



Ethnologia Europaea

Journal of European Ethnology

37:1-2 2007

Museum Tusculanum Press

Ethnologia Europaea

Journal of European Ethnology

Editors	Orvar Löfgren and Regina Bendix
Editorial assistant	Magdalena Tellenbach Uttman
Editorial board	Albert Baiburin (Russia), Jeremy Boissevain (Netherlands), Wolfgang Brückner (Germany), Reginald Byron (UK), Palle O. Christiansen (Denmark), John W. Cole (USA), Tine Damsholt (Denmark), Anne Eriksen (Norway), Claudio Esteva Fabregat (Spain), Alexander Fenton (Scotland), Jonas Frykman (Sweden), Ueli Gyr (Switzerland), Tamás Hofer (Hungary), Konrad Köstlin (Austria), Orvar Löfgren (Sweden), Ruth-E. Mohrmann (Germany), Ján Podolák (Slovakia), Klaus Roth (Germany), Bjarne Rogan (Norway), Thomas Schippers (France), Martine Segalen (France), Zofia Sokolewicz (Poland), Birgitta Svensson (Sweden).
Main editorial address for manuscripts	Professor Orvar Löfgren Department of European Ethnology Finngatan 8 SE-223 62 Lund, Sweden Phone +46 46-222 04 58 Fax +46 46-222 42 05 E-mail orvar.lofgren@etn.lu.se Professor Regina Bendix Institut für Kulturanthropologie/Europäische Ethnologie Friedländer Weg 2 D-37085 Göttingen, Germany Phone +49 551-39 53 51 Fax +49 551-39 22 32 E-mail rbendix@gwdg.de
Editorial assistant	Magdalena Tellenbach Uttman, PhD Järnväggsgatan 16 SE-240 30 Marieholm, Sweden E-mail magdalena.tellenbach@uttman.com
For prices and subscription details	please see www.mtp.dk
Subscription address	Museum Tusculanum Press University of Copenhagen Njalsgade 126 DK-2300 Copenhagen S Phone +45 35 32 91 09 Fax +45 35 32 91 13 E-mail order@mtp.dk Internet www.mtp.dk
Bank	IBAN: DK10 5202 0001 5151 08 BIC: AMBKDKKK

CONTENTS

Regina Bendix and Orvar Löfgren

Double Homes, Double Lives? 7

Johanna Rolshoven

The Temptations of the Provisional. Multilocality as a Way of Life 17

Marius Risi

Vacation Home Culture at 1,000 Meters. The Thirty-Something Generation in Engelberg, Switzerland 26

John Bendix

Refugee's Refuge 35

Magnus Berg

Generations and Transnational Homes. Nazim goes: 39

Daniel Miller

Why the Best Furniture Goes to the House You Can't Live in 45

Maria Alzaga

The Travelling Lives of Circus Artists. Home and Homelessness in a Nomadic Life 51

Martina Kleinert

Homes Afloat. Observations on Long-Term Cruising Yachts 57

Anne-Marie Palm

Waking up in Two Nations 67

Nik Luka

Waterfront Second Homes in the Central Canada Woodlands. Images, Social Practice, and Attachment to Multiple Residency 71

Anne Leonora Blaakilde

"We Live Ten Years Longer Here." Elderly Danish Migrants Living on the Costa del Sol 88

Klaus Schriewer and Irene Encinas Berg

Being Misleading About Where One Resides. European Affluence Mobility and
Registration Patterns 98

Daniella Seidl

Breaking Out into the Everyday. German Holiday-Home Owners in Italy 107

Deborah Kapchan

A Colonial Relation Not My Own. Coming Home to Morocco and France 115

Jonathan H. Shannon

Village Homes 118

Eleftheria Deltsou

Second Homes and Tourism in a Greek Village. A Travelogue 124

Ulrich Mai

Paradise Lost and Regained. German Second Home Owners in Mazury, Poland 134

Glenn Bowman

At Home Abroad. The Field Site as Second Home 140

Waterfront Second Homes in the
Central Canada Woodlands
Images, Social Practice, and Attachment to Multiple
Residency

By

Nik Luka

E-article

In

Ethnologia Europaea
Journal of European Ethnology
Volume 37:1–2

2008

Museum Tusculanum Press
University of Copenhagen

Waterfront Second Homes in the Central Canada Woodlands.
Images, Social Practice, and Attachment to Multiple Residency

By

Nik Luka

E-article

Copyright © 2008 Museum Tusculanum Press

ISBN 978 87 635 0993 0

ISSN 1604 3030

IN

Ethnologia Europaea

Journal of European Ethnology 37: 1-2

E-journal

Copyright © 2008 Museum Tusculanum Press

ISBN 978 87 635 0981 7

ISSN 1604 3030

Unaltered version in pdf-format of:

Copyright © 2007 Ethnologia Europaea, Copenhagen

Printed in Sweden by Grahns Tryckeri AB, Lund 2007

Cover and layout Pernille Sys Hansen

Cover photos Pernille Sys Hansen and Robert Lau

Photos Susanne Ewert, page 6

Richard Wilk, pages 16, 34, 44, 50, 70

ISBN 978 87 635 0885 8

ISSN 0425 4597

This journal is published with the support of the Nordic board
for periodicals in the humanities and social sciences.

Museum Tusculanum Press

University of Copenhagen

Njalsgade 126

DK-2300 Copenhagen S

www.mtp.dk

WATERFRONT SECOND HOMES IN THE CENTRAL CANADA WOODLANDS

Images, Social Practice, and Attachment to Multiple Residency

Nik Luka

In Canada's densely-forested yet highly-urbanised provinces of Québec and Ontario, second homes have been a defining feature since the early twentieth century. These second-home territories are deeply imbued with images and meanings that link landscape, urban form, folklore, and socio-cultural identity. The waterfront second home is now an icon of regional and even national identity.¹ Known variously as *cottages*, *camps*, or *cabins*, these waterfront second homes, when considered in aggregate, constitute highly-charged cultural landscapes: settings with particularly strong symbolic or iconic value to their users and to larger social groups.

This article discusses patterns and meanings of multiple residency involving these ecologically-rich, meaning-filled, and rather ubiquitously Canadian second-home settings. It explores how they epitomise the hypermobility of the North American metropolis and the entrenched imagery of the suburban/countryside ideal so familiar across the Anglo-American world – and how these second homes provide intriguing comparisons with the second-home patterns observed across Europe. The first part of the article gives an overview of second-home phenomena in central Canada (the country's two most heavily-populated provinces of Québec and Ontario), describing their material form, extent, and historical prevalence. The focus then shifts to a detailed case study of the second-home territory spreading northward and eastward from Toronto,

the country's most populous and fastest-growing city-region. Highlights of a recent empirical study of settlement patterns, uses, experiences, and meanings associated with this second-home context, drawing on in-depth interviews among 'cottager' households that are simultaneously based in the Toronto metropolitan area. Evidence is given revealing how these users *dwell through multiple places* – to borrow Quinn's (2004) characterisation – and why they persistently do so in spite of considerable external stresses that would otherwise tend to force marked transformations of behaviour, notably the rising carrying costs of multiple residency (whether measured in dollars or otherwise). The concluding section draws comparisons with European second-home studies, particularly noting parallels with Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Denmark. Rounding out the paper is a discussion of critical concepts of dwelling and attachment – which in this central Canadian case study seem to apply *both* to place *and* to the very social practice of *multiple residency*. Final comments are made suggesting that these second-home settings represent a curious twist on the Anglo-American 'countryside ideal' (Bunce 1994) and general ambivalence toward the city in North America.

Second Homes in Central Canada

Canada has a population of about 33 million people according to its most recent Census, and across the country, second homes now number in the hundreds

of thousands. They have been widespread since the early decades of the twentieth century;² by 1991, they were thought to number 560,000 (Halseth 1998). Current data suggest that just over one million of Canada's 12.6 million households own second homes, in the form of cabins, chalets, summer cottages, or camps (terms that will be explained in a moment). It can be conservatively calculated that these second homes correspond to roughly 7.5 per cent of the country's housing stock, based on the Census count of 11.6 million occupied private dwellings in 2001. They are most prevalent in amenity-rich areas of Canada's two most densely populated provinces, Québec and Ontario. Typically they line the countless lakes and rivers found in the woodlands covering most of the two provinces – primarily the pre-Cambrian bedrock of the Canadian Shield, including the Adirondack and Laurentian mountains, but also parts of the Northern Appalachians (Map 1, Ill. 1 and 2).³

While also called *chalets*, *camps*, and *cabins*, second homes in Canada are most commonly known as *cottages*. These terms denote the second-home structure while also strongly connoting a particular *setting*, and indeed, when introducing two Canadian discussions of second homes (Halseth 2004; Svenson 2004), Hall and Müller (2004) rightly stress that the Canadian term 'cottage' does not primarily describe the physical structure but rather the function of the second home: 'small houses that are mainly for recreational use' (p. 5). It is therefore important to draw a distinction between the terms 'cottage' and 'second home'. The latter can be defined as a structure (moveable or fixed-in-place) occupied and used by a household that makes its primary dwelling elsewhere (Hall & Müller 2004). In contrast, the most useful definition for 'cottage' – in principle, a *type* of second home – is nebulous. The *Nelson Canadian Dictionary of the English Language* defines a 'cottage' as 'a recreational property with a house, especially

**This illustration has been omitted
for copyright reasons.**

Map 1: Sketch-map highlighting the main second-home territories of Ontario and Québec and showing the principal geophysical zones of central Canada, along with the four most populous urban centres. (By Nik Luka.)

**This illustration has been omitted
for copyright reasons.**

**This illustration has been omitted
for copyright reasons.**

Ill. 1: A typical waterfront second-home scene in the Muskoka Lakes region of Ontario. The structures at the shoreline are boathouses, for each of which a cottage proper sits farther uphill. (Photo: Nik Luka.)

Ill. 2: An immodest yet typical example of a second-home compound including a main cottage and boat-house, situated in the same region as the peninsula shown in ill. 1. (Photo: Nik Luka.)

for summer use' (1997: 314), noting that the term is used mainly in the Midwest provinces and Ontario. A facetious definition comes from a best-selling popular book, *At the Cottage*, claiming that cottaging is 'Canada's summer obsession' countrywide (Gordon 1989: 6–7):

Whether it is a cottage, cabin, shack, or lodge, or whether it is camp, it is probably near a body of water, usually a lake. It has fewer creature comforts than its urban, suburban, or even rural counterpart. It has more bugs, less lawn, at least one boat, at least one mouse, a smaller kitchen, a larger birdhouse. Neighbours are farther away. So are stores. There may be a road to it; it may be accessible only by water. Either way, it is harder to get to than the place people live in the rest of the year. That may be its charm. It is hard to get to. It is hard for other people to get to.

The Canadian version maps well onto other Anglo-American examples. The authoritative *Oxford English Dictionary* (1989) asserts that the term 'cottage' is

used in North American English to represent 'a summer residence (often on a large and sumptuous scale) at a watering-place or a health or pleasure resort' with its first recognised use dating to 1882 in reference to resorts in Bar Harbor, a rugged seaside setting in Maine. *Partridge's Concise Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (first published in Britain in the 1960s) defines 'cottaging' as 'going down to one's cottage – often quite a largish house – in the country for the week-end' (Beale 1989: 106). Linking these Anglo-American definitions is multiple residency: the ritualised process of recurrent mobility embodied in the cottage as a temporary dwelling. In other words, the cottage has purpose as a site of sojourn, connected to other parts of everyday life by meaningful travel. As elsewhere, multiple residency involves a supplementary dwelling of some sort, generally (but not exclusively) in non-urban areas and predominantly (but not only) on the part of households based in urban areas – that is, in towns or large cities.⁴

In Canada, the experience, societal significance, mythology, and folklore of cottaging both feed and are fed by expressions of culture in many differ-

ent media. General readings published by popular presses are exceeded only in number by countless place-specific popular histories, many of which wax sentimental over cottage life in Canada. For instance, Charles Gordon (1989: 6) declares that 'everyone goes, at some point, to something called "Our Summer Place" ... [which] is probably a cottage'. Evidence of the pervasiveness of cottage life in cultural discourses is found in works of fiction and poetry, such as Margaret Atwood's (1991) short story *Wilderness tips* and Mordecai Richler's celebrated 1959 novel, *The apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz*. Canadian popular media also abounds with signs of cottage life. Children's books such as *Cottage weekend* by Pedersen et al. (1985) fill other niches in the world of popular publishing along with cottage country guidebooks and the ubiquitous 'coffee-table' book replete with evocative photographs of cottage landscapes.⁵ There are general-interest television programmes, notably the Ontario-based series *Cottage Life Television*, and documentaries, such as one by Chisholm and Floren (1997) on the 'golden era' of the luxurious resorts across the Muskoka Lakes,

all of which vie for viewer attention with a sitcom called *Paradise Falls* – described by one reviewer as 'the dirty Canadian soap we've always wanted' and set in a fictitious Ontario second-home destination.⁶ In short, the second-home phenomenon in central Canada encompasses both social practices and cultural landscapes, making the 'cottage' an icon of collective social identity among historically powerful socio-cultural groups (if not among the country's multicultural population). To complement these generalised cultural narratives, the rest of this paper examines particular aspects of the uses and meanings of second homes in Canada.

Form, Extent, Geographical Distribution, and General History

The 'typical' cottage in central Canada includes a wooden house at or very near the water's edge – in certain cases arranged in clusters or rows adjacent to a beachfront – but almost invariably in the wooded 'back country' found some distance from major metropolitan centres. In the east (Québec) it tends to be found in the rolling highlands of the Adiron-

**This illustration has been omitted
for copyright reasons.**

**This illustration has been omitted
for copyright reasons.**

Ill. 3: An example of the 'single-tier' pattern of second-home growth predominant in central Canada, especially where the topography is more rugged. (Photo: Nik Luka.)

Ill. 4: A National Topographic Series map showing contours, roads, and the built form of a 'stacked' cottage setting typical of a flat, sandy beach context (NRCan 1993).

dacks and Laurentians, while in the west (Ontario) it is found on the much flatter albeit rugged central terrain of the Canadian Shield. Historically it was modestly constructed and used only in the summer months. In aggregate, the second-home settings of central Canada usually comprise waterbodies lined by a single tier of stand-alone structures on individual parcels of land. Slight variations in settlement patterns stem in part from the constraints imposed by topography; where the land is steeper and rockier, a single-tier 'necklace' of private properties is found almost without exception, whereas the relatively flat, sandy shores of the St Lawrence Lowlands historically gave rise to cottage clusters that are 'stacked' in rows two or more deep in places (Ill. 3 and 4).

The second-home areas of central Canada are generally situated on the periphery of settled agricultural areas, where the arable soils of the St Lawrence Lowlands give way to the rocky Canadian Shield (in the northwest) and the Laurentian and Appalachian Mountains (in the northeast and southeast, respectively). Early second-home activity emerged in the latter part of the nineteenth century following a dark history of European conquest and colonisation of aboriginal lands from the sixteenth century onward. In many instances second homes began to appear where agricultural settlement attempts had failed and once the great old-growth forests covering most of Ontario and Québec had been logged out (cf. Epp 2000; Lower 1938). While many summer house colonies were built on the immediate fringes of major urban centres such as Montréal and Toronto, these came to be enveloped by urban growth in the early twentieth century while second-home areas much farther away from cities became especially popular. The first deliberate cottagers were hunters and sportsfolk from Toronto and other industrial hubs on the American side of the Great Lakes, notably Pittsburgh and Cleveland. By the 1920s, central Canada's rugged woodlands had become one of the most sought-after holiday regions in North America for the well-to-do, perceived as necessary summer antidotes to life in the smoggy, noisy, and swelteringly hot industrial urban centres. The nascent ritual of multiple residency involved extended stays at large

and rather luxurious waterfront resorts that were accessed by railways and passenger steamers until mass production techniques brought private vehicles under the buying power of numbers of many more households following the First World War.⁷ Beginning in the mid-1930s, governments upgraded the main roads into these areas; this facilitated a massive boom of private second-home construction in the postwar years. As seen across the United States, Australia, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland, second homes were 'democratised' as an affordable and enjoyable way to spend largely new-found leisure time. In Ontario and Québec, this postwar rise of multiple residency was fuelled by the extensive release of waterfront Crown land as part of aggressive government policies to encourage tourism and recreation.⁸ While definitions and data sources are inconsistent, it appears that Ontario's stock of cottage went from approximately 28,000 in 1941 (Wolfe 1951) to 164,000 in 1973 and 216,000 by 1991 (Halseth 1998). In Québec, the total number of households maintaining summer holiday 'cottages' or 'camps' across the province increased from 138,000 in 1971 – almost one in ten – to 200,000 in 2005, corresponding to 6.3 per cent of the estimated 3.2 million households across the province (Saint-Amour 1979; Statistics Canada 2006). Data from 2005 suggest that an estimated 415,000 Ontario households maintain a second home, corresponding to 8.9 per cent of the province's population, and that an average of five million visits (i.e. trips) are made each year. This suggests a yearly per-capita average of 2.5 cottage visits, based on the provincial population of 12,392,000 (Statistics Canada 2005, 2006).

These numbers provide a sense of the magnitude of the second-home phenomenon in central Canada but not the qualitative dimensions of this cultural practice. The examples cited above suggest ways in which the folklore of cottage life has become all-pervasive, to the point that summer holidays at waterfront second homes came to be seen as part and parcel of life in central Canada. To explore these ideas further, we now turn to a detailed case study of multiple residency in the Ontario context, highlighting how the second home is still just that: a corollary

to but by no means a full-blown substitute for the primary urban or suburban dwelling.

Case Study: Toronto's 'Cottage Country'

The following case centres on the second-home territory stretching northward and eastward from Toronto metropolitan region (known as the Greater Toronto Area or GTA), with an estimated population of five million and a largely immigration-driven population increase of up to 100,000 annually.⁹ No discrete 'limits' were explicitly set, but Georgian Bay to the west and Algonquin Provincial Park to the northeast constrain the second-home territory of interest to a triangle with sides measuring perhaps 150 km, with an area of about 12,000 km² in total (Map 2). Of importance is how the historic prominence

of the term 'cottage' has given rise to the somewhat ambiguous label of 'cottage country' in central Ontario. This term compellingly refers to settlement form and geography – where activity takes place in space – as well as describing aspects of cultural identity bound to the very lay of the land through images, meanings, and folklore that have developed over time.

The data presented here were collected in 2003 through interviews (n=71) and an online questionnaire (n=200). The two techniques were coupled so that themes arising in responses to the online instrument were probed and verified through the in-depth semi-structured face-to-face interviews, for which the sample was generated using a snowball technique.¹⁰ The respondents are almost all owner-occupiers of two properties (an 'urban' dwelling and a 'cottage'). The sample is evenly split by gender; over half are between the ages of 41 and 60 – corresponding to Canada's postwar Baby Boom population cohorts – while another one in four is aged 61 to 80. Three in four respondents have children, typically only two (mean=2.4; median and mode=2). Respondents are very well-educated and have high earning power: over half have at least one university degree, and 43.0 per cent have a before-tax household income of C\$100,000 or more, as contrasted with only 18.0 per cent of households across the Greater Toronto Area, and where the Canada-wide average household income was C\$58,360 in 2001 (City of Toronto 2003; Statistics Canada 2003). Respondent occupations vary widely, but the sample is dominated by professional middle- and upper-class workers, in a modified Marxian sense (i.e. individuals who are able to command skills and knowledge to better their own socioeconomic position).¹¹

**This illustration has been omitted
for copyright reasons.**

Map 2: Sketch-map of central Ontario showing waterbodies and urban centres, including the City of Toronto (white hatching). The heavy dotted line indicates where the rocky Canadian Shield emerges from beneath the arable till plains of the St Lawrence Lowlands. (By Nik Luka.)

Prevalence of Multiple Residency as Social Practice

Multiple residency remains the fundamental characteristic of central Ontario second-home users despite the extensive conversion of cottages for year-round use through the 1970s and 1980s (as summarised by Halseth & Rosenberg 1990, 1995). Four-fifths of the study respondents identify the cottage dwelling as a second home; among these 163 users, 116 (or 71.2 per

cent) are based in the GTA.¹² The pattern of metropolitan-dominated multiple residency was affirmed by considering workplace locations. Almost three in four of the 70 respondents active in the workforce are employed in the City of Toronto, in addition to another 22.9 per cent who work in the GTA suburbs. Similarly, almost three in four respondents (73.9 per cent) live in the GTA – 44.0 per cent in the City of Toronto proper, and 29.9 per cent in the outlying suburbs. Among these practitioners of multiple residency, two-thirds travel 100 to 300 km between their two dwellings; only one in 10 respondents travels less than 100 km. Simply put, the case-study data show that central Ontario cottage country functionally ‘fits’ within the Toronto-centred metropolitan region, affirming previous research, notably Wolfe’s (1951) findings based on 1941 data. These data do not reveal the richness of the everyday experience of cottage users, however, for respondents find themselves longing for the cottage setting when away. For instance, one couple – having moved to Japan for work purposes – were so anxious to get ‘back to the cottage’ that they drove directly to their second home from the Toronto airport upon their first return trip to Canada, instead of going to their central Toronto dwelling, and despite having just traveled some 20 hours non-stop. Other respondents talked about how eagerly they await their next trip to the cottage property (albeit at different temporal scales), while asserting how much they appreciate it precisely because it is part of a multiple-residency strategy. For one respondent in his 50s who splits his time between his cottage property and a dwelling in a GTA suburb, one week is too long; he declared that ‘I think the longest I’ve ever stayed away from here was when we went to North Carolina, and that was three weeks’. Fully half the sample (49.5 per cent) stated that they frequently spend time at their cottage country property, but only for relatively short periods. Another one in four spends relatively long stretches of time at certain periods through a typical year (usually the hot summer months).

Long histories of cottage life are common among respondents. Four in five individuals have frequented their current second-home property for at least

five years, and two in five (39.5 per cent) have done so for upwards of 30 years. Three in four respondents (74.0 per cent) had grown up spending time in cottage country ($p < 0.0005$), and the parents of almost as many respondents (69.5 per cent) as well as the grandparents of almost half (48.5 per cent) had also done so ($p < 0.0005$). These findings tend to affirm the importance of cottaging as a family activity and a learned behaviour carried on from one generation to the next, as in this example:

I would prefer to give up everything else I own – my home in the city – before I would want to give up the cottage. My parents built it and I grew up from age four years, in this place, making friends with people I still see to this day, in the same place. I am now introducing grandchildren to the cottage. (Woman in her 50s now living permanently at her cottage)

To explore the importance of the second-home ritual to its practitioners, questions were asked about their plans for the future. Commitment to the place was firm and widespread. One cottager and resident of a GTA suburb in her 50s feels that ‘This place is so entrenched in my psyche that I cannot conceive of not having it as part of my life’. Another in her 40s cannot ever imagine selling; as she explains, ‘I feel most relaxed and “centred” when I am at the cottage; [it’s] my favourite place to be.’ The commitment to place was also apparent when respondents were asked if their intent was to pass the property down within the family; just over half (56.5 per cent) of owner-occupiers stated that this is very likely. Yet almost one-third (30.5 per cent) stated that no such arrangement was foreseeable. Factors mentioned by respondents included rising maintenance costs and increasing property tax burdens, especially as a function of marked non-inflation-related increases in the market value of waterfront second homes. Statistics Canada (2006) data indicate that the average annual expenditure to cover the carrying costs of a second home has more than doubled in the past ten years.

Much attention has been directed in Canada to the ‘conversion’ of second homes to permanent

dwellings, as mentioned above, especially among users approaching retirement age.¹³ Among the 158 respondents who do not describe their cottage country property as their home address, a compelling split was seen when questions were asked about the possibility of settling permanently into their second-home setting. Only one in six (18.4 per cent) envisions making the cottage property the sole or primary dwelling; another 20.9 per cent are undecided, while over half (60.8 per cent) are quite certain that they will *not* make their cottage country dwelling their permanent residence in the future. Several respondents stressed that doing so would spoil what makes the cottage setting unique, for instance:

I have spent 54 years going to Deanlea Beach on a seasonal basis. A lot of our area is now occupied by year round people and many seasonal cottages are being bulldozed to allow the erection of 'houses'. ... I absolutely refuse to 'winterise' what is a summer getaway refuge for my family. Once you live at the cottage, it is no longer the cottage, and all the stresses of home move with you, defeating the intent. Certainly I will retire there spring through fall, but nothing else. (Woman in her 50s, GTA-based cottager)

Of the relatively few respondents indicating that they do plan to move into their cottage property permanently, about half (51.6 per cent) intend to do so within ten years, with the balance of responses spread evenly over five-year cohorts beyond the ten-year horizon.

Motivations for Multiple Residency

What motivates such persistent patterns of behaviour, even with dramatic rises seen over the past three decades in real-estate values, the time and hassle of long-distance commuting to and from the second home, and rising property taxes which altogether increase total costs? Ideas and images are linked with these settings to the point that second homes are widely considered a 'natural' part of everyday life in central Canada. Respondents resoundingly expressed long-term commitment to both the *place* and to the *social*

practice of cottaging. These were couched in terms of reconnection with nature while affirming a sense of Canadian identity. For instance:

If we consider ourselves a land of lakes, and trees, and the farmland – well, you know, that's an American image of us, but if you look around us, that's what we are. We're staring at the lake, we're looking at an uninhabited island across the way, filled with trees; closer, ah, close to nature – but close to and inhabited by urban dwellers. (Woman in her 50s, GTA-based cottager)

[Wife] I think it's quintessentially Canadian. Well, maybe quintessentially Ontario – I understand that not all of Canada is real cottage country – I read an article a while ago about Ontario and what cottages mean to Ontarians, and I think it's quintessentially – ah, we're just on the edge of the Shield.

[Husband] The Great Lakes feel Canadian. ... There are areas in Michigan that have some kind of – this sort of topography and feeling, but ... these shoaley, rocky shores, all of this is quintessentially Canadian – all of this is quintessentially Ontario and therefore quintessentially Canadian. (Couple in their 50s, GTA-based cottagers)

Given the strong link between 'nature' and 'wilderness' that at least stereotypically characterises Canada, respondents had intriguing things to say when they were asked if they considered their cottage settings part of the 'wilderness'. Comments typically indicated that while they were closer in the second-home context than in the city, they did not think of themselves as being in the 'wilderness'. Many respondents explained that they considered their cottage settings to be adjacent to wilderness areas:

This is not, but then there's [all that] just behind us. Just go back 200 m and you're in wilderness, and the farther in that direction you go, the more wilderness it becomes ... some of the topography there and wildlife, including foliage, is very much wilderness ... Things there

are basically in natural state, and that is my definition of wilderness for this area. At about 200 km from a very large mega-urban development, that's as [much] 'wilderness' as you're going to get. (Man in his 60s, GTA-based cottager)

There's a lot of wilderness behind ... certainly on the side [of the lake] that we're on. Well, it's the same thing on the other side – there's nothing. How far do you want to go? You could walk back in the bush forever and you wouldn't come across a road at all. So that's wilderness. (Woman in her 60s, GTA-based cottager)

In effect, cottagers tend to describe their second-home settings as narrow waterfront bands of settled landscape amidst an unsettled forested expanse beginning only a short distance from the water's edge.

Second-home settings are not only seen by their users as natural settings that can readily be identified as Canadian, but more importantly as *home landscapes* with significance as particular orderings of spatial elements, relationships, and processes that literally make them 'sacred' sites (which is remarkable in a country that has little interest in religion of any sort, having been highly secular since the early

postwar years). A respondent in her 70s sums up her feelings on the quasi-spiritual role that it plays in her life: 'I love this place; it is where my family all get together and keep together, enjoying holidays and special occasions. My children have been married here and my grandchildren baptised here. It is my most special place.' Indicators of how these cottage settings are so deeply cherished by their users are presented on Table 1, summarising responses toward statements based on findings reported in the literature on 'home' and 'home landscapes'.¹⁴

Responses summarised in Table 1 affirm that the second-home setting is a choice residential milieu, also indicating its importance as a 'home landscape' (cf. Feldman 1996; Sopher 1979). Indeed, the cottage is considered by many respondents as an anchor while they move house in their 'urban' lives through time, such as this man who had spent most of his life in the Toronto area before retiring in the 1990s to what had until then been his second home:

I would say that so far as my family is concerned, although everyone from time to time has moved, this was always the place that they could rely on, and that this was the family place.

Table 1: Likert-scale scores given by respondents for affirmations on second-home settings as home landscapes (1=strongly disagree; 5=strongly agree).

	All respondents (n=200)		Practitioners of multiple residency (n=116)		Permanent cottage residents (n=37)	
	mean	mode	mean	mode	mean	mode
<i>This place is unique.</i>	4.23	4	3.95	4	4.35	4
<i>When I am here, I have all the privacy and tranquility I could desire.</i>	4.19	5	3.95	5	3.81	4
<i>When I am away from here for too long, I find that I miss it.</i>	4.32	4	4.21	4	3.81	4
<i>This place reflects the sort of person I am.</i>	3.90	4	3.77	4	4.05	4
<i>This place is where I can really be myself.</i>	4.27	4	4.04	4	4.11	4

[Interviewer] Do you mean to say that this has been a fixed point for the family amidst all sorts of moves and changes?

Yes, yes.

[Interviewer] And has it been important because of that?

Ah, yes. (Man in his 80s now living permanently at his cottage)

Coupled with this anchoring effect is a folkloric Canadian image of the cottage as a gathering place for extended families. This is borne out in the case-study data. Almost two-thirds of respondents (64.0 per cent) receive relatives, typically from one to five extended family members, over the course of a typical year, although only 28.0 per cent host 11 or more relatives each year.¹⁵ Could it be that cottages are not as intensely used by large family groups as folklore would suggest? An important explanatory factor may be the proximity of extended family members at another second-home property; indeed, almost half of the respondents (49.5 per cent) have relatives with access to a nearby 'cottage' (by ownership or otherwise).¹⁶

Discussion

The selected findings presented here have suggested ways in which critical concepts of dwelling, community ideology, and attachment apply to second-home settings *both* in terms of the places in question *and* the very social practice of multiple residency. In this Canadian study, respondents were found to be well-versed in the 'rituals' of cottaging, with which not only they but also their parents and grandparents have typically been involved for many decades. These findings correspond with more general work on continuity in the social practice of housing space, including the ideas of settlement-identity articulated by Feldman (1990, 1996) and the deeper significance of family ritual in domestic practice (Bertaux-Wiame 1990) and what Hummon (1990) expressed as 'community ideology'. They also affirm the work of other observers of multiple residency.¹⁷ In particular, cottaging in central Canada seems to be both generated and perpetuated as an everyday social practice, and

as has also been found in other contexts, it tends to be a learned behaviour, passed on from one generation to the next, normalised and ritualised as a leisure practice that helps give meaning to everyday life with its work regimens in the 'urban' or 'suburban' context.¹⁸ In this respect it is a sort of *habitus* as suggested by Bourdieu (1990 [1980]). Yet *habitus* can be a totalising concept, and it must be used with care. For present purposes, it can be understood as applying *only* to certain aspects of self-identity and social practice, namely the ways in which cottaging is important to its practitioners, many of whom profess strong attachment to and self-identity with generic visions of its variegated settings. It is but one part of a complex weave of values, beliefs, and ways of thinking for these individuals. Caveat stated, cottage-life-as-*habitus* is of interest here because it is categorically related to space and landscape in turn made meaningful through time by layers of mythology and folklore.

The findings presented here affirm a casual observation made by Cross (1992) in a popular publication on Ontario cottage life. Waxing somewhat sentimentally on the Canadian retreat to the summer house as a ritualised and metaphorical journey through which the distractions of mundane urban life are stripped away, her assessment of cottaging as a ritualised process resonates well with the work of Bourdieu and others on the logic of social practice in everyday life and the 'lifestyle spaces' thus generated. A vital motivation is clearly the interest in the second home as a leisure setting – that is, fun, free time, and social activities predicated on relaxing activities with familiar faces. Certainly the origins of cottage life in the Kawartha Lakes and Muskoka were not in camping or 'roughing it' but rather in comfortable or even luxurious hotels and lodges – facilities designed in the main as 'spaces for play' (see e.g. Jasen 1995; Wolfe 1951). As if in deference to this history, many respondents in this study are averse to 'contaminating' the second-home setting by making it a permanent place of residence, and especially by bringing occupation-related work to do – even only temporarily – at the cottage. We thus see resonance with explanations of how leisure time

provides a meaningful foil to structured work.¹⁹ Indeed, the second-home setting has achieved a quasi-sacred status in the eyes of many of its users. Even more intriguingly, the case study presented here suggests that perpetuating the vision and rituals of cottage life, at least in central Ontario, is an end unto itself rather than merely the means for individuals to gain access to pleasant residential settings. This 'cottage country ideal' plays out in specific places that are important to users because they correspond well with the generic vision of cottage country. This appears to be especially apparent among subsequent generations of cottagers, perhaps as they are literally bombarded not only with direct accounts of the pleasures of cottaging but also the generalised imagery in everything from beer commercials to art, poetry, and drama emerging from central Canada. An abstraction has become a central node for the creation and maintenance of meaning; cottage country is an imagined landscape that endures.

The second-home settings of central Canada represent an interesting twist on what Bunce (1994) has called the Anglo-American 'countryside ideal' and more general ambivalence toward city life in North American culture. While the English have come to worship a particular vision of the working countryside and Americans laud the small town as well as a Jeffersonian image of pastoral landscapes, the findings here affirm that Canadians seem to celebrate a different ideal combining abstract notions of 'nature', the 'bush', and the 'wilderness' – all ideas about land and landscape that have long held sway in Canadian cultural discourses.²⁰ It is in the second home that the participants in this study seem to find a useful manifestation of this Canadian ideal. Central in importance is the water's edge, both in 'objective' urban form terms and through more 'subjective' images and meanings shared by users; if an individual cottage dwelling is not directly on the water, it has convenient (deeded) access. In the rugged woodland settings of central Canada, a single-tier 'necklace' seems the only viable settlement form, at least in the minds of users. The single-tier effect as observed and discussed by study participants tends to affirm the findings of Tress (2002) in Denmark,

where seaside second homes are on principle built as near as possible to the water's edge, often on the *windward* side of protective dunes or hills, as if to literally make the most of the ocean experience.

The central Canadian examples discussed here are clearly comparable to second-home patterns of multiple residency elsewhere, from central Europe (such as the Swiss with their *chalets* and *Ferienwohnungen*), to Norway and Sweden (where people respectively go the *hytte* or the *sommarstuga*), to Russia (with its *dachas*), and even New Zealand (where many households maintain a *bach*). The clearest parallels can however be drawn with the observed patterns of multiple residency and place attachment seen in Norway, Sweden, and Finland. In these contexts, single-tier necklaces of modest wooden summer houses are set in the wooded lakelands of Finland and Sweden, or the rugged mountains of Norway. Patterns of mobility seem to be similar, involving many shorter trips combined with a single longer summer holiday period, the net result being that second-home territories are most prevalent within easy travel time of major urban centres (Müller 2004). A number of comparable studies suggest that similar sets of motivations drive the social practice of multiple residency, including a desire to 'reconnect' with nature and/or narratives of national identity, nostalgia for a simpler, more rustic past – perhaps even 'pioneer' living – as well as the desire to make the most of the relatively short summer.²¹ In these respects, further comparative work would be well worth pursuing.

The fact that second homes in central Canada appear to be manifestations of socially-constructed ideas of 'nature' is of interest in another way. The Ontario cottage settings examined in the case study presented here are important to their users thanks to an array of carefully constructed representations of good places in which to spend time. Findings here suggest that cottage country is treated very much as an 'Other' to the city, and that part of what makes it meaningful to users is its role as a place to connect with nature (apparently considered difficult or impossible in urban settings). In effect, cottage life in central Canada seems deeply predicated on the idea of sojourns amidst nature, which in turn

may help to exculpate people from enfolded natural process into their everyday (urban) lives. This adds a troubling dimension to the cultural landscapes of central Canada's waterfront second homes, for they embody widespread difficulties in reconciling 'nature' and 'culture' in Anglo-American society. This becomes especially important given the centrality of 'nature' and the 'wilderness' in collective notions of Canadian identity. A link can be made here with Cronon's (1996) case about the 'trouble with wilderness' in U.S. culture, given the ways it enables people to treat 'nature' as something 'out there' rather than 'in here'. This represents an important challenge for the future, as global warming, deteriorating local environmental quality, and other environmental problems become increasingly urgent.

A final and especially curious aspect – perhaps paralleled in other multicultural contexts such as Sweden – is the lack of ethnocultural diversity among practitioners of second-home multiple residency. Very few of the case-study respondents were of non-European origin; this contrasts markedly with contemporary Canadian realities, especially in the major urban centres of Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver. While most study participants had Canadian roots at least as far back as the early twentieth century, three in four City of Toronto residents in 2001 were only first- or second-generation Canadians (City of Toronto 2003). This raises important questions for future research concerning the ethno-cultural exclusivity of the second-home experience in central Canada. It is at the very least an unsettling dimension of the cottage phenomenon given the strong notions of second-home settings as both 'natural' and 'essentially Canadian'. Could it be that a retreat from the complexity, diversity, and uncertainty of urban life also involves withdrawal from multicultural realities of the contemporary Canadian metropolis? While Canadians are generally considered tolerant and progressive – and certainly prefer to see themselves that way – perhaps there is a curious parallel with Pred's (2000) study of the 'racialised' spaces of Sweden. While not discussed above, other results of this study suggested that some cottage users appreciate the ethnocultural homogeneity of second-home

areas, although many others saw this as an unfortunate and undesirable situation. An in-depth report that ran in one of Canada's main newspapers, the *Toronto Globe and Mail* (Jiménez 2006), summed it up quite simply in its headline: 'Why they call cottage country the Great White North' – a double-entendre referring to an old joke about Canada's snowy weather. That visible minorities tend to feel excluded from the narratives of Canadian identity is increasingly evident (Philip et al. 1997), and the scholarly attention now being paid to this matter is long overdue. Importantly, this includes recent critical work on how Canada's aboriginal population has generally been omitted from narratives and representations of 'natural' landscapes (Bordo 1993; Freeman 2002; Grek-Martin 2007). Further work is merited examining the non-intersection of cultural identity, landscape, and the ethnic diversity of the Canadian population in this country's second-home settings.

Conclusion

The empirical evidence presented here reveals that the study respondents can be defined as committed practitioners of multiple residency, given the duality of their primary lifespaces and their residential biographies and stated residential aspirations. It was revealed how the second-home setting is considered by its practitioners as a necessary part of contemporary urban life in which the ubiquitous 'next' generation can (re)connect with family history, community as well as meta-narratives of cultural identity and nature (or at least with social constructions thereof). Comments have been made on the remarkable persistence of social practices of mobility, sociability, and dwelling through time and in spite of considerable transformations. Among the implications of this study, the most obvious direction for future research is the comparative study of other second-home settings, including those within what Müller (2004) calls the 'weekend leisure space' of major metropolitan regions. Compelling parallels seem to exist in patterns of multiple residency in Norway, Denmark, Finland, and especially Sweden. The fact that second homes are so commonly found in countries with severe winters is also interesting, and while it may

only be a coincidence of other factors, the pattern is intriguing; could it be that colder winters foster a stronger desire to have a second dwelling for warm weather? That cottage life is also seen as an important part of cultural identity in wintery contexts is amply evidenced by work on this theme by others.²²

A further suggestion for future research involves examining the 'imagined landscapes' of central Ontario cottage country, asking what accounts for the apparent lack of ethnic diversity among users. Drawing on the concept of 'social legibility' articulated by Ramadier and Moser (1998) and the importance of the built environment as a system of distributed cognition (Hutchins 1995; Rapoport 1990; Wilson 2005), could it be that as imagined landscape and material reality, central Ontario cottage country is 'unintelligible' to those who have not been versed in its specialised practices? Is it merely some set of coincidences that the cultural landscapes of cottage country seem bereft of ethnic diversity, or is this a sign of something troubling in the way of systemic exclusion? This bespeaks a more profound question of cultural geography, in which 'landscape' is problematised as a social construction embodied in material reality. These second-home landscapes seem to reflect understandings that dominant social groups have of their own socially experienced world as 'the whole world' – raising further questions in terms of how both the cultural landscapes and concepts associated with cottage country seem to represent powerful hegemonic discourses of what is Canadian.²³ How did second-home multiple residency come to be normalised? These questions merit detailed further study.

In sum, Canada's woodland second-home settings appear to be considered by their users as a necessary part of contemporary urban life in which to (re)connect with family history and also with meta-narratives of cultural identity, nature, and the wilderness (or at least with social constructions thereof). It has been suggested here that these second-home landscapes represent ways in which 'urban' folk negotiate a problematic tension between city life and non-urban longings. This importance of 'cottage country' as a 'natural' foil to (sub)urban living is troublesome, however, not least as an expression of a col-

lective difficulty in reconciling natural process with everyday life settings (i.e., the city or the suburb). This ultimately reinforces a perennial challenge for proactive planning and design: how can we capitalise on images and meanings to establish stronger links between the human-cultural and natural components and processes in metropolitan regions as the principal places of human settlement?²⁴

Notes

- 1 Cf. Aubin-Des Roches (2006), Campbell (2004), Dubé (1986), Gagnon (2003), Jasen (1995), Marsh & Griffiths (2006), McIlwraith (1997), Wolfe (1951, 1977).
- 2 See the works cited in Note 1 as well as Dagenais (2006), Jaakson (1986), Luka (2006), Mai (1971), and Saint-Amour (1979).
- 3 In 2001, the last year for which comprehensive data are available, it was estimated that second homes were owned by 861,990 households across Canada, corresponding to 7 per cent of the country's 12.4 million households. Almost two-thirds of these are in Ontario and Québec. All calculations are based on data from Statistics Canada (2005, 2006).
- 4 Useful regional overviews are found in Coppock (1977), Gallent et al. (2000, 2003, 2005), Hall & Müller (2004), Struyk & Angelici (1996), and Tress (2000, 2002).
- 5 Examples of popular publications include Fowler & Sinclair (1980), Lloyd Kyi (2001), MacGregor (2002), and Pryke (1987).
- 6 Review published in *Flare* magazine, June 2001.
- 7 Cf. Aubin-des Roches (2006), Campbell (2004), Jasen (1995), Luka (2006), Wall (1977), and Wolfe (1951, 1977).
- 8 See Halseth (1998), Halseth & Rosenberg (1995), Hodge (1974), and Wolfe (1965) on the Canadian experience as well as Rybczynski's (1991) general history and the collections edited by Coppock (1977) and Hall & Müller (2004) for international comparisons.
- 9 The case-study areas have historically been dominated by GTA-based second-home multiple residency (Hodge 1974; Mai 1971; Wolfe 1951). The total population of central Ontario is expected to increase by three million over the next 30 years and there has been widespread debate over 'sprawl' in this region; for a more general overview of the GTA, see Bourne et al. (2003).
- 10 Respondents for the online questionnaire were contacted indirectly, through diffusion on the website for the Federation of Ontario Cottager Associations (FOCA) as well as in major and minor newspapers; brochures and flyers were distributed across the study area at commercial establishments (restaurants, marinas, and grocery stores) and in a snowball-sample technique whereby interviewees were asked to pass along the

URL to friends, family, and neighbours who had experience cottaging. Ultimately, while not all interviews were retained for detailed discourse analysis, the basic content of each was entered into the online questionnaire database. In consequence the in-depth interviews are 'nested' within the larger sample for a gross total of 282 complete responses, but elimination of incomplete, duplicate, or otherwise problematic responses yielded a total of exactly 200 responses.

- 11 Borrowing from Harris (1996), the distinction is made here between *owners* or *managers* and *workers*; the middle-class can thus be understood as comprising individuals who, through their education and monopoly of particular skills, are especially able to manoeuvre their position within society (i.e., in their professional roles as doctors, lawyers, teachers, managers, and so on).
- 12 Chi-square tests on the location of the 'other dwelling' produced a p-value of less than 0.0005 ($\chi^2=116.258$ with 2df).
- 13 Cf. Dahms (1996), Halseth & Rosenberg (1990, 1995), Halseth (1998).
- 14 The statements were developed based on several concepts and studies including Cooper Marcus (1995), Cuba & Hummon (1993), Després (1991), Dovey (1985), Feldman (1990, 1996), Hummon (1990), Korosec-Serfaty (1984), Sopher (1979), and Winstanley, Thorns, & Perkins (1995).
- 15 Respondents were asked how many such family members (such as parents, children, nieces, nephews) currently use their cottage country property over the course of a typical year.
- 16 The definition of what constituted 'near' was left to the respondents' discretion.
- 17 Cf. Aronsson (2004), Dubost (1998), Kaltenborn (1997, 1998, 2002), Marshall & Foster (2002), Periäinen (2006), Quinn (2004), Rolshoven (2002, 2003, 2005, 2006), Tress (2000), and Urbain (2002).
- 18 A macro-social parallel can be drawn here between the rise of cottaging and that of the middle class, just as Bunce (1994) asserts how the countryside ideal was consolidated in Anglo-American culture in the nineteenth century.
- 19 Cf. Harrison (2003), Jakle (1985), Sheller & Urry (2004), and Urry (2002).
- 20 Cf. Bühler Roth (1998), Campbell (2004), Littlejohn (2002), and Smith (1990).
- 21 Cf. Aronsson (2004), Bjerke, Kaltenborn, & Vittersø (2006), Flognfeldt (2004), Kaltenborn (1997, 1998, 2002), Löfgren (1999), Periäinen (2006), and Tress (2000, 2002).
- 22 Among these are Nordin (1993), Periäinen (2004), Kaltenborn (1997, 1998, 2002), Struyk & Angelici (1996), and Tress (2000, 2002).
- 23 Similar comments have been made by Philip et al.

(1997) on the exclusiveness of the Canadian 'wilderness' concept. Cf. Dear & Wolch (1989), Smith (1990), and Zukin (1991).

- 24 The research reported here was supported by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The author also acknowledges the contributions made by Research Assistants Heather Coffey and Nathaniel R. Racine.

References

- Aronsson, Lars 2004: Place attachment of vacation residents: between tourists and permanent residents. In C. Michael Hall & Dieter K. Müller (eds.), *Tourism, Mobility, and Second Homes: between Elite Landscape and common Ground*. Clevedon (England), Buffalo NY: Channel View Publications, pp. 75–86.
- Atwood, Margaret E. 1991: *Wilderness Tips*. New York: Doubleday.
- Aubin-Des Roches, Carolyn 2006: Retrouver la ville à la campagne: la villégiature à Montréal au tournant du XXe siècle. *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine* 34(2), 17–29.
- Beale, Paul (ed.) 1989: *Partridge's Concise Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (8th ed.). New York: Macmillan.
- Bertaux-Wiame, Isabelle 1995: Familial et résidentiel: un couple indissociable. *Sociologie et sociétés* 27(2), 163–175.
- Bjerke, Tore, Bjørn Petter Kaltenborn & Joar Vittersø 2006: Cabin life: restorative and affective aspects. In: Norman McIntyre, Daniel Williams & Kevin McHugh (eds.), *Multiple Dwelling and Tourism: Negotiating Place, Home, and Identity*. Cambridge MA: CABI Publishing, pp. 87–102.
- Bordo, Jonathan 1993: Jack Pine: wilderness sublime or the erasure of the aboriginal presence from the landscape. *Journal of Canadian Studies* 27(4), 98–128.
- Bourdieu, Pierre 1990 [1980]: *The Logic of Practice [Le sens pratique]* (Richard Nice, Trans.). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bourne, Larry S., Michael F. Bunce, Laura Taylor, Nik Luka & Jeanne Maurer 2003: Contested ground: the dynamics of peri-urban growth in the Toronto region. *Canadian Journal of Regional Science/Revue canadienne des sciences régionales* 26(2–3), 251–270.
- Bühler Roth, Verena 1998: *Wilderness and the Natural Environment: Margaret Atwood's Recycling of a Canadian Theme*. Tübingen D: Francke.
- Bunce, Michael F. 1994: *The Countryside Ideal: Anglo-American Images of Landscape*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Campbell, Claire E. 2004: *Shaped by the West Wind: Nature and History in Georgian Bay*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Chisholm, Barbara & Russell Floren 1997: *Enchanted Summers: the Grand Hotels of Muskoka* [Video recording]. Toronto: Lynx Images.
- City of Toronto 2003: *Profile Toronto: Population Growth and*

- Aging. Toronto: Urban Development Services (Policy & Research Section), City of Toronto.
- Cooper Marcus, Clare 1995: *House as a Mirror of Self: Exploring the deeper Meaning of Home*. Berkeley: Conari Press.
- Coppock, J. T. (ed.) 1977: *Second Homes: Curse or Blessing?* Oxford: Pergamon.
- Cronon, William 1996: The trouble with wilderness; or, getting back to the wrong nature. In: William Cronon (ed.), *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*. New York: WW Norton, pp. 69–90.
- Cross, Amy W. 1992: *The Summer House: a Tradition of Leisure*. Toronto: Harper Collins.
- Cuba, Lee & David M. Hummon 1993: Constructing a sense of home: Place affiliation and migration across the life cycle. *Sociological Forum* 8(4), 547–572.
- Dagenais, Michèle 2006: *Faire et fuir la ville: espaces publics de culture et de loisirs à Montréal et Toronto aux XIXe et XXe siècles*. Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université Laval.
- Dahms, Fred 1996: The greying of South Georgian Bay. *Canadian Geographer / Géographe canadien* 40(2), 148–163.
- Després, Carole 1991: The meaning of home: literature review and directions for future research and theoretical development. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 8(2), 96–115.
- Dovey, Kim 1985: Home and homelessness. In: Irving Altman & Carol M. Werner (eds.), *Home Environments*. New York: Plenum, pp. 33–64.
- Dubé, Philippe 1986: *Deux cents ans de villégiature dans Charlevoix: l'histoire du pays visité*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval.
- Dubost, Françoise 1998: De la maison de campagne à la résidence secondaire. In: Françoise Dubost (ed.), *L'autre maison: la «résidence secondaire», refuge des générations*. Paris: Éditions Autrement, pp. 10–37.
- Epp, A. Ernest 2000: Ontario forests and forest policy before the era of sustainable forestry. In: Ajith Perera, David Euler & Ian D. Thompson (eds.), *Ecology of a Managed Terrestrial Landscape: Patterns and Processes of Forest Landscapes in Ontario*. Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press/Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, pp. 237–276.
- Feldman, Roberta M. 1990: Settlement-identity: psychological bonds with home places in a mobile society. *Environment and Behavior* 22(2), 183–229.
- Feldman, Roberta M. 1996: Constancy and change in attachments to types of settlements. *Environment and Behavior* 28(4), 419–445.
- Fløgnfeldt, Thor 2004: Second homes as a part of a new rural lifestyle in Norway. In: C. Michael Hall & Dieter K. Müller (eds.), *Tourism, Mobility, and Second Homes: between Elite Landscape and common Ground*. Clevedon (England), Buffalo NY: Channel View Publications, pp. 233–242.
- Fowler, Peter & Gordon Sinclair 1980: *Cottage Country*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Freeman, Victoria 2002: *Distant Relations: How my Ancestors Colonized North America*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Gagnon, Serge 2003: *L'échiquier touristique québécois*. Sainte-Foy PQ: Presses de l'Université du Québec.
- Gallent, Nick, Alan Mace & Mark Tewdwr-Jones 2005: *Second Homes: European Perspectives and UK Policies*. Aldershot, (England): Ashgate.
- Gallent, Nick, Mark Shucksmith & Mark Tewdwr-Jones (eds.) 2003: *Housing in the European Countryside: Rural Pressure and Policy in Western Europe*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Gallent, Nick & Mark Tewdwr-Jones 2000: *Rural Second Homes in Europe: Examining Housing Supply and Planning Control*. Aldershot (England): Ashgate.
- Gordon, Charles 1989: *At the Cottage: a Fearless Look at Canada's Summer Obsession*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.
- Grek-Martin, Jason 2007: Vanishing the Haida: George Dawson's ethnographic vision and the making of settler space on the Queen Charlotte Islands in the late nineteenth century. *Canadian Geographer / Géographe canadien* 51(3), 373–398.
- Hall, C. Michael & Dieter K. Müller 2004: Introduction: Second homes, curse or blessing? revisited. In: C. Michael Hall & Dieter K. Müller (eds.), *Tourism, Mobility, and Second Homes: between Elite Landscape and common Ground*. Clevedon (England), Buffalo NY: Channel View Publications, pp. 3–14.
- Halseth, Greg 1998: *Cottage Country in Transition: a Social Geography of Change and Contention in the Rural-Recreational Countryside*. Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Halseth, Greg 2004: The 'cottage' privilege: increasingly elite landscapes of second homes in Canada. In: C. Michael Hall & Dieter K. Müller (eds.), *Tourism, Mobility, and Second Homes: between Elite Landscape and common Ground*. Clevedon (England), Buffalo NY: Channel View Publications, pp. 35–54.
- Halseth, Greg & Mark W. Rosenberg 1990: Conversion of recreational residences: a case study of its measurement and management. *Canadian Journal of Regional Science* 13(1), 99–115.
- Halseth, Greg & Mark W. Rosenberg 1995: Cottagers in an urban field. *Professional Geographer* 47(2), 148–159.
- Harris, Richard 1996: *Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy, 1900–1950*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Harrison, Julia 2003: *Being a Tourist: Finding Meaning in Pleasure Travel*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Hodge, Gerald 1974: The city in the periphery. In: Larry S. Bourne, Ross D. MacKinnon, Jay Siegel & James W. Simmons (eds.), *Urban Futures for central Canada: Perspectives on Forecasting Urban Growth and Form*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 281–301.
- Hummon, David M. 1990: *Commonplaces: Community Ideology and Identity in American Culture*. Albany NY: State University of New York Press.

- Hutchins, Edward 1995: *Cognition in the Wild*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.
- Jaakson, Reiner 1986: Second-home Domestic Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 13(3), 367–391.
- Jakle, John A. 1985: *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth Century North America*. Lincoln NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Jasen, Patricia 1995: *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790–1914*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Jiménez, Marina 2006: Why they call cottage country the Great White North: Minorities are rarely visible, but it's often because they just don't get the attraction. *Toronto Globe and Mail*, 20 May.
- Kaltenborn, Bjørn Petter 1997: Nature of place attachment: A study among recreation home owners in Southern Norway. *Leisure Sciences* 19(4), 175–189.
- Kaltenborn, Bjørn Petter 1998: The alternative home: motives of recreation home use. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift* 52, 121–134.
- Kaltenborn, Bjørn Petter 2002: Å bo i naturen – meningen med hyttelivet. *UTMARK Tidsskriftet for utmarksforskning* 3; available: <http://www.utmark.org/>.
- Korosec-Serfaty, Perla 1984: The home from attic to cellar. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 4, 303–321.
- Littlejohn, Bruce 2002: Wilderness and the Canadian psyche. In: Monte Hummel (ed.), *Endangered Spaces: the Future for Canada's Wilderness*. Toronto: Key Porter, pp. 12–20.
- Lloyd Kyi, Tanya 2001: *Ontario's Cottage Country*. Toronto: Whitecap Books.
- Löfgren, Orvar 1999: *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lower, Arthur R. M. 1938: *The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest: A History of the Lumber Trade between Canada and the United States*. Toronto: Ryerson Press.
- Luka, Nik 2006: From summer cottage colony to metropolitan suburb: Toronto's Beach district, 1889–1929. *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine* 35(1), 18–31.
- MacGregor, Roy 2002: *Escape: In Search of the Natural Soul of Canada*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.
- Mai, Ulrich 1971: *Der Fremdenverkehr am Südrand des Kanadischen Schildes: Eine Vergleichende Untersuchung des Muskoka District und der Frontenac Axis unter Besonderer Berücksichtigung des Standortproblems*. Doctoral dissertation, Philipps-Universität, Marburg am Lahn.
- Marsh, John & Katie Griffiths 2006: Cottage country landscapes: the case of the Kawartha Lakes region, Ontario. In: Norman McIntyre, Daniel Williams & Kevin McHugh (eds.), *Multiple Dwelling and Tourism: Negotiating Place, Home, and Identity*. Cambridge MA: CABI Publishing, pp. 219–233.
- Marshall, Joan & Natalie Foster 2002: 'Between belonging': Habitus and the migration experience. *Canadian Geographer / Géographe canadien* 46(1), 63–83.
- McIlwraith, Thomas F. 1997: *Looking for Old Ontario: Two Centuries of Landscape Change*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Müller, Dieter K. 2004: Second homes in Sweden: patterns and issues. In: C. Michael Hall & Dieter K. Müller (eds.), *Tourism, Mobility, and Second Homes: between Elite Landscape and common Ground*. Clevedon (England), Buffalo NY: Channel View Publications, pp. 244–258.
- Nelson Canadian Dictionary of the English Language 1997: Toronto: ITP Nelson.
- Nordin, Urban 1993: Second homes. In: Hans Aldskogius (ed.), *National Atlas of Sweden: Cultural Life, Recreation and Tourism*. Stockholm: Royal Swedish Academy of Science, pp. 72–79.
- NRCan – Natural Resources Canada 1993: National Topographic System, Mapsheet 41A16, Edition 4 (Scale 1: 25 000). Ottawa: Government of Canada.
- Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd edition 1989: New York: Oxford University Press.
- Pedersen, Joan, Robyn Budd, Murray Lamb & Pamela J. Quigg 1985: *Cottage Weekend*. Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside.
- Periäinen, Karoliina 2006: The summer cottage: a dream in the Finnish forest. In: Norman McIntyre, Daniel Williams & Kevin McHugh (eds.), *Multiple Dwelling and Tourism: Negotiating Place, Home, and Identity*. Cambridge MA: CABI Publishing, pp. 103–113.
- Philip, M. Nourbese, Hiren Mistry, Geoffrey Chan & Kevin Modeste 1997: Fortress in the wilderness: a conversation about land. *Borderlines*, 20–25.
- Pred, Allan R. 2000: *Even in Sweden: Racisms, Racialized Spaces, and the Popular Geographical Imagination*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Pryke, Susan 1987: *Explore Muskoka*. Erin ON: Boston Mills Press.
- Quinn, Bernadette 2004: Dwelling through multiple places: a case study of second home ownership in Ireland. In: C. M. Hall & D. K. Müller (eds.), *Tourism, Mobility, and Second Homes: between Elite Landscape and Common Ground*. Clevedon (England), Buffalo NY: Channel View Publications, pp. 113–130.
- Ramadier, Thierry & Gabriel Moser 1998: Social legibility, the cognitive map, and urban behaviour. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 18, 307–319.
- Rapoport, Amos 1990: *The Meaning of the Built Environment: a nonverbal Communication Approach (revised edition)*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Richler, Mordecai 1959: *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz*. London: André Deutsch.
- Rolshoven, Johanna 2002: Südliches Zweitwohnsitz: ein Beitrag zur kulturwissenschaftlichen Mobilitätsforschung. *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 98, 345–356.
- Rolshoven, Johanna 2003: Town-country flow / Stadt-Land-Fluss: second-home-scapes as new social spaces and strongholds of urban rurality. *Ethnologia Fennica: Finnish Studies in Ethnology* 30, 5–13.
- Rolshoven, Johanna 2005: Going South! Lokalität und Mo-

- bilität in einer touristischen Übergangsregion. In: Beate Binder, Silke Göttisch, Wolfgang Kaschuba & Konrad Vanja (eds.), *Ort – Arbeit – Körper: Ethnografie Europäischer Modernen* (34. Kongress der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, Berlin 2003). Münster: Waxmann, pp. 135–146.
- Rolshoven, Johanna 2006: Woanders daheim: Kulturwissenschaftliche Ansätze zur multilokalen Lebensweise in der Spätmoderne. *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 102(2), 179–194.
- Rybczynski, Witold 1991: *Waiting for the Weekend*. New York: Penguin.
- Saint-Amour, Jean-Pierre 1979: *La villégiature au Québec: problématique de l'aménagement du territoire*. Hull QC: Éditions Asticou.
- Sheller, Mimi & John Urry 2004: *Tourism Mobilities: Places to Play, Places in Play*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, Allan 1990: Farms, forests and cities: the image of the land and the rise of the metropolis in Ontario. In: David Keane & Colin Reade (eds.), *Old Ontario: Essays in Honour of JMS Careless*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, pp. 71–94.
- Sopher, David E. 1979: The landscape of home: myth, experience, social meaning. In: Donald W. Meinig (ed.), *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 129–149.
- Statistics Canada 2003: Household Income and Household Size for Private Households, for Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations, 2001 Census. Item 95F-0437XCB2001004. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Statistics Canada 2005: *Total Visits to Private Cottages and Vacation Homes (Ontario)*. Canadian Travel Survey 3810, Table 4260004. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Statistics Canada 2006: *Survey of Household Spending, annual (1997–2005)*. CANSIM Table 203-0003. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Struyk, Raymond & Karen Angelici 1996: The Russian dacha phenomenon. *Housing Studies* 11(2), 233–250.
- Svenson, Stephen 2004: The cottage and the city: an interpretation of the Canadian second home experience. In: C. Michael Hall & Dieter K. Müller (eds.), *Tourism, Mobility, and Second Homes: between Elite Landscape and common Ground*. Clevedon (England), Buffalo NY: Channel View Publications, pp. 55–74.
- Tress, Gunther 2000: *Die Ferienhauslandschaft: Motivationen, Umweltauswirkungen und Leitbilder im Ferienhaustourismus in Dänemark* (Research Report No. 120). Roskilde: Department of Geography and International Development Studies, University of Roskilde (Denmark).
- Tress, Gunther 2002: Development of second-home tourism in Denmark. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 2(2), 109–122.
- Urbain, Jean-Didier 2002: *Paradis verts: désirs de campagne et passions résidentielles*. Lausanne: Payot.
- Urry, John 2002: *The Tourist Gaze* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.
- Wall, Geoff 1977: Recreational land use in Muskoka. *Ontario Geography* 11, 11–28.
- Wilson, Robert A. 2005: Collective memory, group minds, and the extended mind thesis. *Cognitive Processing* 6(4), 227–236.
- Winstanley, Ann, David C. Thorns & Harvey C. Perkins 1993: Moving house, creating home: exploring residential mobility. *Housing Studies* 17(6), 813–832.
- Wolfe, Roy I. 1951: Summer cottagers in Ontario. *Economic Geography* 27(1), 10–32.
- Wolfe, Roy I. 1965: About cottages and cottagers. *Landscape* 15(1), 6–8.
- Wolfe, Roy I. 1977: Summer cottages in Ontario: purpose-built for an inessential purpose. In: J. T. Coppock (ed.), *Second Homes: Curse or Blessing?* Oxford: Pergamon, pp. 17–34.
- Zukin, Sharon 1991: *Landscapes of Power: from Detroit to Disneyworld*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Nik Luka is Assistant Professor and Urban Design Program Coordinator in the School of Architecture and School of Urban Planning at McGill University (Montréal). Recent publications include “Reworking the Canadian Landscape through Urban Design: Responsive Design, Healthy Housing and Other Lessons” in R. Côté, A. Dale, and J. Tansey (eds.), *Linking Industry and Ecology: A Matter of Design?* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005). In addition to his ongoing work on the cultural landscapes of second-home settings, his research focuses on urban form, ecological design, and the uses and representations of space.
(nik.luka@mcgill.ca,
<http://www.mcgill.ca/architecture/faculty/luka/>)