distance from 5km to 9 km. With medium CMA's we can see that the numbers go down. Only 29% people lives in the second tier in medium size CMA's. With small CMA's the proportion is even lower. Only 26% people lives there. Again, this is caused by a higher distance to work. From the third tier, from 10 to 14 km, the numbers go regularly down. In big CMA's the proportion is about 20%, but in medium CMA's it is only 13% and in small CMA's it is only 10%. The fourth tier which is from 15 to 19 km there are mostly about 10-15% people living in big CMA's, in medium CMA's it is only 12% and in small CMA's only 7%. The fifth tier is not a surprise. The numbers still go down. In big CMA's it is from 8 to 12%, in medium and small CMA's it is only 4%. What is the most surprising is the last tier, the distance from 25km and further. In almost all CMA's the proportions go up. It is 32% in Toronto, 19% in both Vancouver and Montréal, 15% in Edmonton and 11% in Ottawa. The medium and small CMA's have 5% and 4% which means that people are more willing to live 25km and more from the city centre.

To sum up the numbers, we can see that based on the criterion of density the most Canadian population lives in low density areas. The proportion goes from 48% for big CMA's to 59% for medium CMA's and 58% for small CMA's. When we analyze the data based on the tiers we can see that the proportion of people living in the city centre is in almost all big CMA's the same as the proportion of people living in the distance 25km and more from the city centre. In medium and small CMA's the proportions go down without any exceptions. It is caused mainly by smaller area. From these data I can assume that living in low density areas is attractive for almost 60% of all Canadians and the life in the suburban areas is even more popular than the life in the city centre.

2.1. The Latest Research

In recent years David L. A. Gordon and Isaac Shirokoff have also studied the population and they also came to the conclusion that two thirds of all Canadian population lives in some of suburb.²¹ However, they used different method to analyze the proportion. They divided CMA into four parts.²²

1. Active Core – the city centre
2. Transit Suburb – area with public transit
3. Auto Suburb – no public transit, auto-dependent areas
4. Exurban

They found out that at least 87% of all Canadian population lives either in transit suburb, auto suburb or exurban. The rest lives in active core.²³ If we take the rural population away from the 87%, we get the number 60% of people living in suburbs. They also found out that the proportion of people in both active cores and transit suburbs grew by 3% and auto suburbs and exurban areas grew by 9%. The national average was 7%.²⁴ This means that the population in auto suburbs and exurbs is growing much faster than in city centres and transit suburbs.

Across Canada, the more sustainable Active Core and Transit Suburbs grew by 160,000 people, while Auto Suburb and Exurban areas grew by 1,330,000 people, absorbing over 90% of the nation's population growth. Few observers would describe this as a sustainable outcome, or an optimal mix of locations for Canada's future population.²⁵

Gordon also states that this growth imbalance can cause shift in economic, politic and cultural spheres and government need to re-think its policies.

²¹ David L.A. Gordon and Isaac Shirokoff, *Suburban Nation? Population Growth in Canadian Suburbs, 2006-2011* (School of Urban and Regional Planning: Queen's University, 2014), 4.

²² Gordon and Shirokoff, *Suburban Nation? Population Growth in Canadian Suburbs, 2006-2011*, 4.

²³ Gordon and Shirokoff, *Suburban Nation? Population Growth in Canadian Suburbs, 2006-2011*, 4.

²⁴ Gordon and Shirokoff, *Suburban Nation? Population Growth in Canadian Suburbs, 2006-2011*, 17.

²⁵ Gordon and Shirokoff, *Suburban Nation? Population Growth in Canadian Suburbs, 2006-2011*, 17.

3. From Initial Diversity to Creeping Conformity: A History of Canadian Suburbs

From the previous chapter we know that Canada is a suburban nation with its specific suburban culture. To understand why so many people prefer to live in peripheral parts we have to analyze Canada's suburban history. A suburbanization is a complicated long-term process which is influenced by many physical, social and historical aspects. Therefore we need to analyze the process of Canadian suburbanization from its beginnings at the 19th century until the present day.

3.1. 19th century - From Urbanization to Suburbanization

The greatest part of Canadian suburbanization took part in the 20th century. However, we can trace its roots much earlier. The process of suburbanization in Canada began in the 19th century. As Richard Harris states we can find first suburbs in 1840s.²⁶ These suburbs were built in larger cities as Montreal and Toronto. The process of suburbanization would never start without a preceding process which was urbanization.

When I go deeper to the history I find out that in the 19th century only 13% of people lived in urban areas. This number changed with the technical progress in agriculture which was the main cause of Canadian urbanization. The new technique helped many farmers to make their work more efficient and therefore to supply more people. The technical progress also caused that there were fewer job opportunities for farmers but more and more factories looking for workers. Therefore, many people moved to the cities and by 1900 the amount of people living in the cities changed from 13% to 35%. Actually, in this period there was no need to build new suburbs. People were moving from the country to the cities. The process of urbanization was successful. After several decades the great majority of Canadians lived in the cities. Unfortunately, some of these cities (Toronto and Montreal), became overcrowded and a new settlement in the form of suburb was the best solution. All greater cities started to produce their suburbs. Harris states that there were two main reasons for that: electric streetcar and

²⁶ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 49.

population growth.²⁷ Before the invention of a streetcar most people had to walk to work. The richest could afford to use horse cars. But with the invention of the streetcar in the 1890s the situation has changed a lot. People were able to travel much longer distances to work. On the other hand they could also live further from their work places where the land was not so expensive. Before the invention of a streetcar people lived as near to the cities as they could. After the invention they could move to further locations. The streetcars were in all big cities and almost all workers could afford them.

The population growth was the second Harris' reason for the suburban boom. The population of Canada rapidly increased at the beginning of the 20th century. It was more than 34% during the first ten years. The majority of immigrants settled in the greatest cities such as Toronto and Montreal. These cities doubled their population in a very short time and therefore there was a need to either enlarge the cities with its services or to build new suburbs.

3.2. Ethnic and social segregation

At the turn of the centuries there occurred the first true suburbs. They were very diverse but there was almost no segregation. Later on as the industry developed and many new factories were built, the situation has changed. There were suburbs where poor people lived, suburbs for the richest people and also industrial suburbs located around factories. The fact is that in Canada poor people lived in inner city slums but also in poor suburbs and rich people lived in the beautiful houses in the cities but also in luxurious suburbs. So, the main problem is not the difference between the city and the suburb but it is the enormous diversity between suburbs. And this diversity caused the phenomenon of segregation in Canada.

Fortunately, there is the index of segregation which showed the rates of segregation in different cities and suburbs in Canada. Usually the most segregated people were at the beginnings and at the ends of classes. So, these were the poorest and the richest. Also ethnic minorities were included in the scale. Unfortunately, this index was developed in the middle of the 20th century and that is why we are not able to

²⁷ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 62.

measure or quantify the segregation in Canada before. However, based on census data Harris assumes that “segregation by ethnicity has almost always been greater than segregation by social class.”²⁸ This was caused mainly by the mass immigration. People preferred to live within a community which shared a language, religion and cultural habits. In Canada these were mostly eastern Europeans and also Jews who travelled and carefully chose the right place to live. Once they settled they created a segregated community. It continued about two or three generations but the third generations usually moved into a less segregated environment. People were assimilated and ethnic segregation was not permanent but only temporary. On the other hand class segregation was a lasting problem. One English proverb says: “Out of sight, out of mind”. And it was exactly what happened. The poorest workers lived in the worst shacktown suburbs, exactly out of sight of middle class and the richest people. So, the employers and factory owners did not take care of workers’ conditions and wages. The middle class did not know about the conditions or maybe they just did not want to see it which means that they were ignorant to working class. And it caused that the social segregation was slowly increasing.

3.3. Speculative Boom

When the people felt the overcrowding of bigger cities, they decided to move to the fringe areas. Naturally, it was a complicated process. Harris divides this process into two phases.²⁹ It was land subdivision which was supposed to be followed by house building. First of all, there were so called land subdividers who surveyed the land and if the land was suitable they subdivided it into building estates. Of course, they had to do all the paperwork to make it legal. The result of the survey and subdivision of the land followed by several legal procedures was a registered plan. When a registered plan was made, the estate could be sold. The subdividers sold the estates and did not know what happened with them later. Usually, the estates were bought by the buyers who wanted to profit and therefore continued selling them. Moreover there were almost no restraints on what people could do with the estates. So, they started to gamble with it. The estate was not an expensive commodity and because of no restraints on the land it was possible and

²⁸ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 78.

²⁹ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 83.

very frequent to speculate with it freely. It was possible to repeat the process of buying and selling several times before someone decided to build a house.

During the era of buying and selling the estates, the new investors appeared and they found out that some locations were better than the others. It depended on the quality of land, distance from the city, neighbourhoods, but the decisive factors were public services and later also streetcar service. Of course, the estates which already had roads, sidewalks and sewers were more expensive and therefore more attractive for both investors and also potential customers. As I have mentioned one of the decisive factors was also neighbourhood. One of the reasons why people moved to the suburbs was that they wanted to live better and healthier lives in peace and quiet. One Jewish proverb states “ask about your neighbours, then buy the house”. Because of no restrictions on the land, people did not know who their neighbours would be and how would they behave. They could not know if they would have ten dogs, fifteen cats or open air party every weekend. That is why there was a requirement to apply at least the basic restrictions on the land. These restrictions concerned the use of the estate as a residential area and also material used to build a house. The diversity of suburbs was caused by another restriction which became very popular and frequent and it was the value of the house. There were restrictions which set down that the value of the house could not be lower than a specific sum. According to Harris it was usually about \$3000 and it gave rise to the middle class suburbs.³⁰ It could be also less but the suburbs were poorer and not so attractive. There were also locations with much higher minimum values, for example \$7000. These were luxurious suburbs. Actually, when the land developers applied the restraints, they also defined the physical and social character of the suburbs. It caused that the social segregation was still increasing.

The speculative boom and land gambling was very soon followed by a fall and a recession in 1907-1908. There were thousands and thousands people owning one or more estates and hoping that they would sell it soon. However, the situation on the market was so bad that they could not sell the land with profit; they could not sell the land at all. But, of course, they had to pay taxes. Some of them could afford to pay taxes for the extra estate and wait for a better economical situation but most of them just could not afford it and their estates fell into the hands of the respective municipality. In

³⁰ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 85.

the 1920s the economical situation got better but the municipalities had to solve the consequences of the previous speculative boom. There were hundreds and hundreds subdivided estates with no owners. Harris pointed out that some areas which were subdivided in 1913 did not change until 1945 or even later.³¹ One common problem was that in some suburbs there was no service developed. It was very expensive and if there were no problems with overcrowded cities, the respective municipality did not want to pay extra money for suburbs' services.

3.4. Building Houses

Although there were some restrictions on the values of houses and materials, there was not a single model or prototype of typical suburban house. It caused that all the houses looked differently. The houses had different structures, colours and also style. Harris assumes that at the beginning of the 20th century there were at least three types of builders.³² The first was so called "building on spec" which was actually the most common. The builder started building a house before he had a buyer. So, he had to borrow money and design the house without cooperation with customers. He usually designed standard houses for middle class families with children. The greatest amount of these builders was naturally around the biggest cities. They produced about five houses a year. To produce more houses was a risky business.

To avoid the risk some builders preferred building on demand. This type was common mostly in upper class because it was more expensive. The builder built a house for a concrete client. Both the builder and the client met several times and discussed the structure, materials, colours, etc. Everything was designed to satisfy client's preferences. The client also paid for the house; therefore, there was no need to borrow money. The buyer often hired some subcontractors to do a specific work such as wiring. When the house was finished, the buyer and also the client were both satisfied because the buyer had the money for the house and the client had the house which he helped to design and which followed his needs and preferences.

The third type of builders was actually a person who did not have money to hire a builder. So, these people either bought an old house and repaired it or they built a new

³¹ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 91.

³² Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 94.

house just by themselves. It was the cheapest way because they built it by their own hands and they did not need to borrow money. Sometimes they hired professionals to do more skilled tasks but only when they could afford it. Usually, people built a one-or-two room shacks, then saved the money and then enlarged it. It took several years to finish the house. Harris considers that these amateur builders were responsible for the great amount of cheap houses.³³

3.5. Types of Suburbs

The fact that there were few restrictions on houses and the land was divided almost freely caused that there arose many types of suburbs. Harris differentiated four basic types of suburbs according to the physical and social environment.

1. The affluent enclave
2. The unplanned suburb
3. The industrial suburb
4. The middle class suburb³⁴

The first type was the “affluent enclaves”. These suburbs were designed by famous architects for the richest people. There were many parks and green places. Naturally, there were also municipal services and very strict restrictions on the appearance of the houses. These suburbs were usually designed in the style of famous American architect Frederick Law Olmsted and his children who carried on the family tradition.³⁵

The second type of suburbs was the exact opposite of the previous one. It was the unplanned suburb. There were many different houses without any restrictions or regulations. There were barely municipal services. Naturally these houses were much cheaper than in the case of the previous ones. We could see these suburbs in York Township, South Vancouver, Hintonburg, Hillhurst, Cobalt (Ontario) and Elmwood (Manitoba). The fact is that these suburbs were built by amateurs without any architects or designers. It caused that each house looked differently. It was not only the frame,

³³ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 99.

³⁴ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 99-103.

³⁵ Frederick Law Olmsted was an American architect. He focused on landscape architecture. He was influenced by English landscape and gardening. His sons created Olmsted Brothers and continued his work.

style and colour, but also a garden. There were no parks and no green places. It was possible to find a multi-storey nice house with beautiful garden next to the poor shack.

The third type of suburb Harris calls the industrial suburb. This suburb was usually full of houses built by speculative builders. As the industry developed the industrial suburbs occurred. They belonged somewhere between the affluent enclave and the unplanned suburb. The houses were not sumptuous but rather average and standard. The idea was to build houses and then rent them to the people working in a specific industry. We could find these suburbs in Maisonneuve or West Toronto Junction.

The last type of suburb was the middle class suburb. It was developed by speculative builders, too. Obviously, there was a strong inspiration and desire to design these suburbs as similar as possible to the affluent enclaves but the lack of money prevented it. There were small parks and nice streets. There were also some restrictions. The most houses looked the same but Harris insists that the middle class suburbs were less uniform than the industrial suburbs.³⁶ We could find these suburbs in Ontario.

To conclude, out of these four basic types of suburbs we can say that the most common was the unplanned suburb. The most luxurious, but not so common, was the affluent enclave. The industrial and middle class suburbs stood between the previous two. They both were developed by speculative builders but, because there was a higher and higher demand for workers, the industrial suburb was more promising, stabler and therefore more common than the middle class suburb.

3.6. House Financing

A house is an expensive and for the vast majority of people also greatest investment in their lives. The most people had to borrow money to be able to buy their houses. In Canada the people took the mortgages. At the turn of the centuries and also at the beginning of the 20th century people could borrow only a half of the value of the house. So, they had to save at least a half of the price of the house before they decided to buy it. The mortgage was usually five years long. People paid only the interests on the loan and after five years they had to pay the full amount. If they did not have the full amount

³⁶ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 102.

of money they could have a second mortgage. Naturally, it was not very favourable. That is why the people in Canada did not like the mortgages and loans and they borrowed only what was necessary. Another problem with the mortgages was the fact that the financial institutions did not want the houses to be the loan guarantees. So, people were looking for other options. One possibility was to borrow the money from individuals. By individuals I mean rich people who could afford it such as rich widows. Harris assumes that the ratio of financial institutions' mortgages and of rich individuals' mortgages was more or less fifty-fifty with individuals' mortgages slightly prevailing.³⁷

3.7. The Role of The State In The Shaping Suburbs 1920s-1930s

From the previous chapter we can see that a state had only a negligible influence on the suburban development. Yes, there were different restrictions in the different suburbs but the government did not have a direct effect on the land subdivision and housing. This was about to change. With growing suburbs and growing diversity among them there was an urgent need to establish a respective department. Canada drew an inspiration from Great Britain where Thomas Adams, a distinguished expert in urban planning, designed Garden Cities.³⁸

Garden cities were planned satellites for 32 000 people on the area of 2,400 ha. They were designed on a concentric pattern with six radial boulevards going from the centre, many green places and parks. Thomas Adams became a town planning advisor and in 1919 he helped to establish the Town Planning Institute of Canada. He also designed a suburb at Lindenlea in Ottawa which was highly influenced by Garden City. There were many open spaces, parks, children's playgrounds and sports grounds. Unfortunately the effects of Garden cities were not so big because many areas were already subdivided and it was not possible to change the usual grid plan. So, the utopian idea of planned and controlled development of suburbs vanished. Thomas Adams left Canada and moved to New York. During the 1930s and 1940s only small amount of houses was built and the suburban planning stagnated. The suburbs were controlled by the respective governments which varied a lot. The government in the rich suburb

³⁷ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 105.

³⁸ Thomas Adams (1871-1940) was a Scottish architect who designed the Hydrostone in Nova Scotia, Canada. He was influenced by the Garden City movement which is a method of urban planning from Great Britain.

controlled the stringent zoning and also the structures and appearance of the houses. The government in the unplanned suburbs controlled almost nothing because the development of this suburb was unpredictable. Although there were some restrictions in the industrial suburb, bad living conditions caused by the noise and smell of near factories limited the powers of the government. The government knew that only workers dependant on those factories would withstand living in such area. Middle class suburb was somewhere in the middle, not so fettered as the rich one but with several restrictions. The fact that each suburb was ruled by different government with different restrictions and requirements caused the instability of the whole system. The unplanned suburbs were unstable and because of worsening living conditions some of them (York and East York near Toronto) tried to annex. However, they were not successful.

3.8. The Depression Caused by The Great Depression

As it seemed that the situation could not be worse, the Great Depression hit Canada. It was a worldwide depression which started in the United States in 1929 and ended ten years later when the World War II began. The impact on Canada's economical situation was devastating. The gross national product dropped 40%, the unemployment reached 30% and one fifth of the population depended on the state assistance. In the suburbs the numbers were even higher. The reason for this was the isolation of the suburbs. It was difficult to sell a house in the suburban area in those days and the most people became dependant on the state assistance and charity. Harris assumes that many families lost their houses in 1930s and suburban municipalities could not do much about this situation.³⁹ The Great Depression made people not only think about the instability of economic system but also about the land development. People knew that it was the government that could change it and help them. There was an urgent need to establish a function system of housing and urban development. Harris analyzes four possibilities that Canadian government had.⁴⁰ First of them was public housing, highly unsuccessful project. People lived in the houses built and owned by the state and paid the rent. Although this project seemed very ambitious, Canada was not able to develop it and in 1969 it was halted. The second project was an alternative to the first one. It was a connection with housing cooperatives (co-ops). The housing cooperatives either

³⁹ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 111.

⁴⁰ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 112-119.

constructed the houses, kept the ownership and then charged fees or just built the houses in exchange of labour and then transferred the ownership to the individuals. This system called for cooperation of individual households. The vision was very nice but the fact is that this program occurred rarely. However there was an important exception in Tompkinsville, Nova Scotia, where the cooperatives developed a strong and functional movement. Thanks to this movement, Harris sums up, there were 5,475 houses built in Nova Scotia.⁴¹ During 1930s and 1940s there occurred a new program and it was “aided self-help”. It came from Stockholm where it started earlier and according to Harris it was very effective. “The municipality laid out subdivisions and then provided finance, prefabricated building materials, and on-site instruction to successful applicants.”⁴² Unfortunately this program was developed in Canada only partly. The fourth scheme came up in 1949 and it was a “Build Your Own Home”. It meant that people had not only the instructions and assistance to build their houses but also financial help divided into several stages and special building courses. Fortunately, this scheme worked. It was popular not only among working people but also among veterans. Harris sums up that by the end of the program in 1975 it helped about 50,000 families to get their own houses.⁴³ Although the establishment of function housing system during the Great Depression was not successful, Canada at least took an inspiration from other countries and improved the housing conditions.

It was not only the housing system that was taken as an inspiration from abroad but also the model of the U.S. Federal Housing Administration (FHA). Harris assumes that Canada simply copied the FHA and created the DHA, the Dominion Housing Act.⁴⁴ The aim of this Act was to improve the system of mortgages which was, as I have stated above, highly unfavourable. So, the change was that the mortgages were not short-term but rather long-term and there was also a DHA insurance in the case of default. Although the mortgages were more favourable, the DHA was not for everybody. The insurance companies preferred rich clients who built better houses in the affluent enclave. That is why the FHA in the U.S. was more popular than the DHA in Canada. In 1938 the DHA was replaced by the National Housing Act (NHA) still belonging to the Ministry of Finance. In 1946 it was transferred to a new department, the Central

⁴¹ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 115.

⁴² Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 116.

⁴³ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 119.

⁴⁴ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 119.

Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC). The aim was to come up with a new type of a financial system which would be available for the majority of people. They succeeded.

3.9. The Period Before and During War

In the early 1940s Canadian experts shared the opinion that the construction methods and technology were obsolete and therefore not sufficient. Fortunately, the government agreed and tried to modernize it. During the wartime there was almost no unemployment because all men either entered the army or worked in factories. In some cities there was a labour shortage. So, the families moved to these places to find work. They also needed a new house and that is why a housing shortage occurred. To solve the problem with housing, Joseph Pigott⁴⁵, a Canadian businessman and contractor, founded Wartime Housing, a corporation which helped people to build new houses during the war period. Harris states that Wartime Housing built more than 25,000 houses in all Canada and the design that Pigott used was taken as the first national standard.⁴⁶ After the war Wartime Housing was integrated into CMHC which was basically company's end. CMHC continued in developing the housing regulations and guidelines. There was also a NHA insurance which was very helpful in the case of mortgage default. But not all houses met all requirements. So, they could not use the NHA insurance. Actually, the aim of the whole housing and land system was that all houses should have the NHA insurance.

3.10. The Period After War

The main suburban development began after the war ended in 1945. There were many new planning acts and the Ministry of Planning and Development wanted to rationalize the urban a suburban system of planning. The United States already used the system of zoning and it became very helpful in Canada, too. The zoning means the control of the use of land. Specific areas were determined to the specific land uses. For example, in some areas non-residential uses were not allowed. In other areas there was a restriction

⁴⁵ Joseph Pigott was a Canadian business man who founded Pigott Construction Company which became the largest construction company in a private sector. He built many important buildings such as The Royal Ontario Museum, Bank of Canada in Ottawa, McMaster University etc.

⁴⁶ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 121-122.

that prohibited apartments where single-family houses were built. Although the zoning system was older and we could find its beginnings in the first decades of the 20th century, it was fully developed and incorporated into official planning system after 1940s. In this period Harris identifies a shift from suburbs controlled by land developers into suburbs controlled by local planning institutions and municipalities.⁴⁷ This legislative shift helped the suburban municipalities to come into existence.

Harris says that it is assumed that the suburbanization started immediately after the war.⁴⁸ The fact is that the Great Depression and the war caused that people decided to wait with marriages and children. Most of them waited for a better economical situation to allow them to buy a house. After the couple of years of waiting after the war there was a huge housing boom. The economical situation was getting better day by day and therefore there was a huge demand for houses. As Harris states “the suburbs mushroomed.”⁴⁹ One of the reasons why so many people wanted to move to urban fringe was the invention of automobile. There was a shift in transport. People did not have to walk to work or travel by the streetcar or transit. They could use the automobile. Harris analyzes that in 1945 there were more than 1.1 million automobiles in Canada, in 1952 there were more than 2.2 million automobiles and in 1961 more than 4.3 million automobiles.⁵⁰ People that owned the automobile could live further from the workplaces and many of them used the possibility to move from the polluted environment of factories. The huge amount of automobiles required more places for parking and better roads and infrastructure. So, the size of lots got bigger and also all malls that were built after 1950 had hundreds and hundreds parking lots. Harris states that this was the exact period when suburbs became stereotyped.⁵¹ At the beginning of the century there were more types of suburbs and the differences among them were big but in the 1950s the differences melted. The suburbs were more similar and the houses were almost the same.

As the federal housing legislation became more involved in the housing system, the mortgages market changed a lot. The institutional lenders were preferred to the private individuals. The main reason was the DHA financing. During 1940s almost 75%

⁴⁷ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 125.

⁴⁸ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 129.

⁴⁹ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 129.

⁵⁰ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 129-130.

⁵¹ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 130.

of all mortgages were institutional. However not all people could apply for a loan. The lending institutions preferred desirable areas and remote areas which were not so attractive did not have a chance to get loans. Fortunately, this discrimination did not last forever. There were two main causes of its fall. Firstly, in 1954 banks entered the mortgage market. Secondly, the system of land development rapidly changed. The change was caused mainly by CMHC. They created many regulations for NHA houses and also changed the system of services provisions. At the beginning of the century the norm was that municipalities provided all services and also house building. This approach changed a lot of things and the costs of services were included in the price of lots.

3.11. Fully Planned Corporate Suburb – Don Mills

The solution of incorporating the costs of services in the price of lots occurred also in Don Mills which is considered to be “the first fully planned corporate suburb”.⁵² Don Mills is a neighbourhood in the North York, Toronto. It was developed between 1952 and 1965 as a self-supporting suburb by E.P. Taylor who was a Canadian businessman and philanthropist. He wanted to build a brewery but changed his mind and built a new town on 2,000 acres. Its design was influenced by Garden City Movement, especially Sir Ebenezer Howard⁵³ and also by modernism. Taylor implemented some new principles which were not usual in Canada at that time because he did not want the houses to look like the typical post-war suburban dwellings.⁵⁴

1. Taylor divided the area into quadrants surrounding the shopping centre. Each quadrant consisted of church, school and open space – park.
2. He separated the pedestrian paths and vehicle traffic. He designed a complete pedestrian network. He used T-intersections and culs-de-sac.

⁵² Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 138.

⁵³ Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928) was a founder of garden city movement. He wrote *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (1898) which depict an utopian city where people live in harmony with nature. He built Garden Cities such as Letchworth Garden City and Welwyn Garden City.

⁵⁴ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 137-138.

3. He promoted the modernism and that is why Don Mills was built in this style. To avoid any peculiarities he imposed very tight regulations on design, materials and colours. He also insisted on cooperation with architects who had proper education and were approved by his company.
4. He wanted the industry to be a part of suburb. People were important for Taylor and he wanted them to live and work in the same area. He did not want the suburb to become only a bedroom community. Therefore, he incorporated the industrial park in the zoning plan.

When building this suburb Taylor had to face a serious problem. The respective municipality was not able to provide the services by the date that Taylor needed. So, he took the responsibility for the services and built them. Few years later, it became the norm for developers to provide the services.

3.12. Construction Standards

The CMHC tried hard to promote the large developers who were able to connect land subdivision and house construction. This expectation did not come true. Moreover, it was the influence of American system of land development which caused the greatest changes in Canadian system. William Levitt, an American suburban developer and builder⁵⁵ built up one of the greatest companies in the USA. He created a functional system of building suburbs. He was a land developer, installed all services and built affordable houses. He made the construction of houses more efficient. Several companies working with him developed new technologies and procedures, started using different materials, designed new models and mixed new colours. Because of the amount of material and products that Levitt was buying, they could grant him the best prices. The workers were not universal but each person did a specific job. So, they were skilled in one thing. The building a house in Levitt's world was like taking the assembly line outside. In the U.S. it really worked.

The developers in Canada tried to follow this model but they were not as successful as Levitt. Canadian G. S. Shipp and Son (today Shipp Corporation Limited)

⁵⁵ William Levitt (1907-1994), often called "the King of Suburbia" was the father of American suburbia. His father founded Levitt & Sons and William continued his work in real-estate developing. He is recognized for massive building houses that were more affordable.

was a building company that started a mass production of houses. Inspired by American counterpart they built houses in stages and did not forget a great publicity such as model houses, advertisements, brochures and sales events. Among other successful companies we can count Grisenthwaite Construction and Zeller Construction.⁵⁶ It is understandable that large companies with large capital were great clients of corporate mortgage lenders. If the builder met all CMHC restrictions, he could reach finance and also NHA mortgage was available. Then it was easier to sell the house. So, it seemed that all sides were satisfied. However, there was an exception. These were people who wanted a specific house based on their taste, wishes and dreams. They rejected the uniformity. Mass producers of houses were not able to satisfy these clients' preferences because it would take more time and more money and it would not be effective to build a specific house for a specific client. Although some of them tried to change the model of the house every month, but the amount of people with specific demands was too small that mass producers gave up the process of building a specific house for a specific client. Except the clients with their specific taste, mass producers had to cope with regulations which differed a lot. In one area it was not possible to build a house lower than twenty-one feet and because the model houses were fixed models, the developer could not build them there. The regulations were more and more frequent and more and more specific. That is why the small builders persisted. They did not build more than five houses per year but still they had many clients. Harris states that "the large developers concentrated on the corporate suburbs, but small builders were everywhere."⁵⁷

3.13. Do It Yourself Houses

Although there are no data available, we assume that "do it yourself" way of building houses was the same in Australia, Canada and the United States. Harris states that owner-building was popular because of several reasons.⁵⁸ The first reason was naturally the financial one. People could not afford to pay the skilled builders and tradesmen and after the Great Depression and war they had almost no savings. The second reason was associated with transport. With automobiles people could live further from cities and that is why they were buying unserviced land in greater distance. The last and crucial

⁵⁶ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 143.

⁵⁷ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 148.

⁵⁸ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 148.

reason was that the technological progress with government assistance allowed many people to learn to build a house. There were many tools and new materials and also exact instructions. Harris concludes that “almost anyone could build a house.”⁵⁹ Even the lower-income people who wanted to have their own house were able to do it. It usually took much time and hard work, not only theirs but also neighbours’, relatives’ and friends’. Working people were building the house slowly. They usually started with digging a hole and creating sort of shack. Then they slowly improved it. What I consider interesting is that at the beginning of the 20th century women took a minor role in building a house. These were men who did the hard work. But after 1945 women not only helped men but some of them, esp. single mothers, just built the houses by themselves. The involvement of women in the building industry caused that the lumber shops and hardware stores had to change their strategies and learn to serve also the women. Do it yourself (DIY) houses were more and more popular because people could also cooperate on the design of the houses.

3.14. Types of Suburbs after the 1950s

As I have stated above, there were four basic types of suburbs at the beginning of the 20th century. In the middle of the century the situation was different. The zoning system and many regulations caused that industrial suburb was eliminated. The suburbs usually contained both industrial part – factories and people’s houses. Even with many restrictions and regulations both smaller builders and amateur builders survived. At the end of the 1950s the mortgages were also more affordable and that is why more people could build their houses.

3.15. Diversity

At the beginning of the 20th century suburbs were very diverse and also the lives of people in suburbs were different. The differences were caused by services such as piped water, sewers, later by home appliances such as electric stoves and vacuum cleaners. Not everybody could afford everything. The differences were significant. Suburbs were also considered to be immoral places and slums. The only positive thing was that a life

⁵⁹ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 149.

in suburb was healthier than in a city. After 1960 the subject of criticism changed. The suburbs were criticized because of their conformity. The houses looked the same, streets were the same, and people lived the same monotonous lives.

At the beginning the diversity was enormous. There were rich people living in huge mansions. They were mostly British and naturally they brought the British tradition with them. Their houses were not only huge but also designed by renowned architects in old architecture. It was important to have a beautiful luxurious house and even more important was to show it. They also had cleaners, maintenance men, cooks and gardeners. Men entertained at clubs playing golf, tennis and discussing business and women entertained at home drinking tea, having garden parties or volunteering in charity centres. The schools were exclusive and appropriate marriages insisted. These were suburbs such as Forest Hill in Toronto or West End in Vancouver.

On the other hand there was the middle class. The progress and changes in the first part of the 20th century hit the middle class people the most. The houses were built smaller and easier to maintain and clean. Harris states that simplicity and efficiency mattered.⁶⁰ People wanted to simplify everything to be easy to be cleaned. Of course it was a woman who looked after the household. Sometimes the family could afford a servant but it was very rare. With the technological progress many new appliances emerged. These were electric irons, vacuums, washing machines, refrigerators etc. The kitchen changed a lot, too. Coal and wood stoves were replaced by gas and electric stoves which were smaller. With so many new appliances the kitchen was cleaner and nicer and that was the main reason why people eliminated the wall between kitchen and dining/living room. After 1945 no wall between kitchen and other room was a norm. The women were regarded as housewives. Their ability to look after the house was an important benchmark. On the other hand men changed their interests from housework to the wood working. And because the houses were smaller and more and more people could afford them, there emerged an important aspect of middle class suburban life and it was the ownership.

The last class was the poorest one. People lived in shacktown suburbs. Men travelled long hours to work. They usually walked and that is why they were dirty. Women looked after the household and children but without appliances, which they

⁶⁰ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 158.

have usually never seen before, it was hard and never ending work. Men worked six days in a week and the last day they worked on their own houses. They saved money by growing vegetables and breeding chickens.

As you can see the suburbs were very diverse but we can also find a similarity. In all three types of suburbs there was a strict gender division of work. Men earned the money; women looked after the houses and family.

3.16. People's Priorities

Based on my previous analysis of social classes I must also take into consideration people's priorities because they rapidly changed. At the beginning of the century middle class people wanted to live in comfort and that is why they lived near the streetcar. They did not want to live in unserviced suburbs. The most important was the comfortable living with all services and easy transport. Home ownership was not so important. On the other hand for workers home ownership was very important and desirable. It was stability for them. They worked very hard to get it and the services or means of transport were not so important for them. After 1918 the aspect of home ownership changed. The middle class families started buying their own houses and the home ownership became important for them, too.

3.17. Materialism as a New Lifestyle

During the first half of the 20th century suburbs became symbols of materialistic life style and consumerism. People rejected the thrift which was typical for most suburbs and they preferred comfort and privacy even though they put themselves into debt. People believed that the more appliances and nice things they had, the higher status and credit in society they received. At the beginning of the century it was completely different. People tried to avoid the debts and when they had to loan they wanted to pay it as soon as possible. The problem started even with the first generation of suburbanites who were avoiding debts and saved money to provide children for everything that they needed. The second generation of suburbanites, people who did not remember the World War and the Great Depression so well, they enjoyed the consumerism and the materialistic life style.

4. Suburban Effects Upon Society

As I have analyzed above, suburbanization is a long process and as a process it also brings its positives and negatives. At the beginning people were moving to the fringe areas because they could not afford the houses in the city centres, they wanted to live outside the city centre's rush in a healthier environment without pollution. Their dream was to raise children in a safe and healthy place which they owned. The fact is that when the first suburbs occurred, in the 19th century, the places were really safer and more suitable for living than urban centres. There were no automobiles and big distance together with open space, which suburbs provided, prevented criminal acts. During suburbs' development the negative aspects occurred. Paul Milton analyses the negative social effects of suburbs and calls them "the suburban myth".⁶¹ He spent his childhood in suburban London, Ontario, and he compared his experience of suburbs with experience of people living in urban centres and he came to the conclusion that, using his words, he "hadn't grown up in Canada after all".⁶² His confusion was caused by the Canadian literature that he read. He found surprising that such a huge amount of Canadians lived in suburbs and there was no literature that reflected the suburban way of life. There were stories mostly from urban environment. He stated that "the suburb offers freedom from urban distraction and the absence of meaningful human connections, so it provides only an ambivalent escape for the artist seeking an authentic milieu."⁶³ Milton admits that he hated suburban way of life and he compares the suburban dream of his parents, the first generation of suburbanites, and the suburban myth in which he, as a second generation of suburbanites, lived. The suburban dream is what I have described at the beginning of this paragraph. It was living in healthy and beautiful environment without pollution. The suburban myth was analyzed by Milton as "negative views of life in the suburbs".⁶⁴

Negative criticism has focused on the social dimension of suburbia, the negative environmental effects of suburban dependency on the automobile, the escapist

⁶¹ Douglas Ivison and Justin D. Edwards, *Downtown Canada: Writing Canadian Cities* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 168.

⁶² Ivison and Edwards, *Downtown Canada*, 166.

⁶³ Ivison and Edwards, *Downtown Canada*, 168.

⁶⁴ Ivison and Edwards, *Downtown Canada*, 169.

politics of city flight, the aesthetic banality of mass-produced tract housing, and the implicit acceptance of consumerism.⁶⁵

When we want to find the cause of most negative aspects of suburbs, we must go back to history. As I have analyzed in my previous chapter, the suburbs at the beginning of 20th century were very diverse. Later, with new regulations and restrictions and new housing policy the life in suburban area became accessible only to people with certain income and it was the main cause of its conformity and stereotype way of living. Milton states that what was a dream for a first generation was a nightmare with many negative aspects for the second generation. “The suburban house subverts the desires of the suburban dreamer, and the dream becomes a nightmare.”⁶⁶

4.1. The Family

The family was the main reason why most people moved or wanted to move to the suburban areas. These areas were clean, quiet and safe. Children could play outside, wives could have gardens and husbands could have a quiet place to rest after a long day at work. Harris states that “suburbanism is focused upon the needs of the nuclear family”.⁶⁷ Suburbs were designed to satisfy the traditional nuclear family – parents with children. Parents knew their neighbours, children had always playmates. There were schools, sports clubs and many options what to do in free time. Women usually stayed at home and took care of their children and house and men worked. That was the suburban dream. The fact is that at the beginning of suburban development the suburban dream worked. People really knew their neighbours; moreover, they helped each other a lot.

In the early years of this century there was extensive cooperation among neighbours in Toronto’s immigrant suburbs, as people helped each other to erect houses, community halls, and church buildings and as clergy organized settlement clubs, daycare centres, and social evenings.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Ivison and Edwards, *Downtown Canada*, 169.

⁶⁶ Ivison and Edwards, *Downtown Canada*, 173.

⁶⁷ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 40.

⁶⁸ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 40.

The most people fulfilled their dreams to live in own property and they enjoyed the time spent with other people in these communities. During the decades this phenomenon started to vanish. The thing was that houses built in suburban areas were bigger. Everyone could have his own room and privacy. Earlier men spent their time at work or in the clubs or bars. Children were playing outside. The space in the house, special rooms for watching TV and playing games caused that children and men spent more time at home or in the garden. People were proud of the fact that they owned the house. At the beginning there was an ideal place for a nuclear family. With second and third generation Milton speaks about soulless suburbs and mostly dysfunctional families.⁶⁹

4.2. The Roles of Men and Women

The traditional roles of men and women in nuclear family were with the first suburbs very simple. Man was working 5 or 6 days in a week and in his free time he was working in the house. If the house was built and did not need any building's operations he went to the sports club or bar. Women's job was to take care of children and keep the house clean. Children were happy that they had the opportunity to grow up in a healthy environment. This did not last long. Moreover, I can say that this vision seemed utopian. During years there were many new appliances and machines which made all the work in and around the house easier. It was good for women and also men. Suddenly, the women felt not occupied enough, just very idle. The typical image of bored suburban wife occurred.

The caricature of the bored housewife figures prominently in many versions of the suburban myth. Within this caricature, the repressed sexuality of the bored housewife becomes something of a male erotic fantasy as well as the parody of that fantasy.⁷⁰

This parody we could see in Tim Burton's suburban satire *Edward Scissorhands* which showed the typical suburban wife who was so bored that tried to seduce a repairman. The fact is that the role of women and men changed mostly due to expected gender roles and technological progress. Men became only visitors who brought cheque and

⁶⁹ Ivison and Edwards, *Downtown Canada*, 172.

⁷⁰ Ivison and Edwards, *Downtown Canada*, 174.

listen to their bored wives' complaints. It was a woman who controlled and ruled the family. She was a housekeeper, cook, and driver of spoilt children who found pleasure in expensive toys and enjoyed the consumer style of life. Children did not feel any gratitude. This unnatural matriarchy caused that women did not feel feminine and men did not feel masculine. This was a gender problem. Both men and women lost their identity and did not know how to deal with it.

4.3. Isolation

Losing the masculine and feminine identity resulted in a high degree of isolation. The suburban myth was to live in peace and quiet but most people did not realize what it actually meant and how dangerous this could be. When analyzing the men's isolation I will give you 2 probable scenarios.

Men's Suburban Experience

You get up at 5 a.m. It is still dark and it is pretty cold in the bathroom. Everyone is still sleeping. You do all the hygiene and at 5:30 you leave the house and get into car. Oh, you forgot the snack that your wife prepared yesterday evening. You go back and then again into your car. You start up your car. Oh! The radio! Your favourite song! That is cool! Now, the traffic news. You go about 15 minutes. You see all the houses and bikes in front of them. "Why can't you just take the bike to the garage? Is that so difficult?" Huh. Children. Everyone is still sleeping. There is nobody. It's too empty. Then you turn left and you are on the expressway. Many cars everywhere. You have to concentrate. Careful! "Who taught you to drive, you hoser?" You continue for about 30 minutes. Still watching the cars, listening the news and being angry with stupid drivers who do not know the safe distance. You're on time. Finally, you're in the city. Traffic lights, traffic lights and again traffic lights. Yeah, that's very fast. Still, on time. You know the traffic here. Finally, you're here. You park your car. "I hope that no hammer head will crash my car". You walk about 8 minutes into your workplace. Yeah, your day can start.

When you have a look at this suburban experience you can see that I described the typical morning of a suburban man. It was spending at least an hour in heavy traffic, worrying if you manage to arrive to work alive and on time, not having any conversation with anybody except the radio guy and not experiencing anything pleasant or nice.

Men's City Experience

You wake up at 6 a.m. It's quite cold but you can already hear the city waking up. Your wife gets up with you and goes to wake up your children. Yeah, quiet morning is over. You eat your breakfast, tell your kids to stop fighting, kiss them all, and go to work. You walk. You see the neighbour's children. "Oh hey! Good Morning kids!" "Good Morning Mr Trembley". What are their names? You have no idea! But the older looks like a mantis. After 10 minutes of slow walking there is your bus stop. The same people standing there. Wait, this old lady is new. You nod your head to a guy next to you. It says "hello, another working day". Never talked to each other but familiar. The new old lady asks advice. She is lost. You're explaining her schedule. Other two people help. She thanks you. You wishes good day! The bus is here. You travel not more than 20 minutes. You read the newspapers, watch the people. The bus is quite slow and the driver not very good. What you can do about it? Nothing! You all are just passengers. You read sports, comic strip and column about dog. That's funny. Your bus stops. You get out and walk for 3 minutes. There is a good café. You buy coffee to go and in 5 minutes you arrive to work. And your day can start.

City experience seems to be very different. The men experienced a bit of family life, met neighbours, had some social interaction on the bus, read the newspapers which made him smile and drank favourite coffee. There was nothing dangerous or stressful. He felt he was a part of community.

When we compare both scenarios we can see only short outline of lives in suburbs and cities. There are many factors that cause the isolation of men in suburbs. When they are lucky, they know the neighbours, but usually they are not friends. They do not have the feeling of community. Low density and same houses contribute to that

feeling. The fact that they work and also travel usually far distance cause also the feeling of isolation in a family. Women are more with children and therefore they have better relationships. Men feel as intruders. Social isolation and feeling of loneliness can lead to a serious health problems, not only psychological but also physical.

On the other hand, women's isolation was caused by the gender shift as I have stated above but it was not the only cause. The majority of women were housewives taking care of children and the house. Men were at work and children at school. Usually, there was only one car in the family and it was used by men to get to work. Harris states that "women were marooned at home, often with young children and with no adult company except for neighbours who were in the same situation."⁷¹ Betty Friedan, a second wave feminist and author of *The Feminine Mystique*, analyzed this problem in the U.S. and found out that the isolation of women was quite common phenomenon.

The problem lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women. It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the twentieth century in the United States. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night—she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question — "Is this all?"⁷²

In the second half of the 20th century many suburban women experienced not only the feeling of isolation but also the desire to have career, social life and be more than just a housewives. According to Simone de Beauvoir housecleaning was "holding away death but also refusing life."⁷³ They lived empty lives but they knew that this was the price they had to pay.

⁷¹ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 44.

⁷² Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Dell, 1970), 15.

⁷³ Simone De Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. Howard M. Parshley (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), 471.

4.4. Social Pressure and Consumerism

The isolation of both men and women was also caused by social pressure. Because most suburbs were designed for nuclear families and happy family life, people believed that this was the dream and they felt the pressure that they had to be happy. Their house and garden were the demonstration of their social class and taste. Harris states that “suburban landscapes have directly reflected the tastes of their residents.”⁷⁴ People showed their tastes by gardens in different styles, colours of houses, windows, and even mailboxes. This “desire for respectable social display”⁷⁵ was struggling with the main aim of suburbs which was the life in peace and quiet. Instead of this people competed who has better car, nicer garden, newer design of the front yard. All these things were expensive but for most people necessary. They started regularly visiting shopping malls and the isolation, social pressure and the desire to display their status led to a new consumer lifestyle. They were buying things that they did not need. They wanted to live more comfortably. The fact is that this was not a problem of first generation of suburbanites. They were buying houses, building houses, paying mortgages and if they could they tried to avoid the debts if possible. It was problem of the second and following generations. “Unencumbered by bitter memories the generation that was eventually raised in the post-war suburbs embraced the new consumer lifestyle wholeheartedly.”⁷⁶ When they could not afford what they wanted, they just run into debts.

4.5. More Cars, More Pollution

Another negative effect caused by suburban sprawl is pollution. The fact is that in the 19th century rural areas and suburbs were considered healthy places. On the other hand urban areas were extremely unhealthy. Harris states that “mortality rates, especially for infants, were higher in urban than in rural areas”⁷⁷ The noise, factories, many people, later also traffic indirectly caused that people wanted to move from urban areas and they were looking for land for a good price. The further from the urban area the land was, the

⁷⁴ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 25.

⁷⁵ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 26.

⁷⁶ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 165.

⁷⁷ Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 31.

lower the price was. The invention of streetcar brought many positives but also negative impact on nature. Streetcar needed electricity and good road. It meant more and more digging and building. The invention of car had even worse impact on the environment. It is understandable that good roads were necessary. It meant more and more building again. Firstly, only few people had car. But during years there was at least one car in a family. Today there are 35,749,600 people in Canada and 23,538,004⁷⁸ road motor vehicle registrations. Auto-dependent communities cause that the air which people breathe is as bad as in the city. So, we can say that the urban sprawl causes huge amount of cars on the roads. The huge amount of cars causes smog. Smog causes health problem such as “respiratory conditions (asthma), cardiovascular disease, lung cancer, delayed lung development, negative effects on pregnancy and birth defects.”⁷⁹ Unfortunately, people living in urban sprawls have no other choice than the use of car. There is no public transportation and they need to get to work and shops, etc. However, government is working on the plan to improve the quality of air. The plan consists of walkable communities, bike lanes, efficient public transportation and more green places and parks which will help clean the air.

⁷⁸ “Motor vehicle registrations, by province and territory,” Statistics Canada, accessed August 1, 2015, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/trade14a-eng.htm>.

⁷⁹ The Health Impacts of Urban Sprawl Information Series: Air Pollution.

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to provide a comprehensive analysis of suburban culture in Canada from its beginning in the 19th century until the present day. Using the statistical data of *Statistics Canada* I found out that Canada is not an urban nation as it was assumed, but it is a suburban nation with steadily growing population. Suburban sprawl is a new phenomenon that influences not only social sphere, but also economical, political and cultural spheres of Canada.

Firstly, I analyzed Canada's basic demography and population data from 1851 until 2061. I found out that the proportion of people living in rural and urban areas dramatically changed. In 1851 87% lived in rural areas whereas 13% lived in urban areas. Canada's Census in 2011 showed that only 19% lived in rural areas and 81% lived in urban areas. This actually does not mean that 81% of Canadians live in city centres. The urban area consists of active core, transit suburb, auto-dependent suburb and exurban. Gordon and Shirokoff stated that 87% of all Canadians live in some kind of suburb and the rest lives in city centres. The fact is that they included also exurban population. My analysis excluded the exurban population because rural does not mean suburban. I found out that almost 60% of all Canadians live in a typical suburban area which means that about 21.5 million Canadian people prefer to live in low density areas at urban fringe instead of city centres. The population of Canada in 2061 is estimated at 52.6 million people and because the population growth is much faster in fringe areas than in city centres I can assume that there will be at least 75% of Canadian population living in typical suburbs.

To be able to analyze the suburban culture I had to go back to history and I analyze its birth. I found out that the first suburbs occurred in the 19th century and attracted many people because of their cheap land and healthy and safe environment ideal for raising children. People's visions were idealistic and sometimes utopian. At the beginning there was a great diversity among suburbs caused by no regulations and restrictions. There was fresh air and beautiful nature. The speculative boom caused that people were gambling with land. The suburban houses looked differently and social and ethnic segregation appeared. It was the Great Depression and economical crisis which stopped this boom. After the crisis it was the state who took action against this suburban mushrooming. First of all, the state imposed few restrictions but later on gave very

specific house regulations on material, size, appearance and cost. The government also took action in financing and providing mortgages. I can say that the role of state in suburban development was big but inevitable and necessary. During the hundred years the diverse suburbs turned into uniform and stereotyped areas. This journey from diversity to conformity was caused firstly by state involvement and later by social and economical pressure.

In the third part I analyzed the negative aspects of suburban life and I found out that what looked as a big advantage at the beginning is a great problem today. The majority of people did not realize how big was the step that they made by moving to fringe areas. Suburbs were designed for nuclear families. Many couples expected that the life in beautiful nature and peace and quiet would bring them contentment. It did not happen. Men spent all days working or commuting to and from work. Women spent all days at home alone or with young children. Both men and women suffered isolation and feelings of loneliness. The reasons were different but the consequences were the same. Isolation of only one partner can break the family but there were usually both partners coping with it. The social pressure did not allow them to talk about it and that is why they suffered quietly. It led to dysfunctional families and divorces. In this part I also analyzed the pollution which is a global problem caused by huge amount of cars. Most families in suburbs own at least two cars which cause production of emissions and it causes health problems.

To conclude this thesis, I found out that Canada is not an urban nation, but it is a suburban nation. It has strong suburban culture which brings both positives and negatives to the lives of Canadians.

Resumé

Kultura Předměstí v Kanadě

Tato práce se věnuje tématu předměstí v Kanadě s cílem porozumět předměstí jakožto neoficiálnímu geografickému konceptu, z kterého se za 150 let geografického a populačního vývoje stal koncept značně dominantní. Hlavním cílem práce je tedy analyzovat předměstí v Kanadě, jeho historický vývoj a na základě statistických dat porozumět jeho charakteru i tomu, co přináší lidem žijícím v něm ale i vně.

Úvodní kapitola diplomové práce slouží jako teoretické východisko k demografickým datům. Poskytuje informace o základních údajích jako je rozloha, vývoj populace a hustota osídlení, což se později ukazuje jako stěžejní prvek při určování geografických konceptů a samotné analýze předměstí. Součástí první kapitoly je také rozbor osídlení země. Pro správné uchopení daného tématu je třeba rozlišit a přesně definovat pojmy městský/venkovský/předměstský, které jsou mnohdy důvodem nesprávné interpretace statistických údajů, neboť dle oficiálního vyjádření Kanadského Statistického Úřadu se v některých případech jedná o termíny značně vágní. První kapitola taktéž poskytuje jasné definice kanadských geografických konceptů, které vychází z historického, ekonomického a politického vývoje této země. Z této kapitoly je jasně patrné, že předměstí/příměstí nepatří mezi oficiálně uznané a precizně definované geografické koncepty země. Další kapitola se tedy zabývá hlavní charakteristikou předměstí ve snaze najít odpovídající a, alespoň na kanadském území, aplikovatelnou definici. Jsou zde srovnány přístupy dvou významných vědců, z nichž první se zabývá především fyzickými a sociálními rysy předměstí a druhý hledá nejvhodnější způsob identifikace a analýzy předměstí na základě již existujících geografických postupů. Jeho postupy jsou zde důkladně vysvětleny i s možnými nedostatky.

Druhá kapitola této práce má charakter ryze statistický. Analyzuje data poskytnutá Kanadským Statistickým Úřadem a data několika předních vědců, kteří se taktéž zabývají kulturou osídlení dané země. Pro vyvození platných závěrů je zde nutné Kanadu rozdělit nejprve na větší územní celky, což jsou provincie a teritoria. Zde je provedena analýza počtu obyvatel žijících v městských nebo venkovských částech dané oblasti. Nicméně, k detailnějšímu porozumění je třeba důkladnějšího rozboru, a proto je v další části této kapitoly aplikován geografický postup, jenž je blíže vysvětlen

v kapitole první. Tento postup se zaměřuje na dvě hlavní kritéria analýzy, a to jsou vzdálenost obydlí od centra města a hustota osídlení. Faktem je, že vzdálenost obydlí či oblasti od centra je pojem značně vágní, nicméně v této kapitole je aplikován jasný geografický postup pro určení universálního bodu, od kterého se vzdálenosti měří. Pro přesnější data už zde nejsou analyzovány provincie a teritoria, ale Kanadou uznané obce. Z pohledu hustoty osídlení se dané obce nachází buď ve vysoce, středně nebo nízce osídlené oblasti. V druhé části této práce je stanoven základní bod, od kterého se měří hustota osídlení. Obec je rozdělena do pěti úrovní, každá vzdálenější od daného bodu. Na základě těchto úrovní je zde proveden rozbor největších obcí, středních obcí a malých obcí. Data jsou porovnána a jsou z nich vyvozeny závěry. Součástí této kapitoly je i porovnání výsledků s další, již provedenou analýzou, kdy autor použil jiný metodologický postup a rozdělil danou obec dle jiných parametrů. Kapitola končí srovnáním výsledků obou přístupů.

Třetí kapitola se zabývá historickým pohledem na vývoj předměstských částí od jejich úplného počátku v 19. století až do současné doby. Tato kapitola se snaží odhalit důvody dnešní konformity, jež paradoxně měla počátky v naprosté diverzitě. Nejprve je zde vysvětleno, že bez historického pohledu na vývoj daných oblastí není možné správně uchopit danou problematiku a porozumět základním rysům a charakteristikám předměstí, která jsou výsledkem více než století a půl vývoje. Tato kapitola postupuje chronologicky, tedy začíná analýzou 19. století, jakožto počátku předměstských částí. Je zde analyzován proces osídlování i procentuální zastoupení obyvatelstva v městských a venkovských oblastech. Jsou zde taktéž uvedeny důvody, které vedly k začátku předměstské expanze. Tato část dále pokračuje analýzou sociální a etnické segregace, která byla častým fenoménem určitých oblastí. Následuje kapitola, která důkladně popisuje proces získání pozemku v oblasti předměstí, které nebylo osídlené. Na začátku předměstské expanze byl tento proces poměrně jednoduchý, neboť ekonomické zásahy státu byly minimální. Po získání vhodného pozemku mohli lidé začít stavět své vysněné domy, což je popsáno ve čtvrté kapitole tohoto oddílu. Existovaly tři způsoby jak dosáhnout cíle a ne každý byl vhodný pro všechny. Nicméně po určité době se mnoha rodinám podařilo dům dokončit a mohli začít žít svůj sen. Začala vznikat velká předměstí, která, díky stále nepatrným zásahům země, byla velmi různorodá, co se týče nejen obyvatelstva, ale i struktury území, vzhledu domů i zahrad. Nedlouho na to zasáhl stát a stanovil základní charakteristiky a pravidla pro výstavbu domů na předměstí. Je

pochopitelné, že některé oblasti se staly více atraktivní díky zajímavé lokalitě, příznivějšímu podnebí či dojezdnosti do velkých měst. Větší atraktivita území se rovná většímu výdaji. Takto vznikly čtyři základní druhy předměstí, které nastiňuje kapitola pátá. V šesté a sedmé kapitole je věnována pozornost především zásahu státu, který se snažil zakročit při stále trvajícím předměstském boomu tím, že stanovoval čím dál specifitější regulace a stanovy na využití půdy, tak aby se v jedné oblasti vedle sebe nenacházely rodinné domy, ovocné sady a farma. Stát taktéž zasahoval do vzhledu domů, využití zahrady a ceny domu. O financích a možnosti hypotéky pojednává kapitola šestá. Osmá kapitola pojednává o Světové hospodářské krizi, která se pochopitelně nevyhnula ani Kanadě a způsobila stagnaci ekonomiky země a tím samozřejmě i předměstského růstu. V této kapitole je popsáno několik plánů, kterými se stát pokoušel zachránit situaci, včetně inspirace Spojenými Státy a vytvořením speciálního úřadu, který naštěstí uspěl. Následující kapitola je věnována další ráně, kterou země utrhla a to byla válka. Překvapivě válka neznamenal stagnaci předměstského rozvoje, nýbrž zbrždění a větší opatrnost obyvatel. Taktéž vznikaly velké korporace, které se na výstavbu domů specializovaly. V desáté kapitole dochází k radikální změně. Půda a geografické dělení se přesouvá do kompetence daných obcí a příslušných úřadů. Vzniká nový systém hypoték, ne úplně ideální, nicméně přesto příznivější než v předchozích letech. Kapitola jedenáctá pojednává o Don Mills, což bylo první předměstí kompletně vytvořené jedním mužem a jednou firmou. Jsou zde jasně popsány inovace, které přinesl i problémy, kterým čelil. Kapitola dvanáctá se taktéž zabývá především technickým zajištěním stavby domů. Přístroje, materiály a metody se neustále zlepšovaly a firmy zabývající se výstavbou domů musely držet krok. Začala masová výroba domů. Kvůli zefektivnění práce se pochopitelně nedalo vyhovět konkrétním přáním zákazníka, takže firmy vytvořily několik modelů domů, z nichž si každý mohl zvolit ten, který si nechá postavit. To přineslo pozitivní důsledky. Zefektivnění práce znamenalo nižší náklady na výstavbu. Nižší náklady na výstavbu znamenaly i nižší prodejní cenu, takže si i méně majetní lidé mohli dovolit bydlet ve vlastním domě. Zde spatřujeme jeden z důvodů, které způsobily, že předměstí začala vypadat stejně. Stejně domy, stejné materiály, stejný design zahrad. Prvotní různorodost byla vytlačena stereotypem a jednotností. Masová výroba těchto domů učinila z několika korporací milionové byznysy. Vznikala předměstí, kde všechny domy vypadaly stejně. Z počátku v tom nikdo neviděl problém. Malou odbočkou a výjimkou je kapitola třináctá, která nastiňuje, že i přes masovou výrobu domů, existovala skupina

lidí, kterým korporátní návrhy a architekti nevyhovovaly nebo na ně prostě neměli dostatečné finanční prostředky. Pochopitelně byli tito lidé v menšině. Rozhodli se postavit si svoje domy, postupně, dle jejich finančních možností. Faktem zůstává, že politika země i jednotlivých úřadu byla v této situaci značně příznivá. Lidé si mohli sami vybrat a koupit materiál a na neobornou práci, kterou mohli zvládnout sami, existovaly školení a přesné návody. I tak je třeba doplnit, že i na ně se vztahovaly jasné kvóty domů, takže ve finále se domy nijak radikálně neodlišovaly od ostatních. Ve čtrnácté a patnácté kapitole jsou analyzovány dopady zásahu státu do územního plánování, výstavby domů a financování. Jedním z nich bylo vymizení jednoho druhu předměstí. Navazující kapitola se věnuje především lidem žijícím v předměstských částech a jejich pohledu na život tam. Vlastnictví domu bylo jedním z hlavních faktorů, které vedly ke vzniku předměstí. Lidé nasedli do auta a jeli směrem od města tak daleko, dokud nenašli pozemek, který si mohli dovolit. Mít vlastní dům bylo pro mnohé životní cíl. Rodiče chtěli dětem nejen poskytnout vhodné prostředí k životu, ale také jim zanechat něco hmatatelného. Vlastnictví domu také poskytovalo jistou stabilitu a pocit bezpečí a jistoty. To byl alespoň pohled první generace. Druhá generace už se ovšem soustředila na jiné aspekty života, což popisuje kapitola poslední. Jedná se o vznik konzumní materialisticky založené společnosti. Lidé trávili dny v obchodních centrech a předháněli se v tom, kdo bude mít hezčí terasu, novější auto nebo vybavenější dům. Konzumerismus se stal symbolem mnoha předměstských částí.

Konzumerismus lze považovat za negativní efekt předměstí na celou společnost. Negativnímu dopadu předměstí na společnost se věnuje kapitola poslední. Ačkoliv hlavním cílem mnoha lidí byl spokojený rodinný život v čistém, zdravém prostředí uprostřed nádherné přírody, kde si děti mohou hrát na ulicích a rodiče pořádat zahradní párty, předměstský rozvoj přinesl mnohá negativa. První dvě části této kapitoly pojednávají o rodině a roli muže a ženy v ní. Předměstí byly navržena pro klasický vzor rodiny – rodiče a děti. Jednotvárnost, stereotyp, uvězněnost a paradoxně stísněnost byly jedni ze spouštěčů pocitu izolace, kterým trpěli nejen ženy, ale i muži. Klasické rozdělení rolí, kdy muž zajišťoval rodinu po finanční stránce, a žena zajišťovala chod domácnosti, péči o děti a vztahy se sousedy, se ukázalo jako nevyhovující. Vznikl tak totiž nepřírozený matriarchát, kdy otec trávil většinu času v práci, a matka se starala o vše ostatní. Muž se cítil izolován i od dětí, které trávily mnohem více času s matkou. Na druhou stranu ženinou vizitkou byly brilantně zvládnutý chod domácnosti a naklizený

dům. Zanedlouho je však péče o dům a o děti přestala uspokojovat a ženy si uvědomily, že jsou na předměstích prakticky uvězněné. Většinou vlastnila rodina pouze jedno auto a to potřeboval muž pro cestu do práce. Okrajové oblasti nebyly obsluhovány městskou hromadnou dopravou, takže ženy mnohdy ani neměly možnost přijít do kontaktu s jinými lidmi krom dětí a sousedů. Osamocení v nich vyvolávalo pocit zbytečnosti. Tento fenomén nebyl záležitostí pouze Kanady, ale prakticky každé předměstské oblasti včetně Spojených Států, kde ženy, hospodyně, našly zastání ve feministickém hnutí v čele s Betty Friedan. Život na předměstí byl tedy pro mnohé obyvatele rozčarováním. Bohužel jim finanční situace nedovolila změnu, takže pocity frustrace a izolace mnohdy vedly k závažným problémům.

Poslední část se odlišuje od celku tím, že nepojednává o sociálních dopadech života na předměstí, ale o zdravotních a globálních dopadech. Vynález automobilu byl bezesporu milníkem v dějinách lidstva a faktorem, který přispěl k rozvoji předměstí. Nicméně s rostoucím počtem automobilů, roste i množství škodlivin v ovzduší, a to jednak ničí přírodu, kvůli které se lidé na předměstí stěhovali, ale také to způsobuje závažné zdravotní potíže.

Tato práce analyzuje kulturu předměstí komplexně, ze statistického, historického i sociálního pohledu. Bylo prokázáno, že ač je Kanada považována za progresivní a různorodou zemi, minimálně dvě třetiny jejího obyvatelstva dává přednost životu v předměstských částech. Ač se předměstí může jevit jako zlatá střední cesta mezi rušným městem a tichým venkovem, nemusí tomu tak vždy být. To ostatně dokazují negativní dopady, které předměstský rozvoj má.

Bibliography

- Bain, Alison L. *Creative Margins: Cultural Production in Canadian Suburbs*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.
- De Beauvoir, Simone. *The Second Sex*. Translated by Howard Madison Parshley. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976.
- Fiedler, Rob, and Jean-Paul Addie. *Canadian Cities on the Edge: Reassessing the Canadian Suburb*. The City Institute at York University (CITY), 2008.
- Friedan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York: Dell, 1970.
- Gordon, David L. A., and Isaac Shirokoff. *Suburban Nation? Population Growth in Canadian Suburbs, 2006-2011*. School of Urban and Regional Planning, Queen's University, 2014.
- Gordon, David L. A., and Mark Janzen. *Suburban Nation? Estimating the Size of Canada's Suburbia Population*. Chicago: Locke Science Publishing Company, Inc., 2013.
- Harris, Richard. *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban, 1900–1960*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- Harris, Richard. *Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy, 1900–1950*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Iverson, Douglas, and Justin D. Edwards. *Downtown Canada: Writing Canadian Cities*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.
- Keil, Roger. *Suburban Constellations: Governance, Land and Infrastructure in the 21st Century*. Berlin: Jovis Publishers, 2013.
- Sewell, John. *Understanding Toronto's Sprawl*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.

Statistics Canada. *Approximately 52.6 million Canadians in 2061*. Ottawa. Last modified June 19, 2014. Accessed August 4, 2015. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-003-x/2014001/section01/01-eng.htm>.

Statistics Canada. *Canada goes urban*. Ottawa. Last modified August 4, 2015. Accessed August 4, 2015. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-630-x/11-630-x2015004-eng.htm>.

Statistics Canada. *Canada's population estimates, first quarter 2015*. Ottawa. Last modified June 25, 2015. Accessed July 15, 2015. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/150617/dq150617c-eng.htm>.

Statistics Canada. *Distribution of population by type of neighbourhood*. Ottawa. Last modified November 21, 2008. Accessed June 15, 2015. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-008-x/2008001/t/10459/4097957-eng.htm#footnote1>.

Statistics Canada. *Migratory increase is the main source of Canada's population growth*. Ottawa. Last modified June 19, 2014. Accessed August 4, 2015. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-003-x/2014001/section01/03-eng.htm>.

Statistics Canada. *Motor vehicle registrations, by province and territory*. Ottawa. Last modified June 29, 2015. Accessed August 1, 2015. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/trade14a-eng.htm>.

Statistics Canada. *Population and dwelling counts, for census metropolitan area and census agglomerations, 2011 and 2006 censuses*. Ottawa. Last modified April 17, 2015. Accessed July 17, 2015. <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/hlt-fst/pd-pl/Table-Tableau.cfm?LANG=Eng&T=101&S=50&O=A>

Statistics Canada. *Population by year, by province and territory*. Ottawa. Last modified September 26, 2014. Accessed June 15, 2015.

Statistics Canada. *Population Projections for Canada (2013 to 2063), Provinces and Territories (2013 to 2038)*. Catalogue no. 91-520-X. Ottawa. Last modified May 26, 2015. Accessed July 15, 2015. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-520-x/2014001/hi-fs-eng.htm>.

Statistics Canada. *The city/suburb contrast: How can we measure it?* Catalogue no. 11-008-XWE. Ottawa. Last modified April 23, 2014. Accessed June 20, 2015.
<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-008-x/2008001/article/10459-eng.htm#2>.

The Health Impacts of Urban Sprawl Information Series: *Air Pollution*. Ontario College of Family Physicians, 2005.

Wikipedia contributors, "List of countries and dependencies by area," *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*,
https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=List_of_countries_and_dependencies_by_area&oldid=674076538 (accessed August 4, 2015).

Appendices

Appendix 1 – Canada Relief – a map



Source: Natural Resources Canada – Reference Maps. “Canada Relief”. Last modified February 11, 2015. Accessed June 25, 2015. <http://www.nrcan.gc.ca/earth-sciences/geography/atlas-canada/reference-maps/16846#canada>.

Appendix 2: Canada Political Divisions – a map



Source: Natural Resources Canada - Reference Maps. "Canada Political Divisions".

Last modified February 11, 2015. Accessed June 25, 2015.

<http://www.nrcan.gc.ca/earth-sciences/geography/atlas-canada/reference-maps/16846>.

Appendix 3: Population and dwelling counts, for Canada, provinces and territories, 2011 and 2006 censuses – a table

Geographic name	Population 2006	Population 2011	% Change	Population density per square km 2011	Estimates of population April 1, 2015
Canada	31,612,897	33,476,688	5.9	3.7	35,749,600
Newfoundland and Labrador	505,469	514,536	1.8	1.4	525,756
Prince Edward Island	135,851	140,204	3.2	24.7	146,293
Nova Scotia	913,462	921,727	0.9	17.4	942,926
New Brunswick	729,997	751,171	2.9	10.5	753,319
Quebec	7,546,131	7,903,001	4.7	5.8	8,245,470
Ontario	12,160,282	12,851,821	5.7	14.1	13,750,073
Manitoba	1,148,401	1,208,268	5.2	2.2	1,292,151
Saskatchewan	968,157	1,033,381	6.7	1.8	1,134,402
Alberta	3,290,350	3,645,257	10.8	5.7	4,175,409
British Columbia	4,113,487	4,400,057	7.0	4.8	4,666,892
Yukon	30,372	33,897	11.6	0.1	36,789
Northwest Territories	41,464	41,462	0.0	0.0	43,234
Nunavut	29,474	31,906	8.3	0.0	36,886

Source: Statistics Canada. “Population and dwelling counts, for Canada, provinces and territories, 2011 and 2006 censuses. Last modified April 17, 2015. Accessed April 25, 2015. <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/hlt-fst/pd-pl/Table-tableau.cfm?LANG=Eng&T=101&S=50&O=A>.

Source: Statistics Canada. “Estimates of population, Canada, provinces and territories, quarterly (persons). Last modified June 17, 2015. Accessed July 25, 2015. <http://www5.statcan.gc.ca/cansim/a26?lang=eng&id=510005>.

Appendix 4: Population and dwelling counts, for Canada and census subdivisions (municipalities), 2011 and 2006 censuses – a table

Geographic name	Population 2006	Population 2011	Change %	Population density per square km 2011	CSD national population rank 2011
Canada	31,612,897	33,476,688	5.9	3.7	
Toronto (Ont.)	2,503,281	2,615,060	4.5	4,149.5	1
Montréal (Que.)	1,620,693	1,649,519	1.8	4,517.6	2
Calgary (Alta.)	988,812	1,096,833	10.9	1,329.0	3
Ottawa (Ont.)	812,129	883,391	8.8	316.6	4
Edmonton (Alta.)	730,372	812,201	11.2	1,186.8	5
Mississauga (Ont.)	668,599	713,443	6.7	2,439.9	6
Winnipeg (Man.)	633,451	663,617	4.8	1,430.0	7
Vancouver (B.C.)	578,041	603,502	4.4	5,249.1	8
Brampton (Ont.)	433,806	523,911	20.8	1,967.1	9
Hamilton (Ont.)	504,559	519,949	3.1	465.4	10
Québec (Que.)	491,142	516,622	5.2	1,137.7	11
Surrey (B.C.)	394,976	468,251	18.6	1,479.9	12
Laval (Que.)	368,709	401,553	8.9	1,625.1	13
Halifax (N.S.)	372,679	390,096	4.7	71.1	14
London (Ont.)	352,395	366,151	3.9	870.6	15
Markham (Ont.)	261,573	301,709	15.3	1,419.3	16

Source: Statistics Canada. “Population and dwelling counts, for Canada and census subdivisions (municipalities), 2011 and 2006 censuses.” Last modified April 17, 2015. Accessed July 10, 2015. <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/hlt-fst/pd-pl/Table-Tableau.cfm?LANG=Eng&T=301&S=3&O=D>.

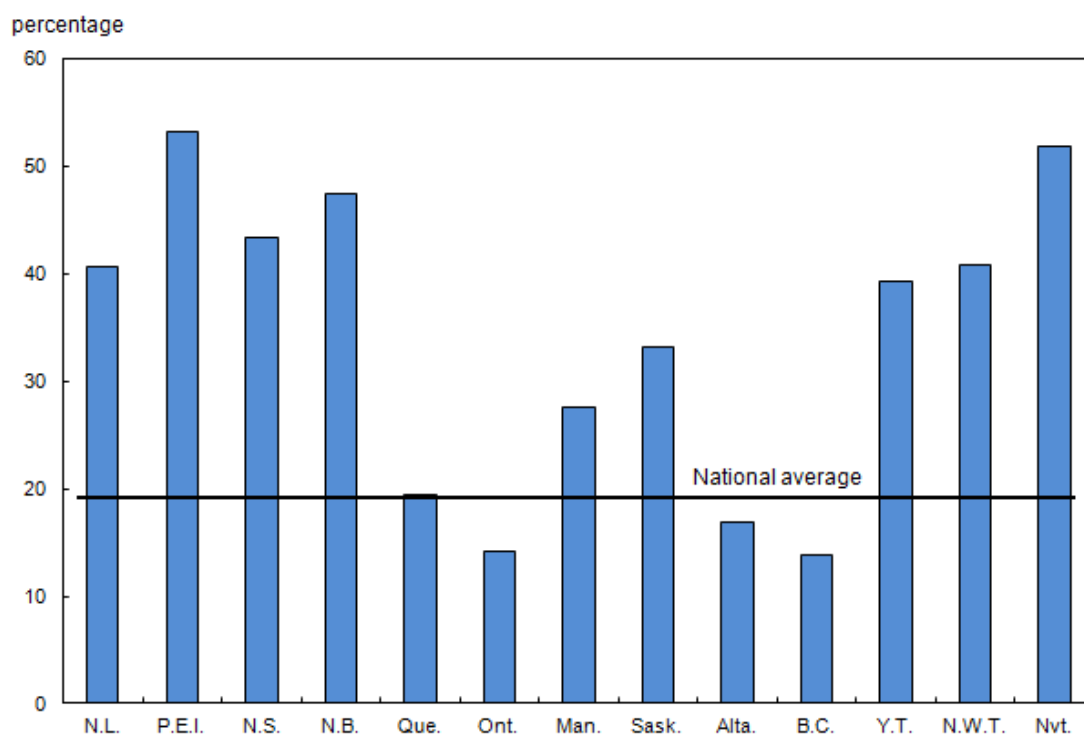
Appendix 5: Urban and rural population of Canada from 1851 to 2011 – a table

year	population	urban	rural	urban %	rural %
2011	33,476,688	27,147,274	6,329,414	81	19
2006	31,612,897	25,350,743	6,262,154	80	20
2001	30,007,094	23,908,211	6,098,883	80	20
1996	28,846,758	22,461,207	6,385,551	78	22
1991	27,296,856	20,906,872	6,389,984	77	23
1986	25,309,330	19,352,080	5,957,250	76	24
1981	24,343,177	18,435,923	5,907,254	76	24
1976	22,992,595	17,366,970	5,625,625	76	24
1971	21,568,305	16,410,785	5,157,520	76	24
1966	20,014,880	14,726,759	5,288,121	74	26
1961	18,238,247	12,700,390	5,537,857	70	30
1956	16,080,791	10,714,855	5,365,936	67	33
1951	14,009,429	8,628,253	5,381,176	62	38
1941	11,506,655	6,252,416	5,254,239	54	46
1931	10,376,379	5,572,058	4,804,321	54	46
1921	8,800,249	4,353,428	4,446,821	49	51
1911	7,221,662	3,276,812	3,944,850	45	55
1901	5,418,663	2,023,364	3,395,299	37	63
1891	4,932,206	1,537,098	3,395,108	31	69
1881	4,381,256	1,109,507	3,271,749	25	75
1871	3,737,257	722,343	3,014,914	19	81
1861	3,229,633	527,220	2,702,413	16	84
1851	2,436,297	318,079	2,118,218	13	87

Source: Statistics Canada. “Population, urban and rural, by province and territory, (Canada).” Last modified February 4, 2011. Accessed February 12, 2015.

<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo62a-eng.htm>.

Appendix 6: Proportion of the population living in rural areas, by province and territory, 2011



Newfoundland and Labrador	41%
Prince Edward Island	53%
Nova Scotia	43%
New Brunswick	48%
Quebec	19%
Ontario	14%
Manitoba	28%
Saskatchewan	33%
Alberta	17%
British Columbia	14%
Yukon	39%
Northwest Territories	41%
Nunavut	52%

Source: Statistics Canada. “Canada goes urban”. Last modified August 4, 2015. Accessed August 6, 2015. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-630-x/11-630-x2015004-eng.htm>.

Appendix 7: Distribution of population by type of neighbourhood, 2001 – a table

	All CMAs	Medium CMAs	Small CMAs
Density			
High	23	10	13
Medium	29	32	30
Low	48	59	58
Total	100	100	100
Distance from the city centre			
Less than 5 km	22	38	50
5 to 9 km	26	29	26
10 to 14 km	17	13	10
15 to 19 km	11	12	7
20 to 24 km	8	4	4
25 km or more	16	5	4
Total	100	100	100
Less than 5 km from city centre: central neighbourhoods			
High density	9	7	12
Medium density	8	17	21
Low density	5	13	17

	All CMAs	Medium CMAs	Small CMAs
5 to 9 km: first tier			
High density	7	2	0.3
Medium density	8	8	5
Low density	10	18	20
10 to 14 km: second tier			
High density	4	1	0.5
Medium density	4	2	2
Low density	9	10	8
15 to 19 km: third tier			
High and medium density	5	2	1
Low density	6	9	6
20 km and more: fourth tier			
High and medium density	7	1	0.2
Low density	18	8	7
Total	100	100	100

	Toronto	Montréal	Vancouver	Ottawa	Calgary	Edmonton	Québec	Winnipeg
Density								
High	23	47	25	22	6	12	30	10
Medium	31	19	38	37	27	30	24	26
Low	47	34	37	40	67	58	46	64
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Distance from city centre								
Less than 5 km	10	11	19	19	16	18	26	34
5 to 9 km	14	29	20	35	39	35	32	40
10 to 14 km	15	19	17	16	31	26	24	19
15 to 19 km	16	10	10	14	7	3	12	1
20 to 24 km	13	12	15	4	1	3	3	2
25 km or more	32	19	19	11	5	15	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Less than 5 km from city centre: central neighbourhoods								
High density	6	10	10	11	5	8	20	7
Medium density	4	0.4	8	6	10	5	4	10
Low density	1	0.2	2	2	2	6	1	18
5 to 9 km: first tier								
High density	4	22	5	8	1	3	9	3
Medium	5	4	9	21	13	19	12	11

density								
Low density	4	2	6	7	25	14	12	26
10 to 14 km: second tier								
High density	5	11	4	3	0	2	1	0
Medium density	6	4	5	5	4	5	7	5
Low density	4	4	7	9	26	19	16	13
15 to 19 km: third tier								
High and medium density	10	5	6	5	0	0	0	0
Low density	6	5	4	9	7	3	12	1
20 km and more: fourth tier								
High and medium density	13	9	16	1	0	1	1	0
Low density	32	22	18	14	6	16	5	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Statistics Canada. "Table A.1 Distribution of the population, by type of neighbourhood, 2001". Last modified November 21, 2008. Accessed April 15, 2015. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-008-x/2008001/t/10459/4097957-eng.htm#footnote1>.

Appendix 8: Canadian Metropolitan Neighbourhood Population Distribution for 2006 and 2011 – a table

Canadian Metropolitan Neighbourhood Population Distribution for 2006 and 2011

	2006		2011		Population Growth 2006-2011	Population Growth Rate 2006-2011	Share of Population Growth (%) 2006-2011
	Population	%	Population	%			
Active Core	2,673,222	12.4%	2,762,618	3.3%	89,000	3.3%	5.6%
Transit Suburb	2,364,482	11.0%	2,433,320	2.9%	69,000	2.9%	4.3%
Auto Suburb	14,756,374	68.5%	16,033,565	8.7%	1,277,000	8.7%	80.1%
Exurban	1,717,229	8.0%	1,868,923	8.9%	152,000	8.9%	9.5%
TOTAL CMA	21,529,226	100.0	23,123,441	7.4%	1,594,000	7.4%	100%

Source: Gordon, David L. A., and Isaac Shirokoff. *Suburban Nation? Population Growth in Canadian Suburbs, 2006-2011*. School of Urban and Regional Planning, Queen's University, 2014.

Anotace

Příjmení a jméno: Turinská Vlasta

Katedra: Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky

Název práce: Kultura Předměstí v Kanadě

Vedoucí práce: Mgr. Jiří Flajšar, Ph.D.

Počet stran: 71

Počet příloh: 8

Klíčová slova

Kanada, předměstí, příměstí, kultura, geografie, město, vesnice, populace, hustota osídlení, geografický koncept, vývoj předměstí, doprava, izolace, rodina, role muže a ženy, znečištění, emise, stát

Anotace

Diplomová práce se zabývá kulturou předměstí v Kanadě. Teoretická část se zabývá demografickou analýzou země, oficiálními geografickými koncepty Kanady a hledá jednotnou definici předměstí jakožto značně rozšířeného fenoménu. Druhá část práce má ryze statistický charakter a zkoumá procentuální zastoupení obyvatel Kanady v různých částech na základě hustoty osídlení a vzdálenosti od centra. Třetí část práce poskytuje historický náhled do vývoje předměstí a života lidí v něm. Zabývá se taktéž otázkou zásahu státu do vývoje předměstí, financování a konstrukce domů. Poslední část se zabývá negativními vlivy, které jsou důsledkem předměstského růstu.

Synopsis

Surname and name: Turinská Vlasta

Department: Department of English and American Studies

Title of the thesis: Suburban Culture in Canada

Supervisor: Mgr. Jiří Flajšar, Ph.D.

Number of pages: 71

Number of enclosures: 8

Key words

Canada, sprawl, suburb, city, village, urban, rural, geographical concept, geography, settlement, population, density, distance, research, segregation, house, housing boom, financing, was, crisis, great depression, conformity, diversity, construction, consumerism, negative effect, isolation, role of men, role of women

Abstract

This diploma thesis deals with suburban culture in Canada. It provides theoretical, statistical, historical and social outlook on the development of suburbs. It analyzes the proportion of people living in urban, rural and suburban areas. The analysis focuses on the criteria of density of population and the distance from city centre. It also explains chronologically the development of suburban culture. The last chapter focuses on the negative effects of suburban culture upon society. These are isolation, shift in roles of men and women, consumerism and also pollution.