

**HOW NEWSPAPERS HAVE REPRESENTED THE SUBURBS OF
TORONTO AND HAMILTON SINCE 1990**

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ABSTRACT

Much has been written about the public image of the suburbs, however very few researchers have explored how they appear in the media. The purpose of this research is to determine how local newspapers have represented the suburbs of Toronto and Hamilton since 1990. The objective is to see whether there has been a historical shift in the balance between positive and negative images, and also in the themes associated with each. This has been done by examining articles from *The Toronto Star* and *The Hamilton Spectator*. Articles from 1990-2015 were extracted using the online database, *LexisNexis Academic*. These articles were then coded using a manual thematic coding scheme accounting for several factors including the type of article, section of the newspaper, front page material, centrality, valence, major themes, and neighbourhoods and regions being discussed. *NVivo* software for qualitative data analysis was used to understand and organize the abundance of unstructured data collected. As expected, the tone of coverage in both cities was generally negative, but varied between cities and changed over time as the mix of thematic concerns also changed.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
CHAPTER ONE: Introduction	9
CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review	13
The Character of Modern North American Suburbs since WWII	13
Suburban Portrayals in Academia and Popular Media	18
Suburbs in Popular Media.....	22
Local Newspapers as a Popular Medium.....	24
Media Framing.....	25
Framing the Suburbs	27
Canada’s Suburbs	30
CHAPTER THREE: Methodology	33
Toronto and Hamilton.....	33
Newspaper Publications.....	34
Data Collection	37
Content Analysis via Thematic Coding	38
NiVivo Software	38
Process	40
A Sampling Procedure	46
CHAPTER FOUR: Representation of the Suburbs in <i>The Hamilton Spectator</i> (1991-2015).....	48
Hamilton	48
Valence reported on the suburbs.....	53
Themes related to the suburbs.....	56
Reporting on Politics-Government and Amalgamation.....	59
Reporting on New Development-Growth-Sprawl	61
The Relationship between Valence and Themes	63
Politics and Amalgamation	64
New Development-Growth-Sprawl	65

Conclusion	74
CHAPTER FIVE: Representation of the Suburbs in <i>The Toronto Star</i> (1991-2015)	76
Toronto.....	76
Valence for the suburbs in general.....	82
Valence for the Inner Suburbs	84
Valence for the Outer Suburbs.....	87
Themes relating to the suburbs in general	88
Reporting on Politics-Government and Amalgamation.....	92
Reporting on major themes for the suburbs in general	93
Themes relating to the Inner Suburbs	95
Themes Relating to the Outer Suburbs	98
The Relationship between Valence and Themes	100
Inner Suburbs.....	102
Outer Suburbs	108
Conclusion	113
CHAPTER SIX: Conclusion.....	115
REFERENCES.....	123
Appendix 1: Toronto Coding Scheme	131
Appendix 2: Hamilton Coding Scheme	133
Appendix 3A: An example of Primary (Main Subject) Centrality	135
Appendix 3B: An example of Front Page News Story Displaying Section.....	137
Appendix 3C: An example of Positive Valence	138
Appendix 3D: An example of Neutral Valence and Location/Place	141
Appendix 3E: An example of Negative Valence	143
Appendix 3F: An example of Balanced Valence.....	145
Appendix 3G: An example of Themes-Environment-Sustainability and Transportation.....	146
Appendix 3H: An example of Themes-Politics-Government and Amalgamation	149
Appendix 3I: An example of Themes-Urban Sprawl and New Development.....	151
Appendix 4: Relationship among themes in <i>The Hamilton Spectator</i> (percentage distribution).	153
Appendix 5: Relationship among themes in <i>The Toronto Star</i> (percentage distribution)	155

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER THREE

Figure 1: Total daily newspaper paid circulation, and total households, Canada, 1995-2014.....	34
Figure 2: Weekly circulation at <i>The Hamilton Spectator</i> and <i>The Toronto Star</i> , 2007-15.....	35
Figure 3: The number of articles yielded and articles deemed as 'central'.....	41

CHAPTER FOUR

Figure 1: Communities in the New City of Hamilton	49
Figure 2: The valence of the suburbs, 1991-2015 using 4 year groupings.....	53
Figure 3: The top five themes associated with suburbs	55
Figure 4: The top five themes associated with suburbs (only Politics-Government and Amalgamation)	59
Figure 5: The top five themes associated with suburbs (Politics and Amalgamation omitted).....	61
Figure 6: The valence associated with the top eight themes.....	63

CHAPTER FIVE

Figure 1: Communities in the New City of Toronto.....	78
Figure 2: The valence of the suburbs in general, 1991-2015 using 4 year groupings.....	82
Figure 3: The valence of Toronto's inner suburbs within, 1991-2015 using 4 year groupings	84
Figure 4: The valence reported on Toronto's outer suburbs, 1991-2015 using 4 years groupings	86
Figure 5: The top five themes associated with the suburbs in general	88
Figure 6: Theme of Politics-Government and Amalgamation for suburbs in general, 1991-2015	91
Figure 7: The top five themes associated with the suburbs in general (Politics-Government omitted).....	93
Figure 8: The top five themes associated with Toronto's inner suburbs.....	95
Figure 9: The top five themes associated with Toronto's outer suburbs.....	98
Figure 10: Valence associated with top five themes for Toronto's inner suburbs.....	100
Figure 11: Valence associated with top five themes for Toronto's outer suburbs.....	108

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER FOUR

Table 1: Relationship among themes in <i>The Hamilton Spectator</i> (percentage distribution).....	57
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CHAPTER FIVE

Table 1: Relationship among themes in pertaining to the suburbs in general (percentage distribution).....	90
Table 2: Relationship among themes for Toronto's Inner Suburbs (percentage distribution).....	96
Table 3: Relationship among themes for Toronto's Outer Suburbs (percentage distribution).....	99

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Suburbs are something for which people have an intrinsic feel for yet what passes for them seems to vary from place to place and time to time. There is an abundance of literature on the concepts of suburbanization and suburban sprawl. Although most academic commentary on the suburbs has been critical, many people live in, and continue to live there. More Canadians live in suburban residential settings than in any other. They presumably think that the suburbs have some positive features. Most of these residents are not reading academic criticisms however, but instead are reading or watching media accounts. The question is what message are they getting? This is an important, and neglected question, which I try to answer here.

Research on media coverage of the suburbs has focused on popular media, highlighting the portrayal of the suburbs in film and television shows such as *Leave it to Beaver* (1957-1963) and *The Brady Bunch* (1969-1974). Despite being a major source of local news, newspapers have been neglected as a source in relation to the suburbs. Even those who have studied the newspaper representation the suburbs have used a narrow approach, simply focusing on a short time period, or only focusing on one particular theme. Although there is an abundance of information on the suburbs and on newspaper coverage, independently, minimal research has been conducted on the changing media coverage of the suburbs through time and what has been reported on them. The main objective of this study is to uncover how local newspapers have represented the suburbs

in their reports over the last two decades. A secondary objective is to see whether there has been a historical shift in media representation, focusing on newspapers in two cities, Toronto and Hamilton, Ontario. Furthermore, I hope to uncover both the positive and negative representations associated with suburban neighbourhoods in these two cities.

Although I could study the newspaper coverage of the suburbs in Hamilton and Toronto independently, the difference between the two cities allows for interesting points of comparison. Hamilton is smaller in size and all of its suburbs lie within the city limits. In contrast, the suburbs in Toronto are more complex. First, many of them lie beyond the city limits. Secondly, the social contrasts between Toronto's inner and outer suburbs are very different. These factors complicate the meaning of 'the suburbs' within Toronto and it is intriguing to see whether or not this has been reflected in the media's coverage of these zones.

For years, academics and professionals in a variety of fields have studied and reviewed the patterns of post war low density developments on the urban periphery. Within academia, there is no generally accepted definition of the term 'suburb', however, in general, three aspects have been emphasized by numerous academics: moderate residential density, urban fringe location and a high level of automobile use.

Suburbs emerged in the mid-eighteenth century as residential refuges for a new upper and middle class to escape the ill effects of urbanization such as noise, crime, pollution, immortality, and poverty. However it was in the 1950s that the suburban boom emerged, as federal money was placed into the suburban housing market, enabling more people than ever to become homeowners. Suburban development has been met with both

praise and criticisms. Supporters have represented it as a place of domesticity, of the home, a retreat and place of sanctuary. They also welcomed suburbs for their cleanliness, healthfulness, and beauty. For those who were fortunate enough to reside in them, the suburbs signalled economic prosperity due to new homes on larger lot sized with increased homeownership. Finally, their privacy and secure nature, removed from the city, made the suburbs become known as safe havens for nuclear families. Critics of the suburbs have focused on their homogenous nature and the ill effects of ‘sprawl’, a form of suburban development which is characterized by a lack of proximity to the urban core with the presence of big box stores, clogged highways and parking lots. These sprawling environments have been blamed for environmental degradation due to increased automobile use and the paving over prime agricultural land.

In this study, my approach is to answer three basic overarching questions: How have the suburbs been framed in local newspaper coverage? What is said in relation to the suburbs in local newspapers? And, has this coverage changed throughout time? Following the introductory chapter, this thesis is organized into five chapters. Chapter two surveys the relevant literature related to the character of the modern North American suburbs since WWII and how suburbs have been portrayed by academics, writers and in the popular media. It also examines newspapers as a news source and how Canadian suburbs, especially those in Toronto, have been portrayed within the media.

Chapter three outlines the methodology used for this research, including the process of article collection through LexisNexis, the utilization of NVivo coding software and the development of a coding scheme which highlights several key factors. These

include type of article, what section of the newspaper the article is in, whether or not it is a front page article, how central the subject of the suburbs are, and the neighbourhoods and regions discussed. Finally, the process of determining the valence and major themes of an article are framed, answering respectively, the major questions of how the suburbs are represented, and what is said about them.

Chapters four and five, respectively, outline how the suburbs have been represented within *The Hamilton Spectator* and *The Toronto Star* since the early 1990s. I consider their dominating valences, that is, whether viewed positively or negatively, and what themes have been associated with them in the newspaper. Finally, this thesis will conclude with a comparison of the two newspapers and a discussion of possible reasons for their similarities and differences in relation to how they have framed the suburbs in their reports. The conclusion also outlines suggestions for future research. It is hoped that the information gleaned from this thesis will produce a better understanding of how Canadian suburbs have been represented in local media and bring forth both the positive and negative portrayals of the suburbs.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Although some researchers have explored the ways in which suburbs have been represented in fiction and popular media, very few have studied the ways in which the suburbs have been presented in the news media, of which the two most important sources in the post war period have been television news and newspapers. My research looks at two local Canadian newspapers, *The Toronto Star* and *The Hamilton Spectator*, from 1991-2015 to explore whether the character of newspaper coverage varies according to the type of urban environment and also whether it has changed over time. In this chapter I will survey the relevant literature related to the character of the modern North American suburbs since WWII and how they have been portrayed by academics, writers and in the popular media. In addition it will explore newspapers as a news source, and the theory of framing within the media. Finally, the character and portrayal of Canadian suburbs will be examined, focusing specifically on the character of Toronto's suburbs. My approach is to provide a narrative between describing the suburbs changing character and how they have been portrayed in a variety of sources both academic and non-academic.

The Character of Modern North American Suburbs since WWII

There is a very large literature on suburbanization and suburban sprawl. For years, academics and professionals in a diversity of fields have studied and reviewed the patterns of post-war low-density development on the urban periphery. Before we examine academic and popular media's commentaries and critiques of suburbia, we must first

define relevant terms and outline a conceptual framework. What is a suburb? And what is meant by the more generic and relational terms suburbia, suburbs and sprawl? Within academia, there is no generally accepted definition of the term 'suburb'. Gans (1967) finds enduring differences between residential areas of cities and suburbs including: suburbs are more likely to be dormitories; they are usually further away from work and play facilities; they are less dense and built up, with single-family rather than multi-family structures; they are newer and more modern than inner residential areas and are designed for the automobile; their populations are more homogeneous; their populations differ demographically as they are younger, more are married, they have higher incomes, and they proportionally hold more white collar jobs (p.50). However, Gans was writing in 1967, and many changes have occurred since then. More recently, Harris (2015) identifies six criteria which make an urban environment suburban: low density developments of typically detached or semi-detached dwellings; location at or close to the urban fringe; high levels of homeownership; politically distinct; middle or upper middle class in nature; exclusively residential implying residents must commute to work from the suburbs (p.19). It should be noted that not all of these aspects need to be present for a place to be constituted as a suburb; further complicating how suburbs are defined. In general, three aspects are emphasized by both Gans (1967) and Harris (2015): moderate residential density, urban fringe location and a high level of automobile use.

The issue of defining suburbs is further complicated by the fact that nations have not only developed different types of suburbs but they have also conceived them in different ways (Harris, 2014). In the United States, a suburb is politically distinct; under

the US Constitution, no higher level of government can abolish or merge municipalities without their permission (Harris, 2015). In Spanish and Italian speaking countries ‘suburbio’ does not represent prestige and in France ‘les banlieues’ are stigmatized (Harris, 2015). Finally, China does not have a precise equivalent to suburbs and India lacks a generic term (Harris, 2015). Although in some sense suburbs exist everywhere, they are defined and understood variously. For this paper, the evolving North American popular image of the suburbs will be discussed.

The definition of suburban development is further complicated with the emergence of the term “sprawl”. Sprawl is a type of suburban development. Early use of the term suggested that it is the consumption of excessive space in an uncontrolled, disorderly manner which leads to a loss of open space (Bekele, 2005, p.5). As a result, sprawl leads to a high demand for transportation and social segregation (Bekele, 2005, p.5). This definition has not changed much throughout time. It is defined as patterns of land use in an urbanized area that exhibit low levels of: density, continuity, concentration, compactness, centrality, nuclearity, and diversity (Bekele, 2005, p. 7). It is characterized by a lack of proximity to the urban core and the development of big box stores, office units, warehouses, parking lots, an abundance of billboards and highways clogged with cars (Bekele, 2005).

In general, the definitions of suburbanization and sprawl both emphasize low-density development at or near the urban fringe with increasing reliance on the automobile. As a result the terms are often used synonymously. Blais (2011) argues suburbanization is a response to accommodate a growing population but sprawl is an

excessive form of growth (p.77). She states that "...it is possible to have suburbanization and decentralization without sprawl-that is, it is possible to have a right amount of suburbanization" (p.77). This differs from the idea that all suburbanization is sprawl. The biggest difference between suburbanization and sprawl is the market forces which shape them. Suburbanization is the result of the market responding effectively to natural forces whereas sprawl is a result of market failure (Blais, 2011, p.77). Blais (2011) defines 'failure' as the allocation of resources in an undesirable manner (p.77). Therefore the difference between these terms is that sprawl is seen as a forced process which is undesirable due to excessive growth whereas suburbanization is viewed as a natural process. Although used synonymously, suburbanization and sprawl do not always occur simultaneously.

The modern roots of suburbs date to the mid-eighteenth century (Nicolaidis & Wiese, 2006). In Great Britain and later the United States, suburbs emerged as residential refuges for an emerging upper and middle class, a place where they could escape the ill effects of urbanization and capitalism such as noise, crime, pollution, factories, immorality, poverty and the mass working class (Nicolaidis & Wiese, 2006, p.2). These suburbs were designed to be harmonious with nature, with curved roads, spacious parks and numerous properties without fences (Nicolaidis & Wiese, 2006). Residents of these early communities were very class conscious; their surroundings directly expressed their self-image as the respectable bourgeoisie (Nicolaidis & Wiese, 2006, p.2). In North America, suburban history shifted profoundly in the 1930s due to the efforts of a growing federal government. New Deal housing programs put federal money into the suburban

housing market, enabling more Americans than ever to become homeowners, leading to the suburban boom of the postwar era (Nicolaidis & Wiese, 2006). Clapson (2003) finds for the United States a three-fold suburban typology has been used to understand suburbs. First, that the suburbs are residential areas, most closely identified with the middle class. The second classification of the suburbs is that homeownership is the norm. Thirdly, houses in these areas are often large and detached from one another (Clapson, 2003).

Academics have told us a great deal about the character of modern American suburbs. They have shown that by the 1940s through the 1960s, optimism about the city began to turn into pessimism as millions of people flocked to the suburbs (Nicolaidis, 2006). Cities were no longer seen as centres of growth but rather as places of urban crisis and the suburbs were seen as their destroyer (Nicolaidis, 2006). Because only those who could afford homes could live in the suburbs they became known to cater to the upper or middle classes. Minorities were largely invisible in the suburbs (Clapson, 2003). State policy contributed to the creation of racial categories by defining white suburbs as ‘good’ and minority neighbourhoods as ‘bad’. These labels not only enforced existing patterns of racial segregation but extended them into the future (Nicolaidis & Wiese, 2006). Differences in socio-economic circumstances have resulted in differing suburban experiences; while some see prosperity, others see deteriorating housing and poorer services. Until the 1970s, many immigrants settled in the inner city; however, in some cities, gentrification has changed those enclaves and has forced newcomers to look elsewhere for housing (Harris, 2014).

In addition, in the 1970s the family itself was undergoing massive changes as more women were entering the paid workforce and the arrangement of families began to evolve (Davison, 2013). Suburbanites now include a wide range of residents including young people, one-parent families, empty nesters, retirees and gays and lesbians. The stereotypical white, nuclear family has become the minority (Nicolaidis & Wiese, 2006). Furthermore, civil rights- inspired gains have diversified the ethnic makeup of the suburbs (Nicolaidis & Wiese, 2006). In the United States, black suburbanites rose in number from 3.5 million to 12 million from 1970 to 2000 (Nicolaidis & Wiese, 2006). Of the 35 million Latinos in America, 54 percent live in the suburbs and 58 percent of Asian Americans also reside there (Nicolaidis & Wiese, 2006). The suburbs are now more diverse than ever. Although diversity is present within the suburbs, the distinctions between the inner and outer suburbs as well as gentrification have led the way for a new image of suburbs as sites of poverty and crime.

As urban functions have expanded, the old distinctions between urban, suburban and rural have been blurred. Today, many inner suburbs look and feel like communities within the central city; suburbs have become more diverse and heterogeneous than ever (Bruegmann, 2006, p.58). Gentrification, condominium development and longer commutes have brought affluence back into the inner city and as a result rates of suburban sprawl have decreased (Bruegmann, 2006, p.56, 60).

Suburban Portrayals in Academia and Popular Media

The suburbs of the 1950s were represented as places of domesticity, of the home, which was visualized as a fortress, a retreat and a place of sanctuary (Davison, 2013).

They were also pictured as places of cleanliness and health, free from issues of crime and despair as witnessed in the denser city landscape (Davison, 2013). The urban periphery was furthermore seen as a place of beauty or at least comfort. New homes on larger lot sizes mixed with increased homeownership signalled economic prosperity for those who were fortunate enough to reside in them (Nicolaidis & Wiese, 2006). Finally, due to their perceived private and safe features as well as the abundance of single-family detached houses within them, the suburbs were portrayed as a safe haven for nuclear families to reside (Macek, 2008). Suburbs were pictured as enclaves of the middle class, an ideal most people were striving to attain (Macek, 2008).

When people left for the suburbs, they brought with them department stores, shops, retail outlets and entertainment districts, resulting in a wholesale collapse of the downtown district (Macek, 2008). Critics of the suburbs have viewed them as mass produced landscapes, a breeding ground for conformity, materialism, a blind embrace of corporate culture, excessive mobility and oppressive towards females (Nicolaidis & Wiese, 2006). Since the 1970s, suburbs have also been criticized for their tendency to be reliant on the automobile, leading to issues of pollution, and climate change (Clapson, 2003). Sprawl is often considered a damaging effect of low-density suburban developments. It has been blamed for destroying productive farmland and rural ways of life; for the loss of natural habitat; for air and water pollution; and for higher rates of death and injury on highways (Nicolaidis & Wise, 2006, p.470). The most severe environmental impacts occur due to high levels of automobile use. Increasing travel patterns generate higher levels of energy use and emissions resulting in air pollution,

smog and greenhouse gases linked to climate change (Nicolaidis & Wise, 2006, p.470). Furthermore, higher levels of obesity and increasing automobile accidents have been connected to sprawl.

Critics also blame sprawl for exacerbating segregation and social inequalities between older and newer parts of metropolis. As reliance on the automobile increases, those who are unable to afford these resources are left in the inner city where schools are closing, services are being relocated, housing is deteriorating and jobs are disappearing (Hayden, 2004, p.477). Sprawl intensifies the existing difficulties of class, race and gender through spatial separation. Before the 1960s, Clapson (2003) argues the American suburbs were criticized for being "... almost as wholly white, about as vanilla as it was possible... (p.6). In response to the aesthetic deficiencies of sprawl, individuals since the 1970s have gathered under the banner of New Urbanism. Those in support of New Urbanism call for denser neighbourhoods, more mixed in use, less automobile dependency and more conducive to neighbourly interactions (Bruegmann, 2006). This form of development has struck a chord with architects, planners, and at least some urban residents.

Although the literature on sprawl frequently emphasizes the negatives, sprawl is not always seen as harmful. Its advocates often see it as a form of economic vitality and not as an ecological threat. Sprawl provides larger lot sizes, a wider range of choices in regards to services and tax levels and it reflects consumer preferences for low density living (Blais, 2011, p.39). Furthermore, because land on the periphery is cheaper, sprawl

is seen as a positive factor in keep land prices down, thereby supporting homeownership and business competitiveness (Blais, 2011, p.38).

Robert Bruegmann (2006) argues there are reasons to question the negative side effects of sprawl. Often the savings in halting sprawl are outweighed by inconvenience costs. It can be less costly to construct a new building than to renovate existing ones as extensive improvements are often necessary to meet current expectations (Bruegmann, 2006, p.139). In addition, the development of new highways reduces the time lost by citizens sitting in traffic (Bruegmann, 2006, p.139). Protecting farmland can further increase the cost of urban land due to increasing competitiveness (Bruegmann, 2006, p. 142). The notion that sprawl increases congestion and creates longer commuting trips is sometimes difficult to argue as the decentralization of residences has been accompanied by a decentralization of jobs. Arguably, the comfort and convenience of the automobile, has made it a preferred choice of transportation and even in extremely dense areas automobile use is high (Bruegmann, 2006, p.141).

Although Bruegmann (2006) does challenge some of the negatives of urban sprawl he does not altogether support it. The benefits of sprawl tend to be more private, benefitting the homeowners, whereas the costs tend to be more public, affecting the greater society. Sprawl does not necessarily reflect society's preferences for low density living but rather reflects residents personal choices for cheaper land.

The increased diversification of suburbia has led many scholars to conclude that the classic era of suburbia has ended (Nicolaidis & Wiese, 2006). Although rates of suburbanization have decreased and the inner city has become more affluent, Kotkin

(2011) reports young people in America are still moving towards suburban locations. He argues although city centers may appeal to the young and unattached they cannot hold on to them forever. He finds that those looking to settle down are attracted to single-family homes and consider suburbs to be the ideal place to live. Kotkin may be right in assuming that young people are attracted to this supposedly quieter ‘suburban way of life’; however other scholars would argue price is the major pull factor. Nicolaides and Wiese (2006) contend that Americans live suburban lives which bear little resemblance some of the stereotypes and portrayals of them. As a result, the myth of suburbia continues to resonate in the popular imagination although it holds little truth (Nicolaides & Wiese, 2006, p.7).

The distinction between the classic suburb and the urban centre has been disappearing. While some academics and researchers argue the term suburb should be abandoned, most still use it but recognize its complexity. In particular, much commentary on the suburbs now distinguishes the inner and outer versions of them (Harris, 2014).

Suburbs in Popular Media

Many of the criticisms that academics have propelled at the suburbs have dominated the popular media, as two recent surveys show. Both Beuka (2004) and Huq (2013) have explored the ways in which suburbs have been represented in fiction and popular media, notably movies and television programs. Beuka (2004) had argued that changes in suburban representation in film and television can be tracked from the innocence of suburbia of the all-American good life in the 1950s to their more recent portrayal as a shopping mall-dominated territory from the 1980s onwards. In the early

postwar decades, television shows such as *Leave it to Beaver* (1957-1963), *the Brady Bunch* (1969-1974), *Father Knows Best* (1954-1960), and *The Donna Reed Show* (1958-1966) provided American culture with what would become an enduring vision of suburbia; centered on harmonious families and community life (Beuka, 2004). In contrast, rejection of suburban values began to dominate film and television screens in the 1970s. These films represented an increasingly complex vision of life in the suburbs as the century progressed (Beuka, 2004). As Huq (2013) has suggested, movies such as *The Graduate* (1967), *Ferris Bueller's Day Off* (1986), and *Donnie Darko* (2001) are about youth rejecting the suburban idyll despite their parents buying into the American dream. Films such as *American Beauty* (1999) and *Happiness* (1998) uncovered the dark side of what goes on behind closed doors in an apparently unthreatening suburban street. They highlight the uncomfortable side of life in the comfortable suburbs (Huq, 2013). Finally, the film *Edward Scissorhands* (1990) exposed the consequences of not conforming to suburban values, and also the indifference and hostility present in these idyllic settings. Television shows such as *The Simpsons* (1989-2017) and *Roseanne* (1988-1997) explored the idea of suburban disorder rarely seen on screen. Both shows demonstrated the money troubles, annoying neighbours, messy houses, overweight parents and trouble-making children in suburban settings. Within film and television then, there is no longer a single suburban narrative. In both instances Beuka and Huq did not explain why they had selected those particular works for analysis, other than their popularity. This of course raises the question as to whether they chose works that simply fit their arguments. That said, it would be very difficult to produce a random sample of

novels and films as sources. By comparison with movies and television, newspapers have been neglected. Some authors make use of the occasional story to make a point but no systematic survey has been undertaken, hence the value of this study.

Local Newspapers as a Popular Medium

The strengths and limitations of news media as a source of information about popular values are widely appreciated. Local newspapers have played a key role in linking urban residents together; they are still a main channel through which political, economic and social information is shared, from the local to the national. They are a major channel through which names and meanings circulate (Harris & Vorms, 2017). They are advertising vehicles; places where residents see and hear about events in surrounding areas such as crime, riots, or demonstrations; and they are where residents can read about municipal plans (Lindgren, 2011). Newspapers are therefore not merely profitable ventures for utility purposes, they are, or certainly used to be, essential for civic life (Dornan, 2003). Newspapers link urban residents together in one public arena of information.

Newspapers need to be able to communicate in a language which attracts readers and does not alienate them. If the public perception of an area is negative, so too probably will be the media's representation of it; if circumstances and understandings change, so too should newspapers coverage (Harris & Vorms, 2017). However, newspapers do more than just reflect the opinions of their readership. They have their own editorial and institutional biases which are transmitted onto the pages of their articles (Harris & Vorms, 2017.). Reporters, editors and owners may be more sympathetic to certain groups

and areas than others which in turn shape how they report on these areas (Harris & Vorms, 2017).

Lindgren (2011) argues newspapers do more than just transmit facts, they construct a reality. Apart from biases, owners or columnists may wish to push a particular point of view (Harris & Vorms, 2017). Local columnists are more likely to accentuate the positive aspects of their hometown or the neighbourhood they live in, matching the views of municipalities and developers (Harris & Vorms, 2017). Newspapers play a large role in deciding not only *what* is important to cover on but also *how*, potentially influencing the public's opinion.

Media Framing

Media framing is a useful way of thinking about news media, which includes televised news and newspapers. It describes the way in which information is presented to an audience, potentially influencing their opinions (Cissel, 2012). Goffman was the first to concentrate on framing as a form of communication (Cissel, 2012). He defined it as an organized thought of interpretation which enables individuals to perceive, identify and label occurrences or life experiences (Cissel, 2012). Robert Entman (2004) defined framing as “selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues and making connections among them as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation and/or solution” (p.5). Although frames influence what individuals see and interpret, they belong to a taken-for-granted world of policy making. Individuals are usually unaware of their role in organizing society's actions, thoughts and perceptions (Schon & Rein, 1994). Today, mass media frames and constructs social reality. In essence, framing theory

suggest how the manner in which something is presented to an audience influences the choices people make. Framing is tied closely to agenda-setting theory. Both theories focus on how media draws the attention of the public to a specific topic by setting an agenda. However framing theory goes a step further by looking at how this information is portrayed to the audience through a frame (Cissel, 2012).

Techniques are put into practice by both individual news reporters and larger corporations to frame a particular issue or event. Everything from where a story is located within the newspaper to photographs says something about the story. Feature stories, for example, imply that the people and places reported on are of significance. Frames which use more terms which culturally resonate have the greatest potential for influence (Entman, 2004). This is why news media are often a reliable guide to the values of their viewers or readers. They utilize the tools which will resonate with their audience because if they do not they risk losing business. These frames use words and images which are noticeable, understandable, memorable, and emotionally charged (Entman, 2004). Magnitude also increases the prominence of framing words and images (Entman, 2004). The more resonance and magnitude, the more likely the framing will evoke similar thoughts and feelings in large portions of the audience. A dominant frame within the earliest news coverage of an event has the potential to guide how future reports are felt and perceived by an individual (Entman, 2004). First impressions of an issue can be difficult to remove from a reader's mind. In designing their newspapers, editors, journalists and owners play a large role in deciding what is significant and important, in turn sending this message to their readership.

Advertisers have historically played a large role in the framing process within local newspapers. In the case of the suburbs, before land developers began to make their own websites, they relied heavily on newspapers to market new subdivisions; their advertisements were a major source of revenue for newspapers (Harris & Vorms, 2017). As a result, many new subdivisions were represented positively within the local newspaper (Harris & Vorms, 2017.). Other businesses have followed a similar trajectory as well in trying to target higher class consumers; minority groups, and especially those with low incomes, who are not of interest to advertisers are often underrepresented in the news (Buchanan, 2014).

Framing the Suburbs

In regards to the suburbs, some academics have shown that the urban periphery has been framed both negatively and positively in local newspapers (Harris, 2014; Schafran, 2013). Negative newspaper depictions have commented on both the conformity and homogeneity of past suburbs while recent depictions have focused on the crime and poverty within the inner suburbs with the rise of the critical term ‘slumburbia’. In contrast, positive frames have contrasted the safety and security of the outer suburbs with the dangerous, crime ridden streets of the inner city. Within this positive frame, the suburbs are idealized as a safe haven to reside.

Although the suburb was conceived as a refuge away from the negative aspects of the city, cultural depictions of suburbia often portray it as a place to escape from (Huq, 2013). Many commentators were guilty of showing a stereotypical tract of the suburbs as places of conformity with a lack of variety. In recent decades, inner-city gentrification

has been a notable socio-economic and culture process which has led to shifting perceptions of what the form and function of the suburb is, and a mismatch between what the suburbs were meant to be and what they became (Huq, 2013). The displacement of lower income individuals into the inner suburbs has overthrown the old stereotype that the suburbs are places of extreme conformity with little diversity. Those reading the newspaper now, are more likely to hear reports of poverty and crime in and around the inner suburbs. Alex Schafran (2013) used Lexis Nexis and Access World News to search for all appearances of ‘slumburbia’, ‘suburban slum’, ‘suburban blight’ and their grammatical variants in different U.S newspapers and magazines. Although the odd references were noted in the 1990s, almost all of his research focused the period since 2008. He then categorized and coded these searches according to source type, geography, tone, internal links to other articles in the collection and references to policy and academic literature (Schafran, 2013). He found a rise in the term ‘slumburbia’ within the media’s discourse. He argued that labelling these neighbourhoods as ‘slums’ roots the reader’s imagination of a problem in a specific geography (Schafran. 2013). The term ‘slum’ directly and indirectly produces and reproduces stigmas, prejudice and fears of society (Schafran, 2013). He argues that a new, stereotypical, depiction of the inner suburbs has begun to emerge in the media, further affecting the public image of these areas. That said, Schafran’s approach differs from the present research in two ways. First, his focus was narrower as he was only interested in the class aspect of the suburbs. Secondly, his work is tendentious. Schafran was looking for specific terms, rather than taking an open-ended, inductive enquiry.

Defining what constitutes a suburb is made easier by reversing the question and seeing what it is not. The suburbs have numerous features which are contrasted with those of the inner city. Suburbs have always evoked the idea of safety and security whereas the inner city has been equated with risk and danger (Huq, 2013). Inner cities have often been seen as old and crumbling while suburbia is represented as new and improved development (Huq, 2013). Much of the construction of the suburbs as 'safe' enclaves has taken place in the newspaper, particularly in crime reports (Wallace, 2008). Suburbs have inherently been seen as peaceful and safe where incidents of crime are viewed as deviating from the norm. Examining crime stories from January 2002 to June 2007 in the nine states of the north eastern US. Wallace (2008) found within these newspaper reports on crime, distance from the nearest big city is always highlighted, as well as the idyllic setting of the suburban surroundings. Crime in the suburbs is constructed as random, unpredictable and isolated in contradiction to the dangerous patterns of the city. As a result, Wallace (2008) found that despite the multiple murders, school shootings, gang activity and other crimes occurring within the suburbs, residents of suburbs and outsiders still disregard the actual rates of crime in these areas (Wallace, 2008). Note that Wallace, like Schafran was focusing on only one aspect of the suburbs, in this case crime. As a result, neither is able to say anything precise about the relative prominence of their chosen subject within media coverage. In his book, Steve Macek (2006) further accentuates Wallace's (2008) findings by noting when the mainstream media pay attention to the metropolitan core they typically restrict their reporting to instances in which city dwellers have inconvenienced their suburban neighbours. They

only cover the city in connection with street crime or social welfare spending targeted towards deteriorating urban neighbourhoods (Macek, 2006).

In summary, although some research has been conducted on the newspaper coverage of the suburbs by Schafran (2013) and Wallace (2008) there are significant limitations to their methodology. Both focused on a recent time period (the 2000s), while the present research will examine a longer time period of 1991-2015, long enough to be able to identify a trend. In addition, both researchers, focused only on a particular theme. In the case of Schafran the emergence of the term ‘slumburbia’ and for Wallace (2008) the reporting of crime. This research will study numerous themes related to the suburbs, and even more importantly, adopt an inductive approach which will enable us to say which themes have been most prominent.

Canada’s Suburbs

The literature discussed above relates to the portrayal of American suburbs; Canadian suburbs differ in their appearance and socio-demographic makeup. For instance, the political identity of Canadian suburbs is not a key element in contrast to our American counterparts. Furthermore, the density of our inner suburbs is higher than that of America’s suburbs. For example, Toronto’s suburbs have always been socially and physically diverse (Harris, 2014). Toronto exemplifies a certain type of North American city. Its inner city has remained attractive as a cultural and financial capital and an absence of racialized settlement patterns has made white flight a non-issue (Harris, 2014). Before 1950, there were industrial suburbs with working class residents and professionals; upper class residential suburbs outside and inside the city; and there were

working class residential suburbs with immigrants living in owner built homes (Harris, 2014). Diversity has always been present in Toronto's urban periphery. Arguably, in and around Toronto, residents' motives for moving to the suburbs were pragmatic, not visionary (Harris, 2014). Residents searched for an affordable home and for some the city always beckoned (Harris, 2014).

However, according to Harris, despite Toronto's diverse suburbs, persisting stereotypes of North American suburbs found their way into Toronto's news media. How did Harris know how Toronto's suburbs have been represented in the newspapers? His selection of examples was purely illustrative not systematic. In the 1950s when writing about Toronto, Mary Ross from *Saturday Night* magazine stated "every home, every family, every person exactly the same. Every single detail the same, except for the house numbers" (1950, p.31). Novelists John Gray and Hugh Garner also commented on the homogenous nature and social conformity present within Toronto suburbs (Harris, 2014). Despite Toronto's periphery being physically and socially diverse; many writers continued to report on the stereotypical idea of suburbs, dismissing suburban living.

Toronto has also had a growing contrast between the inner and outer suburbs since the 1970s (Harris, 2014). In 1970, the majority of the census tracts in the inner suburbs were middling in income and since then, most have undergone a steady decline (Harris, 2014). The inner suburbs have become the main reception zone for poverty and low-income immigrants. As a result, the inner suburbs contain many of Toronto's pockets of drug-related, violent criminal activity and we do not know how these suburbs have been represented in the newspaper. Christopher Hume, Toronto Star's urban affairs

columnist, now retired, has been highly critical of the suburbs for nearly two decades (Harris & Vorms, n.d.), but it is not clear whether his views were typical of the *Star's* coverage.

There is no single stereotype which can cover all suburban ideals. Although the stereotypes discussed above persist for the outer fringe of Toronto, we predict a new set of clichés are being used by Toronto's media to represent the inner suburbs. As Toronto continues to transcend the suburban stereotypes listed above it is uncertain whether or not this will be represented in *The Toronto Star's* depiction of the suburbs. Previous surveys and discussions of Toronto's suburbs have used newspapers-and indeed other media-in a purely anecdotal way, and like the literature on media coverage of the suburbs in general, they have not tried to show the relative prominence of different themes throughout a larger time period. There is a need for a survey that is both more open-ended and also more comprehensive.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

To explore how suburbs have been represented in local newspapers throughout the last two decades, two papers from Toronto and Hamilton, Ontario were analyzed through thematic coding. This chapter describes the methodological approaches used to document the newspaper coverage of the suburbs of these two cities from 1991-2015. The following sections describe the reasoning behind the choice to study Toronto and Hamilton as cities as well as the motives surrounding studying local newspaper publications. This chapter will further outline the data collection process as well as the utilization of NVivo Software. Finally, the process of coding the data based on numerous factors which relate to the significance of the suburbs in local newspapers will be discussed. The purpose of this research is to understand whether the perception of the suburbs has changed throughout time.

Toronto and Hamilton

Toronto and Hamilton were selected for this project for several reasons. Although I could study the newspaper coverage of the suburbs in Hamilton and Toronto independently, the contrasting patterns of inner city and suburban development between the two cities make for an interesting point of comparison. Hamilton is smaller in size and all of its suburbs now lie within the city limits. In contrast the suburbs in Toronto are more complex. First, many lie beyond the city limits. Secondly, the social composition of the inner and outer suburbs is very different. These factors complicate the meaning of

‘the suburbs’ within Toronto and whether or not this is represented in the media was an interesting point of study. Finally, I have been fortunate enough to call Hamilton home for my entire life. My knowledge of, and attachment to, the city makes this particular research study one that I can personally relate to. My personal relation to the city coupled with my knowledge of Hamilton’s neighbourhoods will be beneficial to my understanding and appreciation for this area of research.

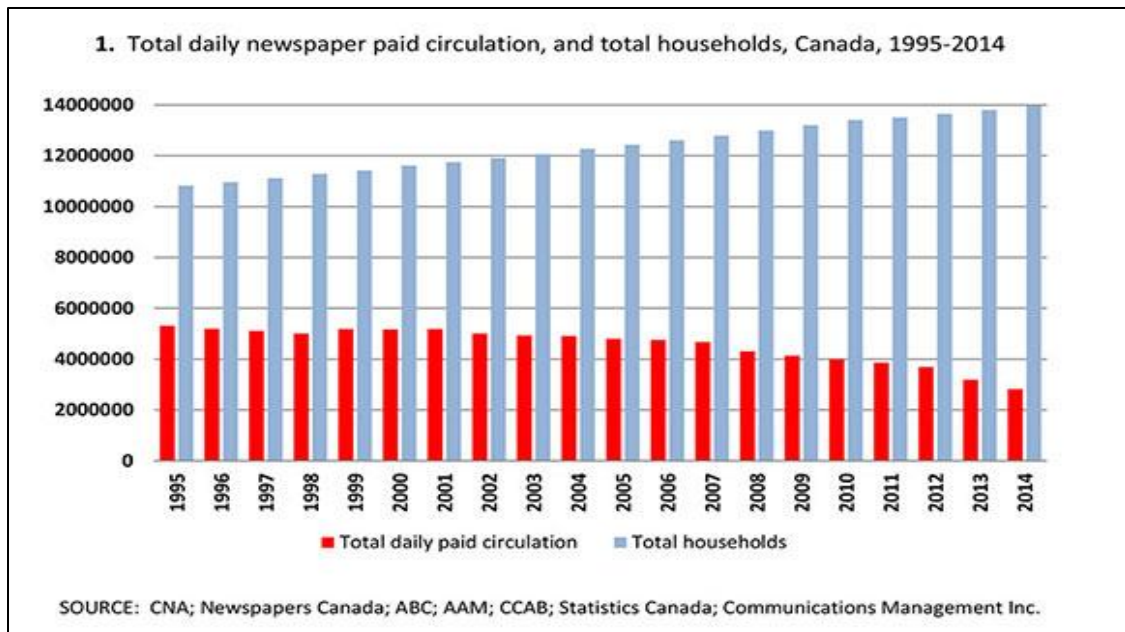


Figure 1: Total daily newspaper paid circulation, and total households, Canada, 1995-2014 (Hebbard, 2015)

Newspaper Publications

Newspaper articles were chosen as the main source of data for several reasons. Local newspapers play a key role in linking urban residents together in one public arena of information. They are the main channel through which political, economic and social information is shared, from the local to the national. They provide valuable content for

understanding culture, society and politics. It is widely accepted newspapers have the power to shape public opinion. Furthermore, past issues can provide a look into earlier representations of certain issues and consequently how these issues may have been perceived by readers. Finally, newspapers provide in-depth coverage of particular locations, offering a unique lens to view larger issues at a smaller scale. That said, while they are a main channel for news, in Canada, their circulation has decreased over the last two decades as seen in Figure 1.

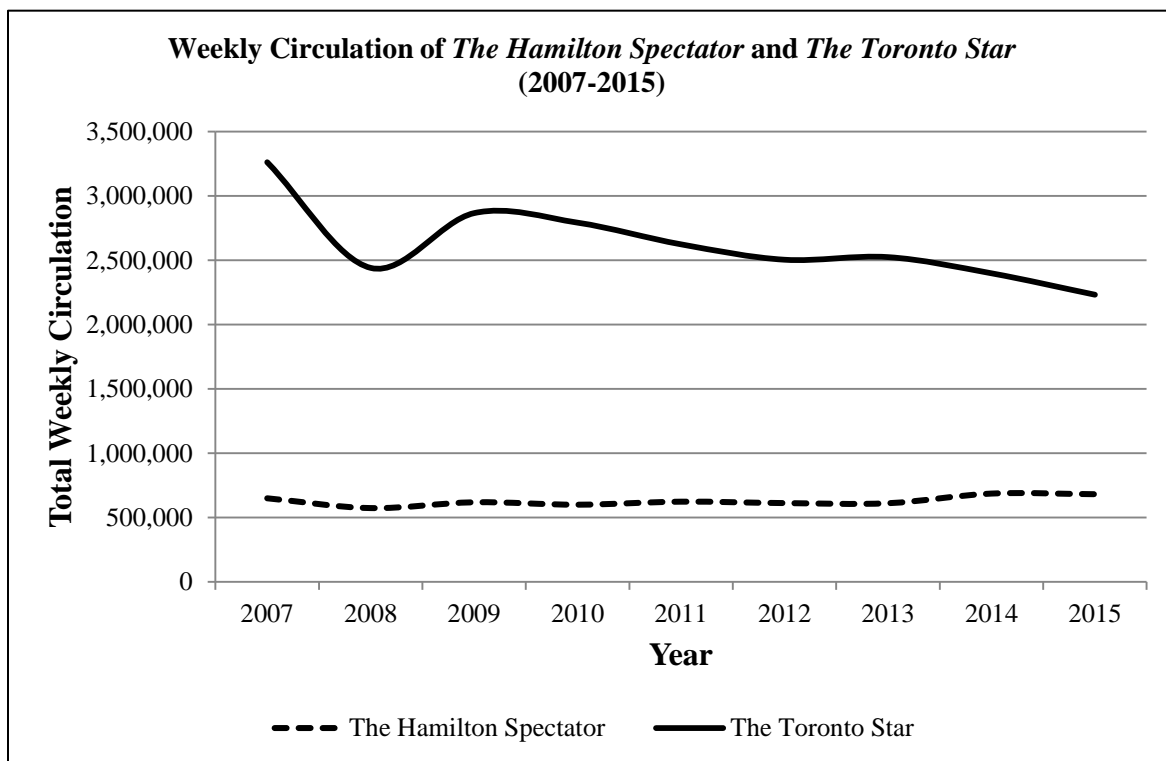


Figure 2: Weekly Circulation of *The Hamilton Spectator* and *The Toronto Star*, 2007-15 (News Media Canada, 2017)

The two newspaper publications chosen for this research project were *The Toronto Star* and *The Hamilton Spectator*. These are the two most widely-read newspapers in each city and both are available online, *The Toronto Star* since 1990 and

The Hamilton Spectator since 1991. The material from both newspaper reports was collected through the online database, LexisNexis Academic. Articles from the years of 1990-2015 were extracted. Data on the recent circulation of both newspapers has shown that, *The Toronto Star* has seen a steady decline in newspaper circulation while *The Hamilton Spectator* has seen a consistent circulation (Figure 2).

However, although newspapers are a valuable source of information and insight, they have not been widely used as a primary data source in the past. Before their digitization, in depth analysis did take a considerable amount of time and resources (Bingham, 2010). Today, key word searches allow a researcher to examine the changing frequency and usage of specific terms. These searches also provide the opportunity for a researcher to gather an abundance of articles in a moderately short amount of time. Digitization has allowed researchers to spend less time searching for relevant articles and more time for the analysis of content. The changing frequency of use of specific terms can now be easily measured and researchers can now isolate particular types of content such as front pages, editorials, and news reports to produce more specific measurements (Bingham, 2010). Bingham (2010) argues there are some potential methodological issues to the use of digitized newspapers. Keyword searches, as utilized for this research, can be too narrow in focus. The absence of a particular word does not necessarily mean that the subject is not discussed. Perhaps an alternative terminology has been used; in the case of this research, numerous terms synonymous with ‘suburbs’ were utilized such as ‘suburban’, ‘suburbanization’, and ‘sprawl’. However, if an article were to only describe the physical characteristics of the suburbs such as the ‘urban periphery’, this would have

been excluded from the research. Furthermore, because keyword searches allow the most relevant articles to be examined, these articles are pulled out of their physical context. Surrounding articles, pictures, headlines and advertisements all play a part in how an article is understood by the reader and this context is absent (Bingham, 2010). Although section and page numbers were provided, the placement of an article in the newspaper as a whole was lost which could alter how an article was perceived. This was especially important in the early years of the study period when only the printed version of the newspaper was available. For this research, photographs and advertisements were excluded from the research.

Data Collection

This work is a continuation of a previously unfinished project. Some, but not all of the data used for this project was collected by a previous graduate student of Dr. Richard Harris. All data analysis was completed solely by myself. Upon beginning this research project most, but not all, of the articles from *The Toronto Star* and *The Hamilton Spectator* had been collected by the previous graduate student. These were gathered using the keywords ‘suburbs’, and the related terms ‘suburbia’, ‘sprawl’, and ‘suburbanization’. This was done to ensure changes and the addition of new terminology related to the suburbs were accounted for. The articles were then downloaded as searchable PDFs. Initially, the articles covered the period of January 1st, 1990-December 31st, 2011. I extended this survey to include 2015 to gain a more recent understanding of suburban representation. However, articles from 2012-2014 were not extracted as it was felt patterns would emerge in newspaper reports making the analysis of all years unnecessary.

To ensure no articles were missed in the initial collection, LexisNexis was used to run the same search results. Using this database, these search results were then compared to those of the articles collected previously to ensure no articles were missed in the prior collection. Collections of articles from 2015 were then completed for both publications using the same keyword searches as the previous graduate student.

Content Analysis via Thematic Coding

In order to analyze the content of each newspaper to understand how they are represented within local newspapers, manual thematic coding was utilized.

A coding scheme was developed by the previous graduate student and Dr. Richard Harris in order to guide this research and provide consistency. This coding scheme focuses on several factors including the type of article, the section of the newspaper in which the article appeared, how central the subject of the suburbs are to the story, the valence or representation of the suburbs within the story, the neighbourhoods and regions being discussed and finally, what major themes are associated with the suburbs. The coding scheme for *The Toronto Star* can be found in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2 for *The Hamilton Spectator*.

NiVivo Software

For this research, the coding software NVivo was utilized for efficiency and to help organize the articles. NVivo was created for qualitative data analysis and to organize unstructured data. There are numerous versions, but for this research, the starter pack was used. With NVivo a researcher can use coding to bring different themes and topics, or entities such as people and places together in a single category. This makes it easier to

search, compare and identify patterns in data. There is also the ability to look for emerging themes and to find words and discover different concepts using text search, word frequency queries and coding queries. Furthermore, you can keep track of your ideas and thoughts with memos and annotations and import note-taking software from OneNote and Evernote. Finally, you can visualize your data by creating word clouds, word trees, and comparison diagrams. For this research, NVivo was mostly utilized to organize the abundance of data provided. With over thousands of articles for both newspapers to analyze, NVivo allowed for all of the data to be stored in one simple-to-use software. NVivo can be used to code, however there are limitations. For example, if coding for the word 'crime', NVivo would code this word every time it appears in your data. If the word 'crime' were to appear ten times in one particular article, it would code this as 10 individual references to crime. There is no way to instruct NVivo to do otherwise. The appearance of 'crime' once in ten different articles is more significant than its appearance ten times in one article, as it presumably carries more weight as an indicator of popular interest and coverage of the issues. As a result, the researcher is left with skewed results as it would appear the word 'crime' appears more frequently than it actually does over the entire data set. To ensure there were no discrepancies in the results, all of the articles for this research were manually coded in NVivo. This was time consuming but also created a greater understanding of the data as each of the articles was read through individually.

Process

The first step in the coding process was to import PDFs of all of the newspaper articles into NVivo. These were then organized, based on which newspaper the article came from and the year of publication. In the end there was a folder for *The Hamilton Spectator* articles and a separate folder for *The Toronto Star* articles. In total, there were over 800 articles for *The Hamilton Spectator* and 3,000 for *The Toronto Star*. Many of the articles extracted from Lexis Nexis made only partial or incidental references to the suburbs and were extracted from further analysis. All of the articles were then analyzed based on their centrality, namely, that is how central the issue of suburbs was to the overall story. Articles with the main subject of suburbs offer valuable insight into how the newspaper is representing the subject and presumably how the reader would perceive it. The articles deemed ‘central’ were then further coded based on the other categories listed earlier. Articles which did not say anything substantive about the suburbs were eliminated from analysis. An article was deemed central if suburbs were the main subject of the story or one of several main subjects. In practice, this option was selected if one of the key terms (suburbs, suburbia, suburbanization, and sprawl) was mentioned in the title, headline or in the first three paragraphs. In addition, articles which used one or more of the key terms at least three times were deemed central. An example of this type of article can be seen in Appendix 3-A. For this article, the term ‘suburb’ and related terms such as ‘suburban’ appear in the title and more than three times throughout the entire article. In the end, 527 articles were coded as central for *The Hamilton Spectator* and 702 for *The*

Toronto Star (Figure 3). *The Toronto Star* showed to have a higher proportion of incidental reports in comparison to *The Hamilton Spectator*.

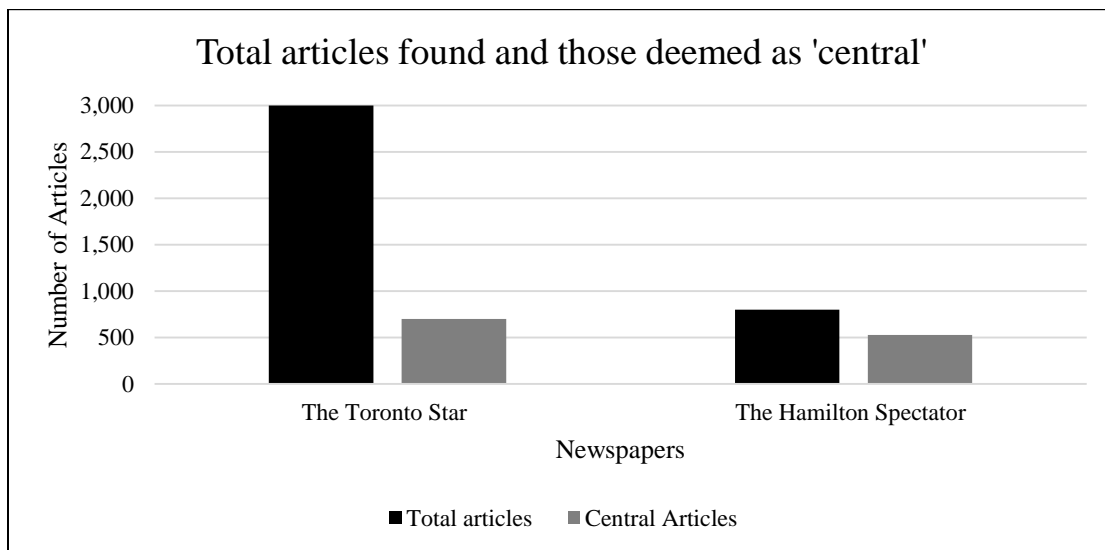


Figure 3: The number of articles yielded and articles deemed as ‘central’

The next step was to determine the type of article the story was. For some years, Lexis Nexis categorized articles as follows: News Story, Press-Release, Editorial, Opinion, Letter, or Letter to the Editor. This information was not available for all years however, and so ‘section of newspaper’ was used instead. Possible sections which could be coded included: News, Life, Business, Entertainment, Weekend, Letter and Opinion, Editorial, Local, Insight, Homes and Condos. This was a fairly straightforward stage in the coding process, as highlighted in the Appendix 3-B. LexisNexis provides this information in their record of the newspaper article. Whether or not an article appears on the front page or not was also coded at this time. These were any articles located on page A1 of the newspaper. An example of this is highlighted in the Appendix 3-B. The purpose of coding for these variables was to understand the location and presentation of the article in

order to understand how the article was potentially perceived by the readers. For example, an opinion piece, by definition, will present a point of view and be intended to persuade, or at least confirm an opinion that the reader already has. In contrast news stories are more likely to be, and to be perceived to be neutral. Bias (valence) in a news story may be unconscious, and in a sense more revealing. In addition, articles present on the front page are likely to be more significant to the reader than those found in the middle of the newspaper.

Once the section of the article was determined, the next stage in the coding process was to establish its valence, to identify the geographical locations being referenced, and to identify the major themes. All of these were coded at the same time as they all involved an in-depth reading of an article in entirety. Coding for *The Toronto Star* was completed first before moving on to *The Hamilton Spectator*. All of these factors will be broken down individually to provide insight into how they were coded. First, for the purpose of this study, valence was one of the most important variables coded because it plays a large role in answering the basic research question-that is, how does each of these newspapers represent the suburbs? Valence was determined using four categories. The first was positive; this means the author represented suburbs in a favourable light. For example in Appendix 3-C, this article discusses how immigrants are finding a better life in the suburbs due to greater employment opportunities. The second option for valence was neutral, indicating there was no clear direction of how suburbs were represented. An example of a neutral article would be a story focused on census data and facts as seen in Appendix 3-D. This article provides statistics on voting patterns

throughout the five different suburbs in Hamilton. The third option for valence was negative, which signified that the author represented suburbs in an undesirable or off putting way. For example in Appendix 3-E, this article refers to the process of suburban growth and sprawl as an ‘urban cancer’ eating up the best farmland in Toronto. The author also refers to sprawl as ‘energy inefficient’ as low density houses require more energy to construct and economically inefficient in terms of the provision of public transportation.

Some articles presented or discussed both the positive and negative aspects of suburbs. These were not simply ‘neutral’ but engaged, on ‘balanced’. An example is included as Appendix 3-F, where the reporter refers to the norm of safety within the suburbs but also discusses family issues which may result in homeless services being utilised for displaced youth. Although it was often clear how the valence of each article should be coded, there were a number of ambiguous cases, making their classification the most subjective part of the analysis.

The next factor to be coded was the geographical locations being referenced in the newspaper article. The locations varied between *The Toronto Star* and *The Hamilton Spectator* and a complete listing of the categories can be viewed in Appendix 1 for *The Toronto Star* and Appendix 2 for *The Hamilton Spectator*. Locations were coded to gain a geographical understanding of the data. Toronto and Burlington were added to the coding of *The Hamilton Spectator* rather because of their proximity to Hamilton and the fact that they were commonly mentioned. Many issues which impact these neighbouring cities are also felt in Hamilton or vice versa. Finally, although a place was sometimes

discussed numerous times throughout an article, it was only coded once. As seen in Appendix 3-F, although Stoney Creek, Dundas, and Ancaster are frequently mentioned, their location is only coded once.

The final, and very important, factor which was coded was the major themes apparent in the newspaper article. This was an essential part of the research process as it displayed not only what the newspapers thought was important regarding the suburbs but also presented some interesting changes over time. An initial classification of themes had been developed by the previous graduate student and Dr. Harris after the initial *Toronto Star* articles were collected, and a sense of reoccurring subjects was apparent. I then refined these themes. First was the addition of poverty, a theme that reoccurred. In addition, subcategories to the theme of transportation were added to include private and public modes, together with, congestion. This allowed the analysis of how mode of transportation was linked to the suburbs. Some of the most common themes associated with the suburbs include: environment and pollution, transportation, government and politics, new development and sprawl, and amalgamation. Examples of these can be seen in the Appendix. For example, in Appendix 3-G the themes of Environment and Sustainability as well as Private and Public Transportation are apparent. Within this article, the reporter discusses how Toronto's suburbs create the largest CO₂ emissions due to the high energy usage of large, low-density homes as well as the suburbanites' dependence on the automobile. It also highlights the importance of having a good public transportation system in place to make the city of Toronto more sustainable. Furthermore, in Appendix 3-H,

Politics and Government as well as Amalgamation are discussed. The author of this opinion piece argues that it would not be beneficial for the politicians of Ancaster, Dundas and Flamborough to create their own city of Wentworth to stop the amalgamation of city and suburbs. He/she argues that amalgamation would be beneficial socially and economically for the entire urban area but appreciates suburbanites want to maintain their own political and communal identity. Finally, in Appendix 3-I, the themes of Sprawl, and the recurring theme of Environment-Sustainability, are discussed. In this article, the reporter states that “Urban sprawl takes up too much land and threatens valuable resources such as the Niagara Escarpment. It's also inefficient, creating high transportation costs -- both financially and environmentally” (Di Gregorio, 1993). Again, the negatives of sprawl are highlighted due to development process being environmentally irresponsible.

As highlighted throughout the Appendix, several themes can be present within an article. As witnessed in Appendix 3-I, this article from *The Hamilton Spectator* comments on the themes of Sprawl, Environmental-Sustainability and Private Transportation. As a result, for each article up to three themes were coded. The number of themes per article differed. For example, a longer article of over 800 words may warrant the coding of three themes whereas a shorter article of 200 words or less may discuss only one or two themes. For a full list of the themes coded see Appendix 1 for *The Toronto Star* and Appendix 2 for *The Hamilton Spectator*. A further limitation of NVivo is that it gives equal weight to all references coded. As a result, although all three themes may vary in weight in an article, this could not be coded.

A Sampling Procedure

For the first seven year of *The Toronto Star* (1991-1997), all articles found in the original keyword searches were coded. It became apparent that there was a great deal of redundancy. Accordingly, it was decided to sample the remaining years by coding five articles and skipping two. This sampling procedure was used to ensure per year, 80 percent of articles were coded. In addition, this ensured there was data collection from a variety of different months within a year and that the same time frame every year was not being continuously missed. The resulting sample size was more manageable without any loss of important details. As well, despite coding for the same factors for both *The Toronto Star* and *The Hamilton Spectator*, separate nodes for each of the factors were created based on the newspaper being examined. For example, there was a themes-*Toronto Star* node and a themes-*Hamilton Spectator* node. This made the end analysis of each individual newspaper simpler.

After coding for all the factors discussed, graphs were created to visually present how coverage of the suburbs has changed throughout the study period. Valence and themes were the main components that needed to be represented as they give the strongest indication into how the suburbs were framed in both newspapers and also what was said in relation to the suburbs. Upon the initial creation of graphs, the results showed no apparent trends and needed to be smoothed. While numerous smoothing techniques were utilized including exponential smoothing as well as three and five-year moving averages, the best smoothing results were found by grouping four year intervals together. Grouping was necessary because for some years of study article numbers were low and

would not produce any meaningful results on an annual basis. This grouping resulted in a minimum of 30 articles being examined over a single time period.

Many of the themes discussed are interconnected although in different ways and to different degrees. The interconnectedness among all twenty of the themes for both *The Hamilton Spectator* and *The Toronto Star* were documented and can be found in Appendix 4 and 5, respectively. With NVivo, you can run two themes against each other to find when they appear in the same article, these reference numbers were then recorded in a large table for both papers. In both instances, to calculate percentages, the reference numbers in each row, minus those on the diagonal, were summed to create a row total. Numbers on the diagonal were omitted as they represent the association of a theme against itself. The numbers in each row were then individually calculated out of this row total to create percentages.

Overall, this methodology has yielded a reliable account of how the newspapers have represented the suburbs throughout the time period of 1991-2015. Utilizing NVivo has created an efficient and simpler way to organize and code articles in one data set. Reading through all of the articles produced a stronger understanding of the representation of suburbs in both *The Toronto Star* and *The Hamilton Spectator*. In addition, coding a variety of different factors for both newspapers allowed for a thorough understanding of how much significance is ascribed to the articles pertaining to suburbs and how the suburbs may be perceived by readers.

CHAPTER FOUR

Representation of the Suburbs in *The Hamilton Spectator* (1991-2015)

On June 9th, 1846, Hamilton became a city. A month later *The Hamilton Spectator* published its first issue (McNeil, 2016). Since then, the city has blossomed from 10,000 to more than 500,000 people and the newspaper has followed its every move (McNeil, 2016). The present research explores suburban representation in local newspapers and has used *The Hamilton Spectator* as a point of study. To begin, a brief overview of Hamilton as a city and its suburbs will be sketched. Afterwards, the trends associated with valence-how the suburbs are represented, and themes from 1991 to 2015 will be analyzed individually. To conclude, a comparison between the most relevant themes associated with the suburbs in *The Hamilton Spectator* and the valence reported on them will be examined.

Hamilton

The City of Hamilton has a population of nearly 536,917 people, according to the 2016 Canadian census; a 3.3 percent increase from 2011 (CBC, 2017). One of the major cities in the Golden Horseshoe region, it is located in the southwest region of Ontario and is approximately an hour's drive from Toronto, roughly 70 kilometres. It is made up of six distinct communities. Apart from the old City of Hamilton, there is: Ancaster, Dundas, Flamborough to the west, Stoney Creek to the east, and Glanbrook, to the south. Data from the 1996 census revealed 29 percent of Hamilton's population lived in the five annexed suburbs while 39 percent resided in the old City of Hamilton (Statistics Canada,

1996). Burlington, a city formed in 1974, is a place in its own right, but it is also sometimes considered a suburb of both Hamilton and Toronto, as residents of both cities commute back and forth to Burlington (Harris, Dunn, and Wakefield, 2015, p.12).

Hamilton is unique in that some of its suburbs lie above the city. The Niagara Escarpment, known locally as “The Mountain”, has been a perceptual boundary point for those living in the inner or lower city, those living in the city can live “below the mountain”, and “above the mountain”. This divide was highlighted after 1945 when those with better wages or salaries began to migrate, leaving the lower city behind (Maoh, Koronios, and Kanaroglou, 2010).

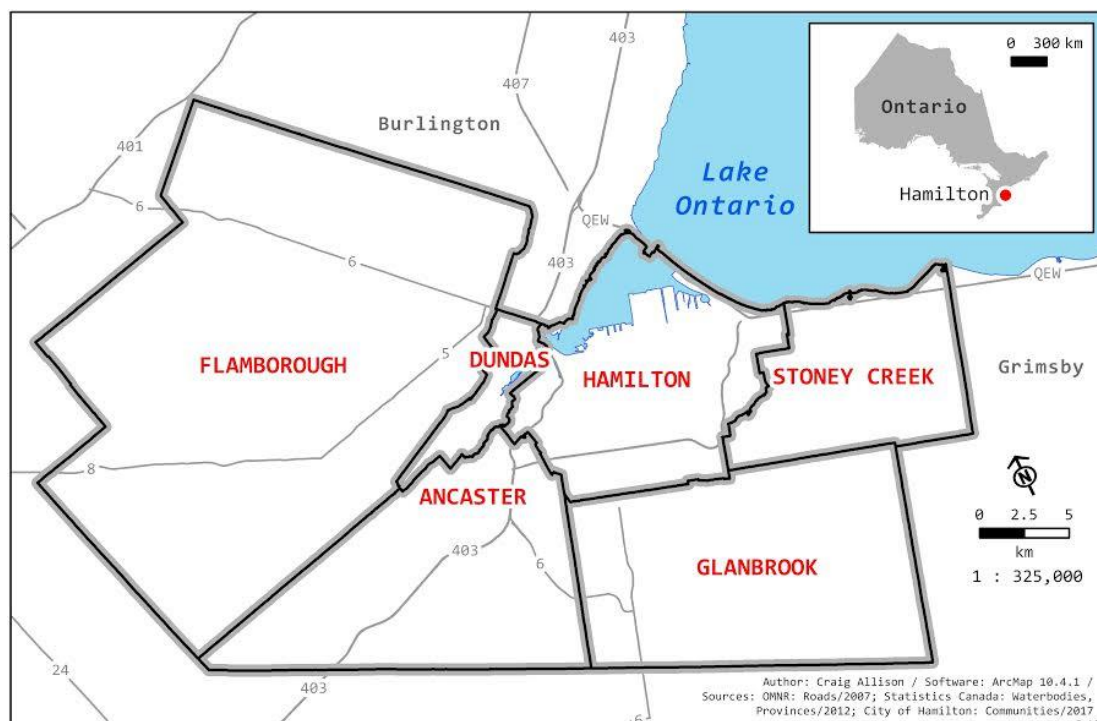


Figure 1: Communities in the New City of Hamilton (Allison, 2017)

Hamilton is also unusual in that the City includes almost all of its built-up area. Once separate entities of their own, in 2001 these six communities were amalgamated by

the provincial government to form the new City of Hamilton (Figure 1). Before amalgamation, the Hamilton area had a two-tier government which meant a federal structure with two levels of administration (Burghardt, 1987, p.159). Each local municipality had its own council, but above them was a regional council, composed of members from each of the participant units (Burghardt, 1987, p.159). This system allowed the suburbs to have control over their communities, instead of a one-tier system which would give the city total dominance of the region (Burghardt, 1987, p.159). The regional government was responsible for many core services such as police protection, waste management, public transit, and the infrastructure of main roads, sewers, and bridges (Burghardt, 1987, p.160). The provincial government argued that amalgamation would result in cost-savings and increased efficiency because regionalization led to increased costs due to more office spaces, more staff, and higher-salaried professional managers (Spicer, 2012, p.3, Burghardt, 1987, p.165). The former communities of Flamborough, Dundas, Ancaster, Stoney Creek, and Glanbrook wanted to maintain their autonomy. They believed that the former City of Hamilton would disproportionately benefit from suburban tax revenues, offering little in return (Spicer, 2012 p.3). They also feared they would lose their identities as separate, distinct municipalities (Spicer, 2012). Although there was much resistance, particularly from the town of Flamborough, amalgamation still went forward in 2001 (Spicer, 2012, p.6). Although these areas are now officially a part of the City of Hamilton, they still maintain their popular status as suburbs. Socially, they are deemed to lie outside the “central city” (Harris, Dunn, Wakefield, 2015, p.14).

The image most travellers have of Hamilton is the one seen from the Skyway Bridge, an image of steel mills pouring out steam and smoke. Such an image once captured Hamilton's economy but this is no longer the case (Dear, Drake, and Reeds, 1987). In the 1970s, the share of the city employed in blue-collar jobs had fallen from 44.6 percent to 34.6 percent, a trend which was further accentuated by a recession in the early 1980s (Webber and Fincher, 1987, p.240-241). Many factories closed and Dofasco and Stelco, the owners of the two major steel mills in Hamilton, steadily cut jobs. Stelco finally reached its demise in Hamilton and has not produced steel since 2011. That said, while manufacturing industry has declined within the city, there has been a significant growth in service industries. McMaster University established itself in Hamilton in 1930 and has grown rapidly from the 1960s (Harris, Dunn, Wakefield, 2015, p.8). McMaster is also associated with a research park, a medical research facility, a teaching hospital, and other hospitals, including a children's hospital, which serve the city and the wider region. Mohawk is also a community college located in Hamilton which is growing rapidly and teaches almost 13,000 students. Today, these are the city's major employers (Harris, Dunn, Wakefield, 2015, p.8).

Deindustrialization, in addition to a large number of refugees, low-income immigrants, and the welfare poor, help to explain why since the 1970s income inequality has grown more rapidly in Hamilton than in most Canadian metropolitan areas. This income inequality is particularly seen in the contrast between city and suburb. The inner and lower city have seen a rise in poverty, and there has been a continuing concentration of the welfare and service dependent poor in the inner city. Meanwhile, the western

suburbs of Burlington, Ancaster and Flamborough have seen a noticeable rise in incomes (Harris, Dunn, Wakefield, 2015, p.20). That said, the eastern suburbs of Stoney Creek and parts of the Mountain began to see the emergence of large areas of low income settlement between 1980 and 2000 (Harris, Dunn, Wakefield, 2015, p.25). For those living close to the escarpment, these once middle-income suburbs have seen deterioration. In addition, there has been increasing pressure from a variety of low-income renters including a growing number of students enrolled at Mohawk College, located centrally in the older part of the Mountain, as well as immigrants and refugees. Today, parts of Stoney Creek have among the highest proportions of recent immigrants (Harris, Dunn, Wakefield, 2015, p.25).

Over the years, *The Hamilton Spectator*, the city's daily newspaper, has done what they could to direct peoples' attention to the problems of the lower city. For example, in 2010 it published a seven-day, award-winning series entitled "Code Red" (Deluca, Buist, and Johnston, 2012). Its goal was to draw attention to the disparities of health and health status which exist within the City of Hamilton and to show the polarisation of its communities (Deluca, Buist, and Johnston, 2012). That said, Cahuas, Malik, and Wakefield (2016), suggest this series in effect confirmed stereotypes of those living within the lower city as unhealthy deviants, and of the suburbs as spaces of respectability (p.141-142). Their argument is based on the notion that few details about the daily lives of those living within these lower city communities were shared in Code Red (p. 141). That said, this series attracted a good deal of attention, prompting the city to attempt to identify and strengthen most disadvantaged neighbourhoods and to bring

people together. Such success has been seen with the commercial boom on James Street North and the burgeoning arts community as supported by events such as Supercrawl (Reilly, 2014). Today, those furthest away from the city centre, such as some declining areas on the Mountain, face greater challenges as they are ill-served by transit and do not have the advantage of walkability. Given the well-known problems faced by Hamilton’s inner city, and the arguments presented by Cahuas, Malik, and Wakefield (2016) we might expect that, on balance, the *Spectator’s* depiction of the suburbs would be generally positive. In fact, this is not the case.

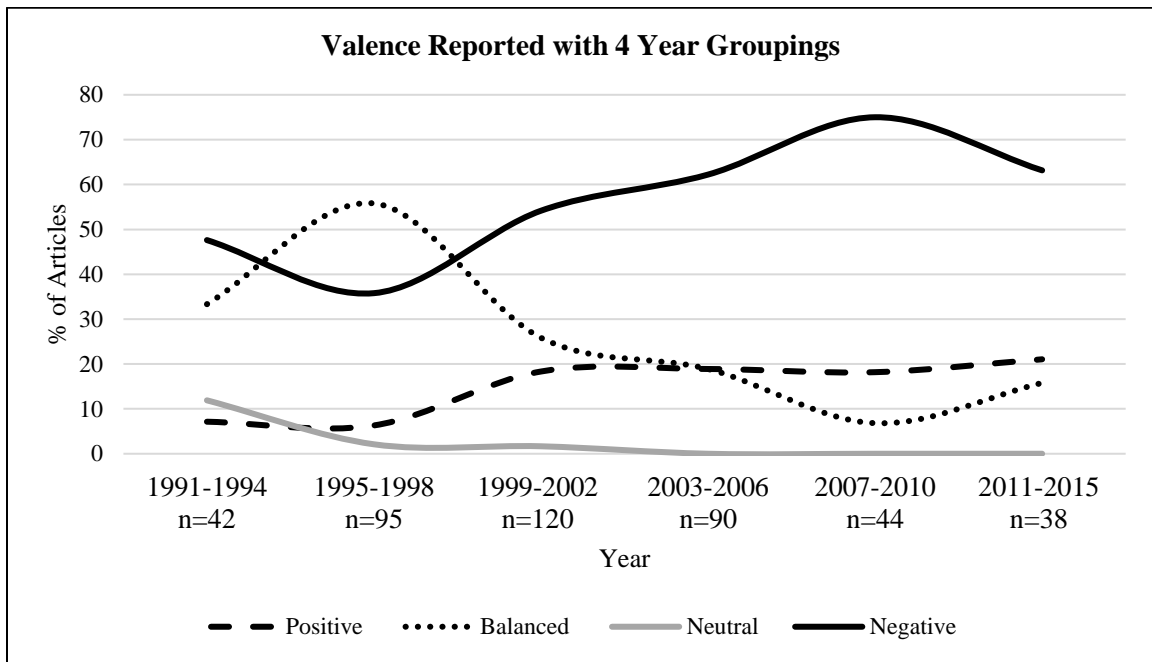


Figure 2: The valence of the suburbs, 1991-2015 using 4 year groupings

Valence reported on the suburbs

The valence used by local newspapers in their reporting can say a lot about how a particular issue is framed and how the public will perceive it. Although studies of Hamilton would suggest a positive picture of the suburbs within *The Hamilton Spectator*,

this research suggests otherwise. As discussed in the methodology, four categories were used to indicate valence: positive, neutral, balanced, and negative. Each article could only be coded with one valence. This data, as seen in Figure 2, was smoothed by grouping 4 years together. This was done because for some years, article numbers were low and provided unreliable results. In regards to the valence reported on for the *Spectator* (Figure 2), the results show that articles which frame the suburbs in a positive light remain relatively stable but low in number throughout the study period. Between 1999 and 2015, positive representations accounted for 18 percent of all articles. Similarly, articles deemed as neutral remained rare and disappeared after 2003. However, articles with a neutral valence were any articles which had absolutely no form of negative or positive bias within them such as an article reporting on statistics. That said, it is very difficult for no form of bias to be present within newspaper reporting so it is understandable why these numbers would be so low. This suggests that the newspaper recognized that opinion was polarized, making it difficult not to express any opinion.

At the same time that negative representations of the suburbs began to rise, there is a significant drop in the balanced representation of the suburbs. Balanced articles would be those in which the reporter has included both positive and negative points about the suburbs. During the time period of 1995-1998, balanced representation of the suburbs reaches a peak of 55 percent for those years. After 1998, balanced representation of the suburbs continues to steadily drop reaching a small representation of 15 percent of all articles reporting on the suburbs by the end of the study period; a 40 percentage point

drop from 1998. In 1998, the reporting on the suburbs shifts from having some positive notes in them to being almost entirely negative.

Finally, negative representation of the suburbs in the *Spectator* overwhelmingly dominated from 1999-2015. The results show a high and rising percentage proportion of articles portraying the suburbs in a negative light. From 1999 until 2015, negative representation dominated with over 50 percent of all articles for those years. Near the end of the study period, negative representation of the reporting on suburbs hits an all-time high of 75 percent. From 1999-2010, the negative reporting on the suburbs in the *Spectator* increases by 21 percentage points. Such negative comments vary in theme and will be discussed later.

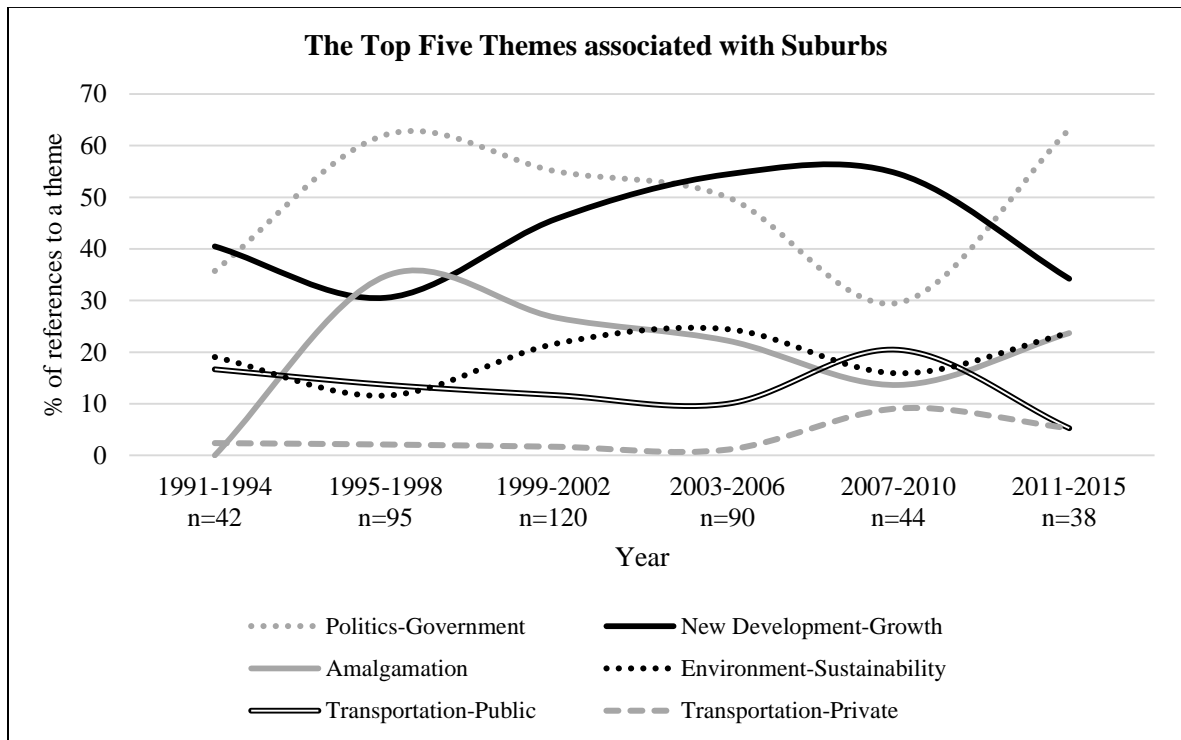


Figure 3: The top five themes associated with suburbs

Themes related to the suburbs

The *Spectator* has shown a quite striking shift in valence, with negative representation of the suburbs overwhelmingly dominating reporting from 1999-2015. The question is why this was the case and what was being said? To help answer this, we need to know whether this shift was associated with particular themes. The top five themes reported in the *Spectator* were examined to see how their representation changed from 1991-2015. Two themes were generally dominant, while three others were also important. Although some irregular cycles are apparent, none of these themes showed a marked trend in importance. The remaining themes were less commonly mentioned and indeed absent in some years. To help interpret these themes, the one for transportation was split into public and private as the issues associated with each are very different. This resulted in the six themes presented in Figure 3.

These six themes fall into two categories: those that are related mainly to specific local events, such as elections and municipal amalgamation, and those that raise issues of wider significance. The themes of Politics-Government and Amalgamation were both prominent, making it difficult to decipher the significance of other themes related to the suburbs. In addition, because of their reference to a prominent local event it was useful to consider separately the trends with and without them. As a result, Politics and Amalgamation were removed from the other themes and studied individually.

Table 1: Relationship among themes (percentage distribution)

Themes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 <i>n</i> =221	100	23	40	6	7	3	5	2
2 <i>n</i> =273	18	100	2	26	15	9	7	12
3 <i>n</i> =109	82	6	100	0	1	2	2	1
4 <i>n</i> =134	10	53	0	100	16	4	3	9
5 <i>n</i> =105	14	39	1	20	100	14	3	2
6 <i>n</i> =72	10	35	3	7	21	100	4	4
7 <i>n</i> =53	21	34	4	8	6	6	100	4
8 <i>n</i> =60	8	55	2	20	3	5	3	100

Themes:

1. Politics-Government
2. New Development-Growth-Sprawl
3. Amalgamation
4. Environment-Sustainability-Pollution
5. Transportation (Public +Private)
6. Density-Physical Characteristics-Design
7. Business-Industry-Employment
8. Food-Farmland

Many of these leading themes are interconnected, although in different ways and to different degrees. Because each article was associated with up to three themes, these interconnections can be documented. They are shown in Table 1. As stated in the methodology, when coding within NVivo, an article could be associated with up to three themes. Depending on its length, an article may only be associated with one or two themes. For example, a longer article of over a 1000 words may deal with numerous themes and therefore warrant the coding of three themes versus a shorter article of under 500 words that may discuss only one or two themes maximum. As a result, one article

can be counted for in reference to up to three different themes resulting in some overlap. The interconnectedness among all twenty of the themes was documented and can be found in Appendix 4. With NVivo, you can run two themes against each other to find when they appear in the same article, these reference numbers were then recorded in a large table. To calculate percentages, the references numbers in each row, minus those on the diagonal, were summed to create a row total. Numbers on the diagonal were omitted as they represent the association of a theme against itself. The numbers in each row were then individually calculated out of this row total to create percentages. Table 1 was created by extracting the top eight themes out of the larger table of all twenty themes, resulting in each row in Table 1 not adding up to 100 percent as some other themes below the top eight are unaccounted for. The results were expanded from the top five themes to the top eight themes as some strong relationships were shown to be among themes which had lower references within the *Spectator* upon initial examination.

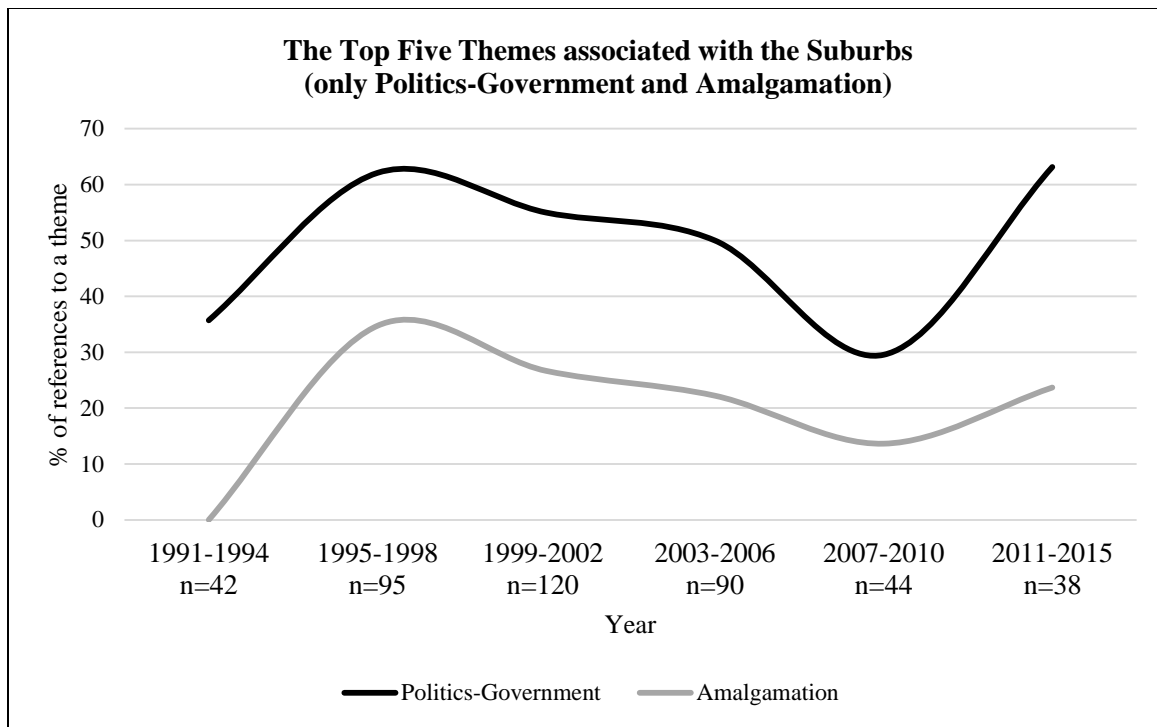


Figure 4: The top five themes associated with suburbs (only Politics-Government and Amalgamation)

Reporting on Politics-Government and Amalgamation

Those living in Hamilton will understand the significance of amalgamation and the large role it played in both the political atmosphere as well as the development of the city. Amalgamation first came to the forefront of conversation in 1995 and was officially settled in 2001. As seen in Figure 4, the themes of Politics-Government and Amalgamation follow a similar trajectory over the study period. As shown in Table 1, 82 percent of articles which reference the theme of Amalgamation also discuss the larger theme of Politics and Government. Due to their strong connection, it seems fitting to examine these two themes together. From 1995-98, both themes peaked at a total of 96 percent of all coverage for those years meaning that 96 percent of all

articles about the suburbs mentioned one or other of these themes. During this time period, the idea of an amalgamated city was beginning to be discussed, although it would not happen until 2001. Discussion of Amalgamation slowly decreased, dropping down to a 13 percent coverage rate in the *Spectator*, in 2007-10; a 21 percentage point decrease from 1995-98. This trend indicates more was to be reported in the years leading up to Amalgamation as the debate between city and suburban councillors was heightened. That said, many people did not regard amalgamation as a done deed, hence a continuing debate and a continuing coverage of this theme. The theme of Politics and Government remains relatively higher than Amalgamation throughout the years as it has a broader significance. Of the top eight themes, in addition to Amalgamation, Politics and Government is mostly commonly mentioned in relation to the theme of New Development-Growth-Sprawl; 23 percent of articles mentioning Politics-Government also mentioning New Development-Growth and Sprawl.

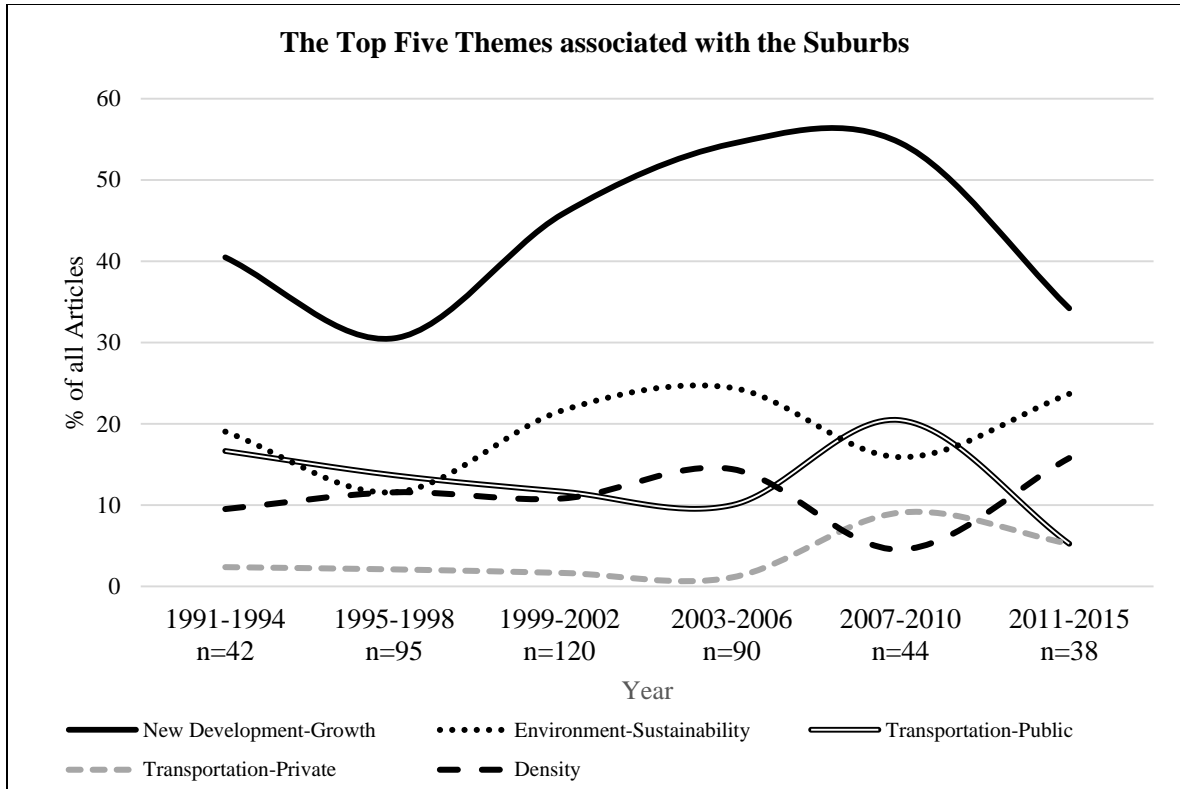


Figure 5: The top five themes associated with suburbs (Politics and Amalgamation omitted)

Reporting on New Development-Growth-Sprawl

After removing the locally significant themes of Politics and Amalgamation, some noticeable trends began to emerge among the others (Figure 5). While most of the themes remain relatively stable throughout the study period, New Development-Growth – Sprawl dominated, particularly from 2003-10 when 54 percent of the articles reporting on the suburbs were related to this theme. During the middle of the study period, see an increase in the presence of the theme New Development-Growth-Sprawl by 15 percentage points.

Not surprisingly, given its dominance, the theme of New Development-Growth-Sprawl is strongly related to several others indeed stronger than any other within the top eight. Of the articles which mention transportation, 39 percent also mention New Development-Growth and Sprawl. Among those which comment on the Density-Physical Characteristics and Design, 35 percent also refer to New Development-Growth and Sprawl. Finally, articles which refer to Business-Industry-Employment also comment on New Development-Growth and Sprawl 34 percent of the time. The strongest relationship to the theme of New Development-Growth and Sprawl comes from articles which also mention Environment-Sustainability and Food-Farmland. Just over half of all articles that touch on these two themes also refer to New Development-Growth-Sprawl. These strong relationships among other themes lead to the overwhelming representation of New Development-Growth-Sprawl within the *Spectator*. Whether this representation coincides with a positive, negative or balanced valence is an important issue.

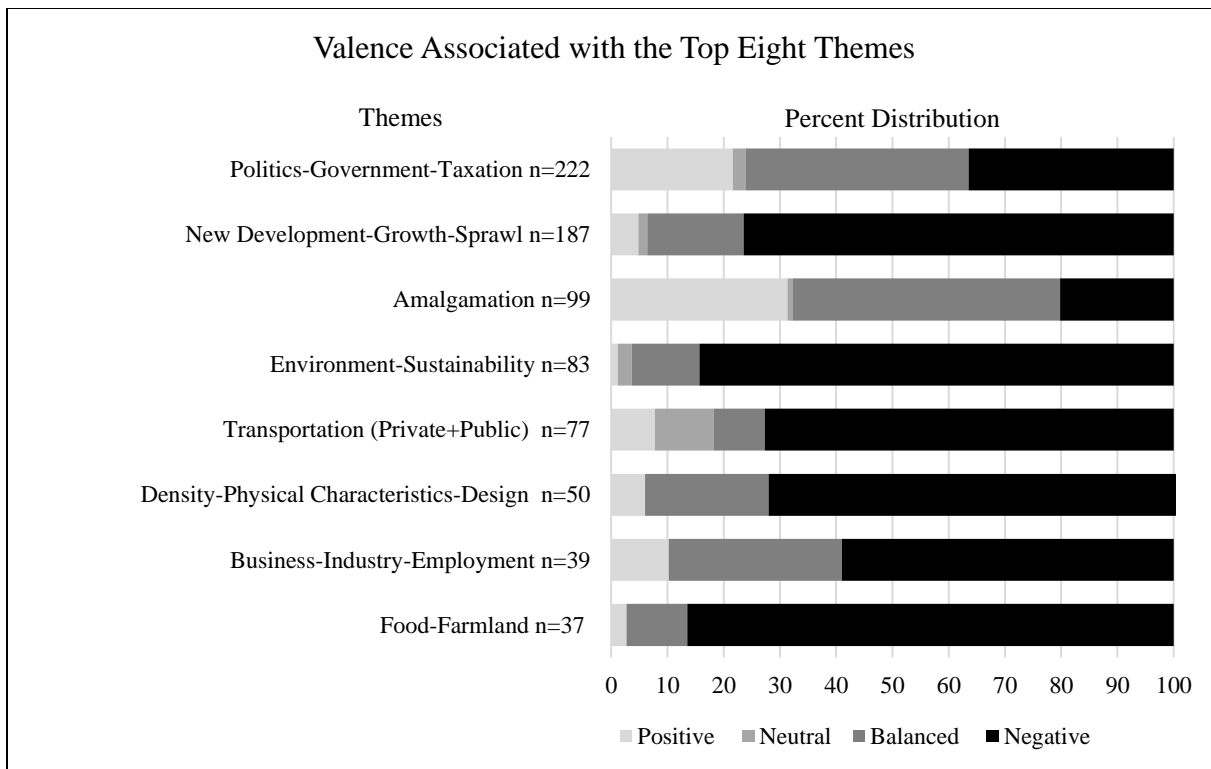


Figure 6: The valence associated with the top eight themes

The Relationship between Valence and Themes

From 1995 until 2015, there was a significant rise in the negative representation of the suburbs, at the same time the theme of New Development-Growth-Sprawl becomes increasingly dominant. The question is whether there is a connection between the two. The top eight themes referenced within the *Spectator* were examined to see if there were any trends in how they were represented within the newspaper. Only the top eight were considered as the others had twenty or fewer references, too few to show a meaningful pattern. Figure 6 shows the results of this examination.

Politics and Amalgamation

Of the top eight themes, all except for Politics-Government and Amalgamation showed a negative bias of over 50 percent. The two political themes were the most balanced in representation at 40 percent and 48 percent, respectively. A close third for balanced representation was Business-Industry at 31 percent.

In this period, the *Spectator*, commented on numerous referenda and polls, in which the suburbs were fighting the idea of a one-tier city. Other ideas were brought forward in the local news, including one known as the Skarica Plan. Developed by MPP Tony Skarica, the idea was to abolish all regional government and for that power to devolve to the local level. With this plan, local councils and communities would be preserved (Nolan, 1997). In an unsigned editorial, this plan was criticized on the grounds that it “takes the region in the direction of an American-style fractured metropolitan area, where the suburbs would have no stake in the well-being of the central downtown” (“Skarica Plan”, 1997). It was argued that it would further separate the suburbs and the city, creating greater tension and frustration. That said, suburban councillors continued to fight against amalgamation in fear of losing their identity. One resident of Ancaster was reported as saying: “The outlying 'suburbs' of Hamilton are not suburbs. They are, as most indigenous people of the area know, communities on their own right. Their heritages go back as far as or further than Hamilton's” (Niessen, 1997).

This rise in discussion of Amalgamation and Politics-Government also coincides with the period of balanced representation of the suburbs present in the *Spectator* in the late 1990s. Two local news stories show examples. In a special series

report on amalgamation, entitled “Two sides see the world in different ways”,

columnist Rick Hughes (1997) stated:

“They talk different languages.

One talks about economies of scale, streamlining and re-emergence of the city-state. The other about history, tradition and community.

The amalgamation debate pits Hamilton against its smaller neighbours. It also leaves people, many of whom will vote in next Saturday's citizen referendum, wondering what to believe”.

Reporter Andrew Dreschel (1997) also provided a balanced representation of the

amalgamation votes stating:

“Silence implies consent, and there's no way the suburban communities are going to be silent on this issue. Municipal government is the most personal form of democracy for most people, and grassroots democrats are bent on sending a strong message to Queen's Park that people fundamentally expect a say in determining the future of their communities.

The province may have the legal right to impose amalgamation, but the referendum is a symbolic questioning of its moral authority. The greater the voter turnout, the stronger that challenge will be” (1997)

Neither columnist showed a bias for either the city or the suburbs but rather include the differences among city and suburbs and the importance of democracy within a city.

During the time period when balanced reporting of the suburbs within the *Spectator* hits a peak (1995-1998), Amalgamation and Politics-Government were the most reported on.

This accounts for the dominance of balanced reporting during that period.

New Development-Growth-Sprawl

All other themes were shown in a very negative light. The related themes of New Development-Growth-Sprawl and Transportation had negative representations of 76 percent and 72 percent. These two themes had a slightly higher positive reporting than the other leading themes but still low at 5 percent and 8 percent. A difference of

71 percent between positive and negative for New Development-Growth-Sprawl and 64 percent for the reporting on Transportation. The themes of Environment-Sustainability as well as Food-Farmland had the strongest negative representation of 84 percent and 86 percent. The positive representation of these themes was nearly non-existent at 1 percent and 2 percent for the latter.

It was the overwhelmingly negative valence associated with those themes that accounts for the negative image of the suburbs in the study period. Rarely if ever is a theme mentioned independently, there is always some linkage among them. Nearly all of the main themes are related in some way to the issue of sprawl. Without sprawl and the design which accompanies a sprawling environment, the themes of transportation and particularly, environment-sustainability and food-farmland would hardly appear in the *Spectator*. The overwhelming negative consequences of sprawl: environmental degradation, unsustainable growth, poor design and automobile dependency can explain the dominatingly negative representation of sprawl in the newspaper. This could explain the overtly negative trends associated with the reporting on suburbs and the urban periphery in the *Spectator* as discussed in Figure 2 above.

Sprawl

Accounting for the occasional positive representation of New Development-Growth-Sprawl (5 percent), is the mention of the possibilities of attractive new developments and sensible growth strategies such as Smart Growth or the Greenbelt, but these are not the realities of most suburban development around Hamilton. Although these do fall under the category of New Development-Growth, their purpose

is to counteract the adverse effects of a sprawling city. In turn, these are negative representation of suburban development.

Between 2002 and 2010, when references to New Development-Growth-Sprawl hit a peak, there is an increase in the emphasis of its negative consequences for the city of Hamilton. This coincides with the increasingly negative representation of the suburbs, as shown in Figure 2. Discussion of sprawl in the *Spectator*, refers to the urban periphery of Hamilton generally. In an opinion piece, Stoney Creek resident, Jerry Grzech (2001), refers to sprawl as “unbridled, runaway expansion with corporate profits as the main goal”. In an opinion piece, Hamilton resident Roy Adams (2005), argues sprawl is “fouling our nests, adding to pollution and clogging our roads. It is hurting us socially and economically”. In an opinion piece titled, “Core left to rot at the expense of the suburbs”, Hamilton resident, Jason Leach (2005), contends, “The urban city will continue to be robbed of its money and left to rot and the ‘burbs’ will boom right to the edges of the so-called greenbelt”. Even a Dundas resident, Steve Delottinville (1996), who would have a vested interest in the suburbs considering he resides in one, argues “Urban sprawl is the death of any community’s downtown core...”. An editorial piece, published in 2015, titled “Intensification should be the rule” (Stepan, 2015) and other titles such as “Go for the brownfield; Province aims for industrial renewal” (McGuinness, 2000) and “Filling in the doughnut; How to turn downtown into a people place and help us all relearn how to get along with rich and poor” (McGreal, 2004) speak to the *Spectator*’s bias towards intensification and their dismissal of urban sprawl. This call for intensification also speaks to a bias towards the lower and inner city. Local issues in 2010

further spoke to the argument for intensification. While the City of Hamilton proposed a new stadium on a Greenfield site on the East Mountain, located close to a major highway, environmental groups fought for a more central location. Arguments against this suburban site included its lack of access to public transit and its development on empty land when brownfield sites were available in the downtown core. Storm Cunningham, is the author of *The Restoration Economy* (2002) and *reWealth* (2008), and the CEO of Resolution Fund, LLC. He was also the keynote speaker at Hamilton's third Annual Economic Summit. He wrote an opinion piece in 2010 which was published by the *Spectator* in response to the possibility of a suburban stadium contending:

“A stadium draws people to a downtown they normally wouldn't visit. Public transit prevents traffic problems that stifle communities. A sprawl stadium is carbon-intensive, exercise-free and leaves little economic trace with local businesses. A downtown redevelopment tends to yield more tax revenue than sprawl”.

In 2003 there was an increase in the reporting in the *Spectator* on the government's attempts to implement two forms of growth which would assist the urban core and halt sprawl: Smart Growth and the Greenbelt. Smart Growth is guided by the goal of higher density development, protection of farmland, the reuse of brownfield sites and intensification of existing infrastructure. A reporter for the *Spectator* in 2003 talked to former Burlington mayor Rob MacIsaac on his plans to implement Smart Growth around Aldershot, a neighbourhood in Burlington with commuter rail connections to Toronto. A supporter of this form of growth, MacIsaac stated:

“...smart growth directs growth to existing communities rather than creating more urban sprawl. It makes use of existing roads and infrastructure and preserves

greenlands. But it is also about maximizing the benefits and minimizing the impacts from growth with the use of a management plan” (Fragomeni, 2003).

Once more, the rejection of sprawl is highlighted, speaking to a demand for intensification in already existing infrastructure in the urban core resulting in lower cost and the protection of agricultural land. This was further supported by the provincial designation of a Greenbelt around the entire GTHA in 2005. This policy encouraged intensification of the urban cores as designated areas on the periphery were protected to ensure a healthier environment and to inhibit sprawl. The Greenbelt as a way of negating sprawl was looked on rather positively by the *Spectator*. In an opinion piece, Hamilton freelance writer Beatrice Ekwo Ekoko (2015), described the Greenbelt as a “guard” to protecting farmland and natural resources arguing it is “an investment in our future”.

That said, although intensification is looked upon rather positively, there are still some reports which argue the positives of suburban development. In an opinion piece, Hamilton resident, Anthony Desantis Jr. (2005) argued that intensification would not be enough to support Hamilton’s growing population:

“For Hamilton over the next two or three decades, this means 80,000 people, or the equivalent of approximately 140 Century 21 Towers, will have to be housed in our existing built form...we have stated that the province's intensification targets cannot be achieved within only the downtown area and will ultimately destabilize existing neighbourhoods elsewhere in our city. This is poor planning in the extreme”

Furthermore, another opinion piece by Hamilton resident, Joe Scozzaro (2010), argued brownfield development sites are often undesirable to potential businesses due to location and limited space. He argued: “the city needs jobs and targeting underutilized land for future, potential business development seems a logical and

rational approach or as happened so often, companies will leave or bypass Hamilton for more business friendly and development-ready precincts”. Although sustainable then intensification was not always seen as desirable financially for future businesses. But such arguments were very much the exception, not the rule.

Themes Related to Sprawl

In the *Spectator*, sprawl is linked to the loss of farmland, environmental problems, and increased automobile use, further adding to its negative representation. A sprawling city is seen as being responsible for the loss of farmland in and around Hamilton. In an opinion piece, Hamilton resident, Virginia Cameron (2000) stated that a loss of productive farmland to create more urban sprawl is “short-sighted”, arguing “with climate change, crop failure due to drought and heavy rains, food production is uncertain. Farmland is as much a resource as oil, so let us preserve it for the future”. In 2001, an unsigned editorial argued,

“Farmers are dedicated to the land and what they produce. If they sell, it's usually because they're forced to because they can no longer earn a living to support their families.

And the sale is quite likely to a developer who will extend the urban sprawl. In the end, we all lose because there's less farmland to produce locally grown food.”

The dominant view expressed in the *Spectator*, was that a loss of farmland as a result of a sprawling city not only harms farmers who are losing their source of income, but society as whole which no longer has access to locally-grown products.

In regards to Environment and Sustainability, almost all of the negative representations of this theme are linked to sprawl and an increase in automobile use as a result of living on the urban periphery. An anonymous editorial claimed that

“Each step toward a more sprawling city is contrary to the global best practices of reducing auto dependency and greenhouse gas emissions.

Each step toward a more sprawling city compromises the rural and natural landscapes upon which we and other species depend, and increases the vulnerability of Hamilton to flooding and other consequences of global climate change.” (“Sprawl compromises”, 2015).

In an opinion piece, reporter, Gord McNulty (2002), wrote about the environmental implications of sprawl, stating: “The status quo is a recipe for more strip malls and highway-dependent ‘cookie cutter’ suburbs, severe gridlock, fewer open spaces, more air and water pollution and increased stress on taxpayers and natural resources alike”.

Furthermore, local issues within Hamilton during 2003-10 led to an increase in the negative representation of a sprawling city and of increased automobile use. The development of the Red Hill Expressway in 2002 aroused passions on both sides. As a result of a sprawling city, an expressway is required which is argued will result in environmental degradation. In an opinion piece, Hamilton resident Steven Toth (2002), argued: “Building the expressway creates an image of a city with a plan that owes more to Vision 1950 than Vision 2020 [a project focused on Hamilton’s future growth and the development of natural and built environments]. We now know the problems associated with urban sprawl. We know that taking 40,000 trees out of the city to make way for more traffic will diminish air quality”. In an opinion piece, local economist, Tom Muir (2002), who grew up near the Red Hill Valley, viewed the

expressway as being an “ecological and environmental disaster” which supports a sprawling city and the associated problems. Finally in an op-ed piece, Hamilton resident Marsha Duncan (2002), argued that if the expressway is built, “...more than 40,000 trees will be felled. These trees are the lungs of east Hamilton; they suck up the pollution. How can building this road improve the health situation in Hamilton?”

Rejection of automobile dependency implies a need for increased public transportation. Referring to the automobile, although many articles expressed frustration about congestion, the majority spoke of the illogical and poor design of the suburbs which compelled people to rely on the private automobile. In an opinion piece, resident, Jeff Morgan (2002), described suburbs as

“...a car lover's Disney World -- giant parking lots, drive-throughs for banks and food, huge box stores and, of course, easy highway access. Why do we allow car manufacturers, fossil-fuel companies, visionless developers, and mega-corporations to dictate our living environment? Are we willing to sacrifice our health, environment, and social well-being in the name of convenience? Are automobiles liberating or limiting? A pedestrian sighting on Upper James might be newsworthy”.

In another op-ed article, Luisa D`Amato (1992) stated:

“Suburban homes are all clustered together on roads that lead to a collector road. These homes are separated from stores and offices, which are put in malls with big parking lots. So you have to drive to get anywhere. Should you be determined to walk, you're discouraged by the lack of sidewalks, fast cars on too-wide roads, or boring parking lots to walk beside.”

Howard Elliot (1999), the editor of the *Spectator* at the time, echoed many of these arguments:

“Sprawl is characterized by unnecessary land consumption and low average population densities in comparison with older centres. It depends on cars. It contains only fragmented open space, and has wide gaps between developments

and a scattered appearance. It artificially separates various land uses into distinct areas. Its buildings usually consist of one-storey commercial buildings surrounded by acres of parking and hundreds or thousands of look-alike single-family homes. And it lacks public spaces and community centres”.

This mention of poor design spoke to a larger need for better public transportation to service those on the urban periphery with their day to day activities. When choosing to live in the suburbs, there is no choice but to rely on the automobile. Further mention on the design of the suburbs in the *Spectator* refers to their homogenous nature. In an op-ed piece, Hamilton resident Nancy Boyd (1999) stated:

“It is not unfair to label these new housing estates eyesores. The architecture of the houses is incongruous and unimaginative, and the layout of the neighbourhoods dull and predictable: street after street of too-large houses crammed onto too-small lots”

This is a similar type of complaint to the ones many academics and commentators have been making across North America since the 1950s. The mass produced sprawl design of suburbs is especially emphasized in regards to the discussion of the Meadowlands in Ancaster. Anything northwest of Upper Paradise and Stone Church road is considered ‘The Meadowlands’. Development of the area has been taking place since the 1990s and continues today. Notable features of this area include: big box stores, a large movie theatre and extensive upper middle class housing. In another opinion piece, reporter Gord McNulty (2002), wrote: “‘Meadowlands East.’ The image of another sprawling, car-oriented, big-box and residential development on southeast Hamilton Mountain has powerful appeal in a convenience-oriented society”. Again the mention of design is linked to sprawl and an environment oriented to the car. That said, although many viewed suburban design as an ‘eyesore’, a 2007

anonymous Business report showed a price boom in the suburbs due to steady demand.

“Dana Senagama, the agency's market analyst for Hamilton, said the increases are being driven by the usual suspects -- a strong economy, historically low mortgage interest rates and tight supply. The strongest demand, she said, remains for large single-detached homes, a force that drives most new house construction into the suburbs. ‘People want the larger houses and the larger lots, and you're just not going to find those in downtown Hamilton.’”

Despite the negatives associated with suburban development, negatives which many contributors to the *Spectator* chose to emphasize, people continued to demand larger homes on larger lots, something which the inner city cannot accommodate.

Overall, despite reports such as Code Red that highlighting the disparities between the lower city and the burgeoning suburbs, suburbs and sprawl are shown in a negative light by the *Spectator*.

Conclusion

Overall then, an overwhelmingly negative valence was present throughout the reporting on the suburbs in the *Spectator*. This was particularly the case with reportage on the theme of urban sprawl. The negative aspects associated with sprawl included auto dependency, loss of prime natural and agricultural land, and environmental risks. Furthermore, as witnessed in the positive reports on such initiatives as Smart Growth and the Greenbelt, there was an expressed desire for intensification of the downtown core. This can also be seen in the *Spectator's* choice to publish the seven day series, Code Red, a project designed to show the disparities present among the varying neighbourhoods in Hamilton and which also highlighted a

strong contrast in health and income between the lower city and the suburbs.

Although it would be simple to state *The Hamilton Spectator* shows a bias towards the lower city and a dislike for suburban development, the opinion pieces demonstrated throughout this thesis tell an even deeper story. There is a large gap between what editorial writers, journalists, and published commentators say about the suburbs and the actions and lives of most readers of the newspapers, and residents of Hamilton. It is possible that many residents agreed with the criticisms but believed that they had no real choice about where to live. However, it could also be the case that they ignored, or resented such criticisms, but continued to buy the paper because there is no alternative choice for a local newspaper in Hamilton. That said, overall the views expressed by *The Hamilton Spectator* were entirely conventional in the sense that they repeated the sorts of commentary that many academics and commentators have articulated in the past.

CHAPTER FIVE

Representation of the Suburbs in *The Toronto Star* (1991-2015)

We can now consider the representation of Toronto's suburbs in *The Toronto Star*. In 1892, Toronto was a city of 180,000 with six newspapers competing for readership (thestar, n.d). It was then that a seventh daily newspaper was introduced, a self-styled, "Paper for the People" (thestar, n.d.). On November 3rd, 1892, the then *Evening Star* published its first issue; it would become *The Toronto Star* in 1900 (thestar, n.d.). Today, years later, *The Toronto Star* has grown into one of Canada's largest daily newspapers. To begin, a brief overview of Toronto as a city and its unusual suburban morphology will be sketched. Afterwards, the trends associated with the valence and themes of Toronto's suburbs and then specifically Toronto's inner and outer suburbs from 1991 to 2015 will be analyzed.

Toronto

There are at least two common ways of defining Toronto, beyond the City itself, making it a difficult city to discuss. The first is the census metropolitan area (CMA) which is a typical region, combining a city and adjacent suburbs which are closely connected to the urban core, as measured through commutes to work and other forms of interaction (Bourne, 2001, p.28). The Greater Toronto Area (GTA) is the second, encompassing the new City of Toronto (the former Metro Toronto) and the four regional municipalities that surround it: Durham, Halton, Peel, and York (Bourne, 2001, p.28). For this research, Toronto refers to the CMA, with a population of over 5.5 million,

making it the fifth or sixth ranked in North America, depending on how urban boundaries are drawn (Harris, 2014, p.31). Data from the 1996 census revealed 48 percent of Toronto residents resided in the outer suburbs, 52 percent in the inner suburbs and 14 percent in the old City of Toronto (Statistics Canada, 1996). The City of Toronto has not followed a similar trajectory to most other modern North American metropolitan areas such as Chicago, Los Angeles, and Detroit. Containing a higher proportion of first-generation immigrants than any other North American metro, Toronto is an immigrant city (Harris, 2014, p.31). In addition, unlike the City of Hamilton, not all of Toronto's suburbs lie within city limits, creating a distinction between inner and outer suburbs. Finally, although most metropolitan areas have seen inner city decline, Toronto has witnessed extensive gentrification and inner city redevelopment, demonstrating a non-ubiquitous suburban dream (Harris, 2014, p.31).

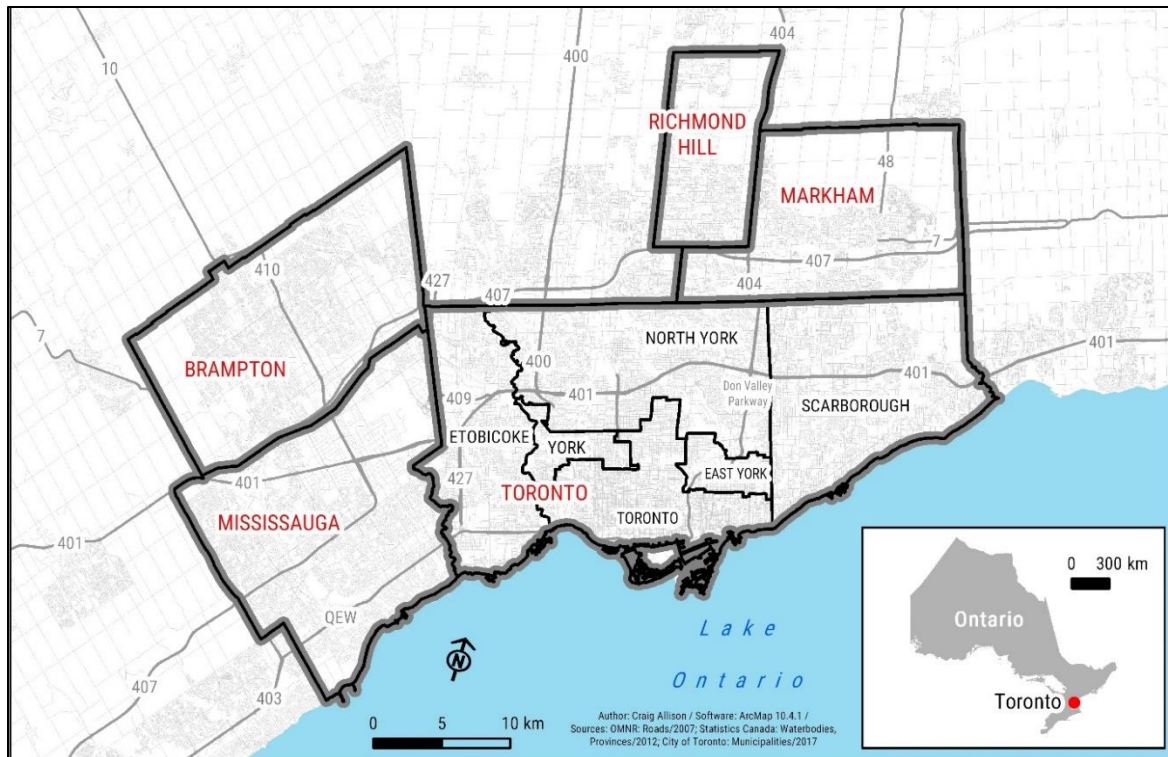


Figure 1: Communities in the New City of Toronto (Allison, 2017)

Amalgamation occurred in 1998 when the regional municipality of Metropolitan Toronto and its six constituent municipalities-East York, Etobicoke, North York, Scarborough, York and the City of Toronto-were dissolved into a new, single municipality renamed the new City of Toronto (Figure 1). This became known as the ‘megacity’. The provincial government argued for amalgamation believing this would save money by eliminating duplication of effort, reducing the number of politicians and local employees, and helping to make the local administration more efficient (Frisken, 2007, p.251) . On December 17th, 1996, a City of Toronto Act (Bill 103) was brought to the legislature (Frisken, 2007, p.251). The Bill proposed the New City of Toronto, which would be composed of 44 elected members, one from each of the 44 newly formed

wards, and would serve a population of 2.4 million (Friskin, 2007, p.251-252). The plan was very controversial. Critics believed the government was seriously undermining the principles of local democracy. They also questioned the supposed cost-savings of amalgamation, believing that the government wanted to use the new City as a source of funds for services in the rest of the province or that they wanted to load more costs onto Metro taxpayers (Friskin, 2007, p.253). Supporters echoed the government's arguments and believed amalgamation would help strengthen Toronto's position in the GTA. They also believed amalgamation would result in better more equitable services for the growing low income population in Metro's five suburban municipalities (Friskin, 2007, p.252). However, despite growing opposition, amalgamation went forward in 1998. Since then, many organizations and individuals continue to use the names of the old municipalities instead of using 'Toronto'. Although part of the new City of Toronto, these municipalities continue to maintain their individual identity.

Toronto's suburbs have always been physically and socially diverse (Harris, 2014, p.31). Before 1950, there were working class residents living in industrial suburbs, and others for professionals; upper class residential suburbs outside and inside the city; and working class residential suburbs with immigrants residing in owner built homes (Harris, 2014, p.32). As a whole, Toronto is one of the most multicultural places in the world; half of its residents are immigrants with individuals from almost every country (Hiebert, 2002). Until the 1970s, many immigrants settled in the inner city. However, gentrification has changed those enclaves and there has been a steady shift of new immigrants settling outside the old city. In 2006, they made up nearly two-thirds of the

residents in Toronto's most populated suburban zones (Harris, 2014, p.39). Immigrant settlement has always been a part of Toronto's suburban typology.

The City's changing social geography has been documented by David Hulchanski (2010). He found three different types of neighbourhoods. First is the inner city, in particular the pre-1930 landscape, which is characterized by higher densities, mixed uses, retail strips and higher levels of transit use (Hulchanski, 2010; Bourne, 2001, p.39). In the 1970s, most of the city's low income neighbourhoods were found here. Most of these areas have now gentrified, however, and low-income households are now concentrated in the northeastern and northwestern parts of the city known as the inner suburbs (Hulchanski, 2010).

The inner suburbs, a ring of post-war suburbs built mainly in the 1950s and 60s, represents the second Toronto landscape. These areas, characterized by lower densities, with single-family homes mixed with high-rise housing, and a mixture of transit access, are now home to a high proportion of the city's disadvantaged (Bourne, 2001, p.40). Mounting problems of the inner suburbs include poverty and the absence of services needed by an increasingly diverse and needy population (Hulchanski, 2010). In general, the inner suburbs have now become the main reception zone for low-income immigrants (Murdie, 2008). Many of these areas face the challenges of low-income immigrants in deteriorating high rises with limited access to public transit and a difficulty finding well paid employment (Harris, 2014, p.40). As a result, the inner suburbs contain most of Toronto's notorious areas of drug activity and violent crimes.

The final landscape is the ring of post-1970 suburbs located outside the old metro boundaries and known as the outer suburbs. These are characterized by far lower densities in large subdivisions and are highly dependent on extensive highway and expressway systems (Bourne, 2001, p.40). These areas have become relatively richer in comparison to the inner suburbs (Hulchanski, 2010).

That said, some features are shared by the inner and outer suburbs. Immigrants, many of whom conform to the Canadian census criterion of ‘visible minorities’, characterize the suburbs in general and indeed have a higher concentration in the outer rings (Harris, 2014, p.42). However, what distinguishes the inner and outer suburbs is income. While the inner suburbs are now places of poverty and crime, the outer suburbs maintain the suburban stereotype of homeownership, auto-dependency and sprawl. Research on Toronto’s suburbs, both inner and outer would suggest, on balance, that we should see a strongly negative representation of suburbs within *The Toronto Star*. In fact, the story is a little more complicated. Because Toronto’s inner and outer suburbs are rather different in identity and social character, it is meaningful to consider separately the *Star’s* coverage of each, together with those situations where the paper speaks about the suburbs in general. I consider first the representation of suburbs in those articles that spoke in general terms, without distinguishing between the inner and outer zones.

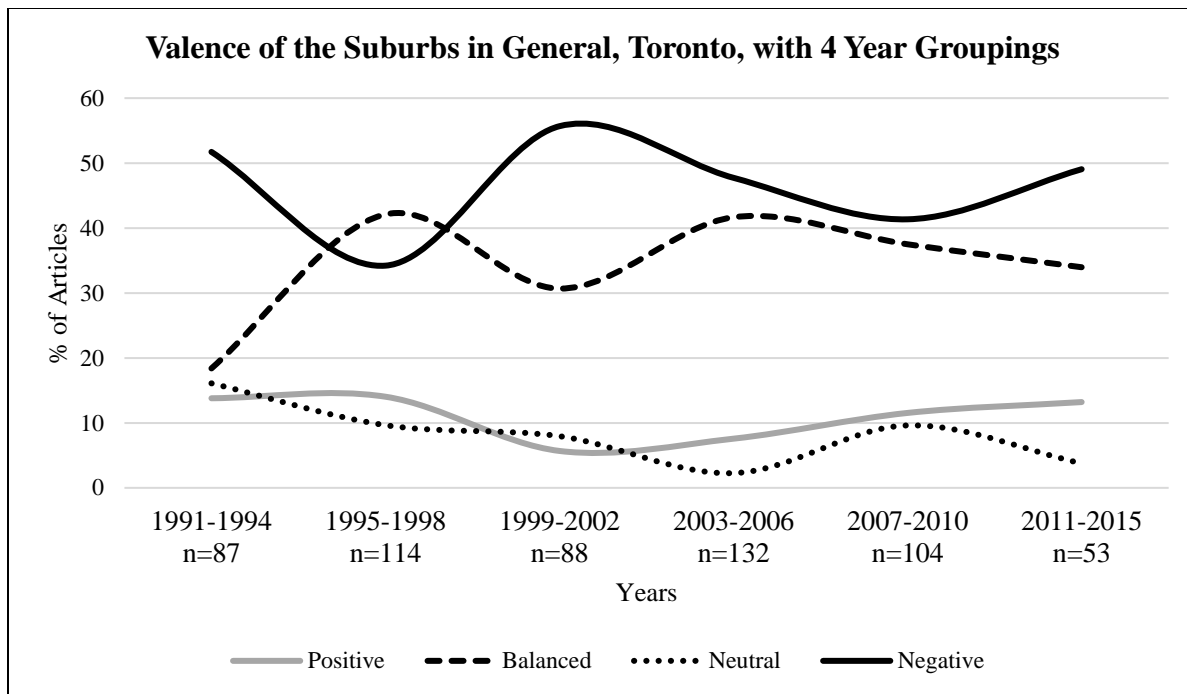


Figure 2: The valence of the suburbs in general, 1991-2015 using 4 year groupings

Valence for the suburbs in general

Research on Toronto and its suburbs would lead us to expect a negative picture of the suburbs in general within *The Toronto Star*, and this research confirms this. Using the same methodology applied to *The Hamilton Spectator*, four categories were used to indicate the valence of media coverage: positive, neutral, balanced, and negative. Each article could only be coded with one valence. This data, as seen in Figure 2, was smoothed by grouping four years together. This was done for purposes of consistency and comparison with *The Hamilton Spectator*. The results show that articles which framed the suburbs in a positive light remained stable but low in number throughout the study period (Figure 2). From 1991-98, positive articles accounted for 18 percent of all articles within the *Star*. By the end, they only accounted for 13 percent.

Overall, neutral portrayals of the suburbs in the *Star* also fell, dropping from 16 percent in 1991-94 to a low of 2 percent from 2003-06. This rose to a low 4 percent from 2011-15. Neutral articles are any articles which have absolutely no form of negative or positive bias within them such as articles reporting on statistics. Their low number suggests reporters and editors recognized that opinions about the suburbs were polarized, making it difficult not to express any opinion.

Balanced articles, including those in which the reporter has included both positive and negative points about the suburbs, increased and were always more common than positive or neutral reports throughout the study period. From 1991-98, balanced articles increased from 18 percent to 42 percent; a 24 percentage point increase. This coverage rate of 42 percent would also be seen from 2003-06. After 2006, balanced reporting on the suburbs remained stable only decreasing by 8 percentage points to a 34 percent representation at the end of the study period.

Finally, negative articles dominated throughout the study period except for a decrease to 34 percent during 1995-98. This timeframe correlates with an increase in balanced articles during that same time. During the middle of the study period, negative representation hit a peak of 56 percent of all coverage. By the end of the study period, negative portrayals of the suburbs continued to remain high and stable.

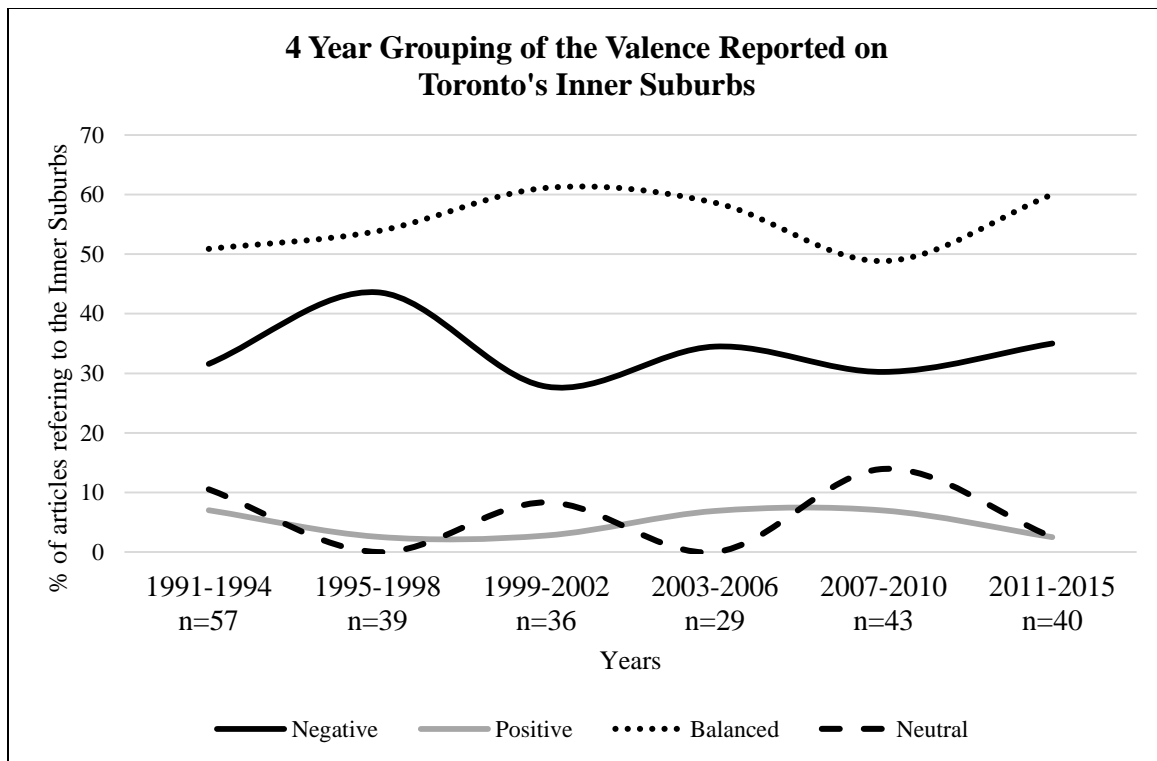


Figure 3: The valence of Toronto's inner suburbs within, 1991-2015 using 4 year groupings

Valence for the Inner Suburbs

As we saw earlier, there is a considerable difference in the social character of Toronto's inner and outer suburbs, making it difficult to interpret the valence of reports that ignore this difference. Was this reflected in the *Star's* coverage? To a considerable extent the answer is, yes. Although the character of Toronto's inner suburbs would suggest a negative representation, this research suggests otherwise. Using NVivo's coding query, each of the four categories used to indicate valence (positive, neutral, balanced, and negative) were run against all articles which referred to the inner suburbs. This included those that mentioned the 'inner suburbs' in general, as well as those that mentioned only North York, Etobicoke, or Scarborough. This data, as seen in Figure 3,

was smoothed by grouping 4 years together. This was done, because for some years article numbers were too low to provide meaningful results.

The valence of articles which frame the inner suburbs in a positive light remained stable but very low in comparison to the other categories throughout the study period. With a 7 percent representation during the beginning of the study period, after 1995, positive reporting only increases or decreases by 4 to 5 percentage points. By the end of the study period, positive representation is at its lowest and nearly non-existent.

Similarly, articles deemed as neutral have a quite low representation throughout the study period. Articles which represent the inner suburbs in a neutral tone, peak in three different time periods; 11 percent from 1991-94, 8 percent from 1999-2002, and 14 percent from 2007-10. As was the case with positive representation, by the end of the study period, neutral articles were rare. These findings suggest the newspaper recognized opinions about the inner suburbs were polarized, making it difficult not to express any opinion within their reporting.

Negative representation of the inner suburbs remains stable and relatively higher in comparison to positive and neutral depictions. This stability is witnessed throughout the study period, where negative articles were 32 percent during the beginning of the study period, 28 percent from 1999-2002, and 30 percent from 2007-10. Negative representation hits a peak during the mid-1990s at 44 percent; a 12 percentage point increase from 1994. Finally, there is a small increase in negative representation of the inner suburbs at the end of the study period.

Interestingly, balanced representations of the inner suburbs in the *Star* dominated throughout the study period. They rose from 51 percent during the beginning of the study period to a high of 61 percent from 1999-2002; a 10 percentage point increase. They fell during the middle of the study period but rose again and remained dominant at the end of the study period. This dominance of balanced representation of the inner suburbs signals a lack of bias, and perhaps a deliberate attempt to balance coverage in this zone. What themes are related to this balanced valence will be discussed later in this chapter.

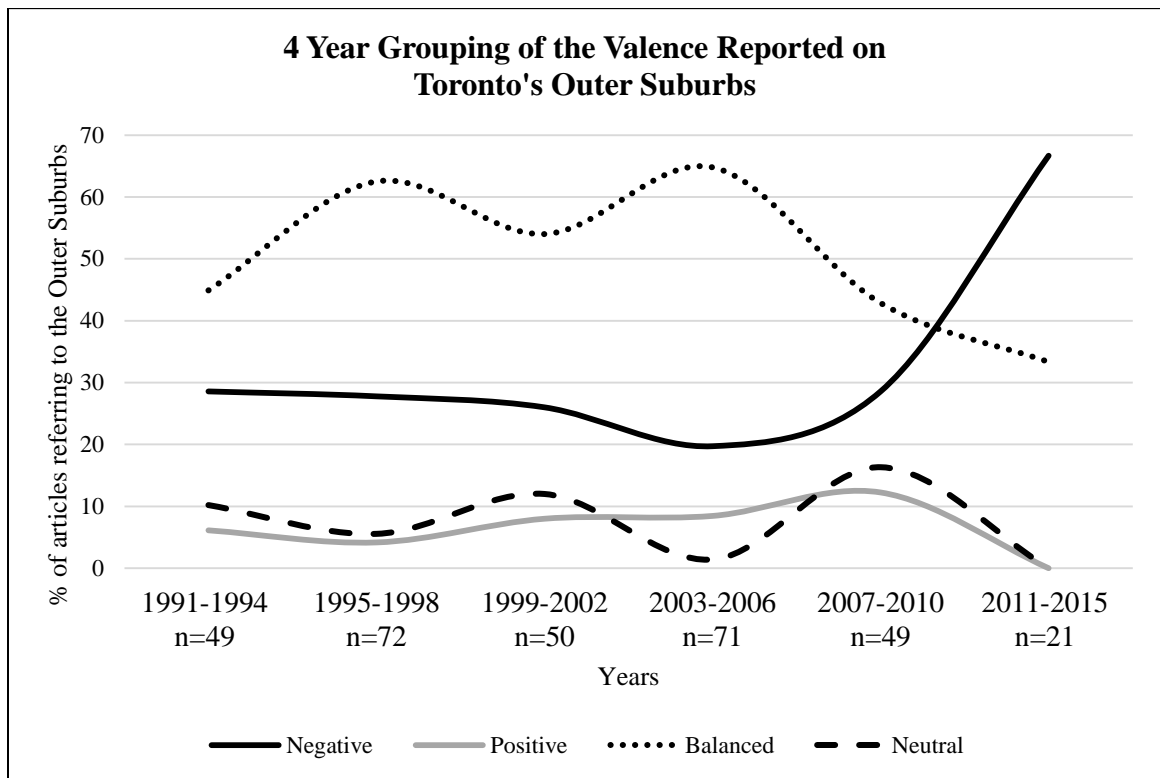


Figure 4: The valence reported on Toronto's outer suburbs, 1991-2015 using 4 year groupings

Valence for the Outer Suburbs

The valence of reports on the outer suburbs follows a broadly similar trajectory. Using NVivo's coding query, each of the four categories used to indicate valence (positive, neutral, balanced, negative) were run against articles which refer to the outer suburbs. This included those which refer to the 'outer suburbs' in general, as well as those that specified Brampton, Mississauga, Markham, and Richmond Hill. Again, this data, as seen in Figure 4, was smoothed using four year groupings. Similar to the inner suburbs, positive portrayals of the outer suburbs remained stable but significantly lower than those that were balanced or negative. From 1991 (6 percent of coverage) to 2010 (12 percent of all coverage), positive representations of the outer suburbs rose by 6 percentage points. It is noteworthy however, that by the end of the study period, there were no articles which reported positively on the outer suburbs.

Neutral portrayals remained low throughout the period. As in the inner suburbs, these reached three small peaks, once from 1991-94 at 10 percent, second, from 1999-2002 at 12 percent and finally, during the late-2000s at 16 percent. As with positive representation, neutral portrayals of the outer suburbs were non-existent after 2011.

Negative representations of the outer suburbs remain stable but higher than the positive or neutral. From 1991-2002, they dropped slightly by 3 percentage points from 29 percent to 26 percent. There is a slightly larger decrease of 6 percentage points during the middle of the study period, where negative representation was at its lowest. The most interesting trend comes at the end of the study period when negative representation suddenly takes off, reaching 67 percent.

Finally, and again, balanced representation of the outer suburbs dominated. They were high at 63 percent from 1995-98 and 54 percent from 1999-2002. They hit their peak from 2003-06, at 65 percent of all coverage of the outer suburbs, but after 2006 began to drop, remaining lower at the end of the study period at 33 percent. This is at the same time that negative representation began to dominate, indicating a significant shift in the *Star's* reporting. Such negative comments and the themes associated with them will be examined later.

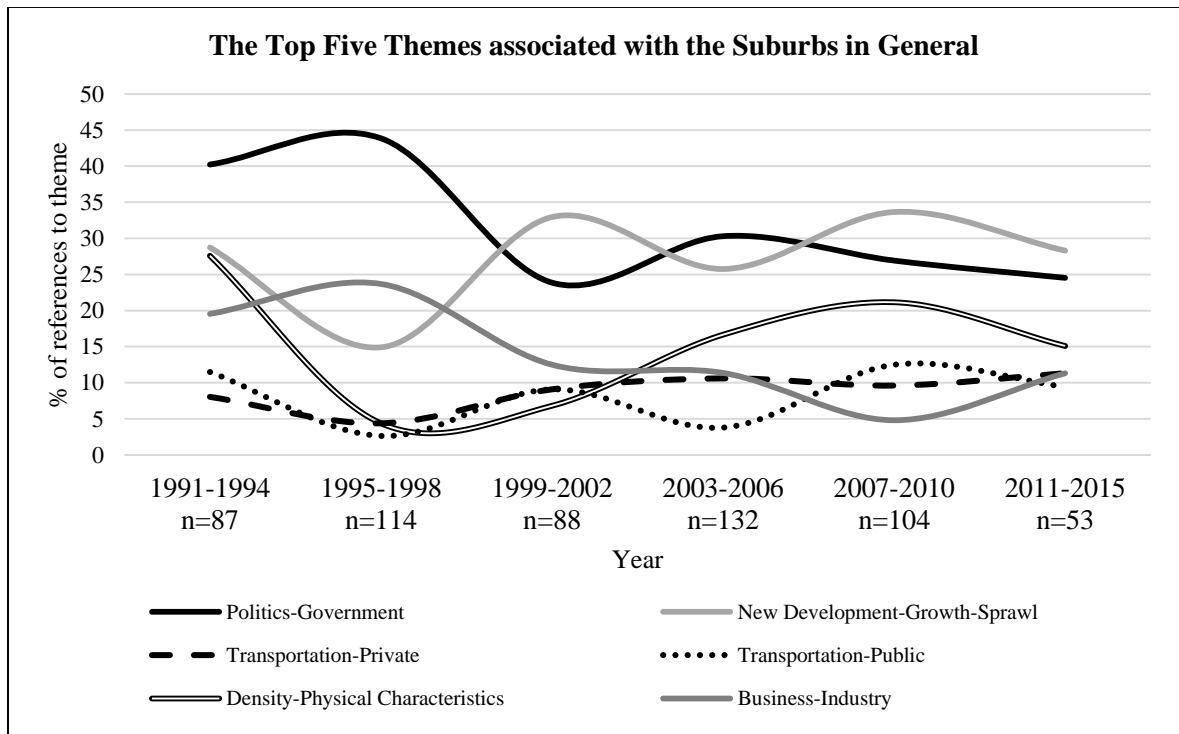


Figure 5: The top five themes associated with the suburbs in general

Themes relating to the suburbs in general

As we have seen, when speaking about the suburbs in general, the *Star* showed a highly negative image, with balanced representation following closely behind. The

question now is what was being said, and why? To help answer these questions, we need to know whether this shift was associated with particular themes. The top five themes reported in the *Star* were examined to see how their representation changed from 1991-2015. One theme was dominant until 1998. However, after 1998, although some irregular cycles are apparent, none of these themes showed a marked trend in importance. The remaining themes were less commonly mentioned and indeed absent in some years. To help with the interpretation of these themes, as in Hamilton, the one for transportation was split into public and private as the issues associated with each are very different. This resulted in the six themes presented in Figure 5.

Showing similar trends to *The Hamilton Spectator*, these six themes fall into two categories: those that are related mainly to specific local events, such as elections, and those that raise issues of wider significance. Because of its reference to prominent local events, it was useful to consider separately the trend with and without the theme of Politics-Government. Although it was not a major theme, amalgamation was added to Politics-Government because of their close relation. The themes of Politics and Amalgamation pertain to local events and are considered separately.

Table 1: Relationship among themes in pertaining to the suburbs in general (percentage distribution)

Themes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 n=114	100	20	10	3	20	3	7	7
2 n=157	15	100	14	18	3	3	6	14
3 n=65	17	34	100	14	5	5	2	11
4 n=78	4	36	12	100	6	9	8	4
5 n=53	43	8	6	9	100	8	8	0
6 n=34	9	15	9	21	12	100	18	0
7 n=46	17	20	2	13	9	13	100	4
8 n=51	16	43	14	6	0	0	4	100

Themes:

1. Politics-Government-Taxation
2. New Development-Growth-Sprawl
3. Transportation (Private + Public)
4. Density-Physical Characteristics-Design
5. Business-Industry-Employment
6. Cost of living-Affordability
7. Quality of Life
8. Environment-Sustainability

As we saw with *The Hamilton Spectator*, many of the leading themes are interconnected, although in different ways and to different degrees. Because each article was associated with up to three themes, these interconnections can be documented. They are shown in Table 1. Using the same methodology as applied to *The Hamilton Spectator*, when coding with NVivo, an article could be associated with up to three themes although sometimes only one or two. The interconnectedness among all 20 themes were documented for the *Star* and can be found in Appendix 5. The same methodology applied in making these relational theme tables for Hamilton, was also

applied in the making of these tables for the *Star*. To reiterate, with NVivo, you can run two themes against each other to find out when they appear in the same article. These reference numbers were then recorded in a larger table. To calculate percentages, the reference numbers in each row, minus those on the diagonal, were summed to create a row total. Numbers on the diagonal were omitted as they represent the association of a theme against itself. The numbers in each row were then calculated from this row total to create percentages. Table 1 shows the top eight themes out of twenty. As a result, rows in Table 1 do not add up to 100 percent as some other themes below the top 8 are absent. The results were expanded from the top 5 themes to the top 8 themes as, upon initial examination, some strong relationships were shown to emerge among themes which had fewer references.

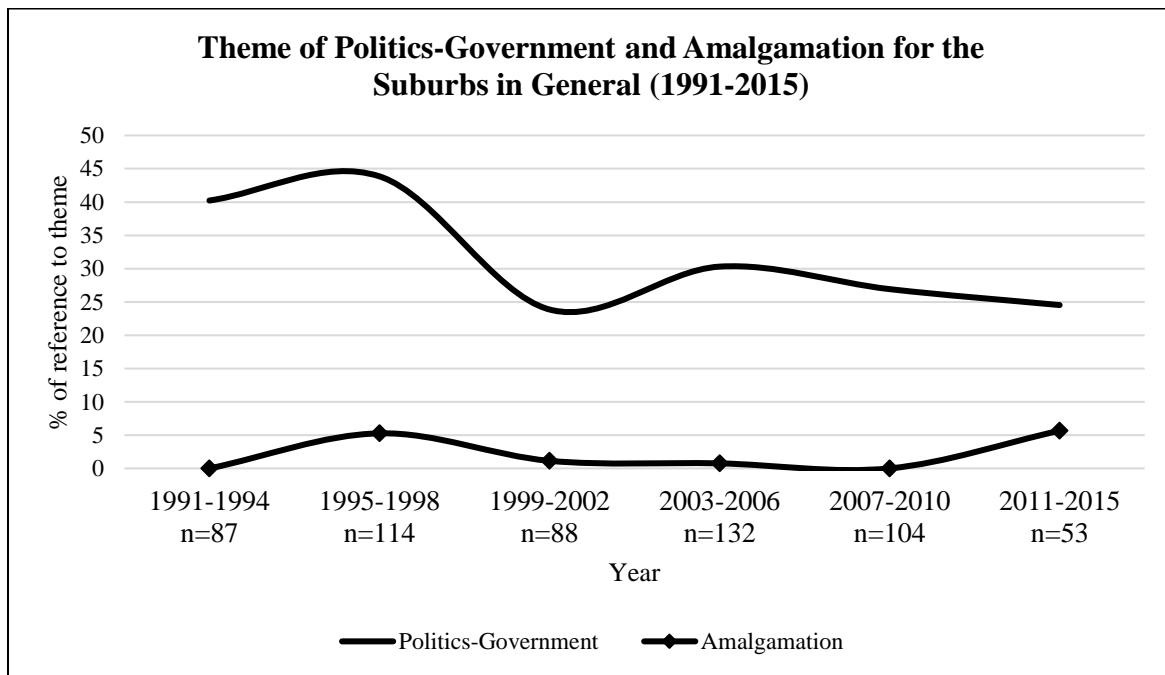


Figure 6: Theme of Politics-Government and Amalgamation for suburbs in general, 1991-2015

Reporting on Politics-Government and Amalgamation

Although amalgamation played a large role in the government and politics of the city, reporting on this theme is nearly non-existent within the *Star*. In 1998, the ‘Metro’ suburbs were amalgamated with the City of Toronto to create an expanded ‘new’ City of Toronto. As seen in Figure 6, the theme of Amalgamation only sees a minor increase to a 5 percent reference rate in the late 1990s and then again at the end of the study period. In contrast, the theme of Politics-Government dominates, until 1998 when coverage dramatically decreases. From 1991-98, reference to Politics-Government remains stable in the paper at a 43 percent coverage rate. After 1998, reference to the theme of Politics-Government decreases by 20 percentage points to 23 percent, rising somewhat in the mid-2000s before falling back down to 24 percent by the end of the study period. Although there would have been changes to the political atmosphere of Toronto during the years leading up to amalgamation, the *Star* does not overtly mention the idea of an amalgamated city. That said, Politics-Government does connect with other themes, especially Business-Industry: over the study period 43 percent of articles reporting on Business and Industry in the area also refer to Politics and Government.

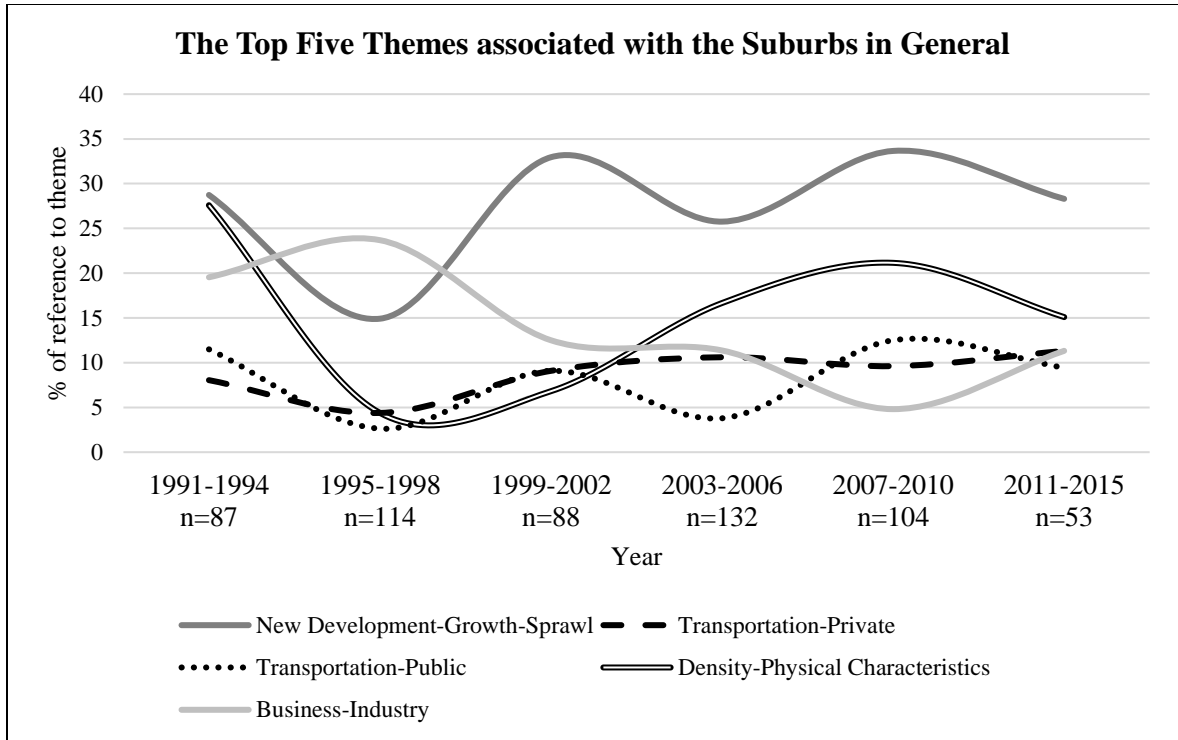


Figure 7: The top five themes associated with the suburbs in general (Politics-Government omitted)

Reporting on major themes for the suburbs in general

After removing the locally significant theme of Politics-Government, some more noticeable trends began to emerge (Figure 7). While two themes remained relatively stable throughout the study period, three demonstrated noticeable changes. The theme of Density-Physical Characteristics had a high reference rate early on, but dropped from 28 percent (1991-94) to 4 percent (1995-98) before eventually rising back up to 21 percent (2007-10). Among the other themes, Business-Industry had the highest number of references at 24 percent, but later declined to 5 percent. New Development-Growth-Sprawl was generally dominant throughout, only falling to a low of 15 percent, 1995-98

when Business-Industry dominated. From 2007-10, it hits a peak of 34 percent of all references.

Not surprisingly, given its dominance throughout the study period, the theme of New Development-Growth-Sprawl was the most strongly related to the other themes within the Top 8. Of the articles which mentioned Environment-Sustainability, 43 percent of those articles also referenced New Development-Growth and Sprawl. The equivalent proportions for Density-Physical Characteristics-Design and transportation, both public and private, were 36 percent and 34 percent respectively.

Although New Development-Growth-Sprawl was dominant, other themes, notably Business-Industry and Density-Physical Characteristics, were significant in specific periods. This lack of overwhelming dominance by one theme suggests the *Star* presented some diversity in what it chose to report on. Now we will examine the themes associated with the Inner and Outer Suburbs to see whether or not this diversity is present in the representation of these specific zones.

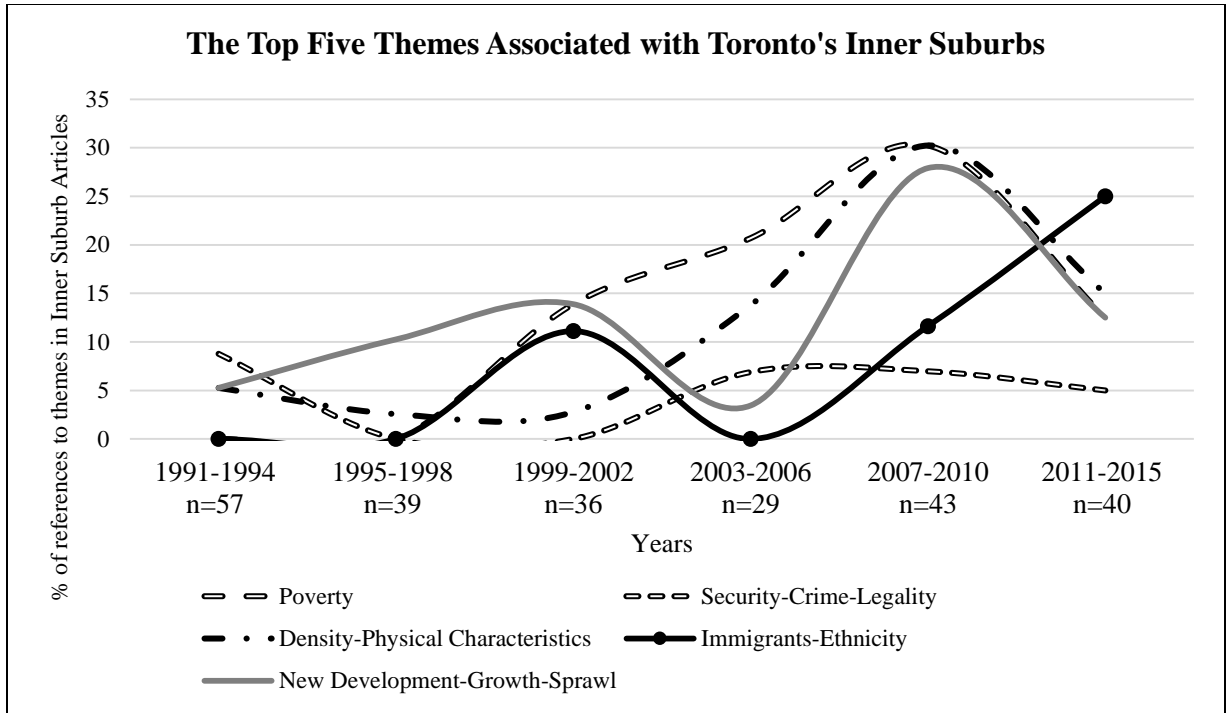


Figure 8: The top five themes associated with Toronto's inner suburbs

Themes relating to the Inner Suburbs

As we have seen, in terms of valence the *Star* showed a balanced, trending towards negative, representation of Toronto's inner suburbs. The question is, what was being said about this particular area? To help answer this, we need to see whether this valence was associated with particular themes. The top five themes reported in the *Star* in relation to the inner suburbs were examined to see how their representation changed from 1991-2015. To do this, reference to the inner suburbs, North York, Etobicoke, and Scarborough were run against all twenty themes, except for Politics-Government and Amalgamation, to see which ones dominated in these areas. Only the top five themes were examined further and the results are shown in Figure 8. The remaining themes were less commonly mentioned, and absent in some years.

In regards to Toronto’s inner suburbs, all themes except for Security-Police-Crime show marked upward trends from 2003 onwards. While there are many minor themes in the beginning of the study period, from 2007, between them, the top five are dominant in the inner suburbs. In the late 2000s, the themes of Poverty, Density-Physical Characteristics and New Development-Growth Sprawl, have the highest references. Poverty and Density-Physical characteristics have the same reference rate during this time-frame at 30 percent for each. New Development also peaks at a reference rate of 28 percent during that time. Finally, the theme of Immigrants and Ethnicity rose significantly in references during 2011-15 with 25 percent of article referring to the inner suburbs mentioning this theme.

Table 2: Relationship among themes for Toronto’s Inner Suburbs (percentage distribution)

Themes	1	2	3	4	5
1 <i>n</i> =18	100	22	11	22	44
2 <i>n</i> =14	29	100	71	0	0
3 <i>n</i> =12	17	83	100	0	0
4 <i>n</i> =11	36	0	27	100	36
5 <i>n</i> =12	67	0	0	33	100

Inner Suburban Themes

1. Poverty
2. New Development-Growth-Sprawl
3. Density-Physical Characteristics
4. Security-Crime-Legality
5. Immigrants-Ethnicity

Even when looking specifically at the inner suburbs and eventually the outer suburbs, many of the top themes associated with each are interconnected but to different degrees and in different ways. Again, because each article could be associated with up to three themes, these interconnections can be documented. To create Table 2, all of the top five themes for Toronto's inner suburbs documented in Figure 8 were run against each other. To create percentages shown here, each of the reference numbers in the row were summed, minus those on the diagonal. Each reference number was then individually calculated based on this row total to create percentages. In contrast to the table presented for all of Toronto's suburbs, each row in Table 2 will sum to 100 percent, as only the top five themes were examined and are accounted for in these results. The same methodology will later be applied to Toronto's outer suburbs.

Unsurprisingly, given the academic research on Toronto's inner suburbs, poverty ranked high as a theme and was connected primarily with the subject of immigrants. Of the articles which discuss immigrants in the inner suburbs, 67 percent also refer to poverty. In addition, the themes of New Development-Growth-Sprawl and Density-Physical Characteristics are strongly related, with 83 percent of articles commenting on Density of the inner suburbs also referring to New Development-Growth and Sprawl. The latter themes are also strongly correlated in regards to the outer suburbs but there other major themes emerged.

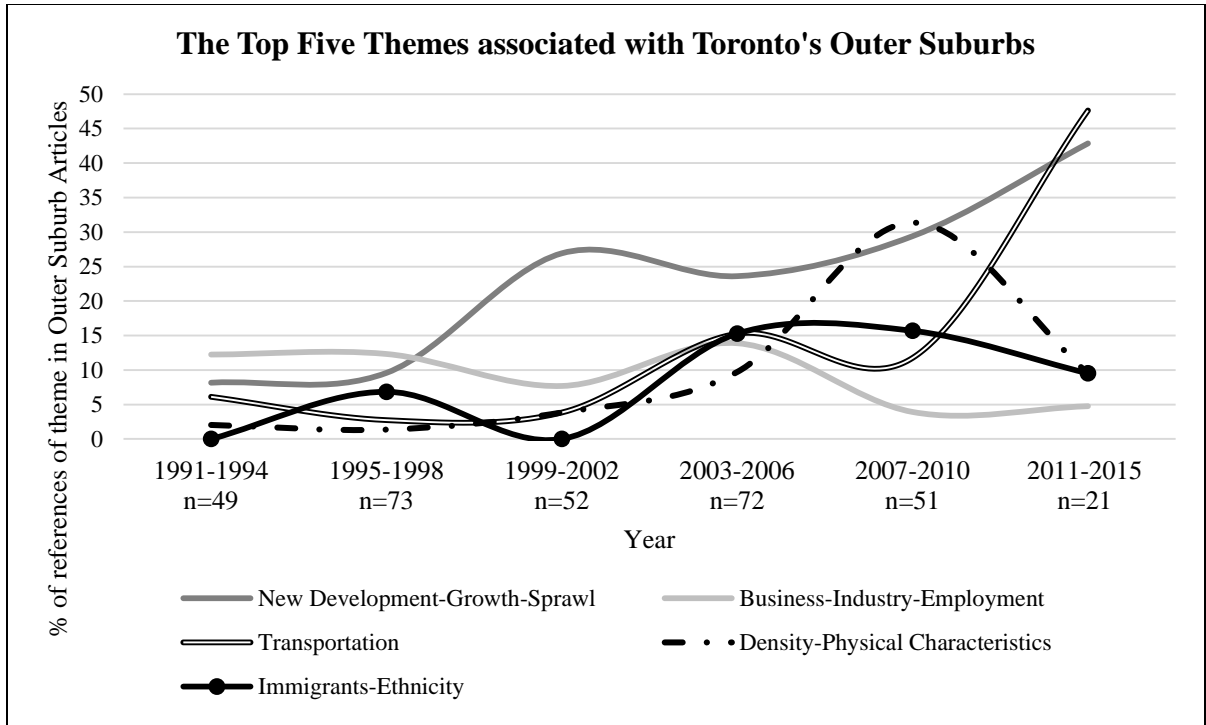


Figure 9: The top five themes associated with Toronto's outer suburbs

Themes Relating to the Outer Suburbs

Now that we know the themes strongly associated with the inner suburbs it is interesting to see how they differ from those for the outer suburbs, including Brampton, Mississauga, Markham, and Richmond Hill. In regards to the themes associated with the outer suburbs, the theme of Density-Physical Characteristics was low early in the study period eventually rising in the late 2000s, at 33 percent (Figure 9). The theme of transportation remains stable throughout the study period until late in the study when the theme dominated at 48 percent. New Development-Growth was also high during this time period at 42 percent. It also peaked from 1999-2002 at 28 percent.

Table 3: Relationship among themes for Toronto’s Outer Suburbs
(percentage distribution)

Themes	1	2	3	4	5
1 <i>n</i> =36	100	14	17	64	6
2 <i>n</i> =16	31	100	44	6	19
3 <i>n</i> =20	30	35	100	35	0
4 <i>n</i> =31	74	3	23	100	0
5 <i>n</i> =5	40	60	0	0	100

Outer Suburban Themes

1. New Development-Growth-Sprawl
2. Business-Industry-Employment
3. Transportation
4. Density-Physical-Characteristics
5. Immigrants-Ethnicity

In regards to connections among themes for the outer suburbs, similar to the inner suburbs, New Development-Growth-Sprawl is strongly related to Density Physical Characteristics, with 74 percent of articles referencing Density-Physical Characteristics also reporting on New Development-Growth-Sprawl (Table 3). In contrast to the inner suburbs, 60 percent of articles reporting on Immigrants-Ethnicity also referenced Business-Industry, rather than poverty. Transportation showed a strong connection to Business-Industry and Density-Physical Characteristics. Of the article referring to Transportation, 35 percent also mentioned either Business-Industry or Density-Physical Characteristics. Whether the themes associated the inner and outer suburbs of Toronto coincide with a positive, neutral, balanced, or negative representation of these areas will be examined further.

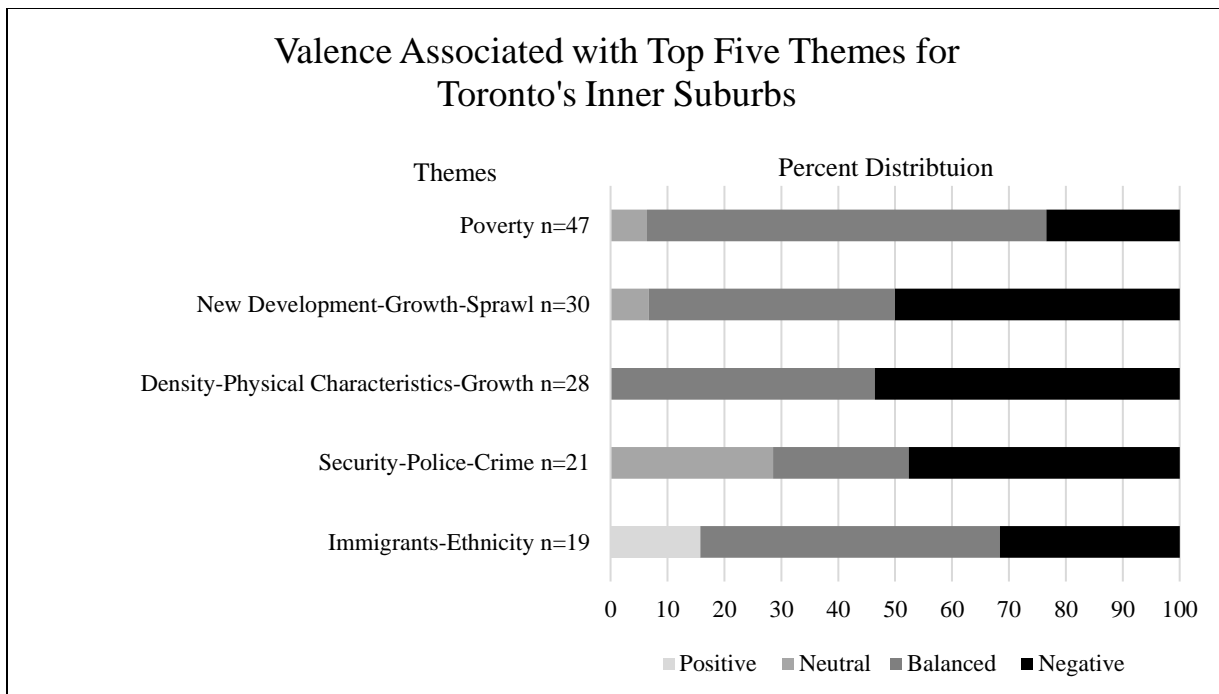


Figure 10: Valence associated with top five themes for Toronto’s inner suburbs

The Relationship between Valence and Themes

In regards to how the suburbs are depicted within the *Star*, it is important to distinguish the inner and outer suburbs because the issues presented by the *Star* are very different. Overall, the themes associated with both zones, match their realities. Although there are two major themes associated with Toronto’s inner and outer suburbs, overall, the themes associated with each and how these themes are connected are very different. These will now be examined in relation to their valence to see if any correlations exist. However, to begin, a columnist for the *Star*, Christopher Hume, will be examined as he was a prominent fixture in the newspaper throughout the study period and his opinions were overtly negative.

Hume was a longstanding urban affairs columnist who was given ample opportunity to express his opinions. The role of columnist is complicated. Many are hired because of they have a definite ‘angle’ which may be designed to generate controversy- and readership. Hume was unique in his consistently negative representation of the suburbs. In regards to the outer suburbs, he spoke about their unoriginal design. In 1991, he wrote,

“There’s no doubt the suburbs are a horrible mess... A drive through the greater Metro area confirms these words. Ontario developers have ruined much of the landscape and provided generally inefficient and wasteful housing that isolates residents from one another and creates traffic congestion. Designed for cars rather than people, the suburbs have substantially lowered the quality of life throughout North America”.

In relation to their design, on numerous occasions Hume even went so far as to compare suburbs with slums. In 2005, he wrote “Look across the road to the east and you can see car culture at its worst. Endless identical houses line streets that go nowhere. These are the slums of tomorrow, but for the price of gasoline, a social disaster waiting to happen. This is why suburbia has become a dirty word”. The idea of suburbs as slums was further highlighted in 2008, in an article titled, “Downtown density will prevail over slums of suburbia”. He wrote “Sixty years later, beset by gridlock, shoddy construction and environmental degradation that can no longer be ignored, density has started to look good again”. In regards to Toronto’s inner suburbs, Hume commented on their isolating nature and, again, poor design. After the Paris terrorist attacks of 2015, he wrote “the old inner suburbs of Toronto are not as bleak as those around Paris, but they can be just as isolating – physically, economically and socially. The building stock – mostly concrete and

highrise – offers little in the way of a public realm, and what does exist is often degraded and dangerous”.

Hume is clearly anti-suburb. Although it would be unfair to use his opinions as a summary an indicator of *Star*'s views, the editor's choice to keep him as a columnist does. The *Star* hired Hume, published his pieces, and never once did it appear that Hume was toning down his feelings or providing a more balanced coverage of the suburbs. In publishing his work, the *Star* risked losing or at least annoying its suburban readership, because implicitly they were challenging his opinions. Recognizing, and setting aside Hume's commentary, the following analysis is based on the remaining reportage and judgements that the *Star* published.

Inner Suburbs

Throughout the study period, balanced representation of the inner suburbs remains prominent while no theme dominated. The top five themes associated with Toronto's inner suburbs in the *Star* were examined to see if there were any trends in how these suburbs were represented in relation to them. Reports on Security-Crime-Legality were consistently reported on, and unsurprisingly were shown to be highly negative at 46 percent. However, it is the themes of New Development-Growth, Density Physical Characteristics, and Poverty which overwhelmingly came to dominate from 2007-10, accounting for all themes reported on the inner suburbs. How these are associated with the valence of the inner suburbs will be examined.

New Development-Growth-Sprawl and Density-Physical Characteristics

Of the top five themes reported for Toronto's inner suburbs, 50 percent of articles reporting on New Development-Growth-Sprawl and Density-Physical Characteristics had a negative valence. In the inner suburbs, there was no positive representation associated with these themes. They are also highly associated with 83 percent of articles referring to Density-Physical Characteristics also reporting on New Development-Growth-Sprawl. Discussion was related to a surge in condominiums as well as the lack of services. In an anonymous opinion piece, for example, in 2002 the author argued,

“Toronto is being invaded by inner-city suburbs. Condo developments and townhouse ‘communities’ are springing up on vacant land and discarded factory lots downtown with such frequency these days that the skyline is changing on a daily basis. And while having a human population in the city’s core is infinitely preferable to building a hulking commercial shell that is deserted at dusk and eventually turns into Detroit, there’s something disturbingly sterile and Stepford-esque about all these assembly-line dwellings and glass towers multiplying across the city” (“Vertical fortresses...”, 2002).

Similar to the manner in which researchers have represented homes within the suburbs, the *Star* highlighted the homogeneous nature of these suburban condominiums. Chris Winter (2007), the Executive Director for the Conservation Council of Ontario referred to the development of these condominiums as “the planning equivalent of the desert due to their lack of access to surrounding services”.

Planning decisions of the past were also questioned. In an opinion piece, Andre Sorensen and Paul Hess (2015), at the University of Toronto, discussed the limitations of redevelopment in these areas. They wrote,

“Taking a hard look at development potential is especially important in Toronto’s inner suburbs such as Scarborough, which were carefully designed to limit the

potential for incremental change through redevelopment... Most of Scarborough consists of “stable residential neighbourhoods” where intensification and significant redevelopment is not permitted and is frequently opposed by residents. Careful evaluation shows the potential for redevelopment and intensification is limited”

This is further accentuated by columnist Edward Keenan (2015), who stated:

“A big part of the problem in places like Scarborough and Etobicoke is that the way subdivisions were built means that many people live on winding cul-de-sacs that are hard to serve with a regular bus stopping at regular intervals. The population density is so low that a bus wouldn’t fill up serving those who live there, and those same road designs also mean people often live a 10-minute walk from the nearest bus stop on a major street”

In his view, and that of many other commentators published in the *Star*, poor planning had resulted in these areas being difficult to service, or to redevelop, in order to better serve the needs of their residents. Poor planning had made it especially difficult for those living in the poverty who do not have access to the services they may require.

Poverty

These arguments also appeared in those articles that were coded as dealing prominently with the issue of poverty. Throughout the study period, the theme of poverty gained in prominence and was most pronounced from 2007-10. Although an inherently negative subject, purely negative representation of poverty in the inner suburbs only accounted for 23 percent of reports. It is important to note that the valence associated with an article, being either ‘negative’ or ‘balanced’, is based upon how the subject is reported, not the subject itself. Typical articles commented on the lack of services. In an opinion piece, columnist Ellie Tesher (2002) wrote,

“with the emerging recognition of the need to bolster Canada’s cities, comes a timely reflection on some of Greater Toronto’s stressed neighbourhoods. These

hitherto neglected communities lack the most basic elements for decent living: play space for children, recreation for youth, outreach to isolated seniors. Once, they were part of the affluent spacious suburbs of North York, Etobicoke, Scarborough, East York and York, far from downtown Toronto's inner streets. Now they hold pockets of poverty, created from overdevelopment of high-rises where newcomers flocked. With the end of rent controls, cuts in social services and slashed social assistance, they have become overcrowded and under-served”

Further comments on how the inner suburbs were poorly serviced may be found in an opinion piece by economist, Sean Geobey (2008), who wrote:

“The densely populated but poorly transit-served “inner suburbs” between the city core and the 905-belt suburbs are where our young, our people in transition, and our new Canadians cluster. These pockets of poverty contain many people without the cars to access services in the suburbs and must instead take long transit rides to go downtown. Because of this, the least economically secure members of our communities are saddled with very time-consuming commutes. A revived mass transit system would ease their burden, but it could create another one elsewhere in the system.”

Here there is a strong connection to immigrants. Reports on poverty and immigrant status had a strong relationship in the inner suburbs: 67 percent of all articles referring to immigrants also mentioned poverty. In 2011, an editorial stated:

“They rise up among the postwar bungalows of Toronto's inner suburbs. Towering buildings that house hundreds of thousands of the city's poorest people. These apartments are often the first home for those who came to this country looking for a better life. Once built to house modest-income and middle-class families, these aging highrises have increasingly fallen into disrepair and become rife with problems – drug dealing, vandalism, bug infestations, overcrowding – and increasing poverty” (“United way outlines bleak reality...”, 2011).

The reasons for the association of poverty and immigrant status has to do with the lack of services and job opportunities available in the inner suburbs. In an editorial, Haroon Siddiqui (2002) wrote: “but the gap is widening between what we recruit immigrants for and what they do here. Too many highly qualified people are delivering pizzas for too

long. This is not good for them, not good for us”. Elsewhere, a columnist highlighted the language barriers present among many immigrants and their inability to access, services within the inner suburbs, even when those existed. Noor Javed (2008) wrote “her [a recent immigrant] language barrier and inability to afford child care limit her access to the resources in the community. In other suburbs, there are few resources to begin with”. As a result of a lack of access to jobs and services, immigrants in these communities become trapped. In an unsigned editorial, it was stated:

“Middle-income earners are a dying breed in the city of Toronto as income polarization takes root. Not only are the poor losing ground, so is the middle class. It’s not that they are pulling up stakes and moving out – though some do. Rather, the natural progression from apartment to house in Scarborough or North York is no longer the norm. Newcomers can’t afford the move because their incomes have stagnated or regressed. Those who can afford it and want a suburban lifestyle are choosing the 905 region [outer suburbs] and beyond instead of the inner suburbs” (“Alarming tale...” 2008).

For newcomers who have the resources, the usual preference is to move to the outer suburbs. Overall, of all themes poverty has the most balanced representation in association with the inner suburbs; 68 percent of articles referring to poverty and the inner suburbs were balanced. This is unsurprising considering the vast majority of reports on poverty in the inner suburbs are news stories which are meant to be balanced or neutral in nature. Although there are exceptions, notably Christopher Hume, reports on poverty follow this rule. Poverty is an innately negative theme, however, reporting on the inner suburbs in relation to poverty are balanced in the sense that many reports call for support and assistance in these underserved areas. Such titles as, “High time to repair neglected districts” (2005), and “Anti-poverty plan must focus on city” (2007), indicate

this. In a news story, columnist, Paul Irish (2002) commented on new programs funded by the United Way of Greater Toronto:

“As part of its Strong Neighbourhoods, Healthy City strategy, the charity will distribute \$1.89 million to six projects serving communities across the city’s inner suburbs – including Etobicoke, North York, York and Scarborough – over the next three years. ‘The needs in many communities, especially in the inner suburbs, are skyrocketing’ said United Way president Frances Lankin yesterday. ‘Youth are particularly isolated, often with little access to recreational activities and other opportunities to develop new skills and build positive futures. The projects ... will fill an important gap in high-need neighbourhoods as well as connecting people to resources and to hope.’”

Another report by columnist Catherine Porter (2005), highlighted the actions of the United Way in assisting these underserviced neighbourhoods:

“It’s important to address the growing gaps, neighbourhood by neighbourhood, to stave off the kind of ‘urban decline’ found in many cities across the border in the United States. To fully address the problem, the United Way released its road map to action, which includes: A five-year commitment by the municipal, provincial and federal governments to set down a broad strategy in each of the nine targeted communities and set up a fund to bankroll investments in the area. Another 15-member “investment board” of community members, voluntary agencies, businesses and union members to guide the plan’s implementation in each neighbourhood. Local investment plans for each neighbourhood to be developed with broad consultation from the community”

The *Star* recognized the realities of poverty within the inner suburbs, specifically focusing on how immigrants to Toronto are strongly impacted by the under-servicing of these areas. Although poverty is an innately negative theme, the newspaper did its best to identify reasons for this poverty and to recognize the support needed within these neighbourhoods, making their reports on the inner suburbs and poverty balanced. While immigrants and poverty are strongly associated within the inner suburbs, the outer suburbs present a different outcome for newcomers.

Outer Suburbs

Throughout the study period, balanced representation remains high in relation to the outer suburbs until 2011, when the themes of New Development-Growth and Sprawl, as well as Transportation, become increasingly dominant. The question now is whether or not there is a connection between the two. The top five themes associated with the outer suburbs were examined to see if there were any trends in how they were represented (Figure 11).

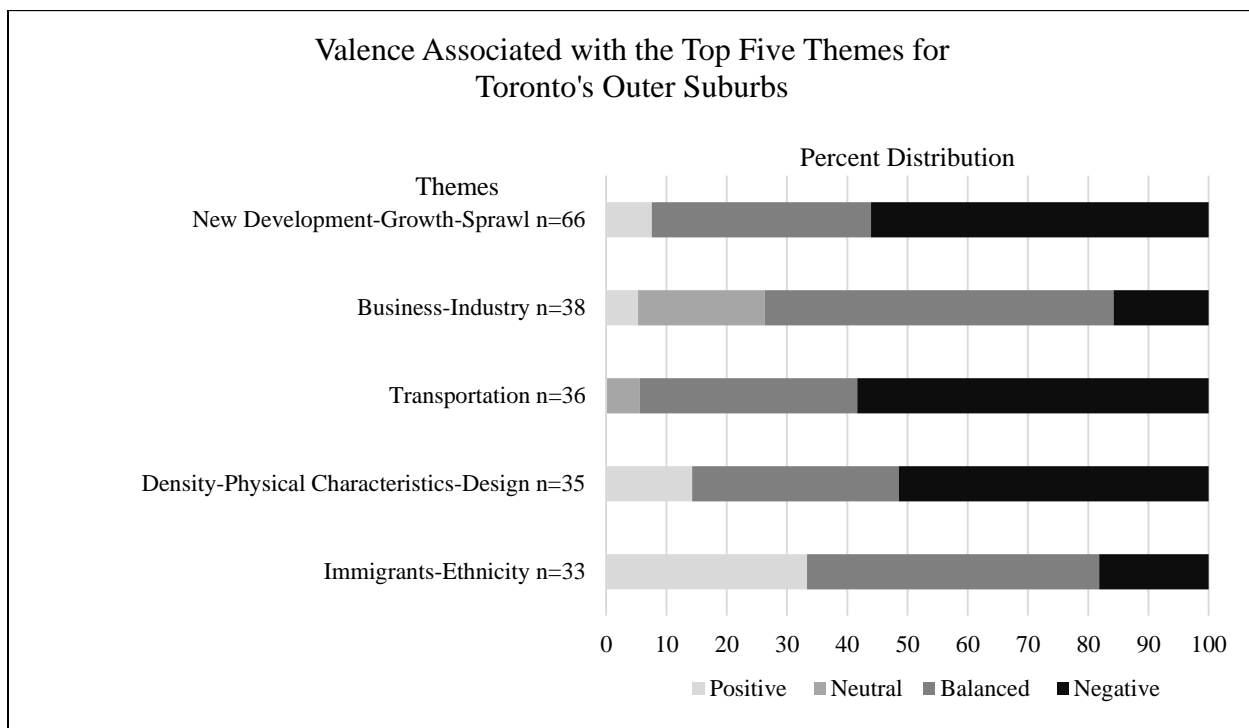


Figure 11: Valence associated with top five themes for Toronto's outer suburbs

Business-Industry and Immigrants

Of the top five themes examined for the outer suburbs, those of Business-Industry and Immigrants-Ethnicity had the most balanced representation accounting for 58 percent and 48 percent of all articles, respectively. Immigrants-Ethnicity also had the most

positive representation in relation to the other themes reported on for the outer suburbs at 33 percent. A news story, reporting the results of a recent study, and entitled, “New Canadians flock to better life in suburbs” stated:

“Recent immigrants in smaller suburban communities are faring better than those setting roots in big cities when it comes to jobs, incomes and home ownership, says a new study that measures newcomers’ life quality across Canada... The study, conducted by the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, compared how newcomers who have been in the country for five years or more and living in the suburbs fared against their counterparts in the city. It found those living outside big cities were:

Less likely to be living off social assistance.

Less likely to be unemployed.

Twice as likely to have a university degree.

More likely to own a home” (Yeung & Taylor, 2011)

Although the newspaper noted the existence of opportunities within the outer suburbs, it also suggested immigrants were attracted to the affordability of the outer suburbs in contrast to the downtown core. A report by Francine Kopun and Nicholas Keung (2007) stated:

“Instead of settling in cities first and then moving on to the suburbs, a growing number of new immigrants are starting off their new lives in the suburbs. Brampton’s foreign-born population, for example, grew by 59.5 per cent since the last census... ‘Housing in Toronto is a problem,’ says Nisreen Ayyoub, a former high school computer teacher who arrived here with her husband, Majdi Ayyoub, from Jordan in May 2006. They spent weeks seeking affordable housing in Toronto before settling on a one-bedroom Brampton apartment they share with their two young boys. Rent is \$1,000 a month.”

The paper also reported that businesses were following a similar trajectory, being attracted to the outer suburbs’ affordability. In 1996, a report in the Business section from by columnist John Spears (1996) reported a conversation with Royal LePage vice-president, Brad Henderson, stating:

“The suburbs are still getting most of the office growth for a variety of reasons, said Henderson. Rents are cheaper and, outside of Metro, so are property taxes. Industrial growth is concentrated around the rim of the GTA close to the airport, highways and auto plants. Accountants, architects and engineers tend to follow their clients. When big firms shrink and contract out work, the smaller, newer firms that get the work tend to be in the outer GTA. Since population growth is also occurring mostly in the 905 area-code zone of the GTA, labor is also in good supply”

That said, while low property taxes within the outer suburbs was noted as a positive feature, the paper flagged an increased worry that such growth would leave the city with little to offer. In a special business report, David Crane (2002) argued: “yet it may be that the days of downtown office towers are over. Instead, Toronto and other major cities will have to re-invent themselves. And this may be the real issue”. There were also arguments that such development was leading to urban sprawl. Business columnist, Paul Moloney (2005) wrote: “Toronto’s high property tax rates on downtown properties encourage urban sprawl by forcing employers to locate elsewhere, business groups say”. Low property taxes, coupled with population growth in the outer suburbs, made these locations economically viable for businesses. That said, their movement resulted in a loss of employment within the downtown core and encouraged sprawl. Articles on this topic were consistently negative.

New Development-Growth-Sprawl and Transportation

Of all the top five themes in coverage of the outer suburbs, New Development-Growth-Sprawl and Transportation were represented most negatively at 56 percent and 58 percent respectively. Similar to the inner suburbs, 74 percent of articles reporting on Density-Physical Characteristics and Design also commented on New Development-

Growth-Sprawl. Unlike the inner suburbs, however, comments on the design and growth of the outer suburbs refer to sprawl and to the homogeneous nature of development in this zone. A 2008 column referred to "...the cookie-cutter houses of Richmond Hill and Vaughan" (Javed, 2008). A year earlier, New Homes columnist Heather Davis (2007) wrote:

"And what of the things that make the suburbs suburban? Big homes, open spaces, long blocks, cul-de-sacs, lots of parking and, most of all, the ever-present car? ... But with a dream as ambitious as Markham Centre, it will be decades before we know if reality can match the vision. And the biggest uncertainty hinges on whether we can ever create true downtowns in areas that began life as sprawling, car-dependent suburbs"

The idea of sprawl was also highlighted in an opinion piece by Mississauga resident and electrical engineer Yilmaz Alimoglu (2008), who asked: "How could we let this city/suburb of Mississauga sprawl on and on without any real planning?" further asking for Mississauga to be referred to as a city instead of a suburb, and speaking to the stigma associated with the outer suburbs. In a final example, columnist Rachel Ross (2002) spoke to the car dependency of the outer suburbs stating: "and as the core expands to the outlying suburbs, cars are becoming more common than people. Yet our public transportation systems practically have to beg for change". Ross was raised in Markham and was then living in a downtown waterfront condo. However, despite her negative comments on sprawl and car dependency, columnist Brian Dexter (2002) argued in the case of Markham that this suburb "...seems better planned and cared for than most of Toronto's built-up hinterland. It also has a surprisingly diverse mix of neighbourhoods and quality housing, a lot of it reasonably priced for first-time buyers". This is an

example of a positive article. That said, it is positive about Markham but still implicitly critical of the outer suburbs as a whole.

Overwhelmingly, commentary on the outer suburbs was negative by the end of the study period, which is when the themes of New Development-Growth-Sprawl and Transportation came to the fore. In 2011, an editorial argued that "...the more a community sprawls out, the more its residents depend on cars – making public transit impractical and intensifying highway gridlock" ("Limiting urban sprawl...", 2011). An opinion piece by columnist John Barber (2015) argued: "but cynics might well wonder why nothing has seemed to change on the ragged frontier of the megalopolis, where low-density, completely auto-dependent dumb growth continues as if nothing had changed". Such articles highlighted the illogical design of the suburbs, which made them dependent upon cars, but also spoke to problems of congestion and the need for more roads.

Summarizing recently-published research, a news story reported,

"looking at per capita neighbourhood carbon emissions, the report indicates that suburbanites produce more. 'It's mainly the heating and the transportation that drive the numbers,' says Hoornweg. Bigger personal vehicle use has the most impact, 'followed by electricity use and building use – and that's simply a function of bigger houses. There are bigger houses in the 905; bigger houses need more heat, more air conditioning, more Christmas lights.' The study illustrates the importance of planning for high densities and good access to public transportation" ("Want cleaner air?" 2011)

Such articles not only commented on the environmental effects of larger homes and reliance on the automobile but also the need for better public transportation. Although affordability was reported as a positive feature of the outer suburbs for both businesses

and homeowners, auto dependency was being emphasized towards the end of the study period.

Conclusion

Overall then, the themes associated with the inner and outer suburbs, and the relationships among these themes were rather different. Poverty was strongly associated with the inner suburbs and had a strong connection with recent immigrants. The outer suburbs were also shown to have received immigrants, due to their affordability and the presence of job opportunities. But while life for immigrants in the inner suburbs was seen to be isolating and difficult, that of immigrants in the outer suburbs was shown to be one of prosperity.

In both cases, the themes of New Development-Growth-Sprawl and Density-Physical Characteristics were present, but in different ways and to different degrees. In relation to the inner suburbs their poor design, lack of access to public services and the sterile development of new condominiums were highlighted. In contrast, the outer suburbs were criticized for their sprawl and for their homogeneity. In addition, the theme of transportation was introduced and the relation between a sprawling environment and a high reliance on the automobile was highlighted. While the inner suburbs speaks were seen to need services for those living in poverty, the outer suburbs called for increased public transportation.

Overall, the themes reported on both the inner and outer suburbs in *The Toronto Star*, match the realities of these areas, as these have been described by social scientists. Indeed, a number of articles and editorials draw on such research and the *Star's* editors

sometimes made room for commentary from academics at local universities. How well this research, and the newspaper's treatment of the suburbs reflected the views of its readers, most of whom were suburban, is an open question. Despite their differences in themes, both the inner and outer suburbs showed an overall balanced representation in the newspaper. This outlook is consistent for the inner suburbs and indeed for the outer suburbs until the end of the study period, when a more negative slant became dominant.

In conclusion, *The Toronto Star*, presented a complicated story. While the valence of reports on the suburbs in general was fairly negative, those that dealt more specifically with the inner or outer suburbs were on average, quite balanced, Hume's columns were the major exception. There was good diversity among the themes present in relation to the suburbs with no single theme dominating.

Although the *Star* does demonstrate a higher negative reporting on the suburbs, on average its reports show a more balanced representation. Balanced representation would lessen the newspaper's risk of potentially losing readership. In the case of *The Toronto Star*, they are competing with another local newspaper, *The Toronto Sun*, and other independent papers. They need to ensure they are doing everything they can to maintain readership to avoid their readers potentially subscribing to another paper. The inclusion of columnists such as Christopher Hume, could speak to the newspaper's desire to add a controversial twist to their reports; readers are intrigued by what columnists such as Hume might say next, even if they disagree.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion

The objective of this study was to explore how the suburbs have been represented in two local newspapers in Hamilton and Toronto. This research addressed three questions: How were the suburbs framed by local newspapers? What issues were associated with the suburbs? And, has the reporting on the suburbs changed throughout time?

Although both cities examined are located within the Golden Horseshoe region of Ontario, Hamilton and Toronto are very different. In regards to Hamilton, the city is significantly smaller in size with a population of just over 500,000 versus Toronto with a population of over 5 million. It is also unique in that the City includes all of its built up area; all of the city's suburbs lay within the city limits. In contrast, Toronto and its relationship with its suburbs is a more complex story. First, there are numerous suburbs which lie beyond the city limits. Secondly, Torontonians distinguish between their inner and outer suburbs, as their social compositions are very different. These factors complicate the meaning of 'the suburbs' within Toronto and also complicated how media coverage reflected these neighbourhoods.

While research on Hamilton's suburbs has highlighted prosperity and wealth in these communities, and poverty in the downtown core, research on Toronto's suburbs tells a different story. Toronto's core has recently seen prosperity as a result of gentrification and it is the inner suburbs that are associated with poverty and crime.

Toronto's outer suburbs have stereotypically been portrayed by academics as sterile-homogenous environments in Toronto's media outlets (Harris, 2014). On that basis, it was expected *The Hamilton Spectator's* representation of the suburbs would be, on balance, positive whereas *The Toronto Star* would be rather negative. In fact, this was not entirely the case.

Overall, there was a lot of negative coverage of the suburbs in both the *Star* and the *Spectator*, which is intriguing given the readership. The *Spectator*, in particular, proved to have an overwhelming negative valence. In the *Star*, a more balanced narrative was apparent. In regards to reporting on the inner and outer suburbs, balanced representation dominated in the reporting on these Toronto zones. In the case of Toronto's outer suburbs, there was a slight surge in negative reporting at the end of the study period but again, not to the same extent in the *Spectator*.

Second, this research revealed that while certain themes emerged in all three areas examined- Hamilton, Toronto's inner and outer suburbs-there were some substantial differences. While the *Spectator* had one overwhelmingly dominant theme throughout the study period, the *Star* showed a greater diversity, and among the top five themes no trend or theme dominated.

Politics, was a prominent topic in both papers, although to different degrees. It was significantly more prominent in the *Spectator* than the *Star*. In particular, one of the most prominent differences was their reporting on amalgamation. This was a major event in both cities, one which stirred up a significant amount of controversy. While it was expected that discussion of this issue would be prominent in both newspapers, this proved

to be the case only for Hamilton. However, there are some potential explanations for this considerable difference. First, amalgamation in Hamilton included all five of its surrounding communities including Flamborough, Dundas, Ancaster, Stoney Creek and Glanbrook. In contrast, only the six constituent municipalities of East York, North York, Scarborough, York and the City of Toronto were amalgamated to create the “megacity” City of Toronto. The surrounding outer suburbs were not included. Secondly, the regional municipality of Metro Toronto already had more say and power than the regional government of Hamilton and provided a greater share of services to the City of Toronto. The creation of the new City therefore did not affect the identity of the amalgamated suburbs to quite the same extent. Finally, by the late 1990s, the City of Hamilton was much poorer than its suburbs. This contrast was not to the same degree in Toronto, and indeed went the other way.

In relation to the top five themes reported on the suburbs in the *Spectator* and the suburbs generally in the *Star*, the *Spectator* highlighted issues related to the natural environment, while the *Star* focused more on businesses. Issues of urban sprawl, density and design, and both public and private transportation were highly reported on in both newspapers, although to different degrees.

In relation to Toronto’s outer suburbs, there are more consistencies among the themes reported in those areas and in the *Spectator*. Issues related to urban sprawl, density and design, and transportation are present in both areas, although in different ways and to different degrees. Overwhelmingly, sprawl dominated the reports on the suburbs in the *Spectator*, but it was highlighted only near the end of the study period for

Toronto's outer suburbs. One potential reason for the strong difference has to do with its relation to other themes in the *Spectator*. Unsurprisingly, given its overwhelming dominance, sprawl was strongly related to the issues of density and design, transportation, environmental implications and loss of farmland. Such initiatives as Smart Growth and the Greenbelt were looked upon positively within the *Spectator*, as these were intended to negate the downsides of sprawl, implying higher density, increased public transportation and the limitation of excessive growth at the urban fringe. The need for intensification within Hamilton is strongly called for within the city by the *Spectator*.

A third finding was that these variations in media coverage do reflect the real differences between Hamilton and Toronto. In regards to the difference in themes between Hamilton's suburbs and Toronto's inner suburbs, there were some stark differences. Discussion of immigrants emerged within Toronto's inner suburbs but ranked much lower in the *Spectator*. However, the strongest contrast comes from the introduction of poverty. Although a prominent topic in the reporting of Toronto's inner suburbs, it was not raised in the *Spectator*. This is an oversight. It is true that the scale and degree of poverty in Toronto's inner suburbs was greater than in any part of Hamilton, outside the lower city, a ring of lower-income suburbs did exist within Hamilton. These include parts of the Mountain and Stoney Creek.

The theme of Immigrants-Ethnicity is present in both reports on Toronto's inner and outer suburbs, however reports on this theme in the *Spectator* are very low. Unsurprisingly, this theme is dominant in relation to Toronto as this city is known as the quintessential immigrant city; almost 50 percent of the city's population is accounted for

by immigrants and included more in the suburbs than in the old City. The Hamilton of the past would have been deemed as an immigrant city, today, only a quarter of those living in the city are immigrants; below the provincial average (Buist, 2016).

Hamilton has been a city which has gone through deindustrialization and as a result saw many of its most prosperous residents migrate to the suburbs, leaving the inner city in disrepair. Reports such as Code Red, published by the *Spectator*, speak to the strong difference in social composition between the inner city and the suburbs. While the inner city has seen a lack of services, poor health and increased poverty in general, the suburbs have seen increased wealth throughout the study period. In that respect, Hamilton has followed a similar trajectory to most North American urban areas. As a result, reports within the *Spectator* have called for intensification and redevelopment of the downtown core, dismissing sprawl and the increased automobile dependency, environmental degradation, and loss of farmland which accompanies this form of growth. The movement of people and companies towards the lower city has already been witnessed in the redevelopment of James St. North.

In contrast, Toronto has seen the reverse of Hamilton. In the 1970s when gentrification gathered momentum in the inner city, people and companies relocated to these neighbourhoods resulting in a shift in the social composition of many inner neighbourhoods. Until the 1970s, the downtown core was strongly associated with poverty, however renovations and redevelopment have pushed residents into the inner suburbs of Toronto. Those reading media reports in Toronto will learn of poverty and crime within these underserviced neighbourhoods. While the *Spectator* calls for

assistance to the inner city, in contrast, the *Star* speaks for a need for services in the inner suburbs. However, Toronto's outer suburbs have witnessed greater prosperity, similar to that seen within Hamilton. Furthermore, Toronto is unique in the overwhelming influx of immigrants which have settled within all areas of the city. Immigrants can be found in both the inner and outer suburbs, although their experiences in each place differ, and this is representative in the *Star's* reports.

In conclusion, Hamilton and Toronto exemplify two types of urban experiences and this to some degree, is indicated in *The Hamilton Spectator* and *The Toronto Star*. While both newspapers need to be careful in ensuring they are representing diverse opinions in order to maintain readership, the *Star*, has a more difficult job. Hamilton only has one daily newspaper: there is no local competition for readership. While the emergence of social media and the creation of the CBC Hamilton website in 2010 now offer some choice, these exemplify a different type of media coverage. If readers from Hamilton were to unsubscribe or halt their readership of this newspaper, they would not have any other option. In contrast, Toronto has two major local newspapers and many more independent news sources which all compete for readership. The *Star* must compete for readers. As a result, they need to ensure, that they represent all neighbourhoods and perspectives on the suburbs. If the *Star* were to demonstrate the same overwhelming negative bias towards the suburbs as witnessed in the *Spectator*, they might see suburban readers turn elsewhere, for example to *The Toronto Sun*, which on balance is probably more supportive of the suburbs. In addition, they need to show diversity in themes related to Toronto suburbs in order to keep people interested, and encouraged to continue

reading. If readers only saw one dominating theme associated with the suburbs, as witnessed in Hamilton, this could potentially become stale reading. That said, Christopher Hume was consistently negative in his reports on the suburbs, adding a controversial twist, but his reports are matched with balanced reporting from other columnists. Finally, the *Spectator*, has an easier and simple story to tell, plausibly making a simple distinction between city and suburb. The *Star* has to grapple with a more complicated story representing the inner-city, inner suburbs and outer suburbs, each with a different social composition and physical characteristics.

Although *The Toronto Star* was on average, more balanced in its representation of the suburbs, and showed greater diversity in the themes it presented, there remained a suburban stereotype in both newspapers. Readers of *The Hamilton Spectator*, and *The Toronto Star*, saw many reports on the suburbs that emphasized and criticized their low-density, homogeneous nature and increased automobile dependency. These match the complaints by academics and critics since the 1950s, however environmental and health criticisms have emerged since then. That said, issues related to public health and the suburbs were overlooked in both local newspapers. In addition, sprawl of any form is looked upon negatively, represented as an excessive and unsustainable form of growth which needs to be negated. Old suburban stereotypes continue to come to the forefront despite the different forms that the suburbs have taken in both cities.

A couple of areas are identified for future research. As reflected in the literature review, more research needs to be conducted on the changing local newspaper coverage of the suburbs. Other North American cities could be examined for comparison, to bring

forth potential differences between the representation of suburbs in the United States and Canada as well as regional differences. It would also be valuable to compare the local newspapers of *The Toronto Star* and *The Toronto Sun*. Although both local newspapers in Toronto, it is predicted the *Sun* may be more forgiving towards the suburbs than the *Star* as it is a more conservative paper and they initially supported Rob Ford, whose support was strongly inner suburban. Finally, it would be interesting to know what suburban residents think of all of this negative coverage. To do this, one would need to conduct interview with suburban residents in both Toronto and Hamilton and present these findings to them.

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Appendix 1
Toronto Coding Scheme

TYPE- What type of story? (***Eventually cut from the coding process**)

1. Basic news story (with some obvious reporting) [default]
2. Press-release style announcement (with no obvious reporting)
3. Editorial (opinionated)
4. Opinion column or letter
5. Letter to the editor

ARTICLE SECTION- Where is the article located in within the paper? Specify page number and section.

1. News
2. Life
3. Business
4. Entertainment
5. Weekend
6. Letter & Opinion
7. Editorial
8. GTA
9. Insight
10. Homes and Condos

FRONT PAGE MATERIAL

1. Front page article
2. Not featured on front page

CENTRAL- How central is the issue of suburbs to the story?

1. suburbs are the main subject of the story or one of several main subjects of the story (must be mentioned in headline and/or first three paragraphs)

VALENCE- Valence of story from the perspective of the representative

1. Appears to contribute to **positive** impression of suburbs
2. Neutral, (e.g., statistics)
accurate coding would require an understanding of the local context)
3. Appears to contribute to **negative** impression of suburbs
4. Balanced (e.g., a mixture of positive and negative elements)

WHICH PLACES

1. Suburbs in General
2. Toronto's Suburbs in General

3. Toronto's Outer Suburbs
4. Toronto's Inner Suburbs
5. Specific Suburb
 - a. Mississauga
 - b. Brampton
 - c. Richmond Hill
 - d. Markham
 - e. Newmarket
 - f. Scarborough
 - g. Etobicoke

THEMES- Up to 3 themes per article, rank by significance

1. Politics/ Government/ Taxation/ Services
2. Environment –Sustainability/ Pollution
3. Community Spirit
4. Security- Police/Crime/Legal
5. Cost of Living/ Affordability/ Real Estate
6. Transportation
 1. Private
 2. Public
 3. Congestion
7. Density/ Physical characteristics/ Design
8. Immigrants/ Ethnicity/ Ethnic Enclaves
9. Business/ Industry/ Employment
10. Education
11. Parenting/ Family
12. Science/ Technology
13. Recreation/ Health/ Fitness & Medicine
14. Religion/ Spirituality
15. Food/ Farm Land
16. Culture- the arts (e.g., dance, classical music, museums, etc.)
17. New Development/ Growth/Sprawl
18. Redevelopment/ Retrofitting irrefutable
19. Amalgamation
20. Quality of Life
21. Poverty

Appendix 2
Hamilton Coding Scheme

TYPE- What type of story? (***Eventually cut from the coding process**)

1. Basic news story (with some obvious reporting) [default]
2. Press-release style announcement (with no obvious reporting)
3. Editorial (opinionated)
4. Opinion column or letter
5. Letter to the editor

ARTICLE SECTION- Where is the article located in within the paper? Specify page number and section.

1. News
2. Business
3. Local
4. Canada & World
5. GO
6. Opinion/ Comment
7. Editorial
8. Focus
9. New Home Living
10. Spec Homes
11. Sports
12. Other (specify)

FRONT PAGE MATERIAL

1. Front page article
2. Not featured on front page

CENTRAL- How central is the issue of suburbs to the story?

1. Suburbs are the main subject of the story or one of several main subjects of the story (must be mentioned in headline and/or first three paragraphs)

VALENCE- Valence of story from the perspective of the representative

1. Appears to contribute to positive impression of suburbs
2. Neutral, (e.g., statistics)
3. Appears to contribute to negative impression of suburbs
4. Balanced (e.g. a mix of positive and negative elements)

WHICH PLACES

1. Suburbs in General
2. Hamilton's Suburbs in General
3. Hamilton's Outer Suburbs

4. Hamilton's Inner Suburbs
5. Specific Suburb
 - a. Ancaster
 - b. Stoney Creek
 - c. Hamilton Mountain
 - d. Dundas
 - e. Glanbrook
 - f. Flamborough
6. Toronto
7. Burlington

THEMES- Up to 3 themes per article, rank by significance

1. Politics/ Government/ Taxation/ Services
2. Environment –Sustainability/ Pollution
3. Community Spirit
4. Security- Police/Crime/Legal
5. Cost of Living/ Affordability/ Real Estate
6. Transportation
 - a. Private
 - b. Public
 - c. Congestion
7. Density/ Physical characteristics/ Design
8. Immigrants/ Ethnicity/ Ethnic Enclaves
9. Business/ Industry/ Employment
10. Education
11. Parenting/ Family
12. Science/ Technology
13. Recreation/ Health/ Fitness & Medicine
14. Religion/ Spirituality
15. Food/ Farm Land
16. Culture- the arts (e.g., dance, classical music, museums, etc.)
17. New Development/ Growth
18. Redevelopment/ Retrofitting
19. Amalgamation
20. Quality of Life

Appendix 3-A
An example of Primary (Main Subject) Centrality

Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada)
January 20, 2000 Thursday Final Edition

2000- 008 (P) There's no 'subsidy' of suburbs- downtown is just mismanaged

SOURCE: The Spectator

BYLINE: Ken Mitchell

SECTION: FORUM; Pg. A11

LENGTH: 860 words

Bob Morrow is a wolf who has just shed his sheep's clothing. Fresh from a resounding victory in the amalgamation sweepstakes, the Hamilton mayor is in the process of putting the boots to the vanquished suburbs.

Ink is barely dry on the Fewer Politicians Act and Hamilton's chief magistrate has written to Finance Minister Ernie Eves, begging for a meeting, the purpose of which is to convince the minister to allow Hamilton to raise millions of extra tax dollars from the suburbs.

In a letter to the minister, dated Jan. 6, Morrow asserts: "I want to know why the downtown has to subsidize the rest of the City and the Region to the tune of \$8.6 million, and exactly what will happen, as of now, with the removal of capping and the return to real values of taxes for downtown businesses which ought to be a third of what they are now."

The capping that Morrow is referring to is the province's 10/5/5 legislation that capped commercial tax increases to 10 per cent in 1998, 5 per cent in 1999, and 5 per cent in 2000. Morrow wants the minister to allow a massive tax transfer from the downtown core to the suburbs as soon as possible.

A brief review of the 10/5/5/ capping as it relates to current value assessment is in order. In 1998, municipal treasurers got an early look at what impact CVA would have on their local business communities. Meetings were held with local business groups, sometimes just days before the bad news was delivered in the form of business tax bills.

Utter shock are the only words that describe the impact felt by small rural businesses. Many were looking at tax increases of 50 to 500 per cent. Sandy Gray, owner of Weeks of Waterdown, was looking at bankruptcy caused by a tax increase in excess of \$200,000.

The massive tax increase was a function of a number of factors. About 10 per cent of the suburban tax increases were due to increased assessed value. Quite justifiable. Another 25 to 30 per cent was due to higher education tax rates as a result of provincial downloading. Maddening certainly, but no blame could be attached locally. A full 60 to 65 per cent of the suburban business tax increase was due to the region's refusal to use special powers it was granted by the province in the form of a 'tool box' of options, that would have enabled the region to avoid massive tax hikes. The region chose instead to give massive tax relief to downtown Hamilton, and to stick it to the suburbs.

It is the fears of the business community over the long-term effects of amalgamation on their businesses that is propelling the "Anywhere but Hamilton" agenda in Flamborough. Morrow is affirming their worst fears, as they look longingly eastward, where business taxes are up to 40 per cent lower.

Suburban anger runs yet deeper. In his letter, Morrow dissembles "the downtown has to subsidize the rest of the city and region," suggesting that somehow, small mom-and-pop operations in Stoney Creek are getting rich off the backs of downtown merchants. He does this to divert attention from his own culpability; the gross mismanagement of the city that has resulted in plunging downtown assessments.

Current Value Assessment of a business is a function of the business' present value and its potential value. Simply put, it represents the price that a willing purchaser would pay for the property. That price is usually a function of the revenue the property can produce. A simple example (I have been accused by downtown business leaders of simplifying complex issues, but that is what a columnist has to do when he only has 800 or so words to work with):

Picture two hotels, one on Barton Street in Hamilton and one a mile down the road on Barton Street in Stoney Creek. Say both bring in about \$1 million in revenues, about \$100,000 in profit annually. They are each valued at \$750,000 and are assessed accordingly.

Then local government gets involved. Imagine that Hamilton passes a bylaw requiring all hotel patrons to wear shirts and ties. Stoney Creek maintains the status quo. The business in the Hamilton tavern drops by 50 per cent, as enraged patrons stay home to drink beer. The Hamilton tavern is now valued at only \$375,000 and now generates only half the tax revenue for the city.

Three things become clear. First, the decline in the value of the Hamilton Tavern is a direct cause of Hamilton's silly bylaw. Second, there is no corresponding increase in the value of the Stoney Creek Tavern that would justify a higher assessment, and thus higher taxes. Third, the Stoney Creek Tavern continues to pay taxes on the current assessed value that, prior to the Hamilton City mismanagement, was deemed its fair share of taxes.

There is no subsidy of the suburbs by the downtown core. There are only mismanagement chickens coming home to roost. Until Bob Morrow owns up to the simplest of economic realities, the outlook for the **suburbs**, and the new City of Hamilton, looks bleak indeed.

Ancaster resident and businessman Ken Mitchell was co-chair of the Wentworth Citizen's Referendum and in 1997 ran unsuccessfully for deputy mayor in Flamborough. He is a freelance columnist.

Appendix 3-B
An example of Front Page News Story Displaying Section

The Toronto Star

February 5, 1995, Sunday, SUNDAY SECOND EDITION

012- (p) Ethnic groups find home And, for many, it's in the suburbs

BYLINE: By Maureen Murray TORONTO STAR

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A1

LENGTH: 344 words

They're a bit older, a little more affluent and they're chasing the suburban dream beyond Metro's borders. Ethnic communities have spread their wings and are flocking in increasing numbers to the regions of the Greater Toronto Area, the supercity that stretches from Clarington to Burlington and north to Lake Simcoe. The rate of growth of many ethnic communities in the GTA's regions far outpaced Metro's between 1986 and 1991, based on data compiled by the Metro Toronto planning department:

* The Chinese community in York Region alone jumped by about 280 per cent during that period, compared with a 61 per cent increase in Metro.

* York Region's Italian community increased by about 79 per cent between 1986 and 1991, while it declined by about 13 per cent in Metro.

* For the black community, Peel Region was one of the fastest-growing areas, posting an increase of 77 per cent - three times the pace of Metro - during the period.

The growth in the suburban areas can be linked in part to more affluent immigrants making their homes in the GTA. "When people immigrating to Canada have sufficient money behind them, they are often choosing to buy a house right away and settle in areas like York and Peel Regions," said John Barr, director of research for the Metro planning department.

Age also has a lot to do with the exodus to the **suburbs**, according to demographics guru David Foot: "No matter what our ethnic background, once we reach our 30s and 40s we start hankering for more space."

The growth of ethnic communities in the regions is also being fuelled by long-time immigrants and their Canadian-born children moving beyond Metro's borders. And once these sizable communities are in existence, they tend to be a magnet for new arrivals to Canada.

Today, on page A14, The Star takes a look at three communities within the GTA where various ethnic groups have carved out a home for themselves and are changing the face of the regions.

One in a continuing series of articles exploring the supercity in which we live.

LOAD-DATE: May 12, 1999

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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Appendix 3-C
An example of Positive Valence

The Toronto Star

March 20, 2009 Friday

**026-New Canadians flock to better life in suburbs;
Immigrants in 905 more likely to be educated, own home, study finds**

BYLINE: Nicholas Keung and Lesley Ciarula Taylor, Toronto Star

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A01

LENGTH: 769 words

Recent immigrants in smaller suburban communities are faring better than those setting roots in big cities when it comes to jobs, incomes and home ownership, says a new study that measures newcomers' life quality across Canada.

The report shows immigrants to the Greater Toronto Area are increasingly choosing the 905 regions as their destination over Toronto. Even those initially settling in the city are then moving on to the **suburbs**.

The study, conducted by the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, compared how newcomers who have been in the country for five years or more and living in the **suburbs** fared against their counterparts in the city.

It found those living outside big cities were:

Less likely to be living off social assistance.

Less likely to be unemployed.

Twice as likely to have a university degree.

More likely to own a home.

Jyoti Shukla, her lawyer husband, Kamen, and their 12-year-old daughter, Vishwa, were drawn to Mississauga to live their suburban dream - and for its relatively lower cost of living when the family moved here from India in 2004.

"There are actually plenty of job opportunities for newcomers in the **suburbs**," said Shukla, 42, who has a master's degree in marketing and 18 years of business experience. "The city's job market is pretty saturated and it is too competitive. We are close enough to the city but out of the city. There is more stability and we feel more safe here."

From 2002 to 2006, Toronto had the greatest outflow of settled immigrants in the GTA, a drop of 22 per cent. Halton had the greatest influx at 18 per cent.

"While most immigrants continue to live in large urban centres, a growing number of our most educated and highly skilled immigrants are settling in suburban and smaller communities," said the municipal federation's president, Jean Perrault, mayor of Sherbrooke, Que.

"Those who remain in large centres face greater socio-economic challenges.

"Large cities are losing the skilled immigrants their labour markets need while (they are) bearing a disproportionate share of the cost of assisting immigrants with special challenges such as language and skills training needs.

According to the report, 8 per cent of skilled and professional immigrants settled outside big cities in 2002. That figure rose to 18 per cent in 2006.

"Municipal governments are where immigrants go first for help, but we are not consulted on immigration policies or programs and we do not have the resources to provide the needed services. It's time for a change," Perrault said.

The federation, which represents 1,775 communities covering 90 per cent of the population, said municipalities need federal funding to provide culturally sensitive services, such as translating garbage pickup schedules, more affordable housing, recreational programs, public health services and new ways to deliver services to newcomers.

According to the study:

The proportion of recent immigrants living off social assistance in big cities was more than twice the rest of Canada.

Unemployed immigrants outnumbered unemployed non-immigrants in big cities but the gap was significantly smaller in the **suburbs**.

The proportion of recent immigrants with university degrees was twice as high as that of Canadians, yet their unemployment rate was four times greater.

Recent immigrants earned about 60 per cent of what native-born Canadians did in 2001, which dropped further to 51 per cent by 2006.

Forty-three per cent of newcomer families lived under Statistics Canada's low-income cut-off, three times the proportion among all Canadian households.

Recent immigrants in small communities were more likely to own homes than their counterparts in the city.

Evelyn Myrie, director of the Peel Newcomer Strategy Group, said while newcomers in smaller communities may fare better than those in big cities, they still have settlement needs, such as language upgrading and employment counselling, to be met. Issues such as poverty and homelessness are also slowly emerging in the **suburbs**, too, she added.

"Some smaller communities like Caledon just don't have the resources in place to serve those needs," said Myrie, whose group was formed four years ago by the United Way of Peel to involve community players in immigration and settlement planning.

Alykhan Velshi, a spokesperson for Immigration Minister Jason Kenney, said the department will review the report.

Toronto city councillor Janet Davis, chair of the city's now-defunct immigration and settlement working group, said Toronto is still the No. 1 recipient of new immigrants, despite its dwindling share.

"I don't believe (the decline) is a concern," she said.

LOAD-DATE: March 20, 2009

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

GRAPHIC: Carlos Osorio toronto star Jyoti Shukla, left, her husband Kamen Shukla and their daughter Vishwa pose outside their Mississauga home. When they immigrated from India in 2004, they found better job opportunities in Mississauga than in Toronto.

Carlos Osorio toronto star The Shukla family, from left, Jyoti, daughter Vishwa and husband Kamen, headed to Mississauga when they came to Canada from India in 2004. Carlos Osorio toronto star The Shukla family, from left, Jyoti, daughter Vishwa and husband Kamen, headed to Mississauga when they came to Canada from India in 2004.

DOCUMENT-TYPE: COLUMN

PUBLICATION-TYPE: NEWSPAPER

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Appendix 3-D
An example of Neutral Valence and Location/Place

Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada)
November 11, 2000 Saturday Final Edition

2000 - 024 (N) Poll shows Hamilton-suburb divide; Morrow's victory almost certain thanks to loyalty of Hamilton voters and those in Stoney Creek

SOURCE: The Hamilton Spectator

BYLINE: Fred Vallance-Jones, Municipal Affairs Reporter

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A13

LENGTH: 607 words

Voters in the old city of Hamilton are set to demonstrate in dramatic style just how much clout they have in the new megacity.

The Hamilton Spectator election poll suggests the man who has been their mayor for 18 years is headed for almost certain victory for one key reason: the intense loyalty of Hamilton voters and that of their urban cousins in **Stoney Creek**. Together they have massive influence, accounting for more than two-thirds of the voters in the new city.

The opinion poll was conducted by Hendershot Research Consultants. It suggests Morrow is drawing much less support from the other **suburbs**, especially **Ancaster** and **Dundas**. That implies that what many feared is real -- a continuing divide between the old Hamilton and outlying areas.

The Spectator poll suggests Bob Morrow has the support of 45.7 per cent of decided voters in the old city and 41.5 per cent in Stoney Creek. But venture into Ancaster and Dundas and Bob Wade is the overwhelming choice.

In Ancaster, where Wade is mayor, the poll suggests he has the support of a whopping 63.3 per cent of decided voters, compared to only 23.1 per cent for Morrow. It's not much different in neighbouring Dundas, where 52.1 per cent of respondents said they'd vote for Wade, and 28.2 per cent chose Morrow.

In the two largely rural areas of the new city, **Flamborough** and **Glanbrook**, Morrow does better, but still falls short of his dominance nearer to home.

Wade has 39.2 per cent support in Flamborough to 37.8 for Morrow, while in Glanbrook Wade leads 39.8 to 37.9. Both results are well within the poll's margin of error.

For Fred Eisenberger, home turf is also where he enjoys the most support. Twenty-two per cent of decided respondents in Hamilton say they will support the city alderman. His next strongest community is tiny Glanbrook, where he gets 13.6 per cent.

John Munro, who like Morrow has been a political giant in Hamilton, doesn't do nearly so well at home. In fact, only 12.7 per cent of decided voters in Hamilton said they'd vote for him. That poor showing is largely responsible for his fourth-place showing in the overall megacity poll results.

The Spectator poll helps illuminate why the main challengers to Morrow made change such an important part of their platforms.

Munro and Eisenberger have distributed pamphlets that loudly proclaim it is time for change, while Wade put the word right into his slogan.

The poll found a desire for change was the most commonly stated reason for voting for one of the three.

Despite the flood of election pamphlets and policy positions, having new ideas seems to be of relatively little importance.

It scores most highly with Eisenberger voters, with just over 20 per cent of them saying that's why he's getting their vote.

Only 11 per cent of Wade supporters say he's their choice because of new ideas, the same number as those who say he has done a good job and has good leadership skills.

For Munro, having new ideas is only mentioned by 6.6 per cent of his supporters as the reason they're backing him. Experience is cited by 23.1 per cent of his supporters, while 16.5 per cent say he's getting their vote because he has done a good job and proven himself.

When it comes to Morrow supporters change isn't even mentioned as a reason for voting for him. Ideas don't rate highly either, with only two people saying that was the key.

A third of Morrow's backers cite his long experience as mayor as their reason for backing him. Thirty per cent say it's because he's familiar to them or is the only candidate they know. About the same number say he has done a good job.

Appendix 3-E
An example of Negative Valence

The Toronto Star

August 9, 1990, Thursday, FINAL EDITION

055- (C) An urban cancer spreads

BYLINE: By Trevor Hancock

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A23

LENGTH: 607 words

MEDICAL scientists have made time lapse films of the growth of cancer cells, showing them spreading out and invading surrounding healthy tissues. If we were to look at a speeded-up map of the growth of Metro Toronto, it would look much the same.

Toronto has grown like a cancer, eating up some of the best farmland in Canada as it spreads into the surrounding healthy tissues of southern Ontario. And, just like a cancer, it has seeded metastases which are themselves growing rapidly and merging with the main growth: Mississauga, Brampton, Woodbridge, Richmond Hill, Markham, Oshawa.

Now, even more distant malignant seedlings - Georgetown, King City, even Barrie and Peterborough - are caught up in the mad rush to grow.

This rapid growth mimics cancer in other ways, too. Cancer cells are undifferentiated: They form incomplete tissues and they all look much the same, just like the row upon row of densely packed, soulless, single-family monster homes.

Another characteristic of swift-growing cancers is that they can outrun their blood supply and thus die at their centre. While the analogy may not be exact, the lack of new subways in the past decade and the growth of private commuter vehicles into downtown is having a similar effect, slowly strangling the core.

However, there is one vital difference between Metro and cancer: We have conscious control of the process. We started it, we regulate it and we can halt it. And halt it we must, for two very good reasons:

Urban sprawl is very energy inefficient. Low density **suburbs** require much more energy input to construct and service than more compact, higher density (but low-rise) communities. Single family dwellings are also very energy inefficient compared to row housing or multiple occupancy buildings.

In particular, the low density of urban sprawl makes it economically inefficient to provide good public transportation, especially rapid transit or subways. The result is that people need cars both to get around within their communities (service stations, schools, etc. are often a long way off) and to commute to work, thus worsening the traffic mess on expressways and downtown.

Urban sprawl is destroying some of our best farmland. It is said that from the top of the CN Tower one can see one-third of all the prime agricultural land in Canada. But go up there now and it is hard to see any at all. Our children will surely curse us for destroying their heritage, forcing them to rely upon farmers hundreds, even thousands, of miles away.

But while great harm has been done by the mindless expansion of Metro, all is not lost, and some at least are trying to halt the damage.

One example is Toronto's "Mainstreets" project, instigated by Councillor Richard Gilbert. The idea is to intensify development along main streets, where the roads, sewers and transit already exist. High-density housing, 3 to 5 storeys above stores, would create the critical mass to support more stores, businesses and jobs and would move us toward the European-style city that many seem to hanker after anyway.

Now all that is needed is a firm hand from the province, one that has been notably absent so far. It's time to halt sprawl at Metro's fringe, to insist that new communities be whole and sustainable, not inefficient bedroom **suburbs**, and to emphasize intensification of the existing urban area.

To be sure, the land speculators and the growth-mad councils around Metro will howl, but their children and their children's children will thank us.

* Dr. Trevor Hancock is an assistant professor at York University's faculty of environmental studies.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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Appendix 3-F
An example of Balanced Valence

The Toronto Star

June 10, 1993, Thursday, ZONE

048- Our Place Peel helps youth cope with being homeless

BYLINE: By Irene Gentle Special to The Star

SECTION: MISSISSAUGA; Pg. MS9

LENGTH: 356 words

Jimmy Powers was 18 years old the day he returned to his Brampton home to find that his mother and stepfather had moved away.

In that instant, Powers found himself thrust headlong into a secret world that isn't supposed to exist - that of a homeless youth on the supposedly safe streets of suburbia.

It is a world that is becoming increasingly crowded.

According to Our Place Peel, the region's only emergency centre for youth 16 to 21 - it's near Square One - there are about 800 to 1,000 homeless young people in Peel Region. Coming from all walks of life, they are linked by a background of family breakdown and abuse.

In many ways, Powers' is a typical story. Raised by his father in Jamaica, Powers moved in with his mother and stepfather at age 11. When the arguments began they were about curfews, and Powers' friends. Then Powers' mother guessed that the sharp new clothes Powers sported weren't paid for, and the arguments escalated. Sometimes, they got physical.

"Me and my mom got in a fight and she told me I should find a new place," Powers says matter-of-factly. "Then one day, I got home and they were gone."

Powers, a cool and cynical teen not quite out of high school, did what most kids do when they find themselves suddenly alone. He found a bed with some friends for two months and then turned to Our Place Peel.

Our Place is an eight-year-old non-profit organization with a mandate to teach suburban kids the skills they need to survive on their own in their own community.

"We're very meat-and-potatoes at Our Place," executive director Patricia Jacobs says. "We set goals and objectives on a daily basis."

For the 300 kids who passed through Our Place last year, those goals included learning to meet a 10 o'clock weekday curfew while finding permanent housing and work.

Yet the limitations of a \$450,000 annual budget scraped up from government funding and charitable donations means that more kids are turned away than helped.

By the end of this year, Our Place expects to have turned away 500 local kids, leaving them vulnerable to the lure of the Toronto streets.

LOAD-DATE: May 12, 1999

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

Appendix 3-G

An example of Themes-Environment-Sustainability and Transportation

The Toronto Star

February 10, 2011 Thursday

**016-Want cleaner air? Move to the city;
Study says life in 905 creates more CO2 than living downtown**

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. GT1

LENGTH: 973 words

Whitby may be the worst place for per capita CO2 emissions in the GTA - 13.02 tonnes - but it has plenty of bad company in areas surrounding Toronto, according to a recent report from two Canadian researchers.

"Whitby's the highest, but if you look at the figures you'll see it's really the whole **suburbs**, it's basically the 905," says Dan Hoornweg, lead urban specialist at the World Bank. Hoornweg, together with University of Toronto master's student Lorraine Sugar, co-authored a report called **Cities and Greenhouse Gas Emissions: Moving Forward**.

The report was published in the Jan. 10 edition of Environment and Urbanization.

The two used data from energy-use figures in the 2001 census and the 2001 Transportation Tomorrow survey, a cooperative compilation put together regularly by local and provincial governments. These were also part of another study published in 2006 that Hoornweg and Sugar used, put together by U of T civil engineering professor Chris Kennedy and study Jared R. VandeWeghe, analyzing residential greenhouse gas emissions in the Toronto census metropolitan area.

What it shows may surprise those who think the congested downtown core is the problem - looking at per capita neighbourhood carbon emissions, the report indicates that suburbanites produce more.

"It's mainly the heating and the transportation that drive the numbers," says Hoornweg. Bigger personal vehicle use has the most impact, "followed by electricity use and building use - and that's simply a function of bigger houses. There are bigger houses in the 905; bigger houses need more heat, more air conditioning, more Christmas lights."

The study illustrates the importance of planning for high densities and good access to public transportation, says Hoornweg.

"If you talk to people in Zurich, they go to the opera in the streetcar. It's just a way of life. The challenge is that Toronto - not any differently, really, from any other Canadian city - has developed a way of life that is highly automobile-dependent."

One way to break that dependency may be to promote public transit nodes throughout the GTA and consider tolls on the 400-series highways, says Hoornweg.

Tolls are "an incredibly important and useful policy tool to move people toward the direction we want. But obviously nobody wants to pay these tolls, so we have this fight between what everyone knows is good policy, versus people saying 'Oh, I don't want to pay any more taxes, I don't want to pay any more tolls.'"

He points to the province's Places to Grow scheme, a 25-year plan that aims to curb sprawl, protect farmland, improve transportation options and revitalize downtowns as "world-class in its intent."

"It isn't just because of greenhouse gas emissions; it should, in theory, reduce people's commute time, help the quality of life ... those sorts of things are interrelated."

Even if the area you live in has higher than average emissions, you can do your part for the planet.

Lorraine Sugar says measuring your emissions is easy with tools like Toronto-based Zerofootprint's personal emissions calculator.

Using public transit, retrofitting your home for energy efficiency and consuming local products can all help reduce your personal emissions, she adds.

Three neighbourhoods

These GTA neighbourhoods are roughly representative of similar areas throughout the region.

WORST: WHITBY

Per capita CO2 emissions: 13.02 tonnes

Biggest culprit: Hwy. 401. Not only do residents of outer **suburbs** commute by car; they also drive to the grocery store, school and recreational activities. "People who live farther away in bigger homes that are farther apart from each other ... use more energy and also produce more emissions," study author Lorraine Sugar explains.

Fastest fix: Carpool, or work from home. If you have a long commute, try to avoid it or lessen the impact. The GO Train may become more popular as gas prices rise and more people become aware of their impact on greenhouse gas emissions.

MIDDLE: ETOBICOKE

Per capita CO2 emissions: 6.62 tonnes

Density issue: Homes are spaced slightly closer together in inner **suburbs**, says Hoornweg. But Etobicoke has a high proportion of larger single-family homes that require a lot of energy to heat. Other suburban accoutrements, such as pools, lawn mowers and snow blowers, contribute to increased emissions.

Get smart: Inner **suburbs** usually have transit access, so use it. Home ownership is more common in **suburbs** than downtown, so residents can retrofit to cut emissions by upgrading furnaces, windows and appliances.

BEST: EAST YORK

Per capita CO2 emissions: 1.31 tonnes

Why so green? "A lot of people walk to work, or walk to the subway to get to work," says Hoornweg. Many homes are apartments or smaller dwellings that take less energy to heat. Residents can walk or cycle to many activities.

Not so fast: Living downtown doesn't mean not worrying about your carbon footprint. How often do you fly? Do you buy foreign produce at the grocery store or locally grown veggies at the market? "Making the decision to drive your car to work or take transit (is) where the individual plays a big role," says Sugar. Small choices have an impact.

Around the world

Study author Dan Hoornweg says data from around the world shows denser cities with more access to public transit have lower per capita emissions. The lowest emissions in the world tend to be in developing nations that consume little in fossil fuels. "Generally the less money you have, the less you spend on stuff," he explains. "The less you spend, the fewer your emissions."

Rajshahi, Bangladesh: 0.08*

Kathmandu, Nepal: 0.12

Delhi: 1.50

Rio de Janeiro: 2.10

Mexico City: 4.25

Tokyo: 4.89

Vancouver: 4.9

Paris: 5.2

Helsinki: 7.0

San Francisco: 10.1

Toronto: 11.6

Shanghai: 11.7

Sydney: 20.3

Denver: 21.5

Rotterdam, Netherlands: 29.8

*CO2 emissions, per capita, in tonnes

With files from Valerie Hauch

LOAD-DATE: February 10, 2011

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

GRAPHIC: Folks living in the 'burbs emit more greenhouse gases per capita than downtown residents, says a new study. TARA WALTON/TORONTO STAR

DOCUMENT-TYPE: COLUMN

PUBLICATION-TYPE: NEWSPAPER

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Appendix 3-H

An example of Themes-Politics-Government and Amalgamation

Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada)

August 31, 1999 Tuesday Final Edition

1999-001- WENTWORTH PLAN IS NO SOLUTION

SECTION: EDITORIAL;OPINION; Pg. A8

LENGTH: 601 words

Politicians in Ancaster, Dundas and Flamborough are gambling with the future of the entire region by proposing to unite into a new City of Wentworth to prevent amalgamation with Hamilton. Partitioning the region is a counterproductive way to restructure local government; one that would cast a shadow over the entire area's prospects of achieving full economic and social potential. It's not a route that we advocate. We respect the desire of the **suburban** communities to retain as much of their political autonomy and community identity as they can. However, the **suburban** politicians would be better to explore more realistic options for achieving those goals. The Wentworth idea reflects parochial thinking that inhibits economic growth and co-ordinated planning in the region as a whole.

While the proposal may be a well-intentioned attempt to allay the fear of the **suburbs** about being swallowed up by Hamilton, it will encourage the political Balkanization of Hamilton-Wentworth when the region needs strong and vibrant metropolitan government. The best way to modernize the system is with a single-region wide structure, with safeguards to preserve the attractive quality of life and the distinctive neighbourhoods in the **suburban** communities. We're confident that with careful planning, the Waterdowns and Winonas of the **suburbs**, and the Rosedales and Westdales of Hamilton, will retain their special character and identity under a single, region-wide municipal council. Advisory community committees or local planning boards can play an essential role in ensuring that a metropolitan council doesn't impose an unwanted, one-size-fits-all model on the five **suburban** municipalities.

It's no exaggeration to compare the creation of the City of Wentworth to unscrambling an egg. The vast majority of big-ticket municipal services, including roads, sewers and water treatment, transit, social services and policing, are delivered at the regional level. It would be an incredibly complex numbers-crunching exercise to attempt to apportion the costs of municipal services fairly under the City of Wentworth model. **Suburban** politicians have suggested the proposed new city could simply pick and choose the services it could buy from Hamilton, but that's much easier said than done. We fear the creation of Wentworth would widen the chasm between Hamilton and its neighbours, producing costly and interminable squabbling over who pays for what.

Although there is considerable resistance in the **suburbs** to a metropolitan government, a one-tier model offers the best hope of ensuring that Hamilton-Wentworth will meet challenges such as provincial downloading and **suburban sprawl**. The creation of Wentworth would conceivably hurt the region by pitting the new city against Hamilton in competition for economic development. It would hinder renewal of downtown Hamilton and efforts to develop a more integrated network of roads and public transit. Divorcing the **suburbs** from the city carries the risk of setting the stage for Hamilton to decline as happened in many large American cities. That's a worrisome scenario, and we fear it will be inevitable if Hamilton-Wentworth doesn't have a unified municipal government.

How will a new City of Wentworth help in setting region-wide priorities, encouraging sustainable planning, and giving this region the necessary clout to deal with Queen's Park and compete with restructured municipalities like Ottawa-Carleton?

If there are good answers, let's hear them. This idea raises many more problems than solutions. For these reasons, we remain skeptical.

COUNTRY: CANADA (79%);

LOAD-DATE: October 17, 2002

TYPE: Editorial

Appendix 3-I
An example of Themes-Urban Sprawl and New Development

Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada)
September 27, 1993 Monday Burlington Edition

1993-002- Urban sprawl a major problem in coming years

SOURCE: THE SPECTATOR

BYLINE: Ray Di Gregorio

SECTION: TODAY; Pg. T4

LENGTH: 437 words

THE SIGNS of progress around the world are also signs of environmental challenges.

As more people crowd into cities, the environmental issues that must be tackled by politicians and industry will continue to become more severe.

An international conference on cities last week in Montreal heard that rapid urbanization over the next decades will have a huge impact on the environment.

Urban populations are expected to grow by 160 per cent during the next 40 years, while rural populations will grow just 10 per cent.

The majority of that rapid urbanization will take place in less developed countries where sanitation systems and pollution-control technology will struggle to keep up.

Simple changes such as the increased use of rudimentary cooking stoves will create a problem of indoor pollution, and the introduction of more automobiles will further burden the environment.

Put in those terms, the problem of urbanization appears on the surface to be primarily an issue for other developing regions of the world. But that would be a misconception.

Areas such as Halton, which have growing cities stimulated by the economic engine of Toronto, are losing their agricultural and rural resources and are creating a whole range of environmental issues.

What challenges lie ahead? City planners and politicians basically want to avoid the Los Angeles example of having development spread throughout the area, requiring expansive and expensive highways.

Urban **sprawl** takes up too much land and threatens valuable resources such as the Niagara Escarpment. It's also inefficient, creating high transportation costs -- both financially and environmentally.

But neither do city planners want all the development restricted to Toronto, while the outlying areas are left to function as little more than than bedroom communities that do not reap the commercial benefits.

The ideal appears to be a series of commercial, residential and industrial centres that lay at the heart of individual urban areas.

As a city grows it must create urban nodes that are self-sustaining communities within the city. Residents wouldn't have to get on a highway, use their car to get to work or to shop.

Burlington mayor Walter Mulkewich has said he envisions three specific urban nodes for Burlington: Appleby Line and Upper Middle Road to the Queen Elizabeth Way and Burloak Drive, Guelph Line area from Harvester Road to Prospect Street and downtown Burlington.

Ray Di Gregorio welcomes any questions or suggestions about recycling and the environment. Write to him at the Spectator, 534 Brant St., Burlington, Ont. L7R 2G8.

SUBJECT: ENVIRONMENT & NATURAL RESOURCES (92%); URBANIZATION (91%); LAND USE PLANNING (90%); RURAL COMMUNITIES (89%); CITY LIFE (89%); CITIES (89%); ENVIRONMENTAL TECHNOLOGY (78%); INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE (77%); DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS (76%); DEVELOPING COUNTRIES (75%); CONFERENCES & CONVENTIONS (57%); INDOOR AIR QUALITY (54%);

CITY: MONTREAL, QC, CANADA (90%);

STATE: ONTARIO, CANADA (70%);

COUNTRY: CANADA (90%);

LOAD-DATE: October 4, 2002

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

TYPE: Column

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Appendix 4

Relationship among themes in *The Hamilton Spectator* (percentage distribution)

Themes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1 x=221	100	23	40	6	7	3	5	2	3	4	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2 x=273	18	100	2	26	15	9	7	12	1	1	0	3	1	3	1	1	0	0	0	0
3 x=109	82	6	100	0	1	2	2	1	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4 x=134	10	53	0	100	16	4	3	9	1	1	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 x=105	14	39	1	20	100	14	3	2	2	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6 x=72	10	35	3	7	21	100	4	4	6	3	0	0	0	3	1	4	0	0	0	0
7 x=53	21	34	4	8	6	6	100	4	2	0	0	2	0	4	2	2	4	2	2	0
8 x=60	8	55	2	20	3	5	3	100	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
9 x=24	29	17	0	4	8	17	4	0	100	4	4	0	4	0	0	4	4	0	0	0
10 x=24	38	8	33	4	4	8	0	0	4	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11 x=9	22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	100	0	11	0	22	0	0	0	0	0
12 x=20	15	35	0	25	20	0	5	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13 x=11	64	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	9	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14 x=16	6	50	0	6	0	13	13	13	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 x=7	0	43	0	0	0	14	14	0	0	0	29	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0
16 x=8	13	25	0	0	0	38	13	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0
17 x=3	0	0	0	0	0	0	67	0	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0
18 x=1	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0
19 x=1	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
20 x=2	50	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100

Themes:

1. Politics-Government
2. New Development-Growth-Sprawl
3. Amalgamation
4. Environment-Sustainability-Pollution
5. Transportation (Public +Private)
6. Density-Physical Characteristics-Design
7. Business-Industry-Employment
8. Food-Farmland
9. Quality of Life
10. Community Spirit
11. Security-Crime-Legality
12. Recreation-Fitness-Health
13. Education
14. Redevelopment
15. Immigrants-Ethnicity
16. Culture-The Arts
17. Cost of Living-Affordability
18. Parenting-Family
19. Science-Technology
20. Religion-Spirituality

Appendix 5

Relationship among themes in *The Toronto Star* (percentage distribution)

Themes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
1 <i>n</i> =114	100	20	10	3	20	3	7	7	6	2	11	1	0	0	4	4	1	2	0	0	0
2 <i>n</i> =157	15	100	14	18	3	3	6	14	3	13	3	0	1	1	4	0	1	1	1	0	0
3 <i>n</i> =65	17	34	100	14	5	5	2	11	0	5	0	2	2	3	2	0	0	0	0	2	0
4 <i>n</i> =78	4	36	12	100	6	9	8	4	0	1	3	3	4	6	3	0	1	0	0	0	1
5 <i>n</i> =53	43	8	6	9	100	8	8	0	6	0	2	0	0	2	4	4	0	2	0	0	0
6 <i>n</i> =34	9	15	9	21	12	100	18	0	9	0	6	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7 <i>n</i> =46	17	20	2	13	9	13	100	4	9	0	7	0	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
8 <i>n</i> =51	16	43	14	6	0	0	4	100	0	12	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
9 <i>n</i> =23	30	22	0	0	13	13	17	0	100	4	22	17	9	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 <i>n</i> =35	6	57	9	3	0	0	0	17	3	100	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
11 <i>n</i> =35	37	11	0	6	3	6	9	0	14	3	100	3	0	0	6	0	3	0	0	0	0
12 <i>n</i> =12	8	0	8	17	0	0	0	0	33	0	8	100	17	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0
13 <i>n</i> =15	0	7	7	20	0	7	7	0	13	0	0	13	100	7	0	7	7	0	0	7	0
14 <i>n</i> =13	0	15	15	38	8	0	8	0	8	0	0	0	8	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 <i>n</i> =20	20	30	5	10	10	0	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	0	100	0	5	0	0	0	0
16 <i>n</i> =8	63	0	0	0	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0
17 <i>n</i> =8	13	25	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	13	13	0	13	0	100	0	0	0	0
18 <i>n</i> =6	33	33	0	0	17	0	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0
19 <i>n</i> =4	0	50	0	0	0	0	0	25	0	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0
20 <i>n</i> =2	0	0	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
21 <i>n</i> =1	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100

Themes:

1. Politics-Government-Taxation
2. New Development-Growth-Sprawl
3. Transportation (Private + Public)
4. Density-Physical Characteristics-Design
5. Business-Industry-Employment
6. Cost of living-Affordability
7. Quality of Life
8. Environment-Sustainability
9. Immigrants-Ethnicity
10. Food-Farmland
11. Poverty
12. Security-Police-Crime-Legality
13. Parenting-Family
14. Culture-The Arts
15. Recreation-Fitness-Health
16. Education
17. Community Spirit
18. Amalgamation
19. Redevelopment-Retrofitting
20. Science-Technology
21. Religion-Spirituality