SOCIAL PLANNING COUNCIL of METROPOLITAN TORONTO

Metro's Suburbs in Transition

a review of trends in the social development of new suburban communities in Metropolitan Toronto

Part I: Evolution and Overview

Background report / April 1979

Social Planning Council
of Metropolitan Toronto,
185 Bloor Street East,
Toronto M4W 3J3
(416) 961-9831

A Member Agency
of the United Way

(CUPE 1777)

BACKGROUND REPORT

METRO'S SUBURBS IN TRANSITION

PART ONE: EVOLUTION AND OVERVIEW

A review of trends in the social development of new suburban communities in Metropolitan Toronto.

Chairman, Project Committee: Dr. John Gandy,
Faculty of Social Work,
University of Toronto

Author and
Project Director: R. Marvyn Novick,
Senior Program Director

Project Associates: Anella Parker,
Pogram Director

Susan Kee,
Planner

April 1979

Price: $10.00

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To members of the Social Planning Council Project Committee who contributed many hours to the development of the background report:

Marek Brodzki*/
Area Consultant
Ontario Ministry of Culture
and Recreation

Evlyn Dalman*/
Executive Director
Community Care Services
(M.T.) Incorporated

Helen Ede*/
President
Jane/Finch Community
and Family Centre

The Reverend Eilert Frerichs/**
Chaplain, Hart House
University of Toronto

John Hitchcock/**
Acting Director
Centre for Urban and Community Studies
University of Toronto

Bruce Kappel*/
Community Co-ordinator
Etobicoke Social Planning Council

David Lawrence, M.C.I.P.*/
Head, Environmental Assessment
M. M. Dillon Limited

James Lemon/**
Professor of Urban Geography
University of Toronto

Michael Lyons*/**
Projects Director
Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto

Frank O'Donnell*/**
Vice-President
Metro Social Planning Council

Pat O'Neill*/**
Alderman, Ward 3, City of North York;
Chairman, Social Issues Committee
North York Inter-Agency Council

Rupert Shriar*/**
Associate Director
Toronto Jewish Congress

*/ Suburban Resident

/** Member, Board of Directors, Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto

---

For special services contributed by Johanna Poll, Donna Linton and by graduate students in professional placements at the Social Planning Council: Greg Young (School of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Toronto); Lynne Newton (School of Social Work, Carleton University); Christa Freiler, Farrel Shadlyn, Catherine Austin, Laurie McQueen (Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto).

SOCIAL PLANNING COUNCIL PUBLICATIONS OF RELATED INTEREST

I PROCEEDINGS OF THE JUNE SEMINAR HELD BY THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS (TORONTO REGION) AND EIGHT SOCIAL PLANNING COUNCILS ON SOCIAL OBJECTIVES AND URBAN PLANNING

This publication includes papers and summaries of workshops at the Seminar, which was the fifth in the urban seminar series of the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, held in June, 1978.

It deals with trends and patterns, such as shifting demographic patterns and changing family lifestyles, and developments in human service planning. Environmental fit and the social implications of land use patterns are examined, and three viewpoints on municipal social policy development are included. The workshops cover case histories such as LeBreton Flats and Saint John, neighbourhood planning, and the role of social impact assessment.

The lunchtime address by Claude Bennett, Minister of Housing for the Province of Ontario, and the keynote speech by Alan O'Brien, former mayor of Halifax are reproduced.

January 1979 Price: $7.00

II POLICY STATEMENTS

Response to the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto

Detailed responses are given to many of the Commission's recommendations, including human service coordination, family benefits, social services, education, health, housing, the electoral system, and boundaries.

The Social Planning Council supports the thrust of the recommendations which would give Metro Council a leadership role in planning and coordinating the provision of social services, health and other human service programs. The Social Planning Council sees Metro's role as reviewing needs and conditions in the community, and in formulating priorities for how nearly two billion dollars a year for social programs could best be spent. Collaboration with the strong network of voluntary associations and local governments is seen as a reason for and an essential part of this role.

However, the Social Planning Council would only support this new role for Metro if Ontario does not impose additional financial responsibility on Metro's property tax base as a part of such an arrangement.

October 1977 Price: $1.50

Response to Metroplan: Concepts & Objectives

While analysis and opinions on specific land use policies are not included, the overall policy direction and political context for the plan are dealt with.

The Social Planning Council comments on the uncertainties created by the reports of both the Planning Act Review Committee and the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto and questions the future role of Metro and the form its Official Plan should take. Reference is made to the uncertainty around municipal compliance with Metro's planning policies. The inter-related nature of any planning for Metro and the surrounding regional municipalities is also considered.

Comments are made on the various assumptions on which Metroplan is based. This includes growth, employment, new technologies, and social change.

The Social Planning Council reiterates its position that the implications for social planning and development must be considered simultaneously with any land use and transportation planning.

November 1977 Price: $1.50

Response to the Planning Act Review Committee

The Social Planning Council supports the direction of the recommendations put forward by Eli Comay's committee.

Concern is expressed, however, at the staging of major reforms, which would place a considerable burden upon the planning systems and upon the responsiveness of the local electoral and political system. The Social Planning Council does support the notion that provincial involvement should be limited to instances where the provincial interest was already defined by prior guidelines and regulations. The time necessary for issuing such guidelines is seen as presenting something of a problem.

The clear disagreement that the Social Planning Council has with the recommendations relates to the content of Official Plans. The Social Planning Council feels strongly that social development and social planning must be an integral part of the planning process.

October 1977 Price: $1.50

III AIMING AT THE EIGHTIES POLICY & PROGRAM PRINCIPLES FOR THE SOCIAL PLANNING COUNCIL OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO

Urban Development

The six principles are based on the contention that urban development should include both social and land use planning objectives, and that it should seek to integrate the two; land use is considered as a tool with which to achieve social objectives. The pattern of human settlement and the structure of its organization should, therefore, be designed so that the advantages of the whole are available to its constituent parts, in a manner which is equitable and just.

The principles refer to the political structure of Metro Toronto, and to the use of non-renewable resources, the encouragement of diverse neighbourhoods, the integration of special population groups, the preservation of historic and distinctive features, access to amenities, and to the regional planning interests of Metro Toronto.

June 1978 Price: $1.00

Human Services Development

Nine principles for the development of human services are discussed. The concept underlying these principles is that human services are a social benefit, accruing to society as a whole, and reflect the commitment of the larger community to protect and enhance the human development of all its members.

The principles reflect the need for equity, inclusion and participation, prevention, coordination, pluralistic provision, and provincial interdependence.

June 1978 Price: $1.00

CONTENTS

LIST OF ENCLOSURES

LIST OF ENCLOSURES

LIST OF ENCLOSURES

LIST OF ENCLOSURES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF TABLES

1.0 PROJECT BACKGROUND

During the past twenty-five years, important changes have taken place in the social development of Metropolitan Toronto. This has been a period of sustained population growth accompanied by extensive and varied forms of physical development. The framework of local government was significantly restructured in the fifties through the introduction of metropolitan government. This change formalized, and in turn helped shape, the transformation of Toronto from a city with peripheral settlements into an urban region with a number of consolidated and expanded municipalities. Some of these new municipalities now exceed the physical size of the City. Their individual and/or combined populations have politically overshadowed the traditional concentrations in the City.

While the unique identity of the City remains, even as it has undergone significant transformation, the scale of the City's dominance of Metro has been modified. The City has become one area in a diverse yet increasingly integrated Toronto urban region which now stretches over the political boundaries of Metropolitan Toronto.

The constituent areas of the Toronto urban region include:

(a) the central urban area consisting of the City of Toronto, and earlier peripheral settlements which were linked to the City through the development out from the centre of street railways and reproduce in large measure the compact urban form of the City. In the post-World War Two period these areas have exhibited stable population patterns even in the face of diverse change and turnover. In the seventies these areas are experiencing pronounced levels of population decline.

(b) the post-war rapid growth suburbs of Metropolitan Toronto, which followed the contours of regional automobile corridors, but did not reproduce the compact urban forms of the centre. In their early period of development rapid growth suburbs did not exhibit the social and cultural diversity of the centre. With some exceptions, rapid growth patterns had modified by 1971; this has been accompanied by the introduction of central area diversity into post-war suburbs, a trend which has continued and increased in the seventies.

(c) rapid growth suburbs of the late sixties and seventies located in those areas of the urban region outside the political boundaries of Metropolitan Toronto. To the east, this includes areas adjacent to and north of the Metro-Oshawa axis - i.e. Ajax, Pickering, Whitby. Within York Region to the north of Metro, this includes areas such as Markham, Vaughan, and settlements adjacent to major north-south transportation routes. The western areas are within Peel and Halton and consist largely of suburban settlements stretching from Lake Ontario to the northern periphery of Highway 401. Primary growth areas include Mississauga, Brampton, Oakville, and Burlington.

Settlement patterns in the more recent rapid growth suburbs reproduce, with modifications, forms of post-war suburban development in Metropolitan Toronto.

(d) an emerging semi-rural fringe in which there are scattered settlements within and around smaller towns and villages. This form of settlement takes place around places such as Caledon, Kleinberg, King Township, and Uxbridge. Employment may not be sought within the central urban area, but within one of the suburban zones where industrial and service jobs are increasingly located.[1] The relationship of the semi-rural fringe to suburban areas reproduces the traditional suburban-central area commuting pattern. The suburban function is increasingly blurred as urban regions expand and become more differentiated. Reduced work time at the job, as a result of trends to non-compulsory overtime, the four-day week, expanding vacation entitlements, special leaves, and early retirement, make it possible to extend the distance of residential locations from employment centres. This transition may be accompanied by the conversion of summer homes into more permanent residences.

Metropolitan Toronto contains two of the four constituent areas of the Toronto urban region. In 1976 the population of the urban region was 3.18 million with 67% of the population located within Metro. While there has been considerable confusion in predicting population growth levels for the next two decades for Metro there is concensus that areas of the Toronto urban

---

1 Hans Blumenfeld, Beyond the Metropolis, Papers on Planning and Design, No. 12, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Toronto, 1977.

region outside of Metro will begin to approach the Metropolitan Toronto population level by the year 2001.[2]

In large measure confusion over future population growth patterns reflects the limitations of traditional urban planning perspectives. Patterns and forms of land use, housing capacity, the volume of jobs, are becoming less useful indicators in understanding what has happened and what is happening in the urban environment.

The significant downward revisions in the population projections for Metro, coming within such a short period of time, are evidence of limitations in our traditional understandings of the urbanization process in Metropolitan Toronto. Important changes have been taking place in Metro. In part these changes can be attributed to the economic instability of the seventies, but they also reflect the evolution of social development patterns the influence of which is now beginning to be felt. Social development patterns are frequently less discernible than changes in the physical development of an urban environment. Social development patterns relate to how people live, and the influences which shape living patterns. Changes in household composition, sex roles, cultural values, age distributions, family formation take place gradually. Over time, these patterns can at first subtly, and later on substantively, transform an environment from what it physically appears to be, or how it is understood in the general community. Responsive urban planning, community services provision,and public policy can only proceed when there is a clear understanding of what is happening throughout all of Metro. This includes an understanding of social development trends and patterns.

In the late sixties and early seventies, significant changes were taking place in the physical development of the City of Toronto. These changes were part of a distinct urban trend across North America. Symbols of this change were proposed expressway developments and large-scale construction of high-rise apartments. The changes were resisted for a variety of reasons - aesthetic, ecological, and social. The ferment which resulted gave rise to a rediscovery of urban issues in the City of Toronto. Through

---

2 The revised Metroplan projections in September 1978 foresaw a Metro population of 2.49 million in 2001, with a population of 4.88 million for the urban region; pre-1976 Metroplan projections foresaw a Metro population of 2.8 million in the year 2001, with 5.25 million in the urban region.

the emergence or renewal of resident organizations, self-help groups, and public interest coalitions, the City underwent an extensive period of review and reform. The political environment was transformed, the planning process re-shaped and re-directed, and a sense of participation came to develop at local levels of community life. In this process, the City of Toronto began to articulate its preferred forms of future development - preservation of neighbourhoods, human scale physical development, deconcentration of downtown functions into sub-centres, mixed-use and heterogeneous residential environments, and integrated neighbourhood services.

The Social Planning Council participated in this period of City re-discovery and re-definition. Participation included the operation of storefronts to provide supportive services to resident and community associations, planning assistance to community agencies, task forces, and work groups reviewing community service and housing issues, consultation and planning assistance to City and Board of Education groups reviewing social policy and community services development.

One important outgrowth of this period has been the recognition that the City is diverse, with diverse neighbourhoods, households, and cultures. It is no longer possible to think of the City in traditionally simple images: affluent, poor, "families", singles. We now recognize that there are a variety of ages, life situations, cultural backgrounds, local histories, unique neighbourhoods which make up the City. We also recognize that people have diverse as well as common social needs in the City. Policies and programs have emerged - from both public and voluntary sources - which acknowledge the needs of the elderly, immigrants, parents, young children, tenants, non-smokers, the handicapped, women in crisis, youth and adults in need of residential services, the unemployed, the transient, discharged mental health patients, and so forth.

What may have started in the City of Toronto as a response to physical development patterns has grown to include the evolution of important social development perspectives and initiatives. This respresents an important set of achievements for the City in the seventies, and provides a framework for responding and adapting to the forthcoming decade, which will inevitably be one of significant economic and social transition.

The process of review and re-direction which has taken place in the seventies has of necessity been an inward period for residents of the City. An emphasis on local and neighbourhood perspectives can blur the realities at the periphery of one's own environment. This has been most clearly evident in polarized patterns of political debate and social commentary that have emerged between the City and the suburban leaders within Metro.

Of primary concern has been a growing tendency by non-suburbanites within Metro (and elsewhere) to reduce suburban life to a set of simple images - sprawl, dominance of the automobile, excessive levels of market consumption.

Simple images can arise from a sense of distance and denial - the physical distance of not being there, and as a result, relying upon a limited range of symbols to understand what is not experienced directly; the social distance when observing life styles and patterns which differ from one's own; the denial through attributing to the suburban form characteristics that are pervasive throughout the general community and the culture.

A renewed metropolitan perspective, with which to face the unique challenges of the eighties, can only emerge when all parts of Metro are understood and respected for what is common and unique within each. Political and policy differences in Metro will inevitably arise. The expectation is that differences within Metro will focus on substantive issues which relate to the daily lives of people - jobs, taxes, housing, transit, community services - rather than perpetuate the rituals of symbolic differences. Sharp differences have emerged primarily over land-use and transportation policy issues. In this debate, the newer suburbs of Metro have come to be portrayed as antagonistic to City concerns. By implication there has been the assumption that differences exist because the social and economic interests of suburban residents are homogeneous, and differ from those of City residents.

In part these perceptions are reinforced by:

(a) the political structure of Metro Council which, in the absence of direct election, reinforces a "we-they" set of perspectives based on traditional City/suburban designations. There is the implicit assumption that the important urban policy interests of Metro's residents are

primarily related to the City and suburban land-use patterns. The current structure of representation discourages the development of metropolitan and urban regional perspectives. As a result there is a policy vacuum at the centre of urban life in Metropolitan Toronto. There is no political framework for the organization and expression of common economic, social, and cultural interests that transcend the boundaries of City and suburban municipalities.[3]

(b) traditional concepts of urban planning, reinforced by recent Ministry of Housing policy statements, which assume that land-use development can remain distinct and separate from urban policies to promote integrated patterns of economic and social development.

(c) the slow process of community-building in newer settlements as Metro's rapid growth suburbs. As a result there are fewer local voluntary organizations and social interest groups to reflect and articulate the varied social and economic realities of the suburbs to elected officials, and to the larger metropolitan community.

The social well-being and economic health of Metro, as well as the Toronto urban region, will depend upon the readiness and capacity of all regional areas to respond and adapt to changing conditions that have emerged in the seventies and will grow more acute in the eighties. The former Treasurer of Ontario, in the province's official response to the Robarts report, acknowledged the fact that important levels of interdependence now exists within Metro and the urban region as a whole. McKeough noted that:

> "Metropolitan Toronto does function as an integrated urban area."[4]

There was further acknowledgement by Ontario of important relationships within the urban region in the proposal that a co-ordinating agency be established between Metro and adjacent regional municipalities. This special purpose body would review and identify

---

3 Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, Policy Statement: Response to the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto; October 1977, P. 33.

4 W.D. McKeough, Treasurer of Ontario, White Paper: Government Statement on the Review of Local Government in the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, May 1978, P. 2, 37.

common planning priorities in urban policy areas such as transportation, assisted housing, conservation and economic development. Other urban policy areas of common interest would include specialized health care facilities, post-secondary education, residential services, immigration. While there is some question as to whether the instrument proposed - a co-ordinating agency - is the best way to proceed, the proposal represents the recognition by Ontario that some framework is required to reflect the interdependence of the urban region.

In the absence of such a framework at present, and the uncertainty over what Ontario will eventually introduce, the needs and interest of the urban region are being independently pursued through important planning initiatives by constituent regional municipalities. Peel is pursuing an integrated approach to regional planning, proposing that social development objectives be linked into land-use policy. Within Metro, there has been a similar interest in exercising integrated urban policy leadership for the future.

The goals and principles statement of Metroplan in April 1977 spoke quite clearly about the need to:

> "respond effectively to changes in the economic, social, and environmental base of our community."[5]

The statement further cited the need for Metro to:

> "broaden its planning capability to encompass a broader range of concerns."

In pursuit of these objectives Metroplan proposed that a human services plan be prepared for Metro to promote the co-ordinated, and where required, integrated provision of social programs. There was the call for an economic development strategy for the urban region, with Metro to undertake community employment and job creation programs.

---

5 Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, Goals and Principles of the Metropolitan Official Plan, April 4, 1977, P. 2, 13-15.

Metropolitan Toronto has been consistently frustrated by Queen's Park and Ottawa in its attempts to provide integrated urban policy leadership in areas of critical interest to Metro residents. Jurisdictional bickering and financial issues have plagued efforts by Metro to develop an urgently needed community employment strategy for the jobless men and women of Metro. Both Peel (on October 24, 1977) and Metro (on November 30, 1977) were officially informed by the Ministry of Housing that social objectives could not be included in official urban plans. Frank Buckley, Chairman of the Metroplan Advisory Committee, noted in the introduction to the draft Metroplan of March 1978:

> "Initially, it was hoped that the Draft Plan would contain policies to co-ordinate Human Services. However, the Province has advised that an Official Plan should emphasize physical aspects of planning. Nevertheless, this Committee urges Council to move forward in this very important area and to seek authority to prepare a Human Services Plan for the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area."[6]

6 Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, Draft: Plan for the Urban Structure, Metropolitan Toronto, March 1978.

Provincial reticence to confer upon Metro an urban policy framework and mandate has been accompanied by the introduction of cutbacks in essential programs, the transfer of financial burdens to the property tax, and the refusal to allow Metro access to alternative revenue sources in order to provide and sustain needed services in the community.

The insensitivity of the province to the needs of Metro and other municipalities in Ontario, combined with traditional divisions within Metro between City and suburbs, have limited the capability of Metro to plan and secure its own future.

1.1 Social Planning Council Interest

The capacity of local government in Metro to address a full range of urban policy issues vital to the social well being of the community has been a major concern of the Social Planning Council during the seventies. This concern has been reflected in Council work to promote an active local government role in the co-ordinated planning and provision of social programs in Metro.

The Council's major background report in 1976 - In Search of a Framework - documented trends in the financing and delivery of community services in the City of Toronto. The report noted the fragmented and often inconsistent patterns of social provision where there was little active planning at the local level. The Council consulted to the City of Toronto Neighbourhood Services Work Group in its attempts to develop an integrated service plan for the City. Similar forms of consultation were provided to the City of Toronto Board of Education in the development of a parallel use policy, to promote co-ordinated planning with agencies and the community over alternative uses of vacant school classrooms. The Council viewed the establishment of the Robarts Commission in 1974 as an important opportunity to develop an understanding and acceptance of the social policy role of local government in Metro. In recommending that Metro Council have a mandate to plan and co-ordinate human services, the Robarts Commission underscored the importance of a social policy role for local government.

Further efforts by the Council have included a review of the urban planning process. The Council developed public policy statements on the recently completed Planning Act Review (October 1977) and responded to stages of the Metroplan process (November 1977, May 1978). All three statements have called for the need to include social principles and objectives in future forms of urban planning.

In June 1978 the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, in collaboration with the Canadian Institute of Planners (Ontario Region) and the Social Planning Councils of Ajax-Pickering, Burlington, Etobicoke, Hamilton, Niagara Falls, Oakville, and Peel, convened a major seminar to promote the inclusion of social objectives in urban planning. The seminar identified that there are significant levels of support within the urban planning field and from community

agencies for an expanded range of urban policy initiatives by local government. As a result of the seminar, there is now ongoing follow-up work taking place through various cities and regions in Ontario.

The Social Planning Council's New Suburban Communities project emerged as a result of the developing interest in the state of urban policy in Metropolitan Toronto. The Council became increasingly aware that the social development picture of Metro was incomplete. Over one-half of Metro's population live in suburban municipalities. While there was significant awareness and activity around the needs of the central area, there was limited recognition of social conditions in newer suburban areas of Metro. It was too easy to equate the future well-being of Metro only with the central area and its neighbourhoods. With limited understanding of suburban conditions, important needs could be overlooked in the formulation of urban policies, the distribution of public and voluntary services, the structure of local government, and in future patterns of land-use development.

Equally important was the concern that if Metro did not understand itself, how it had grown and what it had become, traditional divisions would persist and weaken the resolve to address important urban issues, and present strong and united positions to Ontario and Ottawa in policy areas vital to the future well-being of Metro.

The Council's New Suburban Communities project has come to include three major elements:

A. Developmental Work

This has included increasing levels of consultation and planning assistance to suburban resident groups, community and inter-agency associations, and service funders with an interest in suburban development. These activities have provided the Council with a working awareness of a range of social conditions in the suburbs. Consultation and planning assistance has been in the areas of neighbourhood development, police-community relations, child-parent support services, physical development, service funding, and social policy review. This work, it should be noted, is supplementary to the more ongoing and extensive activity of the Etobicoke Social Planning Council, the North York Inter-Agency Council, and to the emerging efforts of the Scarborough Social Planning Council.

B. Background Report

The development of a renewed metropolitan perspective required a more comprehensive framework for understanding important trends and patterns in the social development of Metro's newer suburbs. With this objective in mind, the Social Planning Council undertook the preparation of a background report. Interviewing, analysis of assessment data, and the preparation of service distributions were conducted in the spring and early summer of 1977. Active work on data analysis awaited the availability of census data in 1978.

This publication - Metro Suburbs in Transition - Part I: Evolution and Overview - is the background report of the Social Planning Council's New Suburban Communities project.

The background report is an introductory description, exploratory in nature, of changing social trends and patterns of new suburban areas in particular, and of Metro in general. It has been designed to:

(a) develop a planning framework for the analysis and understanding of social development patterns in Metro's newer suburbs;

(b) gather descriptive material to fill in the planning framework;

(c) stimulate interest and concern within the general community of the social needs of Metro's newer suburbs;

(d) identify important urban policy, planning and service provision issues of immediate and emerging interest to Metro's newer suburbs;

(e) begin to develop a network of working relationships of people with an interest and commitment to the future social well-being of Metro's newer suburbs. This network includes suburban resident groups, voluntary agencies, suburban councils and coalitions, physical and social planners in Metro and surrounding regions, public officials, urban studies specialists, and Social Planning Council members.

The background report consists of review and analysis. It does not include specific sets of policy, planning, or service recommendations at this time. The function of the background report is to introduce a set of issues and concerns into the general community

for purposes of open exchange and deliberation. It is hoped that this climate will identify policy, planning, and service themes to be picked-up by local government, public and voluntary agencies, social interest organizations, and the general community. It will enable the Social Planning Council to receive feedback and comment before framing its own recommendations for distribution to the general community.

C. Policy Report

To accompany the preparation of the background report, the Social Planning Council Board of Directors authorized the formation of a New Suburban Communities Project Committee. The purpose of the Project Committee has been to review the preparation of the background report, co-ordinate the formulation of Social Planning Council policy recommendations arising from the background report, organize follow-up seminars and workshops, and propose further developmental work by the Council in these areas.

The Project Committee is under the chairmanship of Dr. John Gandy, a suburban resident and Professor in the Faculty of Social Work at the University of Toronto. Other Committee members are suburban residents, service planners, and individuals with a knowledge and interest in suburban social issues. The Committee was convened in 1977 and has met consistently since the spring of 1978. The work of the Committee has included an analysis of issues related to community service provision, preliminary discussions on the relationships between social development and land use, and a full review of the draft background report.

The major work of the Committee in 1979 will be to prepare Part II of Metro Suburbs in Transition. This will be a policy report, to be released in the summer of 1979, which will contain policy, planning, and service recommendations arising from the background report and from subsequent feedback and consultations. The policy report will include additional information and analysis developed for the new suburban community project where such information and analysis are directly related to proposed recommendations. The recommendations will address two sets of conditions:

(a) the types of responses required for current social conditions.

(b) social and physical adaptations required in anticipation of emerging social patterns in the eighties.

Upon the release of the policy report, the Project Committee will propose to the Council's Board of Directors forms of follow-up consultation which might be undertaken and review the Council's continuing role in this area.

1.2 Information and Data Resources

Information and data resources have been designed and developed for the New Suburban Communities project. Some of these resources have been already incorporated into the Social Planning Council's developmental work. The background report draws from information and data resources developed for the project as will the subsequent policy report.

Information and data resources developed for the project include:

(a) a review of literature on recent urban history, with special emphasis on the origins of the post-war suburban form; a review of service and planning reports describing Metropolitan patterns of social development from the post-war period to the present. (The bibliography developed for the project and the background report is enclosed as the final appendix of this report.)

(b) demographic analysis of social distributions within Metropolitan Toronto drawing primarily on recently released 1976 Census data, and on the data resources of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, whose full co-operation has been made available throughout the project. Where service data has been available, it has been incorporated with the demographic data.

(c) mapping of selective community service and resource patterns for inclusion in the forthcoming policy report.

(d) the design and completion of 108 exploratory interviews, carried out over a period of fifteen months, with 228 respondents in individual and group sessions. Of the respondents, 95 were interviewed in their role as residents, 73 were local community service workers, 42 were borough wide service providers, 18 respondents were officials or interested parties. It should be noted that a proportion of local service workers and suburban service

providers interviews were also residents of new suburban areas, although they were interviewed in their work capacities. Residents interviewed included primarily ratepayers, OHC tenants, elderly, single parents, youth, and recent immigrants. Local community service workers included a public health nurse, a school principal, a clergyman, youth and community service police officers, a Children's Aid worker, a plaza manager, persons working with the elderly, and neighbourhood service workers.

Three levels of general interviewing were carried out: (1) to obtain borough-wide perspectives from supervisory service officials, (2) to secure local area perspectives from residents and front-line service workers, (3) to identify patterns in topical planning issues through selective interviews with residents, officials and interested parties. The interviews were designed to be theme-focused, but open-ended. The purpose has been to explore a broad range of issues and concerns, rather than to examine a specific pattern or set of conditions. Interviews sought to cover all themes, but allowed respondents to focus on what was of special interest to them.

In the design of the project, there was an assumption made, in part influenced by the framework for anlysis, that certain social groups in the suburbs might have special adaptation difficulties. These groups were: adolescents, mothers with young children, immigrants, elderly. Thus, the interviews were designed to include a special focus on these groups, in addition to securing general information.

Included as Appendix I are the topic sheets which formed the basis of the interviews. Interviews were conducted with individuals, or with groups. The local communities selected for resident and service worker interviews were based on the two Metro Minor Planning Districts in each suburban municipality which had either experienced the most rapid growth rate from 1971-76, or contained the most units of publicly assisted housing stock. It was assumed that these would be districts in higher states of transition and diversity.

The purpose of the interviews was to acquire respondent perceptions on relevant social trends and patterns, and to both inform and supplement the analysis of demographic data and service reports. What is of

particular interest to the project is where common trends and patterns came to be identified by respondents in different districts. It was most significant when these trends and patterns were also evident in demographic distributions. The interviews were not designed for purposes of developing community or neighbourhood profiles, nor were they intended to identify special problem areas in the suburbs. Their function has been to confirm more systematically what many community agencies and residents have been individually indicating over the years, often with limited receptivity from public officials. The interviews have also provided descriptive information on changing social conditions and needs in Metro's suburbs.

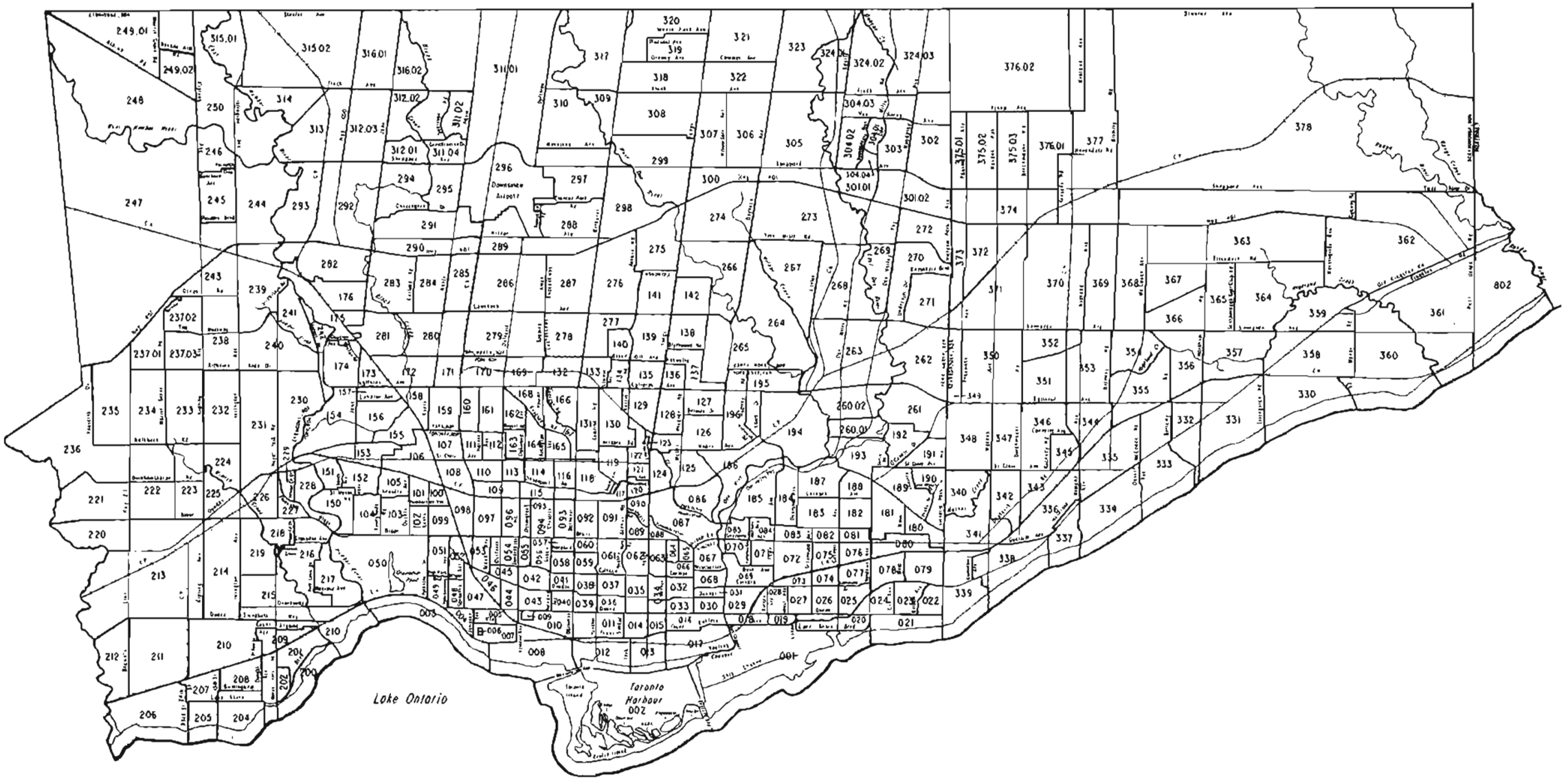
The interviews were exploratory and open-ended; the themes and issues raised therein are not capable of useful reduction to statistical or quantifiable categories. Instead, perceptions revealed and information conveyed are either integrated into the analysis of the background report or will be included in the review and analysis to accompany the subsequent policy report. Where required, some additional interviews will be conducted for the policy report.

(e) information, analysis, and perspectives drawn from the developmental work of the Social Planning Council and from the network of working relationships developed during the preparation of the report. Included are perceptions and feedbacks from public forums, panels, and meetings with social action groups in which project staff of the Council participated.

In the design of the project, one of the first decisions required was to determine what the local unit of data distribution would be for newer suburban areas. It would have been unsatisfactory or incomplete to report information and data only by suburban municipalities. Technically there were a number of options - political units such as wards, census tracts, school divisions, suburban municipal planning districts. It should be noted that there is no accepted unit of social analysis within the planning field for examining important demographic and resource distribution patterns in Metropolitan Toronto. While census and assessment data are standard sources of demographic information, each planning and service system has tended to use its own local designations in reviewing social conditions and in formulating distribution patterns.

Eventually the choice was limited by the need for uniformity in the designation of the local units across newer suburban areas of Metro. Uniformity was significant

ENCLOSURE 1: DISTRIBUTIONS: METROPOLITAN TORONTO CENSUS TRACTS, 1976



in order to secure and distribute data to identify common social development trends. The choice was then between the use of federal census tracts or the use of planning districts developed by the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department. The local units chosen for the project were Metro Minor Planning Districts for the following reasons:

(a) cencus tracts are too small, tend to create a sense of what is exceptional rather than what constitutes a broader set of social patterns in a local area, and are less useful for purposes of general comparisons between local areas in differing suburban municipalities. Census tracts, when used above, can be misleading. Tracts adjacent to those with high distributions for particular conditions are also subject to the influences arising from these conditions, and are often included in the local unit of service response for tracts with special conditions (e.g. schools, recreation, libraries, police, etc.). Similarly, the movement of people within a local area is over physical areas larger than a census tract. Census tracts were therefore seen as less useful in designating identifiable units of local community experience for Metro's newer suburbs, and for Metro as a whole.

Enclosure 1 identifies the distribution of census tracts across Metropolitan Toronto in 1976.

(b) The population ranges (i.e. 20,000 to 100,000) and the physical scale of Metro Minor Planning Districts in suburban municipalities were, on the whole, more consistent with identifiable units of local community experience, land-use policies, and community services provision. Minor districts were judged to be sufficiently compact to identify important differences in social trends and patterns.

(c) Census and assessment data could be converted, or was sometimes available, for minor planning districts across Metro.

The second decision in the design of the project was to designate the newer suburban areas of Metro in relation to the rest of Metro. There were options in arriving at this decision as well. One might have compared minor planning districts in the suburban municipalities - Etobicoke, North York, Scarborough - with minor planning districts in the inner municipalities - City of Toronto, York, East York. This would have been misleading, since

there are areas of the suburban municipalities that have longer settlement traditions, and are not in fact newer suburbs, whose primary development took place in the post-war period. In keeping with the project objective to transcend traditional City/suburban images and provide a renewed metropolitan perspective, it is important to note that there are differences in residential development patterns within suburban municipalities.

Another approach would have been to develop land-use criteria - topographical features, density patterns - in designating newer suburban areas. This might have possessed some measure of usefulness in establishing basic differences in the form and scale of the physical environment in which population settlement and community development has taken place in Metro. In the absence of clearly developed or recognized criteria within the literature for technically designating the distinguishing land-use form of an area such as a minor planning district, this option was not seriously pursued. This approach would not have served to identify the history and scale of population settlement in local areas, consistent with the emphasis and interest of the New Suburban Communities project.

The decision adopted was to identify the newer suburban areas of Metro based on levels of population growth from 1951-1971. It was assumed that districts in Metro with high levels of population growth from 1951-1971 would reflect the prevalent land-use form associated with post-war suburban development. The period from 1951-1971 appeared to be a reasonable time frame in which to identify those districts in Metro that exhibited the high urban growth levels characteristic of the post-war period.

High levels of population growth, in contrast to high levels of population change, are of special concern to social planners. The large scale settlement of people into new areas requires more than the provision of physical accommodation, roads, utilities, stores, and schools. Even when these services and functions are in place, the important job for community buildings remains to be completed, if essential supports are to be available for the changing needs of people, and if social integration is to take place. The social organization of voluntary, institutional, and political life in a new settlement does not occur with the same speed that a housing development is built, adequate sewage facilities put into place, or a school opened up for instruction. The development of

social cohesion, a sense of identity, a network of voluntary and institutional resources and services capable of responding to varied social needs and patterns of local community life, can require years of time and investment even when there is a public commitment to pursue these objectives.

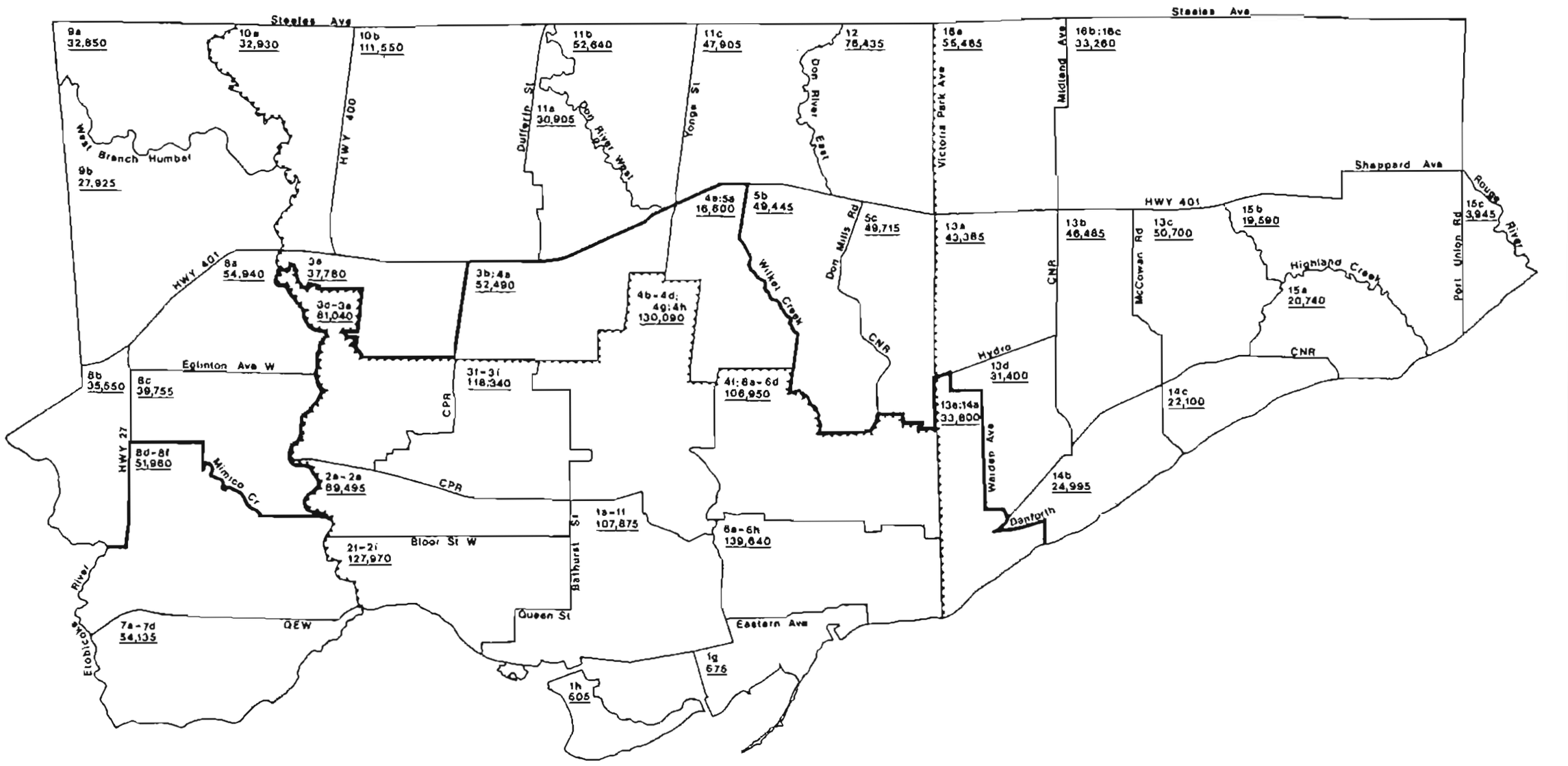
In contrast, established urban areas undergoing signficiant population changes still retain voluntary and institutional capabilities, along with developed local traditions, identities, and political experience, with which to face new social realities.

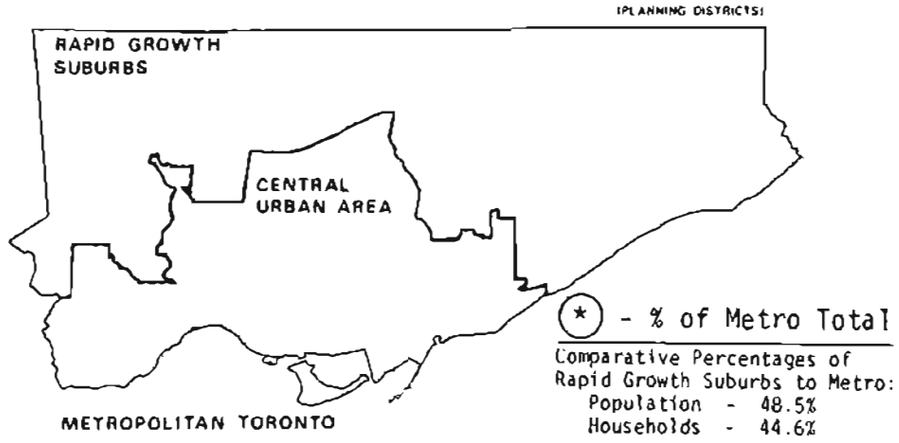
A review of social development patterns in Metro's newer suburbs, as is the purposes of the Council's project, is in large measure also an examination of how far the community building process has proceeded, and what remains to be achieved.

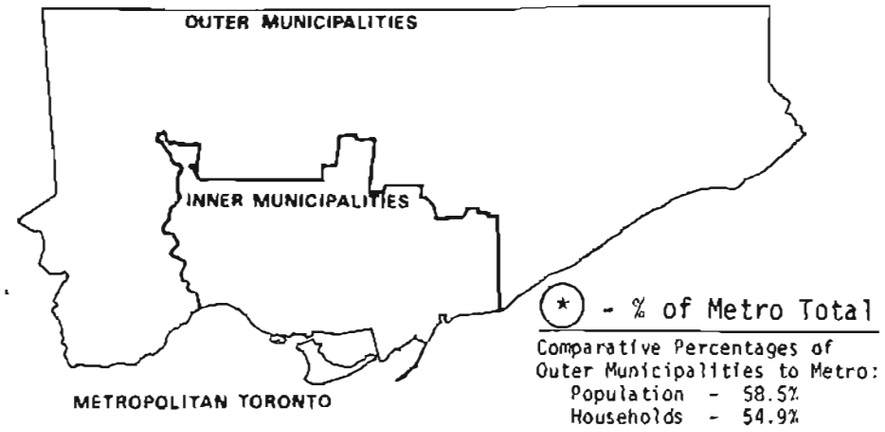
For purposes of this project the newer suburban areas of Metro have been designated as those Metro Minor Planning Districts whose population doubled in the twenty year period of 1951-1971, and where the raw growth in each district was above the average per minor planning district for this period (approx. 12,750). The only exceptions are minor planning districts 16B and 16C which do not meet these criteria, but are included as an integrated unit since they represent one of the few residential growth areas left in Metro.

Enclosure 2 is the base map which has been produced for the project and includes 1976 census populations. The base map divides Metropolitan Toronto into the newer suburbs - designed as "rapid growth suburbs" - and the more established districts - designated as the "central urban area". The project's designation of "rapid growth suburbs" in general corresponds to Census Canada's Zone IV - "new suburbs" - for Metropolitan Toronto, with variations at the periphery. The Council's designation of the "central urban area" corresponds to Census Canada's Zones I (Central Business District), Zone II (Inner City), and Zone III (Mature suburbs), with similar peripheral variations.

Minor planning districts in the central urban area have been consolidated by sub-region or area municipality to partially standardize physical scale, as well as to enable information entries into smaller districts. The population sizes of these districts often correspond to M.P.D. (minor planning district) 10B in North York. Thus, there is less subtlety in the comparability of minor planning districts within the central urban area to each other; for purposes of this project, however, these


Steeles Ave
9a 32,850
10a 32,930
10b 111,550
11b 52,640
11c 47,905
12 76,435
16a 55,465
16b;16c 33,260
West Branch Humber
9b 27,925
HWY 400
Dufferin St
11a 30,905
Don River West
Yonge St
Don River East
Victoria Park Ave
Midland Ave
Sheppard Ave
HWY 401
Rouge River
4a;5a 16,600
5b 49,445
5c 49,715
13a 43,385
13b 46,485
13c 50,700
15b 19,590
15c 3,945
Don Mills Rd
Wilket Creek
CNR
McCowan Rd
Port Union Rd
Highland Creek
15a 20,740
8a 54,940
3a 37,780
3b;4a 52,490
3c-3e 81,040
4b-4d; 4g;4h 130,090
Hydro
13d 31,400
Eglinton Ave W
8b 35,550
8c 39,755
31-3i 118,340
41;4a-6d 106,950
13e;14a 33,800
14c 22,100
CPR
HWY 27
8d-8f 51,980
Mimico Cr
Warden Ave
14b 24,995
Danforth
2a-2e 89,495
1a-1i 107,875
6a-6h 139,640
21-2i 127,970
Bloor St W
Bathurst St
Humber River
Etobicoke Creek
7a-7d 54,135
QEW
Queen St
Eastern Ave
1g 576
1h 605


(PLANNING DISTRICTS)
RAPID GROWTH SUBURBS
CENTRAL URBAN AREA
METROPOLITAN TORONTO
★ - % of Metro Total
Comparative Percentages of Rapid Growth Suburbs to Metro:
Population - 48.5%
Households - 44.6%


OUTER MUNICIPALITIES
INNER MUNICIPALITIES
METROPOLITAN TORONTO
★ - % of Metro Total
Comparative Percentages of Outer Municipalities to Metro:
Population - 58.5%
Households - 54.9%

combinations were deemed adequate to identify broad differences in patterns across Metropolitan Toronto. The comparability of physical scale, moreover, makes base map districts somewhat useful as units for service and resource planning in response to social conditions. District 15C is included separately, representing the new eastern area annexed to Scarborough after 1971. Districts 1G and 1H were deemed to be somewhat distinct and separate from the adjacent districts, and are therefore included separately on the base map. It should be noted that where ranking is carried out for districts on base map distributions - such as noting the highest twenty percent - Districts 15C, 1G, and 1H are not included for purposes of determining the ranking. Where the distributions in districts 15G, 1G and 1H correspond to those in the districts being highlighted as a result of ranking, districts 15C, 1G and 1H are also highlighted.

A third set of decisions for the project and background report was the determination of what social information should be secured and distributed by districts onto the base map. There were technical and financial limitations in developing large numbers of distributions on the base map. Technical limitations arose from the data which was available by census tracts or already processed into minor planning districts, and by the absence of computer facilities in processing data. Demographic data from the 1976 census has been transposed and tabulated by hand from microfiche into census tracts, then converted into minor planning districts. Service data has been similarily processed. The New Suburban Communities project has been supported through the internal resources of the Social Planning Council; consequently it has not been possible to engage additional full-time staff or commission extensive technical support services to extend the base map distributions. Information recorded on base maps reflects both what was available, and in the judgement of the project, those social trends and patterns of particular significance.

As a result, there are two ways in which data is summarized in the project and background report to identify general social development patterns within Metro. Where census data was distributed into minor planning districts, or already processed into these units, there is a summary figure which distinguishes between the "rapid growth suburbs" and the "central urban area". It is the more precise summary consistent with the operational criteria of the New Suburban Communities project.

The judgement was made, however, that there was important data to review and present which was not available or able to be processed into minor planning districts. This information has been summarized into the more traditional designations of "outer municipalities" - Etobicoke, North York, Scarborough - and "inner municipalities" - Toronto (City), York, and East York. Information reported in this summary form is less precise, because it includes data from non-rapid growth areas of suburban municipalities. This information is useful in completing the picture of social trends and patterns, and in supplementing base map and interview information.

Enclosure 3 introduces the two figures through which summary information is presented in the background report. Table 1 identifies the differences in population - household distributions for the two figures where "rapid growth suburbs" is designated, and where "outer municipalities" is designated.

Table 1

Population-Household Distributions of the Two Project Summary Figures, 1976

Figure Designations:	Percentage of Metro: Population, 1976	Households, 1976
Rapid growth suburbs	48.6%	44.6%
Outer municipalities	58.5%	54.9%

Where either of the summary figures are used in the report, two sets of information are reported inside the figure. Symboled data reported in both halves of the figure refer to distributions within the designated areas (i.e. - within rapid growth suburbs and central urban area, or within outer municipalities and inner municipalities). Data with an asterisk is entered only in the suburban half of the figure (i.e. - rapid growth suburbs or outer municipalities), and identifies either:

(a) what proportion the suburban distribution is out of the total for Metropolitan Toronto;

(b) or, the ratio of the suburban distribution to the central or inner area.

The significance of the suburban distribution as a proportion of the Metropolitan Toronto total can be assessed in itself, or in relation to the proportion of Metro's population or households contained in the suburban half. Thus, where the suburban half contains 60% of a given age group, and its proportion of the population is 48.6% (as with the rapid growth suburbs), the suburban half clearly contains a high proportion of Metro's total in that distribution.

In most instances, summary figures contain certain comparative distributions for the six municipalities of Metro. The cumulative function of both the base maps and summary figures is to provide a metropolitan, municipal, and local area set of perspectives, wherever possible, with respect to significant social trends and patterns.

Since the major source of recent demographic data for the project and background report is from the 1976 census, the information contained in the background report largely reflects the state of social development in Metro suburbs and the central area to 1976. Where integration has been sought with demographic data, service information where available, has been secured and reported for 1976. The special assessment run for the report is based on 1977 data.

Technical qualifications to the compilation and reporting of the 1976 census data include:

(a) in some minor planning districts, all in the rapid growth suburbs, one census tract with recorded populations spills over into two districts. This is the case with m.p.d. 5B and 5C (CT 268), 13A and 13E (CT 349), 13C and 15B (CT 363), 16A and 16B (CT 377). Estimations were developed for assigning portions of the tract to each district. These estimations were based on field assessments of the tract, housing patterns 1971-76, or by adjusting assessment counts. There will inevitably be some margin of error in 1976 census data reported for these individual districts, but since these are contiguous districts within the "rapid growth suburbs", the accuracy of trends and patterns across the larger designation is not affected.

(b) the hand processing of demographic data from the 1976 census, even where verification procedures have been

established, can result in some undetected transposing and tabulation errors.

It should be noted in discussing 1976 census data, that there has been disagreement as to its inclusiveness. At one point in 1977, there were three population counts for Metro: 2.12 million (Statistics Canada), 2.15 million (TEIGA), and 2.26 million (Metro). Metro is now using the Statistics Canada count, but considers the Metropolitan population figure to be an undercount in light of illegal immigrants and unrecorded transients. As a result, base map and summary figure distributions based on census data reflect legitimate but not necessarily precise distributions. What does emerge quite clearly from the data and analysis developed for this project is that the decline trend in population levels across Metro is real and deeply rooted in economic and social factors which, unless addressed, will lead to substantial decline levels. Thus precise population counts may be less significant than the structural factors determining future trends.

General qualifications to the compilation and analysis of data prepared for the project include:

(a) service and resource data is reported under the designation "DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS". This is to indicate that it may not be complete and subject to occasional error or omission. It is reported, where appropriate, because the patterns revealed across districts identify legitimate patterns for purposes of urban policy and community service provision;

(b) time series for social development patterns are somewhat limited, with the major emphasis on tracing broad sets of themes from the mid-fifties to the mid-seventies.[7] Specific data series, where reported, notes 1951-1971 or 1971-1976 changes. In the aged 0-4 distributions, 1961 is used as a reference period.

(c) the significant scarcity of social and service data on social development patterns in Metro which is available and can be reported in standardized form at below the municipal level. This should be a source of concern to the general community in light of almost two billion dollars a year currently spent on social programs in Metropolitan

---

7 Those interested in a more rigorous and systematic treatment of social data patterns within Metropolitan Toronto in the post-war period are referred to:

R.A. Murdie, Factorial Ecology of Metropolitan Toronto, 1951-1961, University of Chicago, 1969. Prof. Murdie has recently completed a factorial ecology analysis of Metropolitan Toronto from 1961-1971.

Toronto. There is the need to develop some common framework for urban social data development through which a more accurate sense of the social development of Metro can be monitored.

The scarcity arises because important data is not recorded (e.g. 1976 Census did not include income, ethnicity, or automobile data; public schools are irregular in their recording of social data), data is insufficiently analyzed (e.g. there is at present limited use of assessment data to monitor household patterns), there is no framework for common reporting, there are limited financial and technical resources available to service agencies to conduct social distributions of persons served, or because recorded data is not made publicly available (e.g. unemployment data from the federal government). With Statistics Canada planning to reduce data collection in the 1981 Census, this could limit social information resources even more.

In light of the technical, financial and general qualifications cited in this section, data organized for the New Suburban Communities project is more selective and limited than would have been preferred. Some of the data may already be familiar to individuals. The more important effort in the report is the attempt to integrate the presentation of data for purposes of updating the general social development picture of Metro's newer suburbs, and Metro as a whole.

2.0 FRAMEWORK FOR PLANNING

There is an extensive planning literature and tradition which stresses issues of allocation. In the social planning field the language of allocation talks about needs and resources, the latter generally taken to mean services or income. In traditional urban planning language, the emphasis is on the allocation of general and specific uses. This approach prohibits and prescribes the locations of functions, with limited concerns for the ways in which functions are translated into living forms.

Both traditional approaches to social and urban planning reflect macro-environmental and homeostatic concepts of residential planning. They are macro-environmental in that both approaches seek to designate and locate appropriate functions or services, with less concern about the relationships of the forms which arise therefrom to other forms in the setting or to the range of persons or groups for whom the functions or services might be intended. The approaches are homeostatic in that they respond to what is immediately evident, with less emphasis on projecting capacities to adapt or change to a range of possibilities over time.

The limitations of the traditional approaches have come to be increasingly recognized in both fields. The theme of human services co-ordination is one response to fragmented and unrelated forms of service. The extensive development of smaller scale community-based services in the seventies attempts to overcome the anonymity and impersonal qualities of institutional service provision in local areas. The pursuits of affinity relationships in service provision was identified in the Council's report In Search of a Framework as:

> ".... the perception that a service provider possesses a unique set of characteristics that are important to the consumer ..... where potential users assess their state of personal identity with the provider as a condition for using the service. Affinity factors can be the religious values of the provider, or life style, or language environment" [8]

Similar recognitions of the micro-environment have begun to emerge in the urban planning field. The

---

[8] R.M. Novick, In Search of a Framework, Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, January 1976, P.106

rediscovery of the neighbourhood as a significant locus of social experience, the emphasis on participation and a sense of place, the new status of network and location theory, imply strong affirmations for the social elements of environmental relatedness.

These themes were more directly expressed by the architect Hester upon returning from a visit to a neighbourhood park which he had designed at an earlier time. He observed:

> "Whereas I was concerned about 'hardware', how the forms looked, how materials connected and weathered, and how circulation worked, the users were concerned about being safe, being with their friends, expressing anger, or controlling their turf. Simply stated, whether or not a person went to the park depended much more on who else was there than on the physical design of the park itself. It was this fact that I had misunderstood." [9]

[9] R.T. Hester, Jr., Neighbourhood Space, Douden, Hutchison and Ross Inc., Stradsburg, Penn. 1975, P.1

There is less reason to believe that people fragment the environment into physical and social resources in their uses and perceptions. There is limited recognition of these elements in the development of physical and social resources. Walking enables one to visit the bank, the library and to strike up casual conversations. A grocery store with Italian, Chinese or Spanish wording on the front is more than a source of provisions, especially if one is an immigrant. The presence of the wording "community school" on a building does not necessarily lead to social integration or public forms of community life. The library is seen as a place to borrow books, a recreation centre is for organized leisure, front door areas are for entry and exit, retail centres for the efficient transaction of goods and services. There is the strong and explicit assumption that daily life is the orderly performance of a hierarchy of specialized tasks and unrelated functions.

Needs are rarely as discreet or categorical as formal planning systems have made them out to be. In its recent statement of planning principles, the Social Planning Council contends that the need to co-ordinate human services in Metropolitan Toronto is not for the purpose of creating administrative and political coherence

between specialized service systems, but to create more adequate responses to needs and the ways in which needs are experienced by different groups of people.

The Council notes that human services co-ordination should ultimately be based on the recognition that:

> "... needs cannot be readily isolated from the total life situation of the persons, group, or community for whom a particular social benefit is intended." [10]

Thus, the alternative to the concept of discreet and specialized needs is the concept of relational needs.

The Council further observes that the mere presence of a service in the community does not ensure that a social benefit has been provided. The Council states that:

> "a human services program becomes a fully conferred benefit only when it is readily available, and appropriate in character, to the conditions of the persons, group, or community for whom it is intended."

The contention by the Council is that social benefits are fully conferred only when appropriate service relationships have come to be established and maintained over time between the sources of social benefits and the subjects of social benefits.

The critical elements of relational needs and service relationships takes us far beyond allocative approaches to planning, with their emphasis on securing and locating resources or services. Implicit in the concept of relationships are a number of important propositions:

(a) what is expected from a resource or service, and how a resource or service is used, will vary in a community particularly where there is significant social, cultural, and life stage diversity among residents. Using the local park once more as an illustration, the same setting can mean many things to people. For those whose work life is harried, the local park might be seen as a place for specialized leisure or as a retreat in which to get away from people and experience the serenity

---

10 Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, Aiming at the Eighties; Human Services Development, June 1978, P. 7-9

of open space. To an elderly person who has been home alone much of the day, the local park may be an important setting in which to observe and experience some form of social contact. The mother of a young child requires a setting which is within reasonable accessibility from home, if there is no car available. Thus, the local park is expected to respond to a range of related social and physical needs.

(b) patterns of demand on resources and services in the residential environment will in large measure be related to levels of primary dependence on the residential environment. Persons and groups with access to primary environments outside of the residential community will tend to make more focused and specialized demands on local resources and services. Persons and groups for whom the residential environment is the primary source of dependence will seek to maximize the attainment of multiple support needs - both formal and informal - in their uses of resources and services.

For those who are employed full-time in the labour force, the workplace becomes an alternative primary environment which confers important social benefits such as identity, attachment, reciprocity, and care. This is also the case for those who study full-time, possess an active life of voluntary service in the general community, pursue special cultural or leisure interests, or have other forms of sustaining community and personal affiliations. These groups can be said to possess multi-environmental access. The residential environment can be transcended or by-passed if it does not yield many of the essential benefits associated with daily life.

It is quite different however for those persons and groups outside of the labour force, not in full-time study,and not otherwise engaged outside the residential area in sustaining forms of affiliation and involvement. Dependence is intensified when opportunities for informal contact and support of family, friends, and acquaintances are closed off as well. For these groups, the forms of social and physical support available within the residential environment is critical. If the environment only yields some of the basic elements of daily living - food, shelter, protection, opportunities for self-maintenance - with only infrequent or irregular forms of sustaining social contact and affiliation, then acute social isolation can and does set in. Social isolation can induce stress and a whole

range of self-destructive behaviours and activity.

Primary dependence on the residential environment can arise because of: (1) age (elderly, young children), (2) work role (full-time parenting mothers), (3) social condition (unemployed, ill, handicapped, infirm, etc.), (4) inadequate income (lack of private forms of mobility, the inability to buy into alternative environments).

(c) the range of benefits which a resource or service comes to offer in a residential environment will in large measure reflect those interests with effective forms of collective representation. Interests are primarily shared expressions of needs, or alternatively, expressions of needs by people in effective relationship with others.

In the absence of locally-based voluntary agencies and social interest groups, the environmental needs of minorities without collective forms of economic or political influence will receive limited priority. Thus the absence of parks in a local area responding to the needs of the elderly, mothers with young children, or youth - where these groups clearly exist in reasonable numbers - will tend to indicate that there are few locally-based voluntary agencies and social interest groups in the area.

(d) the physical environment can influence the ways in which needs are experienced, or it can create alternative sets of needs. It can shape the functions which services are expected to perform, or alternatively limit the capacities of resources and services to meet stated objectives.

The recent trend toward deinstutionalization represents the recognition that the physical environment in which support is offered can influence the usefulness of the benefit provided. The relationship of a physical environment to the general community conveys powerful social messages to people.

Institutional settings in which daily life is experienced - whether a treatment centre, home for the aged, or public housing development - state explicitly or implicitly to inhabitants that they do not possess the ability or capacity to sustain independent forms of daily life and experience in the general community. Counselling and therapy programs which seek to promote the confidence of institutional residents that they

can transcend their limitations, are contradicted by the messages of the environment.

Deinstitutionalization is a support strategy which recognizes that access to diverse forms of social and physical relationships are important sources of self-esteem and support. Isolation is the experienced absence of sustained and informal forms of social contact and environmental experience. Low density sprawl for residents who are transit dependent can lead to institutional experiences of isolation and removal. It led Hitchcock to suggest at a recent Social Planning Council Seminar that for many groups, public transit may in fact be an important social service, directly conferring important forms of support by enabling diverse forms of social contact to occur. [11]

(e) time is an important element in the evolving relationships of needs.

People do not remain fixed at one particular stage of the life cycle, nor within one set of living arrangements. Human and social growth is the experience of development and transition. Young children become adolescents, full-time parenting mothers find one day that they have become women with grown children, spouses pass away and the widowed partner faces a life on her/his own.

Living patterns also change. The influences which modify living patterns are deeply embedded in the culture and economy of the society. Residential environments are not immune to these influences. Physical distance from what are perceived to be the sources of these influences can temporarily buffer, or selectively filter, the timing and impact of these influences. But eventually changes do penetrate, and in so penetrating, they quietly transform established personal and social patterns.

These influences are most evident in: (1) the shifting structures of family life, (2) the diversification of women's roles, (3) the emergence of adolescents as a self-aware cultural and consumer class, (4) the proliferation of increasingly acceptable adult life-style alternatives, also implicit in concepts of deinstitutionalization, (5) the extension of the human life span for a majority of the population to ages 75 and beyond,and the emerging self-awareness by the elderly of common social interests.

---

11 J. Hitchcock, "Environmental Fit: Perspectives on Residential Planning", Urban Seminar Five: Social Objectives and Urban Planning, June 1978 (Publication released January 1979), P.4.

More recent developments, the influence of which will soon be quite evident,include ongoing levels of high youth and young adult unemployment, new concepts of child welfare evident in the renewed emphasis on parenting and the social rights of children, the emerging scarcities of industrial and human energy sources.

The significance of the micro-environment has come to be recognized in the more developed thinking of urban sociologists such as Michelson and Popenoe.[11] Michelson speaks of assessing the capacity of environments to "accommodate" to a range of life stages, life situations, and life styles. Popenoe introduces the concept of "environmental fit" to describe the relationship of people and residential communities.

"Accommodation" and "fit" refer to the capacities of residential environments to respond and adapt to the range of support needs of people who live, or may come to live, in a community over time.

---

11 W. Michelson, Man and His Urban Environment, revised edition, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Reading, Mass., 1976.
D. Popenoe, The Suburban Environment, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1977.

The allocative approach to planning assumed continued levels of population and economic growth. Responses to changing needs largely meant adding on resources or services to what already existed.

There are two problems with this approach. Adding on is a costly way to deal with existing inadequacies. If inefficient uses of land lead to pockets of dispersed and isolated elderly, then one can either add-on a para-transit program to facilitate mobility or address the issues around the more efficient use of land. If fee-for-service recreation programming excludes large numbers of moderate income groups, one can either open up new agencies to serve these groups or restructure existing ones.

In an economy with sustained growth, a portion of the surpluses can be directed to adding on. In a slow growth economy add-ons become a serious drain on the limited resources of the community which might be required to respond to legitimate gaps in available support (e.g. pre-school parenting support). For example, we know that unemployment is one of the most destructive influences on family stability and child welfare. We can face the family employment issues directly, or

continue to add-on inordinately costly rehabilitation, treatment, and corrections programs.

The second problem with add-ons is that even when more is offered, there is little assurance that basic support needs have been adequately addressed. Doubling the number of job placement offices in the community will not necessarily compensate for the absence of jobs.

Adaptive planning recognizes that there is the need to selectively redevelop what already exists; to modify and update the relationship of physical and social resources to the changing needs of people through various stages of development and transition over time. Adaptive planning requires a continued and sensitive monitoring of emerging social development patterns, how social groups and needs are distributed in a large urban environment, which groups have high levels of dependence on the residential environment. It means moving away from rigid physical environments and institutional services which cannot readily adopt when required.

The purpose of the Social Planning Council project is not to judge the suburban form, but to assess the capacity of Metro's suburbs to adapt to new realities. Implicit in this approach is the recognition that the suburbs, like people, cannot be frozen in time. What made sense in light of historical, social and economic conditions twenty-five years ago or ten years ago, might be less meaningful in light of current and emerging social changes. The process of adaptation, however, if it is to be productive, should recognize the unique traditions and achievements which are incorporated in the suburban form. It is for this reason that the background report includes a brief historical perspective on the origins of the post-war suburbs.

3.0 SUBURBAN PERSPECTIVES

There are a number of historical perspectives on the evolution of the post-war suburbs. Most of these perspectives stress the relationship of the modern suburb to changes in forms of transportation, the pursuit of home ownership, the economics of land development, the retreat to pastoral forms of life, the affirmation of localism. Invariably all of these elements are present, and influenced the ways in which post-war suburbs evolved.

There are distinct periods of suburban development which can be linked to the introduction of new transportation technologies.[12] Prior to the electrification of surface transit, the residential city was in large measure defined by the limits of horsepower. Within Toronto this meant that high density development extended within a semi-circle of about two miles.[13]

---

12 B. Schwartz (ed.), The Changing Face of the Suburbs, University of Chicago Press, 1976, P. 99-109.

13 Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, Official Plan of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area, 1959, P. 5.

With the electrification of street railways from 1885 - 1914, development in Metro extended east-west along rail lines and along Yonge Street to the north. Smaller settlements such as Mimico and Weston, previously served by steam railroads, were linked up. This facilitated the subsequent development of areas between these settlements and the City. The introduction of the private automobile took place between the two wars. Its impact was not fully felt in this period, although more scattered forms of development began to take place. Much of this development extended along major traffic arteries feeding out from the central area - Lakeshore, Dundas, and more particularly Yonge Street.

While the period before World War Two was one of gradual movement of suburban settlements away from the centre, it is subsequent to World War Two, (what this report refers to as the post-war period) that very high levels of urban settlement growth occurred in Metro and throughout North America. The scale of this growth can be seen in Table 2. In the period from 1951 to 1971, the number of municipalities in Ontario with population 10,000 and over which came into existence, just about equalled the number of municipalities which had developed in the previous 60 years. The number of people living

in municipalities in Ontario grew in this period by over 3 million. Almost one-third of this growth occurred in Metropolitan Toronto.

Table 2

Urban Growth in Ontario 1871-1971

Year	Population of Province	No. of Urban Mun. 10,000+	Total Pop'n in Urban Mun. 10,000+	% of Ontario Population
1871	1,620,851	5	132,586	8.2%
1891	2,114,321	10	363,134	16.7%
1911	2,527,292	18	812,179	32.1%
1931	3,431,683	34	1,688,126	49.2%
1951	4,597,542	45	2,535,656	55.1%
1971	7,703,110	83	5,684,613	73.8%

Source: L.D. Feldman, Ontario 1945-1973: The Municipal Dynamic, Ontario Economic Council, P. 7.

Where built-up city environments already existed, as in Metro, suburban development was the predominant form of urban growth in the 1951-1971 period.

There is little doubt that a history of this twenty-year period should include a review of the economics of land development and housing production. Sewell has provided one such recent review.[14] The post-war period saw the emergence of industrial forms of land assembly and development, formally justified by community planners as a means to quickly increase supply and secure the integration of housing with surrounding residential elements. Public policy encouraged this trend, and financed demand through government-issued mortgages to increase opportunities for home ownership. The production of housing also came to be seen as a strategy to promote post-war employment objectives. The public role in post-war housing was inherently Keynesian. Governments, through fiscal and infrastructure incentives, primed private production, provided residual forms of housing, but in keeping with Keynesian principles, did not interfere with the structure of market forces that arose therefrom. The creation of orderly, stable, and predictable private housing markets was a cornerstone of public policy at all three government levels.

---

[14] J. Sewell, Where the Suburbs Came From in J. Lorimer, E. Ross (ed.), The Second City Book, James Lorimer & Company, Toronto, 1977.

Government housing production was directed to those families and individuals unable, by virtue of income limitations even with public subsidies, to buy into the private housing market. In a housing review conducted in 1943, the City of Toronto concluded that lower income families with children, where there was only one source of income in the household (i.e. no lodgers, extended family, or children at work) would be most vulnerable to exclusion from the private market.[15] It is interesting to note, in light of current views on the nature of women as secondary wage-earners, that there was clear recognition in this report that for many families, access to market forms of housing would require a second source of income in the household. It is not surprising to observe in more recent times that as households seek privacy, with lodging and secondary family patterns largely eliminated, and as children are encouraged to remain in school through secondary and post-secondary programs, mothers begin to emerge as the substitute source of a second household income to secure family accessibility to private market housing.

15 Report of the City Council's Survey Committee on Housing Conditions in Toronto 1942-43, City of Toronto, P.9

The adoption of a Keynesian approach to the development of land and the production of housing in the rapid growth period following the war, along with a residual, regulative, and priming role for the public sector, was consistent with prevailing patterns throughout the Canadian economy. It was also consistent, and in some areas continues to be consistent, with the public role in other important social development areas - formerly, health and hospital care; currently, pensions, job creation, day care, home support for the elderly. Once having handed the job over to the market sector, and having encouraged corporate patterns of assembly and production, there is little doubt that land development forms eventually come to reflect the logic inherent in the operation of large-scale market forces. These patterns include: (1) piecemeal forms of development leading to dispersion, reflecting the state of private land holdings and their timing for release; (2) excessive pricing of private housing to the limits of discretionary family income, and the consequent limits placed on available public revenue to finance important community services; (3) entrenchment of the retail function and retail centres as the primary public meeting places for community life; (4) displacement of small owner-managed and specialty enterprises often with local identities and attachments, by chain forms of retailing and service provision; (5) enhancement of defensive and

ornamental influences, in large measure an outgrowth of the imperatives of marketing and promotion; (6) progressive elimination of accessibility to low-rise housing for average income families with young children.

These descriptions reflect the way in which market forces gave concrete expression to the suburban form in the post-war period. They do not, however, bring us any closer to understanding why this form of human settlement came to dominate, why it appealed primarily to groups with one common life situation, and what might have prompted large numbers of adult men and women to remain in the setting at enormous personal investment and sacrifice.

Clark in his review of metropolitan suburban development in the early sixties notes that early settlers did not primarily include the rich, the elderly, the childless, the religiously devout, and those with extensive kinship ties.[16] New developments were primarily settled by people under 45, before or soon after the birth of a second child. Couples started out in a city flat, followed by a move to larger rented quarters on the birth of the first child. Early settlers did not bring with them strong urban attachments. The primary loyalties were to family life and the associations formed through work and childhood.

While there were suburban areas that attracted more financially secure residents, Clark notes that suburban society was largely a debtor society. Families came with no large store of economic goods or assets. Suburbanization frequently meant living at the precipice of debt and deprivation. The family dwelling was not seen as a source of short or middle-term financial gain. If there was a gain, it was in the enhancement of personal living. The demands placed on public services were limited. The primary concern was to keep municipal taxes low so that they did not become an unbearable strain on already tight budgets.

Some traditional perspectives on the post-war suburbs suggest that adults sought personal forms of fulfillment through home ownership and the drive for open space.[17] There is little reason to doubt that these were important influences. Nevertheless the Clark interviews, and those

---

16 S.D. Clark, The Suburban Society, University of Toronto Press, 1966, P. 82-141.

17 D. Thorns, Suburbia, Granada Publishing, St. Albans, 1972, P. 111-125.

reported by Thorns, indicate that the experiences of daily living arising from home ownership and open space did not necessarily lead to direct forms of adult fulfilment Both Clark and Thorns describe the already familiar pattern of deep isolation and loneliness experienced by women - loneliness for friends left behind in the cities, the absence of adult friends with whom to share common interests, the loss of opportunities for discretionary activity outside the home as would be available in the City.

For men post-war suburban living meant submitting themselves to the rigors of mortgage discipline. It meant the daily experiences of commuting, maintaining the security of employment in light of heavy financial obligations, and frequently having to perform a range of household maintenance functions on evenings and week-ends. While there is no suggestion that these were necessarily unbearable rigors, they did involve a willingness by men to assume financial anxieties, and a commitment to pursue predictable and productive patterns of daily life, often resulting in the limited availability of discretionary time for independent adult pursuits.

For many adult men and women, early experiences of suburban living introduced significant levels of role coercion, in which adult forms of diversion were postponed. These were years of investment and sacrifice - but for what. Those who would argue that home ownership has traditionally been seen as a protection for old age should explain why this investment was made in the suburbs rather than the city; particularly in light of the financial and social deprivations which the suburban investment meant.

More recent interpretations stress the affinities of suburban settlers for "localism" and "homogeneity" - a desire to return to the more intimate scales of small town life.[18] These are reasonable propositions, but why was the move not made by individuals of all ages, backgrounds, and stages of family life. Of particular interest is the social homogeneity of those who originally moved out.

Fisher has questioned more recently whether localism and homogeneity grew out of rather than preceded the suburban

---

18 S.F. Fava, Beyond Suburbia, Annals-422, November 1975
and
S. Donaldson, The Suburban Myth, Columbia University Press, New York 1969.

experience.[19] Localism arose through the need to rely upon a small pool of neighbourhood associates for mutual support. Dispersion and distance meant that family and childhood friends were no longer accessible for daily support and contact. Low density reduced the size of the pool for the formation of social ties. Localism might be another way of describing responses to isolation. Homogeneity reflected the pursuit of compatible qualities in the scarce pool which was available for social ties and mutual support.

It might well be that compact forms of settlement, by significantly extending the choice of ties and support available to individuals, increase the receptivity to levels of residential heterogeneity.

Perhaps there are other perspectives which identify the origins and appeal of the post-war suburbs. These perspectives would suggest that there are historical and cultural dimensions to consider which complements and perhaps transcend land-use and transportation frameworks. In this view modes of production and opportunities for increased mobility expand the boundaries of adaption and choice - they do not necessarily explain why certain adaptations or choices are eventually made.

It is questionable whether adaptations or choices which came to be made were primarily as a result of or messages of the moment. Adaptation and choice patterns are rarely linear or sequential. Emery and Trist suggest that social patterns may have already broken through the institutional frameworks of the society before they are fully recognized.[20]

Carver has recently given credence to this view in commenting on the rapid urban growth of the post-war period:

> "Nobody really believed that there was going to be a spectacular growth of urban Canada after a demoralizing fifteen years of depression and brutal war. So there was not any practical perception of a framework for a new society, in a new habitat."[21]

---

19 C.S. Fischer, Networks and Places, The Free Press, New York, 1977, P. 136.

20 F.E. Emery, E.L. Trist, Towards a Social Ecology, Plenum Press, New York, 1973, P. 57-67.

21 H. Carver, Building the Suburbs: A Planner's Reflections, City Magazine, September 1978, P. 42.

The frameworks and perceptions adapted in the post-war period were developed much earlier in time. They reflect in large measure responses to the social experiences and images of urban life deeply embedded in the culture. The fifteen year period of depression and brutal war which Carver refers to, intensified the demand for new alternatives. The principles underlying the alternatives had been largely articulated and given formal expression in the decades before. There is a developed history of the physical design principles which influenced the shape of the post-war suburbs. What is often missing is an appreciation for the important social development principles which are embedded in the suburban form. Social development principles refer to the ways in which the physical environment was arranged to accommodate what were people's aspirations for experiences and opportunities of daily life. A preliminary recognition of these principles can be useful in understanding and assessing the present state of social development in Metro's post-war suburbs.

To trace the origins of the social development perspective, it is necessary to return to the turn of the century. Large-scale immigration into urban centres intensified the state of congestion and upheaval which had already characterized the 19th century industrial city. As Katz points out, contrary to current images of neighbourhood rootedness, for the vast majority of residents 19th century city life was the experience of transience and physical inequality.[22] Uncertainties around employment contributed to the instabilities of daily life for individuals and families. People often moved around in relation to work, and this mitigated against the development of rootedness whether in the household, neighbourhood or general community. Inequality translated itself into sharp distinctions in political patterns and processes. Governing social, political, and economic interests were closely knit together, creating an urban society in which a small percentage commanded a near monopoly of resources necessary for community well-being.

The experienced squalor and deterioration of 19th and early 20th century city life for many people contributed to the shaping of an urban image, which in turn helped shape perceptions of an alternative. Enclosure 4 conveys physical elements of the urban image

---

22 M.B. Katz, The People of a Canadian City in G.A. Steeter, A.F. Artibise, The Canadian City, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1977, P. 227-235.

ELEMENTS OF THE URBAN IMAGE, POST-WAR TORONTO

Source:

Ministry of Housing, Government of Ontario

which emerged and persisted through the post-war years for large numbers of people. Elements include mud, refuse, congestion, the threat of disease, concealed and unsupervised space encouraging deviance and promoting feelings of insecurity, children without supervision engaged in destructive activity, irregular forms of accommodation, (e.g. basements) making it possible for transients to live in the area, commercial functions within the residential area drawing in strangers, traffic, and intensifying the sense of turbulence and unease in one's daily life.

Riis, a New York City journalist, was one of the first 19th century photographers of North America's urban slums. His responses to the daily experience of reporting on social life in these areas reveals some elements of what were eventually societal responses to these conditions. One notorious slum in New York City, Mulberry Bend, was torn down in 1886 and transformed into a park. Riis observes:

> "The Mulberry Bend we laid by the heels; that was the worse pigsty of all ... It is now five years since the Bend became a park and the police reporter has not had business there during that time; <u>not once has a shot been fired or a knife been drawn. That is what it means to let the sunlight in!</u>" (emphasis added)[23]

Eventually Riis could no longer tolerate daily exposure to slum living:

> "The deeper I burrowed in the slum, the more my thoughts turned, by a sort of defensive instinct, to the country ... So before the next winter's snows we were snug in the house ... with a ridge of wooded hills, the 'backbone of Long Island, between New York and us. <u>The very lights of the city were shut out. So was the slum, and I could sleep.</u>"
> (emphasis added)

The response to congestion and disorder was the longing for distance and simplicity. Anxiety over physical proximity was not only a concern of those with

---

23 A. Alland Sr., <u>Jacob A. Riis: Photographer and Citizen</u>, Aperture Books, New York City 1974, P. 210 and 212.

exposure to, or experience of, slum living. It should be remembered that even in the forties and fifties communicable disease remained a major source of fear for the well-being of children as well as adults. The recent outbreak of polio last summer in Ontario reminded many of the anxiety that can develop over contact with strangers and the use of public places when fear of an outbreak exists. Parenthetically one might speculate on the extent to which public health achievements in the control of communicable disease have made possible the return to compact living in the centre of cities such as Toronto. There is less reason to fear who one's neighbours might be when settling into an area in transition.

The period around the turn of the century (1890-1920) saw the emergence in North America of the settlement house and neighbourhood workers' movement. In contrast to friendly "visitors" of the charity movement, the settlement house movement led to the establishment of local centres staffed in large measure by those who chose to "settle" in the areas to be improved. The settlement house movement became involved in the total life of the community, from the provision of direct services to the initiation of municipal action programs to upgrade the area. This included the formulation of demands for improved municipal services - sanitation, public health, protection - and assistance to residents to increase their influence on the local political process.

The wide range of concerns that settlement house and neighbourhood workers became involved in moved them into broader social development perspectives. These perspectives were reinforced with the emergence of community sociology in North America. These trends were most pronounced in Chicago with the emergence of Hull House as an important leader in the settlement house movement, and the University of Chicago as a major centre of social science research. The scientific study of community developed alongside the service insights derived from neighbourhood development work.

Broader social development themes arising from the interaction of these two elements were quite evident in the fifty-first annual session of the National Council of Social Work held in Toronto in 1924. Important social questions and perspectives had been developed in relation to prevailing patterns of neighbourhood life.

Burgess cited the need to examine the inability of city neighbourhoods to contain their young. He stressed the relationship between promiscuity, deviance, and movement out of the neighbourhood into the commercial amusement areas

of the larger city. These "bright light" attractions included motion pictures, theatres and dance halls. In contrast, Burgess described the village type of neighbourhood as an environment:

> "...where everyone knows everyone else, the social relationships of the young people were safeguarded by the primary controls of group opinion."[24] P. 409

Burgess was quite emphatic in rejecting the influence of existing forms of city life on the young:

> "The total effect of forces of city life, like mobility and promiscuity, upon the neighbourhood and upon our traditional culture seems to be subversive and disorganizing." (emphasis added) P. 409

A major source of anxiety for Burgess was the inability of neighbourhood settlement houses and community centres to sustain the interest of the young, who were "deserting" the centres and "thronging" to the commercial areas.

It is not too difficult to understand the power of these themes in framing and shaping adult perceptions. Loss of control by adults over the behaviour of the young was associated with opportunities for urban mobility. Neighbourhood services were not compensating for the stimulation of city life. If services in the existing neighbourhood environment did not work, the other approach was to lay out the principles of an alternative neighbourhood environment in which mobility and promiscuity might be contained.

These principles were spelled out at the same conference by Clarence Perry of the Russell Sage Foundation. He described the qualities that would constitute an ideal neighbourhood from a social point of view. The Russell Sage Foundation was a major funder of social welfare research and practise in the United States, and a leading centre of social welfare concern and activity. The presentation by Perry was not an incidental event. The foundation subsequently participated in incorporating Perry's "neighbourhood unit" concept into the Regional Plan of New York and its Environs from 1922-1932.[25] Given the Foundation's central role in the

24 E. W. Burgess, Can Neighbourhood Work Have a Scientific Basis in Proceedings of the Fifty-First Annual Session of the National Conference of Social Work (1924) University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1924 P. 406-410.

25 J. C. Colcord, Your Community, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1939, P. 83.

social welfare field, Perry's principles drew from the collective insight and experience of the settlement house and neighbourhood workers movement.

The full reproduction of the Perry presentation in 1924 is included in this report as Appendix 2. Perry is quite clear that the purpose of the presentation is to spell out guidelines for the social control of urban growth. He defined this as:

> "...the kind of urban expansion which will satisfy social objectives..." (emphasis added)
> P. 420

The principles for neighbourhood design which flow from Perry's social objectives are:

* location of the elementary school at the civic centre of the district along with a branch of the public library, an assembly area for the school and the community, a motion picture theatre, and church;
* concentration of the commercial function into shopping centres located at the periphery, where residents move from home to work;
* business buildings only to be allowed in shopping districts and not in any part of the neighbourhood;
* shopping centres for different neighbourhoods would form an intersection, serving as a local trading centre;
* a range of playing areas for sport activity to be distributed in such a way to promote accessibility but avoid the concentration of sporting crowds in any one locality;
* setback space of the junction of streets, called "breathing spots";
* family backyards in which small children may play, or alternatively, local playgrounds;
* arterial highways of 100 feet or more in width to serve as boundaries for the district; interior streets to be preferably curvilineal with through traffic discouraged;
* developments should be designed to attract homogeneous income groupings;
* apartments to be located at the periphery;
* an ideal density of seven families per acre.

Perry suggests that these objectives are less likely to be achieved if there are fragmented forms of neighbourhood development. He calls for an integrated process of develop-

ment, where all of the parts would appropriately fit into the whole and thereby meet the stated social objectives. Perry suggests that integrated forms of development could be encouraged if municipalities would:

> "...grant substantial privileges and extra latitude to those real estate developers whose plans and schemes do meet standards of an ideal character." (emphasis added) P. 421

Thus developers with large land holdings were seen as potential sources of progress in the promotion of social objectives in neighbourhood planning. Perry's interest was not the advocacy of profits but the pursuit of better living environments. The ability to control all the elements of design by having to regulate only one producer was seen as a distinct advantage.

Perry's design focuses the scale of the neighbourhood around the elementary school. This is justified with the contention that:

> "Since the public school, more nearly than any other local institution, touches all families within its sphere of service, it is a common denominator of neighbourhood life and seems therefore the best available basis for determining the size of the local community unit." P. 419

Implicit in Perry's assumptions is that the proposed alternative neighbourhood would be primarily comprised of families with younger children. When assessed cumulatively, the Perry principles spell out ideal sets of physical and social conditions for the protection, supervision, development, and rearing of children. The proposed form of the environment represents the spatial configuration of functions designed to create a self-sufficient setting, reducing the desire or likelihood of children leaving the neighbourhood or district. The school is at the centre of the community, as is the motion picture house; the neighbourhood is to contain backyards and public areas for play; the possibility of contact with strangers is severely limited; commercial influences are at the periphery and out of sight; the neighbourhood is to be enclosed by distinctive elements such as a wide arterial, railway tracks, parkways, or parks.

It is not sufficient to describe these settings in general terms such as family environments, for it is a particular form of family function that is most clearly highlighted - the raising of young children. The social development emphasis in the ideal neighbourhood is distinct: an

alternative urban environment is proposed designed to function as a specialized setting for parenting and child development.

Similar design features are evident in Clarence Stein's "Radburn Plan" of 1928. Carver cites Radburn as a landmark in the pursuit of better living. It is a town turned outside-in, where living space faces the open green spaces of the centre. The stated principles in this design are for "better living": privacy, spearation of people from vehicles and pedestrians, enhancement of green space, the pursuit of an aesthetic whole.[26]

One need not suggest that any formulation of principles, whether social or physical, were formative. What should be noted is that social development principles did exist, addressed seminal areas in people's lives (i.e. conditions for parenting and child development), were important elements of the converging influences through which the post-war suburban form took shape, and are critical to understanding the social significance and achievements of post-war suburban experiences.

26 H. Carver, Cities in the Suburbs, University of Toronto Press, 1962, P. 39-41.

In examining suburban growth patterns of the post-war period, Carver makes two important observations:[27]

(a) "Since the growth of suburbia went on at such a breath-taking pace, the first generation of suburban planners worked in a high pressure climate of emergency. And since Canada did not seem to have any obvious social concepts to guide urban design, most planners clung to the elementary school system as the one available and explainable concept to provide an organizational framework for suburban society."

(b) "The normal reaction of the wartime generation which went into the first post-war suburbs was: 'I'm just not going to get involved in missions. I've been indoctrinated every day of the bloody war. For God's sake just get me a house and leave me alone.' It was a period of disengagement; not of participatory engagement."

If we introduce social ecology perspectives developed

27 H. Carver, Building the Suburbs, ... op.cit. (a) P. 44; (b) P. 42.43.

by Emery and Trist,[28] Carver's observations can be reformulated by identifying common conditions of environment which then shape related adaptation patterns. The Perry model of the elementary school system was one response to a prolonged social experience of urban turbulence. Most adults who were early settlers of the post-war suburbs had sustained fifteen years of economic and political turbulence. Emery and Trist contend that where people undergo sustained periods of turbulence in their daily lives, corresponding patterns of social adaptation can become evident. Responses to turbulence in the environment can include:

(a) simplification of the worlds in which one functions. Simplification means reducing complexities in the environment to more manageable and understandable units of daily experience;

(b) the tendency to focus on those elements of personal living of enduring or immediate interest, and to exclude all others as sources of concern or attention. Emery and Trist refer to this as the process of segmentation;

(c) withdrawal from environments or experiences which invite or might lead to turbulence.

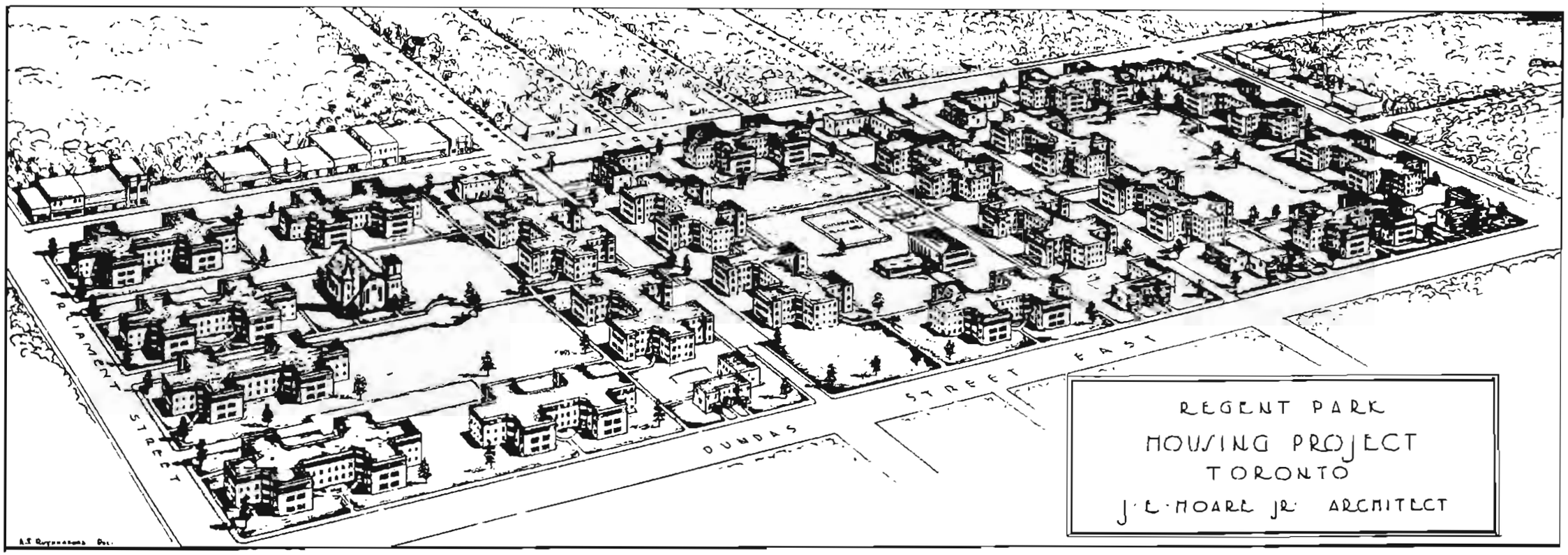
Patterns of adaptation to turbulence which Emery and Trist describe - simplification, segmentation, and withdrawal - are evident in the alternative residential environments which emerged in the post-war period.

Not all of the alternatives were developed in the suburbs of Metropolitan Toronto. Because of government's ability to assemble land in the built environment, post-war alternatives in the City of Toronto were public ventures. Enclosures 5 and 6 identify two of the alternatives which emerged - Regent Park and Alexandra Park. Both were public housing projects directed to low-income groups, organized and developed by the public interest sector of the community. Their forms reflect what were perceived to be important principles in designing alternative residential areas to the urban turbulence which had made these projects necessary.

Enclosure 5, which is the design plan for Regent Park, makes evident principles embedded in the project plan:

---

28 F. E. Emery, E. L. Trist, Towards a Social Ecology, Plenum Press, New York, 1973, P. 57-67.



Source: A. Rose, Regent Park: A Study in Slum Clearance University of Toronto Press, 1958
(Reproduced with the permission of the publisher and author.)

Source: Ministry of Housing, Government of Ontario

(1) limited penetration of the automobile into the neighbourhood, (2) removal of all commercial functions, (3) physical separation of housing units, (4) introduction of uncluttered open green space around the housing units, (5) relative uniformity of the housing stock, (6) large-scale clustered homogeneity by income, (7) an integrated process of planning and development by one authority. These were all principles which would be introduced into the large post-war suburban developments of Metro, starting with Don Mills.

The residential form of Regent Park incorporates the Emery-Trist forms of adaptation:

(a) simplification, in the removal of the visual and physical clutter of traditional residential areas, replaced by open green space and access to sunlight;

(b) segmentation, in the primary focus of the environment on accommodating the residential function;

(c) withdrawal, in removing sources of turbulence from the environment such as the automobile, housing for transients, the commercial function.

The Alexandra Park project of Enclosure 6 is of interest, in that the environment was first developed in central Toronto and was then subsequently reproduced in the Jane-Finch area of North York. The internal principles governing both designs were similar - clean, uncluttered, and enclosed space set off from the general community. The differing locations - one in the compact and diverse centre of the City, the other in an isolated suburban concentration - create significant differences in how these environments can be used and/or experienced.

For large numbers of families able, with government assistance, to buy into the private housing market, school-centred suburban neighbourhoods were the residential settings in which new experiences of daily life became possible. The principles outlined by Perry found their formal expression in new sub-divisions and neighbourhoods. Disengagement or withdrawal from the general community came to be replaced by focused or segmented engagement in raising children. There were few formal centres to express common attachments - the local school symbolized the reproductive and life affirming adaptations of child rearing which took place in the face of war and depression.

Post-war suburbs extended significantly the social

opportunities for adults to raise young children in what were seen as highly desirable environments for parenting and child development. This is not only an historical perspective. It was the most persistent and strongly held affirmation of the suburban environment which emerged in project interviews with residents who were raising, or had raised, children in the setting. Respondents were prepared to admit that the physical environment might lack the colour and diversity of the City. But strong convictions were expressed that the suburbs were much more preferable places in which to raise younger children.

The suburban environment facilitated a new set of parenting opportunities. The physical separation from extended family, while removing supports for daily living, promoted increased joint-couple activity and responsibility for parenting. In the absence of the extended family new approaches to parenting could more readily be undertaken. This often included the replacement of traditionally authoritarian styles of family life with new approaches which emphasized consultation.[29]

Increased joint-couple responsibility served to give new dimensions to male-female roles. There is evidence that role differentiation became somewhat modified, with men expected to assume more direct child rearing and household responsibilities. Women came to experience increased financial, home management, and community participation roles.

In much the same way that the spatial configuration of the neighbourhood was to be self sufficient and self-contained to accommodate the movement and activity of children, the suburban family home acquired a similar significance. It was to physically re-create and include a range of resources for the support of children and their parents, that hitherto would have either been unavailable to most families, or would have to be sought in the general community. The concentration of resources in the home was to promote joint family experiences and opportunities. It was to provide a protective and developmental environment for children, and later on a socializing environment for adolescents, under the watchful but not obtrusive supervision of parents.

It was the physical framework of the environment - both neighbourhood and home - which would include subtle but inclusive sets of social controls to promote the

---

29 Thorns, op. cit.

appropriate development of children. If forms of movement and activity could be environmentally prescribed, this modified the need by adults to rely exclusively on authoritarian forms of parental control.

Enclosure 7 expresses these themes in popular form. The physical framework of the home environment is referred to as "the third parent". It confers a sense of order by what is facilitated, and, alternatively, by what is correspondingly discouraged. To see the suburban environment in pastoral images only, is to miss the deep and powerful social values and prescriptions which are embedded in the physical configurations of the home and the neighbourhood. In these configurations are built in important forms of support for parenting and child development. The suburban parent who opened up the front or back door of their house, felt reassured that the physical and social environment in which their child would move was supportive of parenting interests. It was even better when the child would be induced to engage in activities, or particpate in experiences, within the protective environment of the home.

One might contrast this sense of reassurance with the experiences associated with city living. Sending a child out of the house, into the neighbourhood, meant sustaining anxiety and fear over the experiences and situations which the child might encounter. The city environment was never consciously designed to accommodate the needs of parenting and child development. Nor was housing readily available to most families which could promote the developmental and protective objectives found in the suburban home. It was only elites who historically were able to withdraw into protected neighbourhoods north of Bloor Street, or into the eastern and western portions of the City, to acquire supportive arrangement which would facilitiate child rearing. It was the suburban environment which made these opportunities accessible to the general population.

The unique achievement of the post-war suburbs was to create mainstream human settlements with an implicit emphasis on child welfare. Even the often ridiculed box-like structures of the suburban sub-division might have possessed more important meanings to its residents. For children, it conferred a sense of physical equality in their experience of growth and development; this, in distinct contrast to the daily perceptions and awareness of physical inequality conferred by traditional city environments. For adults, beyond the sense of physical equality, the suburban home introduced the opportunities to exercise

command over personal space. This experience goes beyond ownership; it respresents the opportunity to organize the social and physical elements of one's life with minimal daily accountability to others. As will be evident later in the report, the pursuit of command over personal space is a major trend throughout Metro, taking a somewhat different form in the central urban area.

The ability to sustain the suburban environment in its original form required that certain assumptions and conditions could be met. This included: (1) the ability to preserve traditional family and child bearing patterns, (2) full-time parenting and community participation by the mother, (3) the ability to buy into low-rise family dwellings, (4) inexpensive forms of private transportation, (5) stable employment prospects if heavy mortgage obligations were to be met over time, (6) a secure price environment for the management of tight budgets, (7) the restraint of external influences on adolescent behaviour, (8) a willingness by adults to defer diversified forms of personal fulfilment.

There is considerable evidence to indicate that where these assumptions and conditions have been met, there have been, and continue to be, significant levels of satisfaction by established residents with their environments.[30] This was borne out as well in project interviews. This satisfaction is substantiated in the research where, even with the difficult adaptions often required of women and men to function in the setting, there is little evidence to indicate that special forms of personal instability emerged in response to early experiences of isolation or role coercion. These patterns are quite significant, since there were wide variations in the backgrounds of family groups who settled in the suburbs during the active growth period. As Thorns points out not all groups came to the suburbs equally committed to the child-rearing focus which would emerge in their lives. For some the commitments came later over time. Nevertheless, the attachment to the environment as a result of historical experience remains real. As the prototype family of the early days gives way,there is evidence from this report and elswhere, that established residents wish to remain in the environment even as life situations or life cycle stages change.

From a planning perspective, the questions are what happens when the assumptions and conditions which gave rise to the suburban environment begin to change, and in a number of areas change significantly.

---

30 Thorns, Donaldson, op. cit.

The Third Parent

The house in which children grow up is almost as much a parent to them as a father or a mother. With its all-pervading influences—both good and bad—a house helps shape values and set standards for the younger generation. In this respect a house is really a third parent

In our time of changing standards and uncertain goals, conscientious parents are hard put to give their children a helpful set of values.

To tell children that honesty is the best policy and that industry will be rewarded is the easy beginning. Such principles are simple and clearly defined. Any child can recognize the difference between truth and falsehood, between doing a good job and "goofing off." That is not the problem.

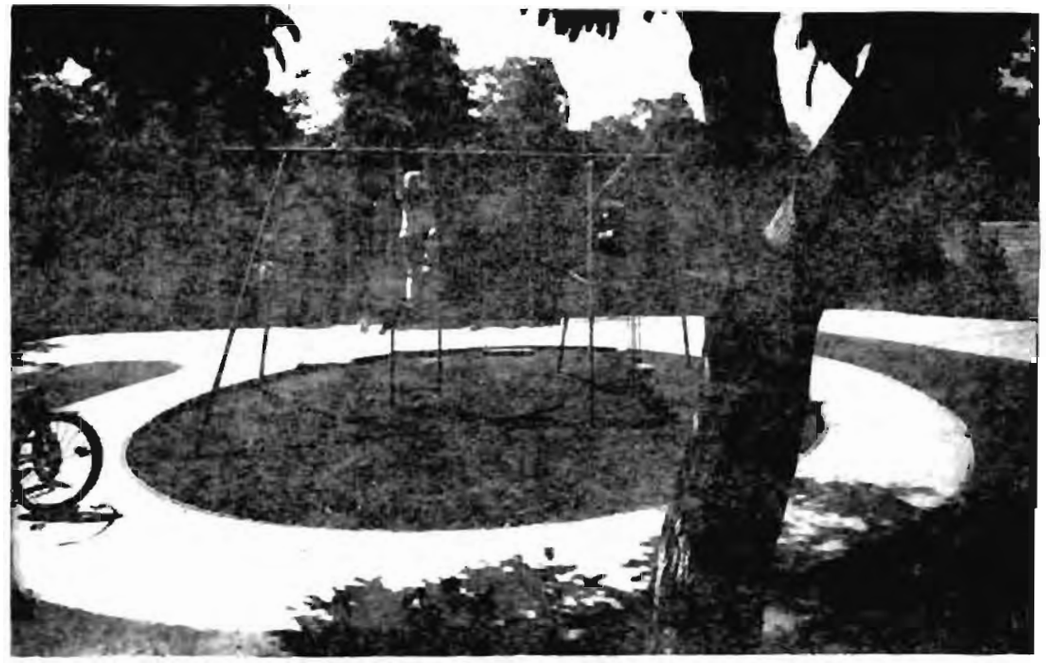
. . . when it comes to teaching the young and inexperienced how to differentiate between true and phony beauty, between real and cheap culture, between civilized and shoddy living, between surface and meaningful endeavor, then the way is not always clear. Such intangibles as "values" and "attitudes" are difficult to put into words.

To complicate the problem further, children usually don't take kindly to parental lectures. They are too impatient, too sure of their own impulsive judgments and hasty decisions.

But a fine house that represents the thinking and taste of many talented people, as well as the personal choice of its owners, does express the parental ideal better than words. If the house combines beauty with shelter, peace with stimulation, then it becomes the third parent and speaks eloquently for the other two.

Recreation begins and ends at home, if appointments are as complete as in this "Casita." To keep their youngsters from leaving home for sports and companionship, yet avoid turning living room into a youth center, the Dewars built a playhouse near pool and badminton court. Wide open on one side, built of brick and concrete, it is ideal place to eat, dance, and even sit in wet swim suits. In bad weather sliding doors enclose front.

When youngsters reach the teen-age party and dance phase a house can help or hinder them in their first social venture. A house that takes kindly to awkward party guests is a great asset. One that has a terrace with an attractive aura of romance about it and where the parents' chaperonage is actual but not overbearing encourages teenagers in their first steps toward a wholesome understanding and interest in members of the opposite sex.

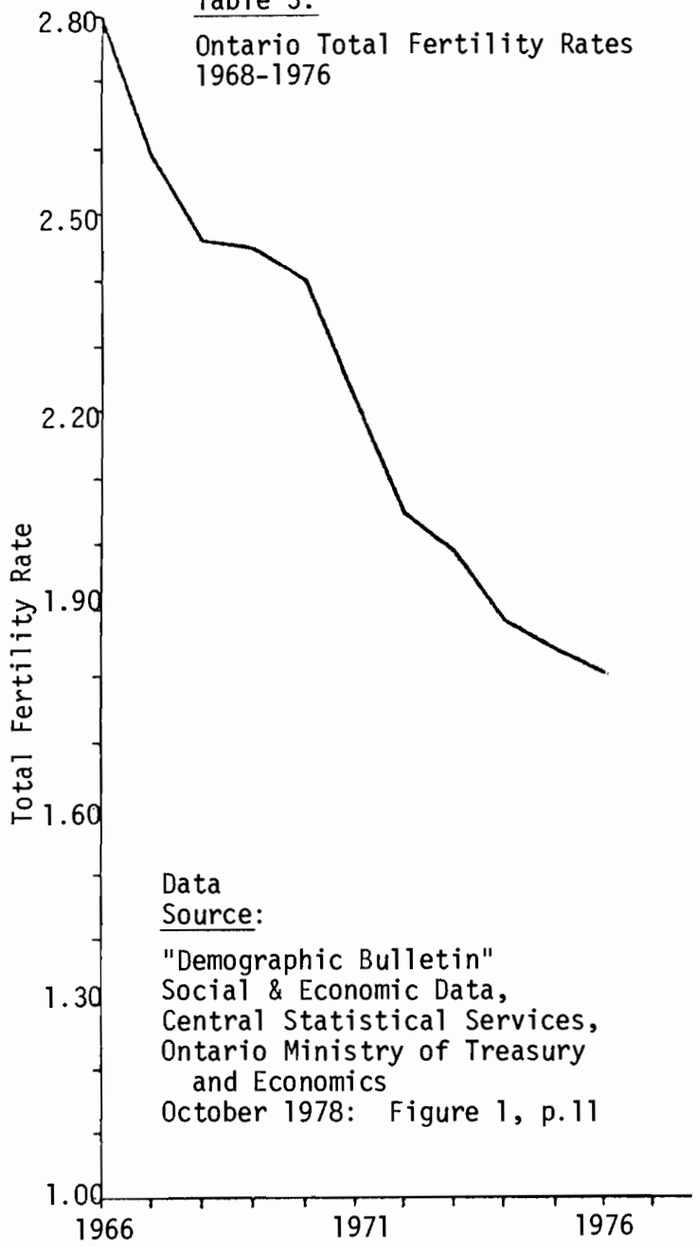


Equipment for a gang is what it takes to keep neighborhood playmates from fighting over the same swing. Children's play area at the home of the R. J. Giddings has an ideal assortment of big-muscle apparatus. There are things for climbing, sliding and swinging. With plenty of outdoor fun children are easier to live with indoors.

Source: "HOUSE BEAUTIFUL" (Special issue: "Children in the Home"), Hearst Corporation, New York City, September 1955

Table 3:

Ontario Total Fertility Rates
1968-1976



Data Source:

"Demographic Bulletin"
Social & Economic Data,
Central Statistical Services,
Ontario Ministry of Treasury
and Economics
October 1978: Figure 1, p.11

One fundamental form of change has been the rapid decline in child-bearing. This change goes to the very heart of what the post-war suburb was in large measure all about. Table 3 identifies the rapid decline of fertility rates in Ontario from 1966 - when it stood at 2.8 - to 1976, where the rate had dipped to around 1.8. There is real uncertainty of how low it will eventually go. What are the social and physical adaptations required when child-rearing is no longer a primary form of activity for growing numbers of adults. These and other changes in social conditions are some of the planning questions which have to be addressed.

4.0 THE MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL GROWTH

It is nearly three decades since the post war surge in suburban growth took hold in Canada. In this period a number of major economic and social trends emerged, with each influencing and shaping the forms of population growth and urban development which resulted. The Toronto urban region is one outcome of this period, reflecting the concentrated impact of these trends over time. Important trends included:

(a) an open and liberal set of immigration policies, resulting in large scale immigration to Canada. On average more than 25% of immigrants to Canada found their way into Metropolitan Toronto each year.

(b) structural changes in the Canadian economy resulting in a shift away from agricultural forms of labour to the emergence of the public and private service economies. Service work was disproportionately located in large cities, an important contributing factor to urbanization.

(c) an active period of family formation and child bearing following the conclusion of the war.

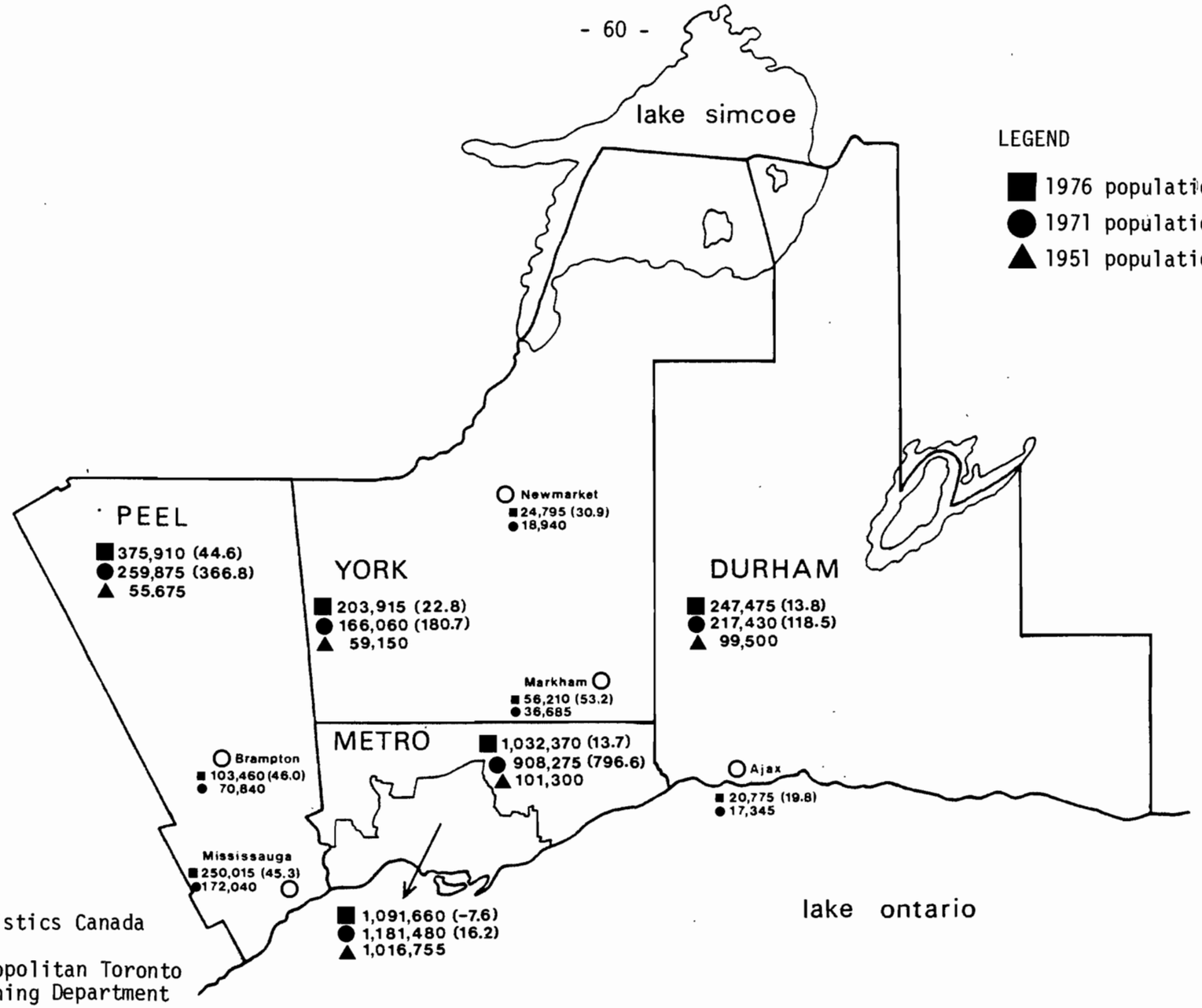
(d) generally overlooked yet quite significant, the entrenchment of trade unionism into the economic life of Canada, conferring directly and indirectly upon large numbers of workers some increased sense of employment security, necessary if long term financial and residential commitments (i.e. mortgages) were to be made.

(e) twenty-five years of relative price stability in Canada, accompanied by sustained levels of economic growth.

(f) extension of technological and consumer benefits to larger numbers of Canadians, with the Toronto urban region serving as the industrial and financial engine of the Canadian economy.

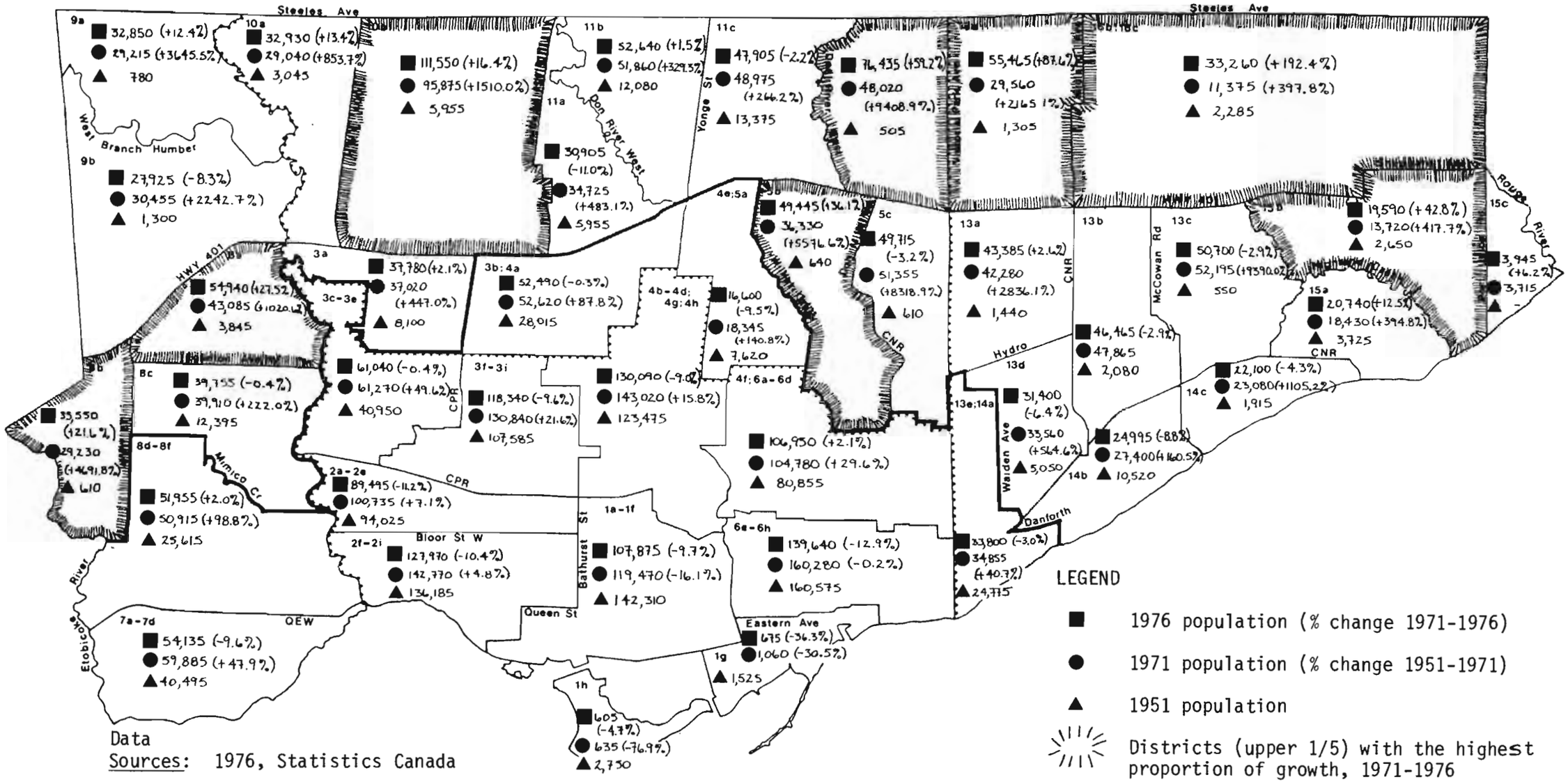
In the period from 1951-1971 Metro's population almost doubled, from 1.12 million in 1951 to 2.09 million in 1971. Enclosure 8 identifies the scale of growth in much of the Toronto urban region. From 1951 to 1971 population growth took place within Metro's political boundaries, in the new suburbs where the population

ENCLOSURE 8: REGIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS: POPULATION GROWTH 1976, 1971 AND 1951



Data Sources: Statistics Canada

Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department



Data Sources: 1976, Statistics Canada

1971, 1951 Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department

increased by 796% in this period. Growth levels in the suburbs began to decline in the late sixties. In the 1971 to 1976 period the rapid growth suburbs experienced a more modest 13.7% increase. Rapid growth levels normally associated with Metro had shifted quite significantly into areas of the Toronto urban region outside of Metro. Peel grew by 40%; York grew by 23%; with Markham increasing by 53%. Growth levels in Durham were more modest.

The decline of growth in the central urban area of Metro, the stabilization of growth in Metro's suburbs, and substantial growth outside of Metro, suggest that a new set of relationships have emerged in the Toronto urban region. By 1976 Metro as a whole had come to develop much the same growth relationship to the Toronto urban region, as was that of the City of Toronto to the suburbs of Metro in 1951.

Enclosure 9 identifies the distribution of population growth within Metropolitan Toronto from 1951 to 1976. In retrospect the scale of growth which took place was somewhat awesome. Within the twenty year period of 1951 to 1971, suburban districts with populations ranging from 500 - 6,000 grew to 25,000 - 90,000 people. In some areas, such as M.P.D. 10B, in North York the district acquired a population which exceeded that of East York. These awesome growth patterns in part bear out the Carver contention that urban planners felt hard-pressed to keep up with events during the post-war period.

From 1971 to 1976 population growth patterns in Metro's suburbs became more selective. With the exception of M.P.D. 5B, the higher growth areas were now located north of Highway 401, in the north-eastern parts of Metro. From 1971 to 1976 population growth in M.P.D. 12 and M.P.D. 16A was more than 50,000, exceeding the entire net growth rate for Metro during this period. There is now little available land left in Metro for large-scale new developments. Future centres of new residential development are expected to be in M.P.D. 16B/C in Scarborough, M.P.D. 10B in North York (with the development of Downsview Airport lands), and downtown Toronto, M.P.D. 1A-F, depending on how the new central area plan is implemented.

During the same period of 1971 to 1976, population in the central urban area was thining out, registering a decline of almost 8%. Housing initiatives in the central area have become necessary to prevent further decline. If continued population growth is to occur in Metro, and new land is limited, then redevelopment in the suburbs has become one of the few remaining alternatives.

In light of current social conditions in Metro's suburbs, it is important to review the planning framework in which population growth took place. It is this planning framework which has to respond to current conditions, and will be called upon to adapt to the changes which lie ahead. Carver suggested that the scale of growth subsequent to the war took many by surprise. Was this the case in Metro? How did the planning process respond to the social elements of growth? Has it caught up to the new realities which are unfolding?

The introduction of Metropolitan government to Toronto in 1953 was one response to emerging and anticipated urban growth. The purpose of two tier government was to place a more secure financial and political framework over the development process. The scale of growth had already become evident. From 1946 to 1950 significant increases in population had taken place: North York had grown from 30,114 to 62,646 (+108%); Etobicoke from 21,274 to 44,137 (+107.4%); and Scarborough from 28,244 to 48,146 (+69.2%).

The debate that preceded the arrival of metropolitan government was essentially over capital expenditures. There was the recognition in Toronto that large scale suburban development would create demands to upgrade city capital facilities.[31] Suburban residents would use the city for work, shopping, and leisure. In the new settlements, there was the need for the basic amenities - water, sewage and refuse disposal, police, fire protection, and above all education facilities, libraries, and recreation centres. The city argued for amalgamation; the surrounding municipalities (with only one exception) were opposed. Metro emerged as a political compromise to accommodate opposing interest. Individual municipalities would remain; the metropolitan level would assume responsibility for financing capital development, provide a range of specialized services, and develop a plan for Metro and surrounding regional areas.

Metro's initial planning area covered 720 square miles and included major parts of what are now Peel, York, and Durham. The mandate for regional planning, as stated in provincial legislation, was to review the areas of:

(a) land uses and consideration generally of industrial, residential and commercial areas:

---

31 A. Rose, Governing Metropolitan Toronto, University of California Press, Berkeley 1972, P. 18-26.

(b) ways of communication;

(c) sanitation;

(d) green belts and park areas;

(e) public transportation.

The first draft official plan (which never became fully official) of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area was issued in 1959. It is a comprehensive and literate review, consistent with the framework of its mandate. Areas covered include: housing, land use, transportation, school, parks, services and financial resources. One of the plan's stated objectives in 1958 was to project development patterns to the year 1980, in order to provide:

> "... an image of what is likely to be if the public and private individuals and organizations, responsible for the development of the area, pursue their interests in a rational way within the framework of existing institutions. It presents a working hypothesis of desirable future development which seems possible of achievement on the basis of presently known trends." (Introduction)

The year 1958 was just under the mid-point of suburban development in Metro. The scale of growth was evident. How far it would proceed, what form it would take, were some of the questions to to be addressed.

The assumptions underlying the framework for development were clearly stated:

> " ... development has been and will be primarily the result of private enterprise, with government at various levels, in a supplementary and regulatory role". P.II

The Keynesian principles of production were identified, without being formally designated as such. The role of government in urban planning was primarily to manage the process and direction of growth, without necessarily assuming a direct concern or responsibility for what would actually come out at the other end. What the Plan designated as the "supplementary" role of government, and the "result" of private enterprise, was in the tradition of Keynesian analysis somewhat of an understatement.

The role of government was to subsidize private initiative through undertaking extensive public investments.

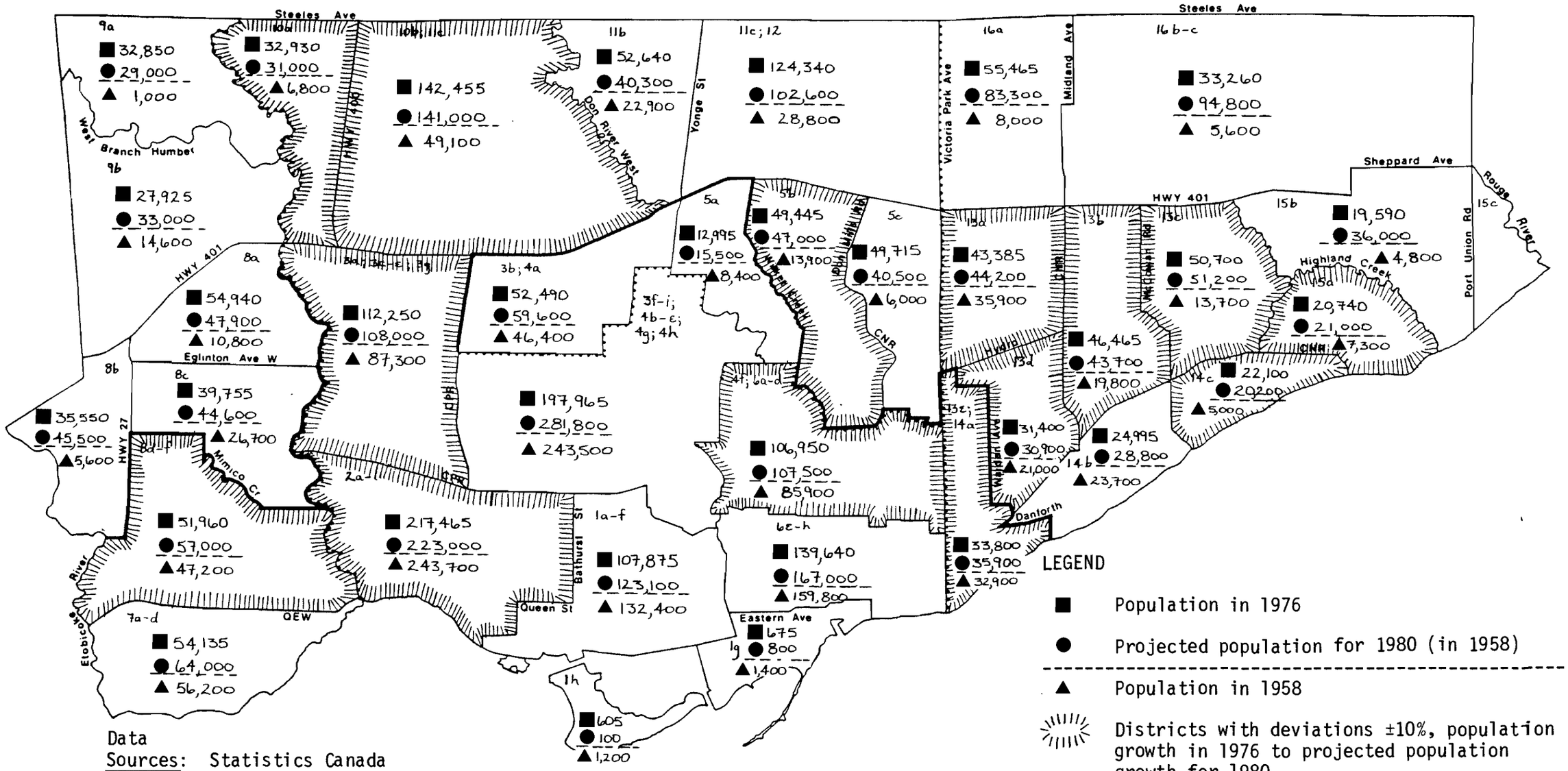
This involved putting into place the essential physical elements of water sewers, roads, transit, electrification, schools. Public investments created the first conditions necessary for human settlement, through which private initiative was then made possible. Public investments subsequently subsidized consumer accessibility to the output of private initiative through government mortgage lending programs. The regulatory role was to spell out protective guidelines and limits through land-use and zoning to ensure order and predictability in the environments where private initiative would be undertaken.

Transportation was traditionally viewed as one of the key connecting elements in the formulation of urban development frameworks. In the draft Metropolitan Plan of 1958, the clear emphasis was on private forms of transportation. The expressway system was to be extended from 42.4 miles to 103.1 miles within Metro. This was to consist of three east-west connections and two noth-south arteries. Rapid transit was assigned a secondary role in facilitating movement within Metro. The total length of the rapid transit system was to be 37 miles, with limited penetration of public transit proposed for the rapid growth areas of Metro.

Enclosure 10 identifies the levels of population growth that were projected in 1958 for the year 1980. The enclosure first notes the census population in 1976, and then identifies the population which was forecast for 1980 in 1958. The third entry identifies the population in 1958 at the time the projections were made. Because of changes in minor planning district boundaries, it has been necessary to regroup some districts from the project base map to bring the projections into line with the 1976 census counts. Finally, the 1976 census population is compared to what was projected for 1980. Districts where the deviation of actual population in 1976 to projected population in 1980 was within 10% are highlighted.

The patterns which emerge are quite significant. By 1958 it was fairly clear what was to take place in Metro's rapid growth area. In the north-western parts of Metro and through central Scarborough the projections were remarkably accurate. The projections for M.P.D. 10A and M.P.D. 10B/11A were within 1% of achieved population levels in 1976. Parts of Scarborough north of Highway 401 and to the east did not grow to the levels forecast in 1958. Nevertheless, the scale of suburban growth that was to take place was well understood.

ENCLOSURE 10: DISTRIBUTIONS (PLANNING DISTRICTS): POPULATION GROWTH - IN 1976, PROJECTED FOR 1980, IN 1958



LEGEND

■ Population in 1976

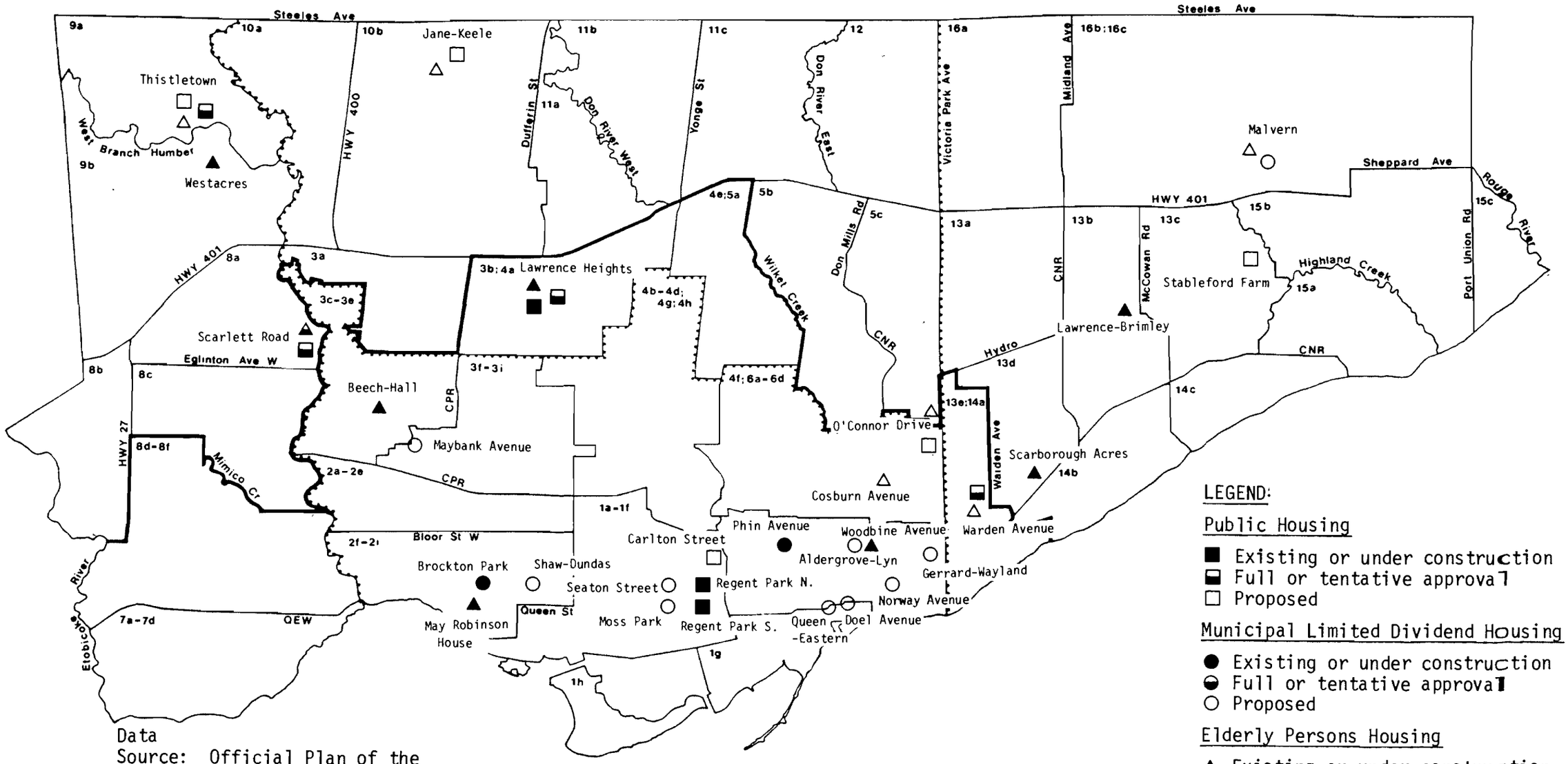
● Projected population for 1980 (in 1958)

▲ Population in 1958

Districts with deviations ±10%, population growth in 1976 to projected population growth for 1980

Data Sources: Statistics Canada

Official Plan of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area, September 1959



Data Source: Official Plan of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area, September, 1959

Nor were there to be any surprises in store for Metro's suburbs with respect to projected public housing levels and patterns.

Enclosure 11 is the low rent housing plan transferred to a project base map included in the 1958 Metropolitan Plan. Public housing was clearly projected as a form of development that would be taking place in Metro's rapid growth suburbs. Most of the newer suburban districts designated in 1958 - M.P.D. 9A, M.P.D. 10B, M.P.D. 13C - have in fact come to acquire significant levels of public housing. The plan of 1958 had already identified where public housing development locations in rapid growth areas were likely to be. The plan proposed (P.79) that in the period from 1959-1965 that 1,500 public housing units be developed in Thistletown, another 1,500 units in the Jane-Keele area (later to become Jane-Finch with the move of York University to the Jane-Keele area), and 100 units in the Stableford Farm area. In 1958, there were already 1,040 units of public housing in the Lawrence Heights area. The plan stated that 16,000 low rent housing units were needed in Metro's suburban municipalities in the long-term, in contrast to 9,000 units for the inner municipalities.

The Metropolitan Plan hedged its forecasts on the volume of low rent housing that would be required. It noted that:

> "The proposed public housing program will accommodate only a small proportion of those households who cannot afford new housing; the vast majority of low-income households will continue to rely on the existing supply of old housing. This demand sets severe limitations to any program of wholesale clearance and demolition... The continuing demand for the use of old housing makes it imperative to develop a comprehensive and effective program of urban renewal based on conservation and rehabilitiation." (emphasis added), P. S-7 and P. S-8.

The plan correctly foresaw the relationship between the need for publicly assisted housing and developments in the private housing market. In this case there was concern over how older housing would be recycled in the future. The Plan recognized the need for public programs to conserve and rehabilitate existing

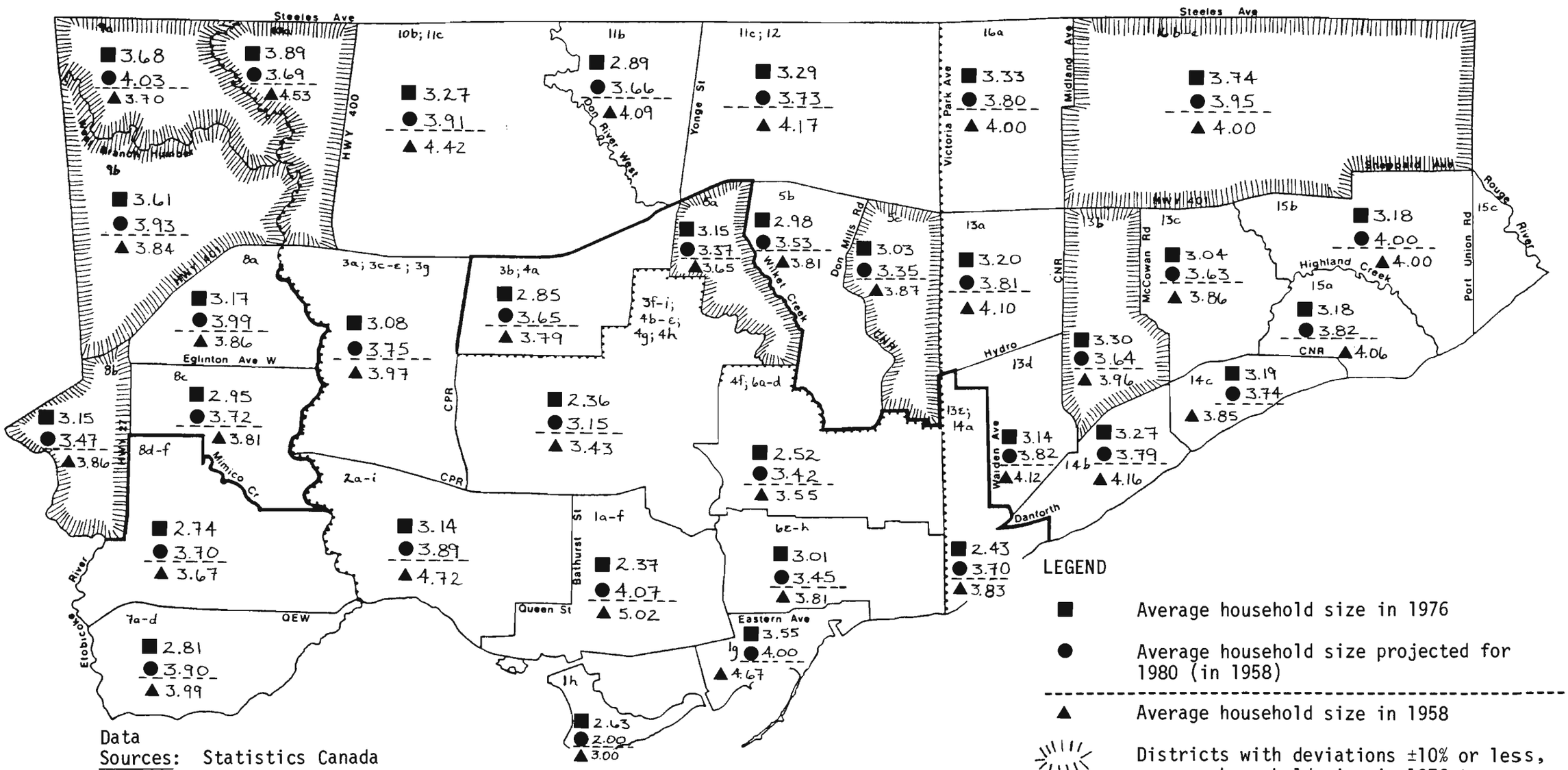
housing. These warnings went unheeded. By the sixties there were already programs proposed for clearance and urban renewal in Toronto. High rise apartments replaced older units of housing. Then of course there was the widespread private conversion of old houses into renovated stock thereby creating a market from which moderate-income families came to be excluded.

It was only in 1972, with the election of a reform Council, that the City of Toronto undertook a housing program of conservation and rehabilitation. The absence of public initiatives prior to this period invariably contributed to the need for additional public housing stock in Metro and the suburbs.

It was far more difficult however for the 1958 plan to project household patterns to 1980. There was the recognition that the "undoubling" process was underway and that this would reduce existing household sizes. The extent to which household size has declined once more arises from the converging of important social and physical trends. The extent of non-family household formation in Metro jumped substantially from 1951 to 1976 - by 271%, from 10% of all households in 1951 to 27% of all households in 1976.

The trend to non-family household formation cannot be explained adequately by suggesting that it was simply a response to the available supply of apartment housing. The types of living arrangements and households that people form reflect the developing state of social relationships in the community. Legitimacy and sanction are important elements in people's decisions of how they will live. The move by younger couples with children to the suburbs created a sharp break in extended family living arrangments - whether in sharing a common household or being in daily states of contact through proximity. It was a period in which major shifts to public and private service work drew people into urban environments, away from agricultural work, in much the same way that the early factory system in England cleared out good parts of the countryside. The major emphasis on the young attending post-secondary forms of education created legitimacy for young people to move out of their parent's households and live singly before marriage. New states of marriage relationships in the society, which increasingly saw the social boundaries of separation, divorce, and remarriage became extended, have led to transitional living arrangements resulting in more non-family households. The extension of the average

ENCLOSURE 12: DISTRIBUTIONS (PLANNING DISTRICTS): AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD SIZE - IN 1976, PROJECTED FOR 1980, IN 1958



Data Sources: Statistics Canada

Official Plan of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area, September 1959

LEGEND

■ Average household size in 1976

● Average household size projected for 1980 (in 1958)

▲ Average household size in 1958

Districts with deviations ±10% or less, average household size in 1976 to projected average household size for 1980

human life span for women by six years from 1941 to 1971, from age 72 to age 78, has led to larger numbers of widows living in non-family arrangements. (In this period the male life span only increased from 70 to 72 years, once having survived to age 25.) Then of course, there is the phenomenon previously referred to - the command of personal space - which contributed to this pattern, even though there is little known of what this phenomenon in its more developed form is really about.

Table 4 identifies the extent to which families moved out of lodging arrangements from 1951 to 1976. The reference percentage for 1951 is that of the City of Toronto, where 17% of all families were lodging in households. This had declined to 2% of all families in the twenty-five year period. Comparative percentages for Metro and the municipalities in 1976 are included. Rising household incomes, including the primary contributions of women, have made independent family household formation possible. It has not been necessary to take in lodgers to secure an independent household. The percentage of all households with a lodger in the city declined from 31% in 1951 to under 5% in 1976.

Table 4

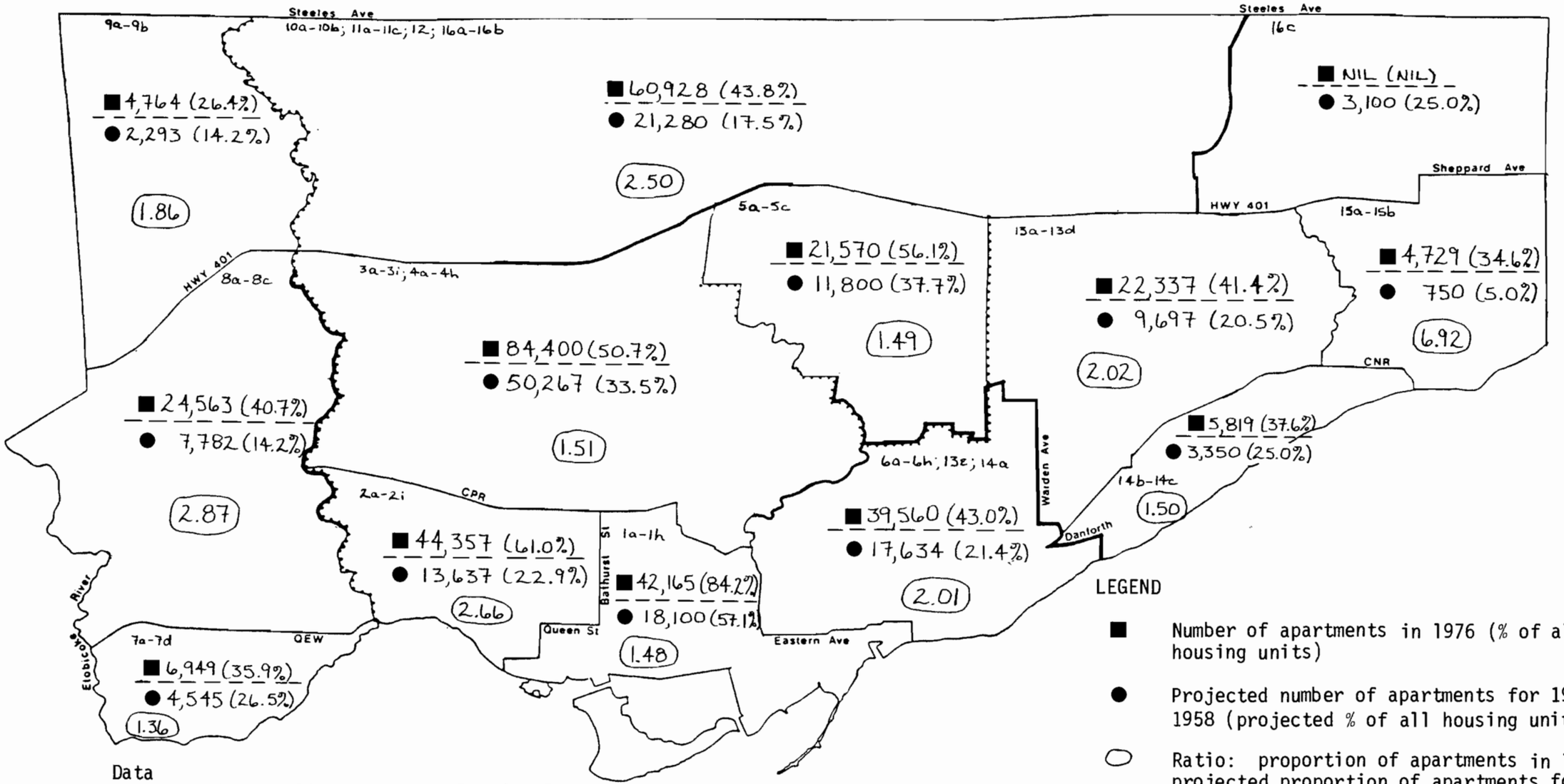
Families Who Are Lodging as a Percentage of All Families, 1976

Reference percentage: 17.1%, City of Toronto, 1951	
METRO TORONTO	.9%
Toronto (City)	2.3%
York	.8%
East York	.5%
North York	.4%
Etobicoke	.3%
Scarborough	.3%

Data Sources: Statistics Canada
Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto

As a result of new living arrangements there have been some surprises in suburban development patterns since 1958. Enclosure 12 identifies average household sizes in 1976 relative to what were projected to be in 1980. With the exception of M.P.D. 10A, average household sizes were lower all across Metro. The most extensive declines were

ENCLOSURE 13: DISTRIBUTIONS (PLANNING DISTRICTS): APARTMENTS AS A PROPORTION OF ALL HOUSING UNITS, - IN 1976, PROJECTED FOR 1980 (IN 1958)



Data Sources: Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department

Official Plan of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area, September 1959

in the central urban area. Significant decline levels were registered in a number of rapid growth districts. It should be noted however that those districts with the lowest decline levels relative to what was projected are in the rapid growth areas. This reflects either lower apartment levels or higher numbers of children still at home, and, that these districts had lower household sizes in 1958 when the projections were made.

In the twenty-five year period from 1951 to 1976 an important shift took place. There was an inversion in average household and family sizes in Metro. In 1951 the average household size in Metro was 4.12 and average family size was around 3.3; family size in 1976 remained roughly the same, whereas household size had been reduced to 2.98. The Metropolitan Plan in 1958 did project a decline in household size in Metro for 1980, but only down to 3.60.

Enclosure 13 identifies what turned out to be the most difficult area of projection. This involved estimating what the proportion of apartments would be of all housing units in 1980. The projections in the 1958 plan were presented by major planning districts. Because of boundary modifications it has been necessary in this enclosure to conduct large scale regroupings of districts for purposes of review. The patterns, however, remain clear. Across all of Metro the proportion of apartments to all housing units in 1976 ranged from 1.36 - 6.92 in excess of what was projected for 1980. In rapid growth suburban areas above the 401 (M.P.D. 10, 11, 12, 16A and 16B), the ratio was 2.50.

In 1958 outlines of this pattern were beginning to become quite evident. The move out to suburban apartments by families with children was taking place. In 1958 apartment household size was 2.72 in Metro's suburbs compared to 2.23 for the inner municipalities.[32] In the outer suburbs there were 59 children in Metro's suburbs for every 100 apartment suites, in contrast to 7 children for every 100 suites in the inner areas. This might in part reflect greater acceptance levels in renting to children that existed in the suburbs, and somewhat lower rents. But it also conveys how intense the drive was to raise children in the suburbs.

---

32 Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, Apartment Survey, 1958, P. 25, 34.

Carver suggests that 1967 was a watershed year in suburban housing patterns.[33] In the five year period which followed, the momentum shifted from single family homes to large scale apartment development. This may, as Carver states, reflect shifts in the demographic bulge toward the under 30 age group looking for a transitional first dwelling, and the increase of the 65+ population in need of lower cost retirement dwellings. It may also signal, as will be suggested later on, that the financial ability to afford low-rise family housing was beginning to erode among average income groups in Metro.

In brief then, the basic forms of post-war suburban development were already clear in 1958. The levels of population growth that would take place were projected with great accuracy. Large scale development of public housing projects in Metro's rapid growth suburbs was a stated feature of Metro's 1958 Plan. It was less clear, the extent to which household size would drop. There was already evidence in 1958 that families were moving out with children to live in suburban apartments. The plan did foresee growth in apartment units, but not to the levels which eventually occurred. But it was clear in 1958 that not all rapid growth development in Metro's newer suburbs would take the form of average income single family homes. There would be families on more limited incomes in both apartments and public housing developments.

The question then was how social needs would be addressed. Needs arise because high levels of population growth and human settlements result in a range of special needs that exist in any urban environment irrespective of the social class or family background of its residents.

There are basic needs associated with the stages of child development and differing states of family life. Recreation, youth and family counselling, day nurseries, are some of the common needs shared in urban environments where large numbers of families live. Then, there are special states of dependence which some families experience. Prolonged illness of a parent might require homemaking support; children are born with physical or emotional limitations requiring additional sets of community supports.

The formal images of the post-war suburbs stressed the supportive features of the single family home, the neighbourhood, and the local schools. These were the

---

33 Carver, City Magazine, op. cit., P.43.

visible elements of support which people aspired to and which were successfully marketed. But livable family environments also require what are less immediately evident forms of support, often for unanticipated sets of transitional or dependent needs. Some groups were able to secure these supports through informal or private means;[34] others, particularly where the house purchase stretched family budgets to the limit, required community forms of support whether publicly or voluntarily provided.

The public frameworks for urban planning at all government levels made no provision for addressing the support needs of average income families and other residents who would live in new suburban communities. The implicit assumption was that livable communities consisted of a house, a secure physical environment with utilities in place, a school, and some open space. The rest was left to voluntary organizations and individuals to figure out for themselves, but after large scale settlement had taken place and after the forms of the physical environment were permanently cast.

Voluntary agencies were aware of the situation which was emerging. From 1960 to 1963 Metro's voluntary agencies participated in a comprehensive review of needs and resources throughout Metro organized through the newly consolidated (in 1957) Metro Social Planning Council. Research documents outlined some of the support needs of families and residents where large scale development was taking place.[35] There was the need to plan for neighbourhood services which would inevitably be required, such as community centres, day nurseries, visiting nurses, family counselling. The Council noted that in 1960 there was only one non-profit day nursery in Metro's suburbs. Then there was the issue of accessibility to services, which arose because of dispersed patterns of development and the absence of private means of mobility for numbers of people. It was noted that:

> "Suburban areas need to be linked to .... regionally-based services (i.e. - hospitals, youth counselling programs, sheltered workshops, etc.) by adequate public transportation systems."

34 A. Rose, op. cit., P. 71-77.

35 J. Gandy (ed.), Focus, Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, Vol. 2, No. 3, September 1960.

The theme raised was that public transit was a necessary support to enable accessibility to essential services, and was more than just a resource to get people from home to work. It was also evident by 1960 that there were transit-dependent groups living in Metro's rapid growth suburbs. This should have suggested the need for some modifications in subsequent suburban land-use patterns to create levels of compactness required to financially sustain public transit services.

The Council's Study of Needs and Resources was issued in 1963. The study cited important service gaps in rapid growth suburban areas - family and juvenile courts, mental health services, employment services, legal aid. The review noted the lack of clarity between government and voluntary service roles, and called for municipalities to join the voluntary sector in co-ordinating and assessing distribution patterns for a number of service fields. Community agencies were called upon to decentralize their operations in order to reach new suburban populations.

Most significant, however, was the foreword to the study by the late Senator M. Wallace McCutcheon, then President of the Social Planning Council and chairman of the review. Of all the social welfare issues facing Metro at that time McCutcheon chose to highlight the following issue in his foreword.[36]

> "Finally, and perhaps most important of all, throughout the study, the direct bearing that the growth and changing character of Metropolitan Toronto have on future welfare services emerges clearly. What is the implication of this fact?
>
> "It means that the authorities responsible for the physical development of the community must take into account both its social needs and the social results of their actions. At present, unfortunately, this is not fully recognized in Toronto. We have accepted the need for long-range planning in such matters as subdivisions, community zoning and re-zoning; roads, water, sewers and schools are provided in accordance with formilized plans. But social planning groups have not been sufficiently involved in developing these plans ...

---

36 A Study of Needs and Resources, Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1963.

> "Surely we should use these social planning skills and this experience at the planning stage to help in determining, for example, the validity of proposals for dwellings and ground space, the variety and type of accommodation required to meet the needs of the people concerned, and what ancillary community facilities should be assured before the houses are built and occupied." (emphasis added)

The call went unheeded. Supports for daily living were seen as add-ons, after the fact, with no comparable commitments from government at any level to undertake public investments in the social development of new communities, as were undertaken to subsidize the process of physical development. There never were, nor are there now, provincial or federal government programs to help finance the operational needs of needed community services to accompany the large scale settlement of new populations into rapid growth urban areas. The financial burden was invariably placed on the limited revenue resources of municipalities and the voluntary sector.

Metro's suburban property taxpayers were required to finance major statutory forms of service development - schools, libraries, public health - after settling into new communities. Without the developed commercial assessment base of the city, and without some of the residential exemptions which many city residents enjoyed, the suburban property tax drew more heavily on its residents. Moving into a new home and a new community meant private sets of transitional costs; it also came to mean public sets of transitional expenses in developing statutory institutions which were already in place in the central urban area. In light of these financial pressures, less visible forms of non-statutory support were hard pressed to compete for limited local dollars.

Thus there were two critical gaps in the public framework for responding to social needs in Metro's rapid growth suburbs:

(a) an insensitive approach to land-use planning which did not address ahead of time the range of physical and social resources that together would support the daily living needs of average income families and residents;

(b) the absence of provincial and federal public investments to directly finance the social development needs of new communities, or alternatively expand the revenue sources of local government to provide needed programs. The absence of public investment in social development, it should be noted, took place in what is now acknowledged to have been a period of economic growth and prosperity.

Throughout the rapid growth period in Metro's suburbs, there were efforts by borough voluntary councils and groups to address social conditions. A reveiw of voluntary social planning reports from 1955 to 1971 reveals a number of common themes.[37] The most significant of them, beyond the citing of specific problems, was the recognition that "building a community" and duplicating the proximity of friends and relatives and support systems of traditional urban neighbourhoods was most important. Barriers to this were seen to be the long distances people were forced to travel, natural barriers to movement such as Highway 401, and poor transportation facilities. Longer travelling time discouraged people from utilizing services which were available. Men spent more time getting to and from work, with consequent lack of time and energy to get involved in community activities. It was clear that these conditions impacted most heavily on low income people who were increasingly settling in the suburbs.

The response of voluntary citizen bodies formed in suburban municipalities was to request more services, more co-ordination, more planning, multi-service centres and more locally based decision-making on the part of service providers. It was noted that most agencies and institutions were situated either in the downtown or in the southern part of the borough. It was claimed that the value of locally situated offices was to give clients and community leaders a focus, and would lead to more effective service provision. Some churches and neighbourhood groups took a leadership role, but there were few voluntary social interest groups in most rapid growth suburban neighbourhoods.

---

37 See Appendix IV, Bibliography, Section II.

Enclosure 14 identifies the location in Metro of public and voluntary agencies in 1960. The concentration of agencies in the centre of Toronto is quite evident. In 1960 there were some smaller pockets of agencies clustered on the Lakeshore, North Yonge Street, Eglinton/Keele, and Eglinton/Warden. But few agencies were physically located in Metro's new suburban settlements.

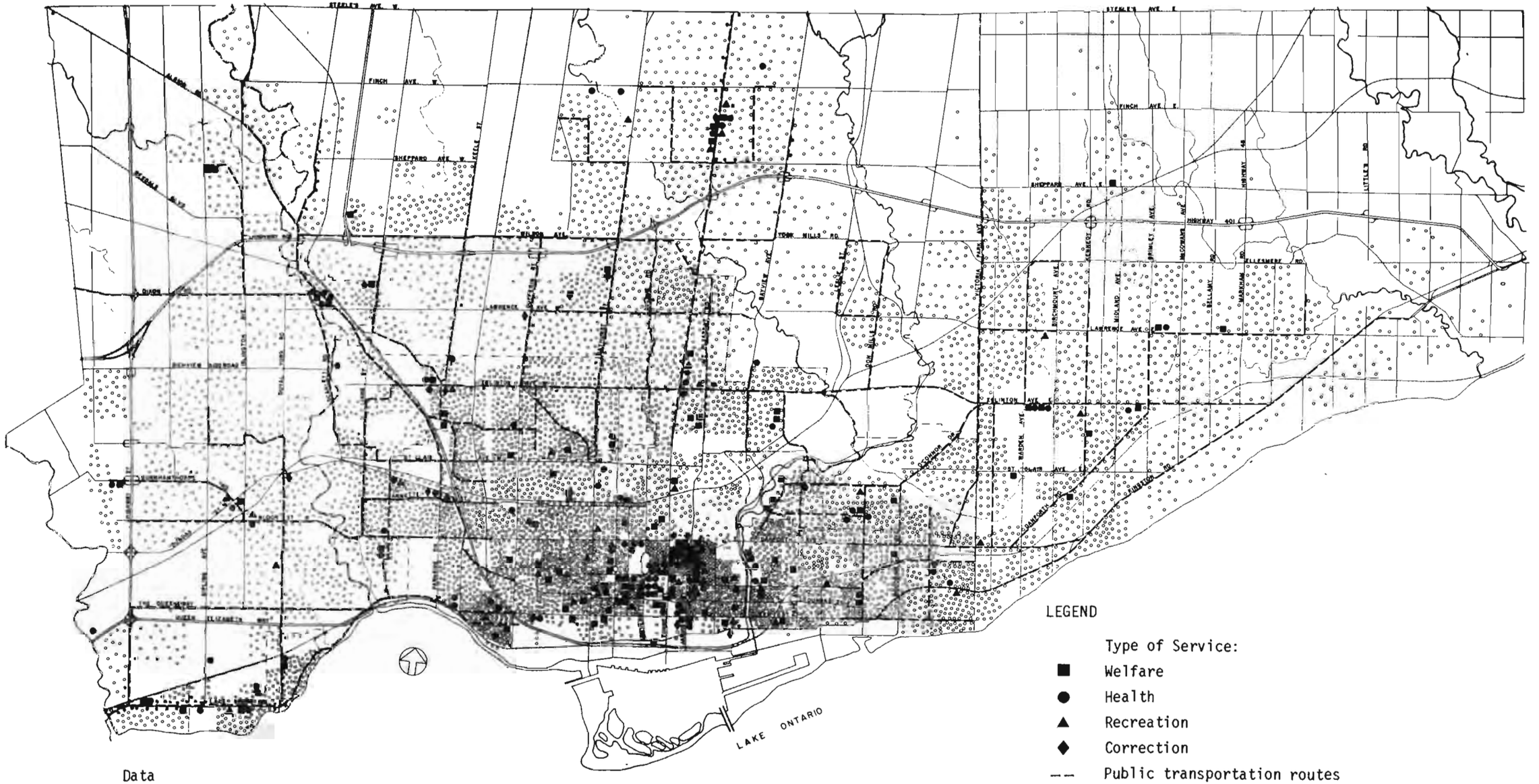
Enclosure 15 identifies the institutional location of United Way financed voluntary agencies and non-member agencies in 1976 (Appendix III lists the institutional location of agencies by planning districts). Institutional location refers to where agency main offices and branch offices are situated. Also identified are the main office locations of non-member agencies receiving interim (i.e. - non-continuing) forms of United Way support.

By 1976 voluntary agencies with Metro-wide mandates were offering a wide range of programs and services in Metro's newer suburbs. Most had branch offices for each suburban municipality, with resident advisory committees drawn from across the municipality. There were some voluntary agencies with main offices outside of the City of Toronto, serving all or part of Metro's newer suburbs.

Programs and services of voluntary agencies were most often provided in neighbourhoods out of existing settings such as schools, O.H.C. developments, plazas, local centres. The objective behind this approach has been to avoid costly capital expenses with each agency setting up its own facilities, and to relate voluntary services and programs to existing neighbourhood centres of initiative and activity. This approach would in large measure account for similarities in the distribution of agency locations in 1976 and 1960. The ability of this approach to meet voluntary service objectives would be highly dependent on the adequacy and strength of what already existed in local neighbourhoods.

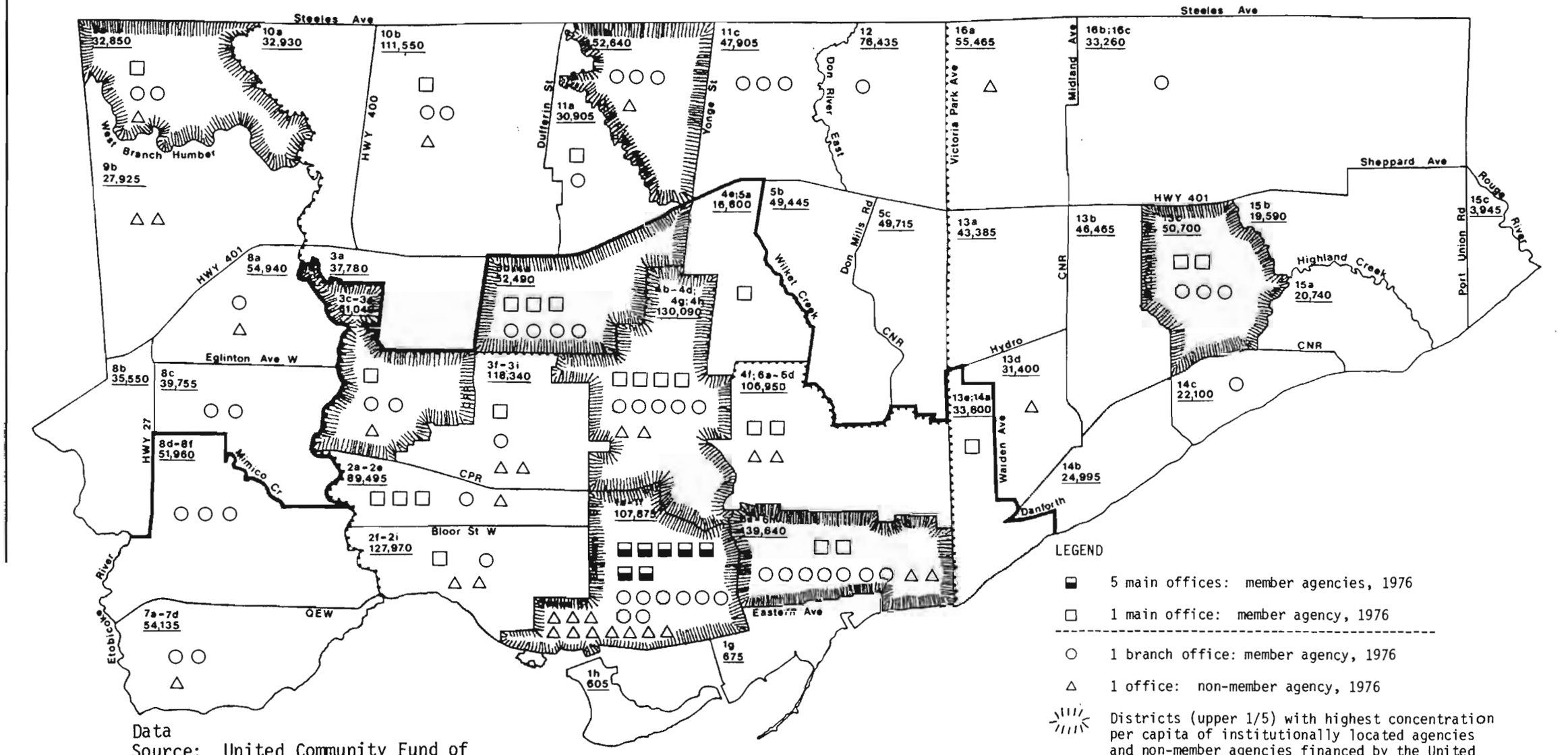
In previous periods of rapid urban growth there were voluntary agencies which operated directly in local areas. This included settlement houses, "Y's", neighbourhood workers associations. These voluntary agencies were more than sources of services and programs - they were physically visible and distinct community environments, serving as local centres of decision-making, participation, and social integration, beyond the services which they provided. They offered the full experience of membership,

ENCLOSURE 14: DISTRIBUTIONS: POPULATION SETTLEMENT PATTERNS, PUBLIC AND VOLUNTARY AGENCIES BY LOCATION AND TYPE OF SERVICE, 1960



Data Source: Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto

ENCLOSURE 15: DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS (PLANNING DISTRICTS): METROPOLITAN RESOURCES - INSTITUTIONAL LOCATION OF UNITED WAY FINANCED VOLUNTARY AGENCIES AND NON-MEMBER AGENCIES, 1976



LEGEND

- ■ 5 main offices: member agencies, 1976
- □ 1 main office: member agency, 1976
- ○ 1 branch office: member agency, 1976
- △ 1 office: non-member agency, 1976
- Districts (upper 1/5) with highest concentration per capita of institutionally located agencies and non-member agencies financed by the United Way, 1976

Data Source: United Community Fund of Greater Metropolitan Toronto

a sense of belonging, opportunities for diverse involvement, and were not limited by specialized public mandates from addressing a range of social conditions faced by their members and local residents. They were institutionally present in and directly accountable to the local neighbourhoods and areas in which they were located.

The assumptions in Metro's newer suburbs have been that statutory services such as schools, recreation centres, libraries, O.H.C. could become alternatives to traditional voluntary centres of neighbourhood service and initiative. There is growing reason to believe that these assumptions have not always worked out as well as anticipated. As a result, in some newer suburban communities, local residents and service agencies have been attempting to form neighbourhood voluntary agencies.[40] These efforts have been frequently hampered by the absence of adequate and ongoing funding, and sometimes by the unavailability of visible locations in order to become accessible and identifiable parts of the community. The initial forms of activity undertaken by these associations have been similar to the traditional directions pursued by neighbourhood voluntary agencies. They have involved residents in planning for the social needs of their area, interpreted needs to other local agencies and public officials, sought to co-ordinate existing services, offered services and support in areas where gaps exist, and promoted sound inter-group relations in the neighbourhood and local area.

The voluntary presence in Metro's suburbs has included inter-agency coalitions and councils which have sought to address local social conditions. These groups have often succeeded in securing new services and programs. Their efforts on many occasions have been hampered by:

(a) the absence of any recognized centre of public responsibility for the social development needs of new suburban communities to which to relate. The urban planning process in the suburbs has been insensitive to social development needs. Each level of government or special purpose authority has assumed responsibility for its own social programs. None have seen themselves as responsible for developing social data and identifying overall patterns of community need, assessing how existing services complement each other, and for identifying who should fill in the gaps. Public social programs have been provided in the suburbs without integrated housing and social policies.

---

40 These include: In Etobicoke - Willowridge Neighbourhood Action, Braeburn Neighbourhood Place, Thistletown Community Services; North York - Jane/Finch Community and Family Centre, Northeast Jewish Community Services; Scarborough - Agincourt Community Services, West Hill Community Services

(b) the absence of neighbourhood voluntary agencies to reflect the diverse social interests of average income residents and dependent minorities in Metro's new suburban communities,and to fill in the service gaps where public responsibility is neither clear nor accepted.

The political climate in Metro's suburban municipalities has come to reflect the absence of a public framework for planning and financing social needs,and the absence of neighbourhood voluntary agencies in local communities. Rose claims that it was the political resistance of suburban municipalities in the mid-sixties to the provision of social welfare services which necessitated the transfer of these programs to Metro in 1967.[38] In its response to the Robarts Commission in 1977, the Metro Social Planning Council expressed similar reservations over the extent to which the social needs of dependent minorities in Metro's rapid growth areas were sufficiently recognized in suburban municipalities.[39]

38 A. Rose, op. cit., P. 101.

39 Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, Policy Statement: Response to the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto, October 1977, P. 8.

It is not unreasonable to assume that if there has been an inadequate public framework and the absence of neighbourhood voluntary agencies to address the social needs of average income families and residents, then the impact would be felt even more strongly by highly dependent social minorities.

It was already known in 1958 that there would be significant levels of publicly assisted housing in Metro's suburbs in the years ahead. It is not the volume of public housing in rapid growth suburbs which should be of major concern, but how it came to be located and developed. The results in many instances have contributed to a whole range of devastating conditions: over concentration of projects in some areas, virtual isolation from the mainstream of the community in others; zoning in one borough which limits second hand stores, which are of particular importance to low-income residents; few if any support services in place to facilitate the settlement of large new populations, many possessing special sets of needs; inter-governmental bickering slowing down the introduction of needed services and resources; senior government levels who helped finance the capital cost of a community service facility, but then made no provision to supplement the limited resources of municipalities and

the voluntary sector, by making funds available to help staff the facility and operate programs.

The results on some occasions have been facilities financed by taxpayers whose doors are frequently locked for lack of permanent operating resources. At best there has been an assortment of short term federal job creation programs (e.g. - L.I.P., Canada Works) which initiate needed programs and then withdraw their funding just as these programs are beginning to serve local needs; demonstration projects without permanent follow-up; summer programs; or funding for programs but not for staff (e.g. New Horizons).

In the City of Toronto there are at present 48 neighbourhood planners who work very often in site offices in local communities. In Metro's suburban municipalities there is not at present a single neighbourhood planner located in a local community, especially where there are acute needs, working with local residents to address pressing physical and social development planning issues.

As social trends and patterns begin to change in Metro's suburbs, with increased levels of transitional and special needs coming to exist, there is reason to be concerned with the patterns of response to social needs which developed in suburban municipalities during the post-war period. The concern is whether the limitations in existing frameworks of response can be addressed and upgraded to meet both current needs and to deal with the economic and social changes of the eighties.

The first step is to update perceptions of what exists and what is happening in the newer suburban parts of Metro, in relation to Metro as a whole. Adequate responses and the capabilities associated with them require some understanding of what is there. Images formed of what were social conditions at an earlier time can persist too long and prevent the recognition of the social transitions which have taken place in the interval.

The purpose of the sections which follow are to present a more integrated view of the social transitions which now characterize what were originally Metro's rapid growth suburbs. To many, some of the information presented will already be familiar. Public planning reports and background studies have identified a number of areas described in these sections. This report includes 1976 census data to update previously reported information. New areas of social description are introduced which have not been previously reported. This is a result of examining available data from a social development perspective.

Whenever possible the data is distributed by planning districts in order to convey differences between suburban districts, as well as to identify the extent to which there remain major social differences with the central urban area.

The presentation of social development patterns is to outline the recent shape of the social environment. There are new social realities for residents, public officials, and community organizations to face. Where social conditions are described, or problems cited, they are, to paraphrase Hans Blumenfeld, not problems that arise because of the suburbs, but problems that exist in the suburbs. They only become problems of the suburbs when social conditions are neither acknowledged nor addressed.

5.0 LIFE CYCLE CHANGES

Post war suburban environments were characterized by the predominance of the child-rearing function. The midway period of rapid growth for Metro's suburbs had already occurred by 1961. Figure 1 identifies Metro distributions in the 0-4 population in 1961. The percentage of children aged 0-4 of Ontario's population in 1961 was 12%; the percentage in Metro's rapid growth suburbs of children aged 0-4 was nearly 15%, clearly in excess of the Ontario average. Two suburban municipalities were ahead of the Ontario average - Scarborough was the highest at 15%, North York next with 13%. Etobicoke was at the Ontario average. The rapid growth suburbs contained 40% of Metro's children aged 0-4, with 30% of Metro's total population.

Enclosure 16 outlines the signficant change that has taken place in a fifteen year period. The Ontario average in 1976 had declined to under 8%. Not one of Metro's suburban municipalities were in excess of the Ontario average. The rapid growth suburbs now contained over 52% of Metro's 0-4 age group, with over 48% of Metro's total population, a lower proportion relative to total population than in 1961. Scarborough and North York were still highest in the percentage of children aged 0-4. Etobicoke in 1976 had the lowest 0-4 percentage. As is evident from the regional map, areas with percentages of children aged 0-4 above the Ontario average were now outside of Metro, highest in Peel at over 9%. In 1976 Metro had the same relationship to Peel, York, and Durham in the percentage of children aged 0-4 relative to the Ontario average, as did the central urban area to the rapid growth suburbs in 1961.

By 1976 the gap between the central suburban area and rapid growth suburbs in percentage of children aged 0-4 to their respective populations had narrowed to 1%, in contrast to over 5% in 1961. This suggests that the suburban population was attaining a greater diversity of age groupings, consistent with a more stable growth environment.

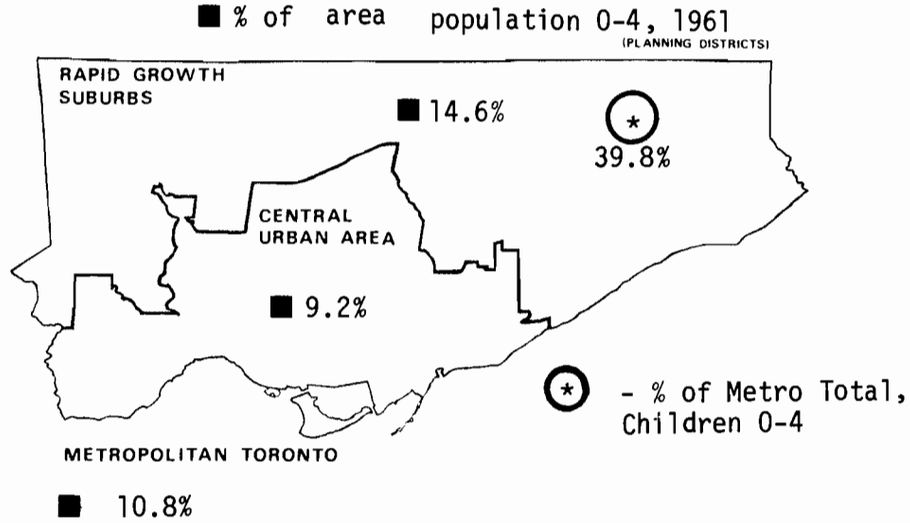
The shift in the age structure away from the dominance of the aged 0-4 group has varied in rapid growth suburban districts. One way of assessing the shift in patterns is to compare the percentage of aged 0-4 in suburban districts to the Ontario percentage

aged 0-4 for 1961 and 1976. The comparison is in the form of a ratio. Where the ratio is above 1.00, it indicates that the presence of the aged 0-4 was above Ontario levels; below 1.00 indicates a percentage lower than the Ontario level. Where an area was above the prevailing Ontario level in 1961 (i.e. 1.00 or more) and below the Ontario level in 1976 (i.e. less than 1.00), this would reveal an inversion pattern in the dominance of the 0-4 age grouping in the environment over the fifteen year period.

Enclosure 17 looks at inversion patterns in Metro's rapid growth suburban districts from 1961 to 1976 for the age group 0-4. Half of Metro's rapid growth suburban districts had inverted - they were above the Ontario level in 1961 and below in 1976. This does not necessarily suggest that there were fewer children aged 0-4 in these areas, but that these environments were less characterized by the presence of very young children in families. Districts in the central urban area, by not declining as substantially in the fifteen year period, were coming closer in 1976 to the lower Ontario 0-4 percentage.

Figure: 1

Distributions: Life Cycle Stage 0-4, 1961



COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS, 1976

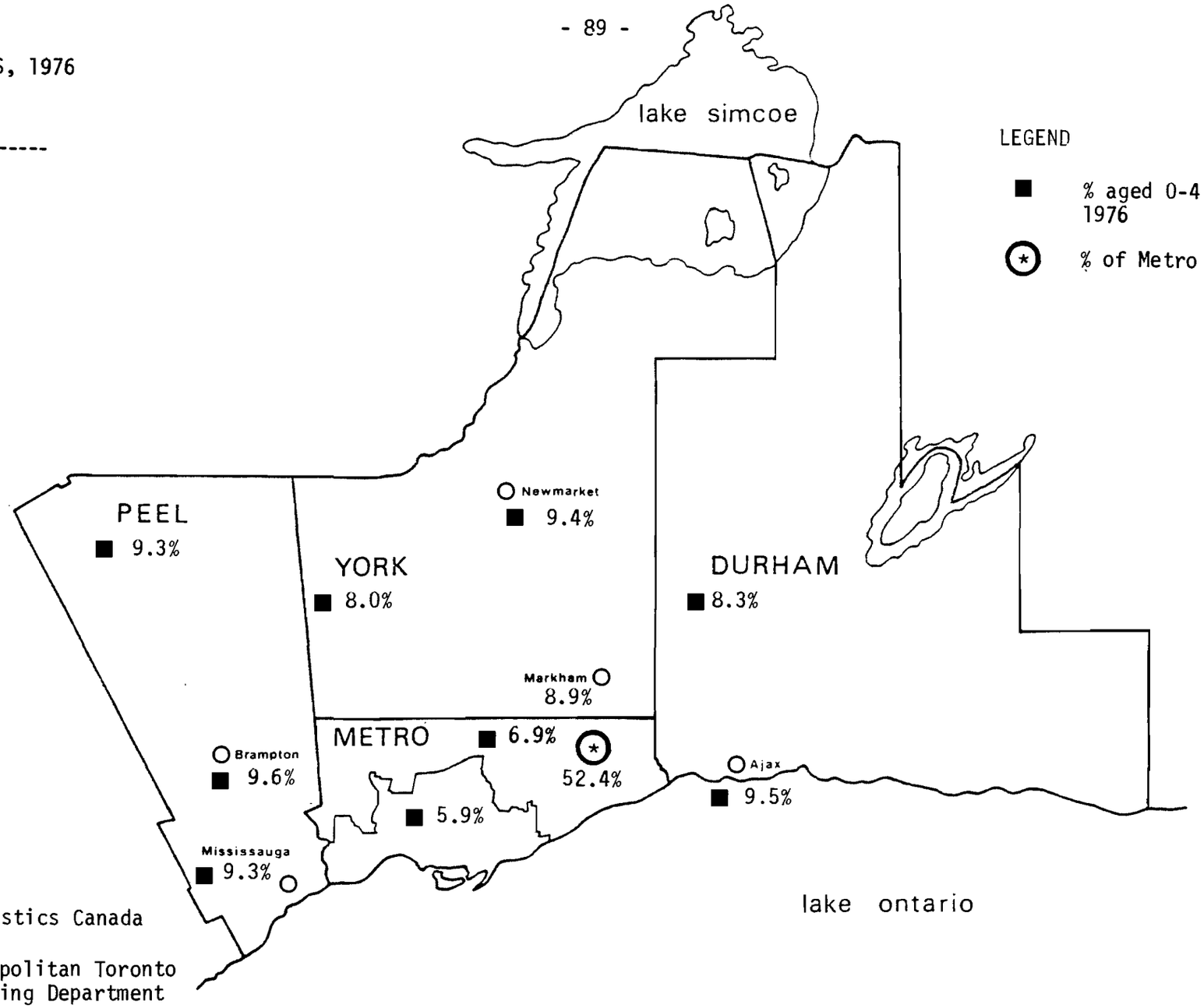
CANADA	12.4%
ONTARIO	11.9%
Scarborough	14.8%
North York	12.8%
Etobicoke	11.9%
York	10.3%
Toronto (City)	9.0%
East York	7.9%

Data Source: Statistics Canada

ENCLOSURE 16: REGIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS: LIFE CYCLE STAGE 0-4, 1976

COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS, 1976

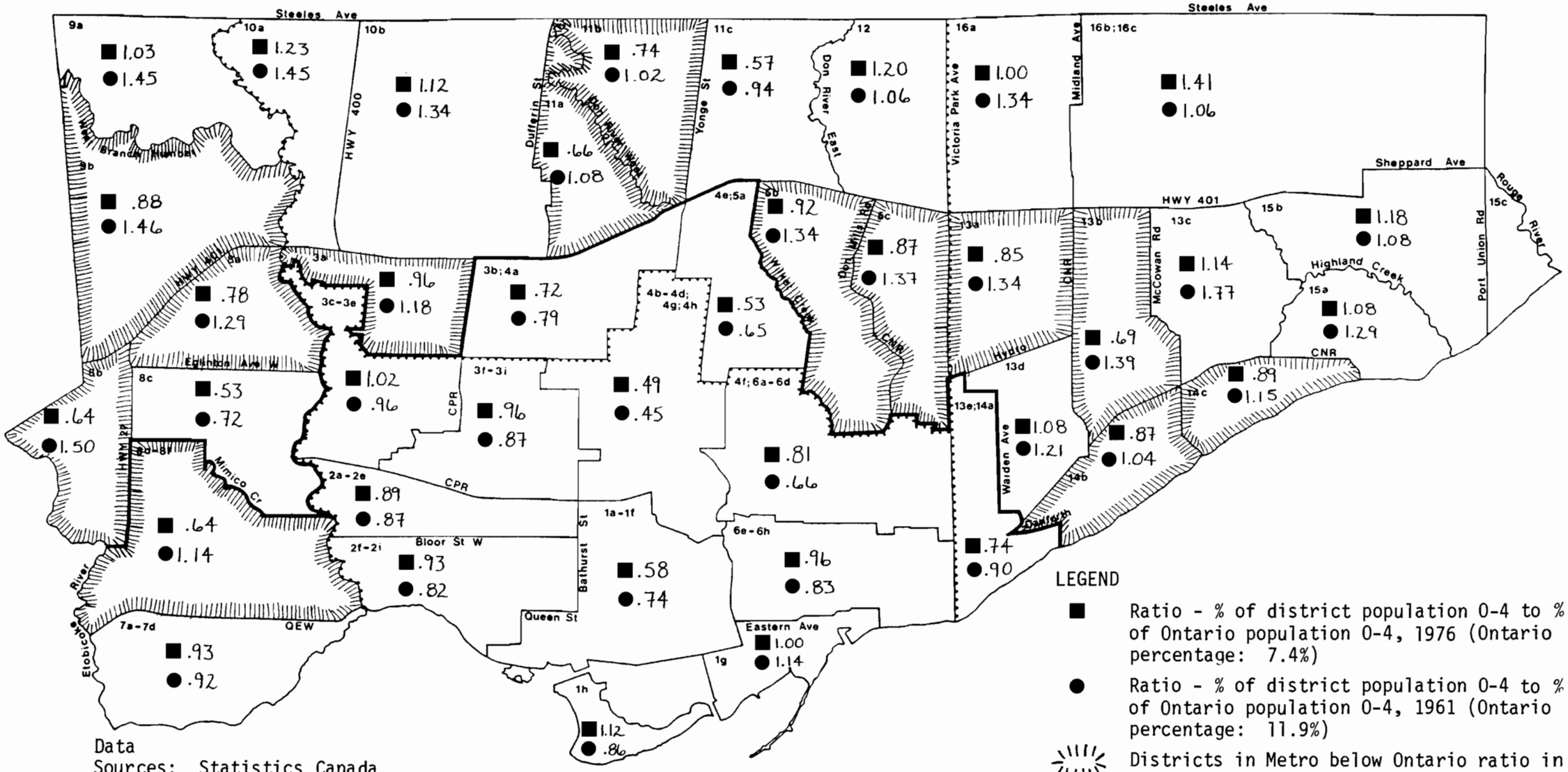
CANADA	7.5%
ONTARIO	7.4%
Scarborough	7.3%
York	7.3%
North York	6.8%
METRO TORONTO	6.5%
East York	6.0%
Toronto (City)	5.9%
Etobicoke	5.7%



Data Sources: Statistics Canada

Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department

ENCLOSURE 17: DISTRIBUTIONS (PLANNING DISTRICTS): LIFE CYCLE RATIOS, STAGE 0-4, 1976 AND 1961



LEGEND

■ Ratio - % of district population 0-4 to % of Ontario population 0-4, 1976 (Ontario percentage: 7.4%)

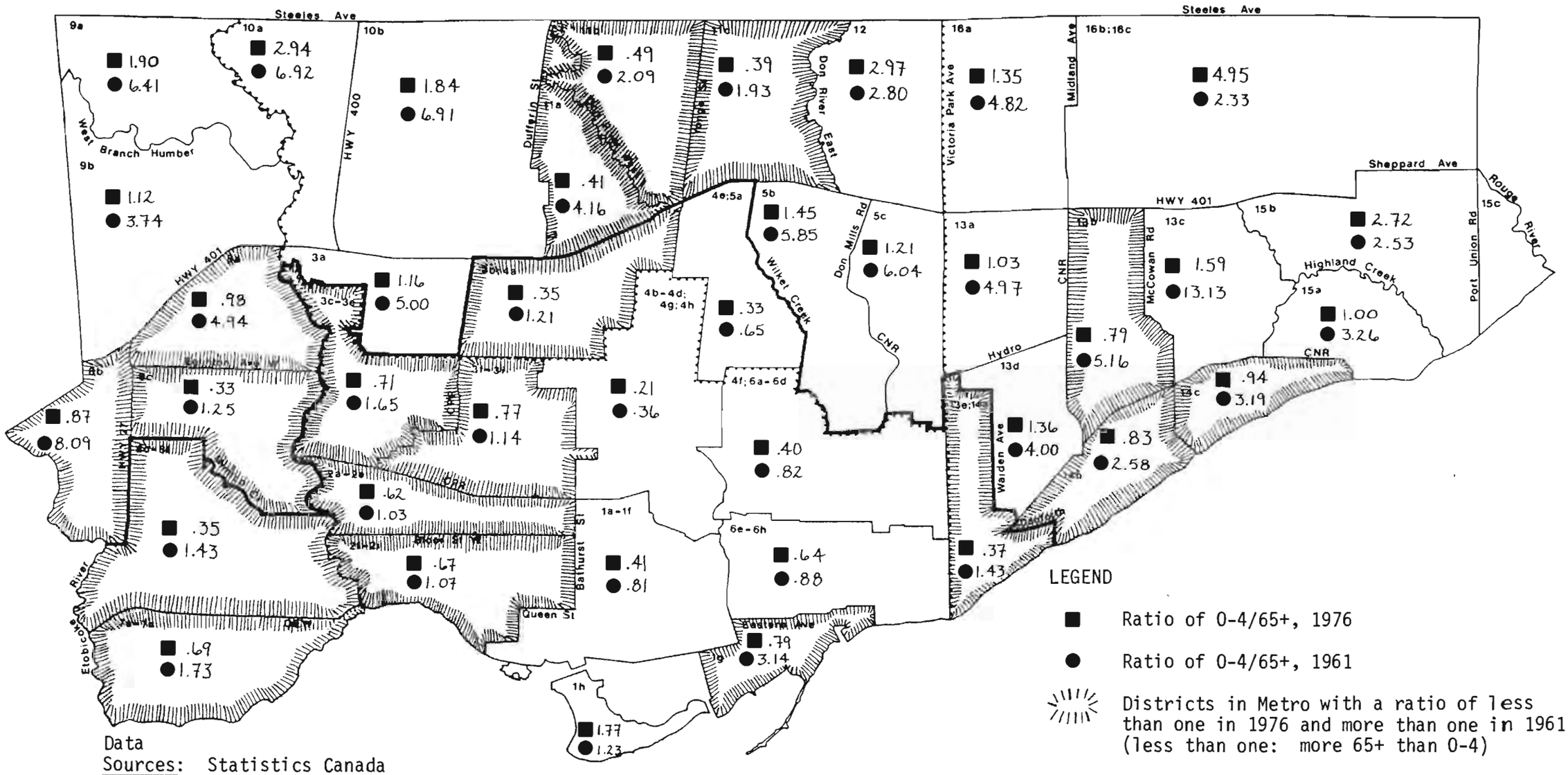
● Ratio - % of district population 0-4 to % of Ontario population 0-4, 1961 (Ontario percentage: 11.9%)

Districts in Metro below Ontario ratio in 1976 and above Ontario ratio in 1961

Data Sources: Statistics Canada

Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department

ENCLOSURE 18: DISTRIBUTIONS (PLANNING DISTRICTS): LIFE CYCLE RATIOS - 0-4/65+, 1976 AND 1961



Data Sources: Statistics Canada
Metro Toronto Planning Department
Metro Assessment Data

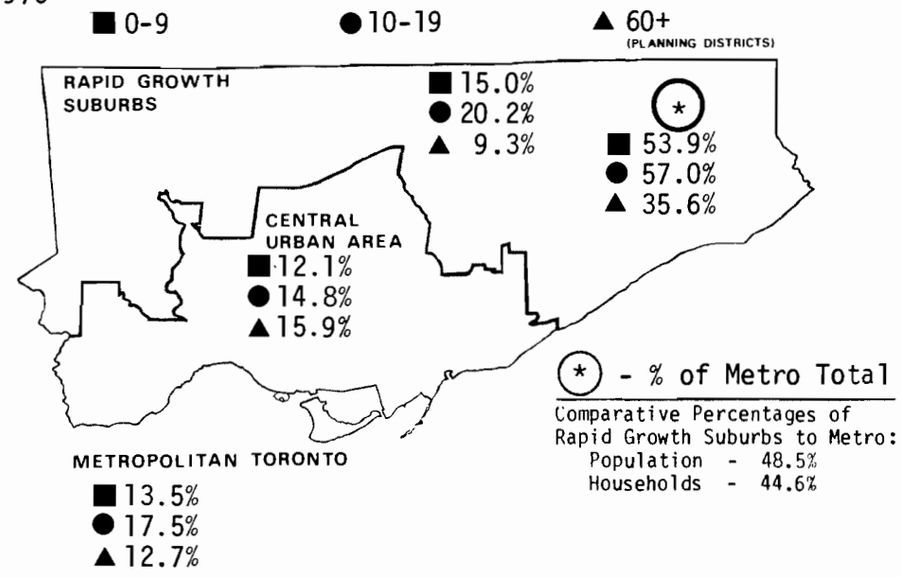
Enclosure 18 offers a different perspective on shifts in the rapid growth suburban age structure. Given the nature of early suburban development it would have been surprising to find districts with a higher ratio of adults aged 65+ to children aged 0-4. In 1961 there were no districts where the elderly exceeded the very young. By 1976 however, trends had changed, in some suburban districts quite significantly. In roughly 40% of Metro's rapid growth suburban districts the percentage of elderly now exceeded the percentage of children aged 0-4 in 1976. The Metro ratio in 1976 of aged 0-4/aged 65+ was .70. In districts which did not invert the ratio of elderly to very young had narrowed considerably, although still significantly in excess of the Metro ratio.

There is an aging process that is taking place within Metro's rapid growth districts with the pace varying substantially. The image of the suburbs as places designed to primarily accommodate the rearing of the very young requires some modification. The environment will be called upon to respond to the dependence needs of older adults.

Figure 2 takes a broader look at the earlier and later stages of the life cycle. The life stages identified are ages 0-9, 10-19, and 60+. The stages 0-9 and 10-19 were

Figure: 2

Life Cycle Percentages of Total Population, 0-9, 10-19, 60+, 1976



Data Sources: Statistics Canada
Metro Assessment Data

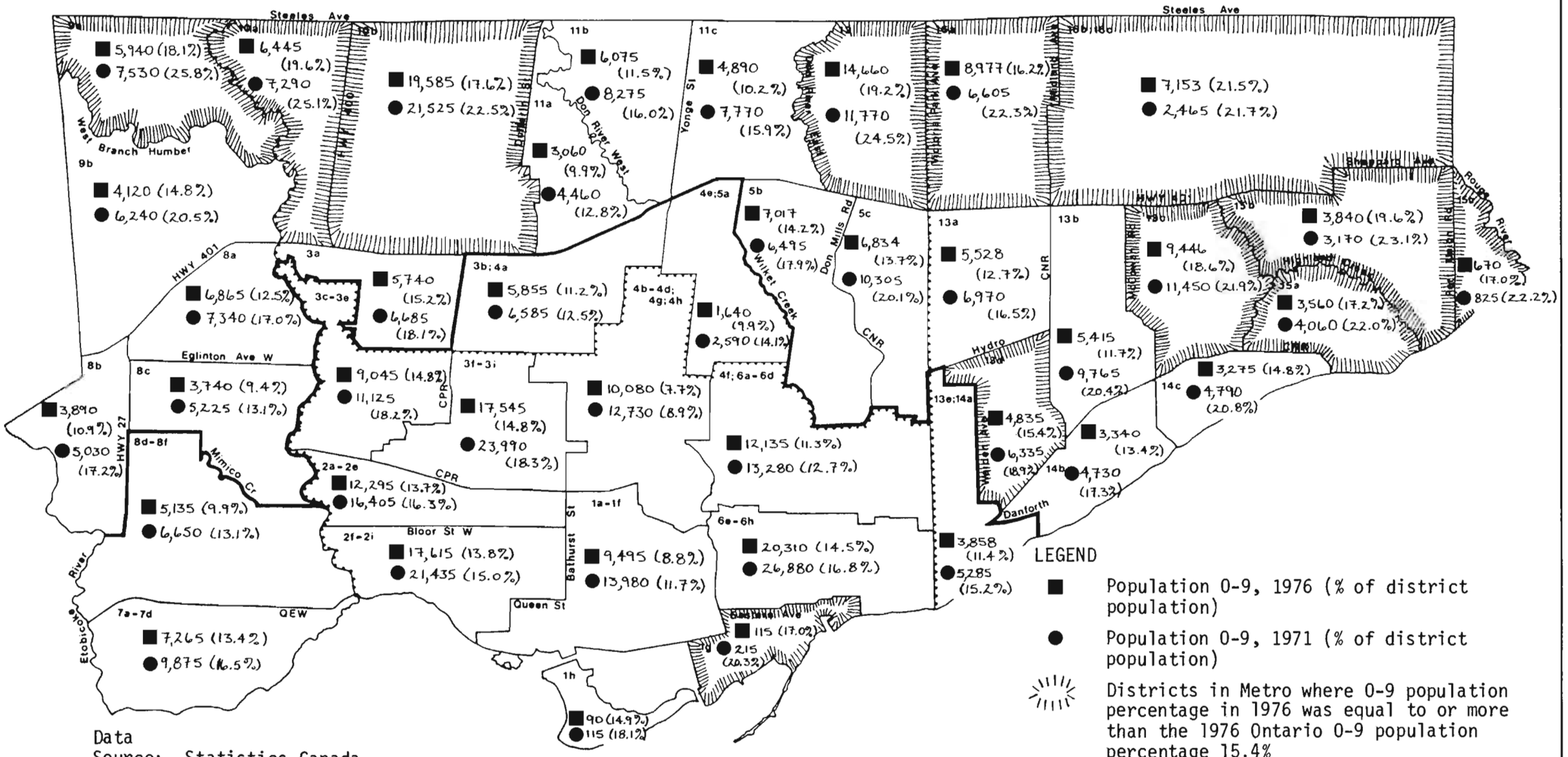
chosen (in contrast to the traditional designations of 0-4, 5-14, 15-24) because these stages identify relative states of child dependence on adults for accompanied and independent movement within community environments. The cumulative stage of 0-19 identifies the age range in which children are primarily residents of their parents' households. The age range of 0-9 also identifies the potential level of more active child care need, when parents and other household adults are not available. The age range of 60+ identifies the early stage in the aging process, when retirement might be setting in, or the widowed may be living on their own. It is a period when a range of community supports start becoming important.

The distribution of age structures in Figure 2 reveal that the dominant age grouping of children in Metro's rapid growth suburbs is the age group 10-19, now constituting one out of every five residents in these districts. This is a new phenomenon for rapid growth areas, having large numbers of children involved in independent movement and activity in the community. The evidence suggests that the adaptation to this new reality is not always turning out to be an easy one. The rapid growth districts now contain 57% of Metro's 10-19 age group, significantly in excess of their proportion of Metro's population. The age group of 0-9 represents 15% of the rapid growth suburban population, 54% of the Metro total for this age group. There is less of a gap between the suburbs and central area in the distribution of younger children. With a declining fertility rate, the age structure in the suburbs will be getting older in the coming years.

A large proportion of Metro's population aged 60+ still lies in the central urban area - they are 16% of the area population. Metro's newer suburbs do however, have a core of adults moving into the aging process - 9% of the general population, nearly 36% of the Metro total.

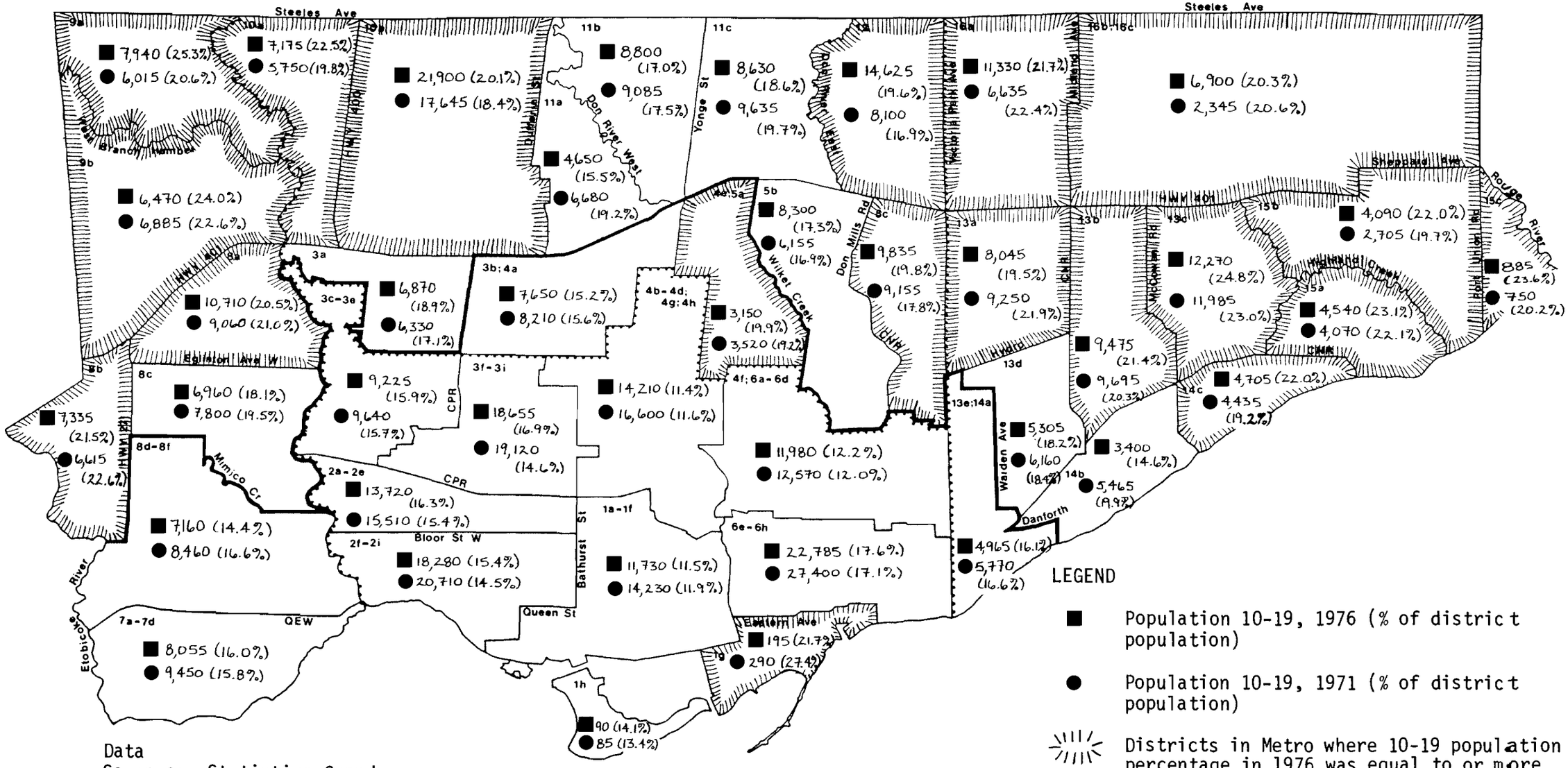
Enclosure 19 and Enclosure 20 identify the distribution of children aged 0-9 and 10-19 by planning districts. Differences in the numbers and percentages of both age groups are noted for 1971 and 1976. The percentage of both age groups in 1976 out of the total Metro population is compared to the equivalent Ontario levels. This is done to identify whether Metro patterns are unique,or similar to patterns throughout Ontario. Those districts with higher percentages to the Ontario levels are highlighted.

ENCLOSURE 19: DISTRIBUTIONS (PLANNING DISTRICTS): LIFE CYCLE STAGE 0-9, 1976 AND 1971



Data Source: Statistics Canada

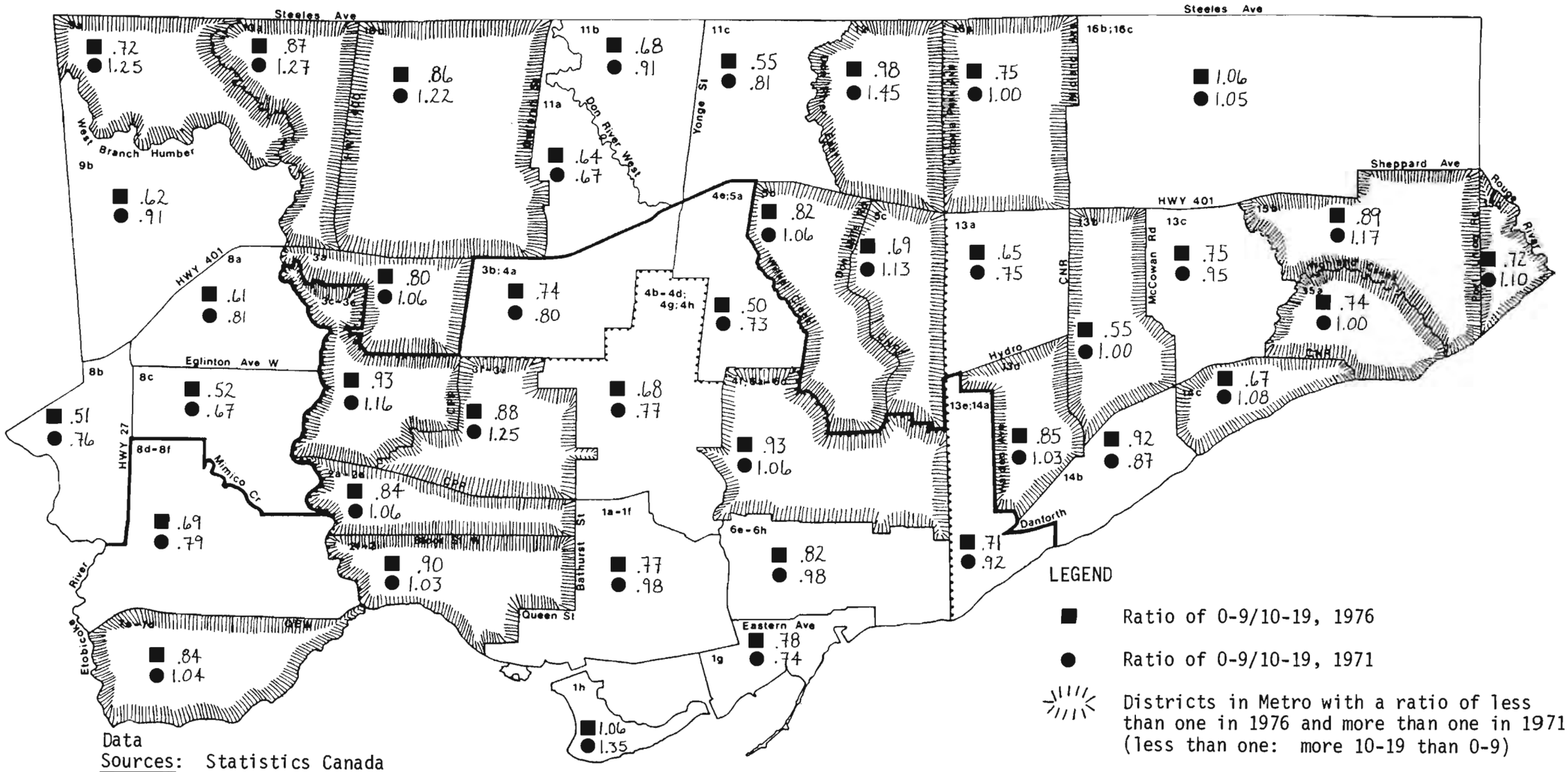
ENCLOSURE 20: DISTRIBUTIONS (PLANNING DISTRICTS): LIFE CYCLE STAGE 10-19, 1976 and 1971



Data Sources: Statistics Canada

Metropolitan Assessment Data

ENCLOSURE 21: DISTRIBUTIONS (PLANNING DISTRICTS): LIFE CYCLE RATIOS - 0-9/10-19, 1976 AND 1971



Data Sources: Statistics Canada
Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department
Metropolitan Assessment Data

Between 1971 and 1976 the number of children aged 0-9 declined in 80% of Metro's rapid growth suburban districts. The percentage of children aged 0-9 to the total population declined in each rapid growth district. Less than half of the newer suburban districts had levels of children aged 0-4 above the Ontario percentage. There was a decline in the number and percentage of children aged 0-9 in each of the central urban area district groupings.

The contrast is evident when looking at the age group 10-19. In 60% of Metro's suburban districts their numbers grew from 1971 to 1976; their percentage of the total population grew in over 50% of the suburban districts. In over 70% of Metro's suburban districts the proportion of those aged 10-19 was higher than Ontario levels. The numbers of those aged 10-19 had declined in all central urban district groupings; because of general population declines the percentages of this age group relative to the total population increased in just under 50% of central district groupings.

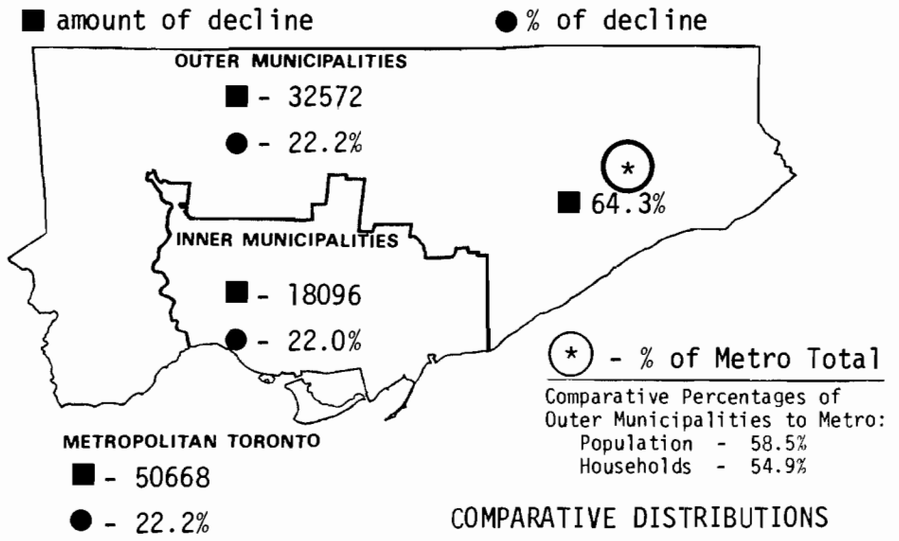
Enclosure 21 is another inversion analysis, identifying shifts in the ratios of 0-9/10-19 from 1971 to 1976. In this period 50% of Metro's suburban districts inverted - in 1971 they had higher ratios of 0-9/10-19; in 1976 the 10-19 group outnumbered the 0-9 group. Similar inversion patterns are evident in western district groupings of the central area, along with East York (M.P.D. 4F, 6A-D). The shift in many of Metro's newer suburbs from younger children to adolescents has taken place in a short period of time (i.e. - five years). There has been a need to adapt somewhat quickly to new conditions.

One immediate consequence of the significant demographic shift has been the rapid decline of elementary enrolment in suburban public schools. Figure 3 provides an estimate of what this decline is expected to be during the current period from 1976 to 1981. More than 64% of the decline within Metro is taking place in suburban municipalities, with North York and Etobicoke hardest hit of all. Some suburban neighbourhoods are facing the loss of an elementary or senior school in their area, as school populations begin to dwindle.

The prospective loss of the elementary school in some suburban neighbourhoods marks an important transition in the evolution of the post-war suburbs. The local elementary school was the classic defining feature and organizational principle of suburban neighbourhoods, even where there were variations in housing and in

Figure: 3

Distributions: Estimated Enrolment Decline Elementary Registration, Public Schools, 1976-1981 (Projection base period: October 1978)



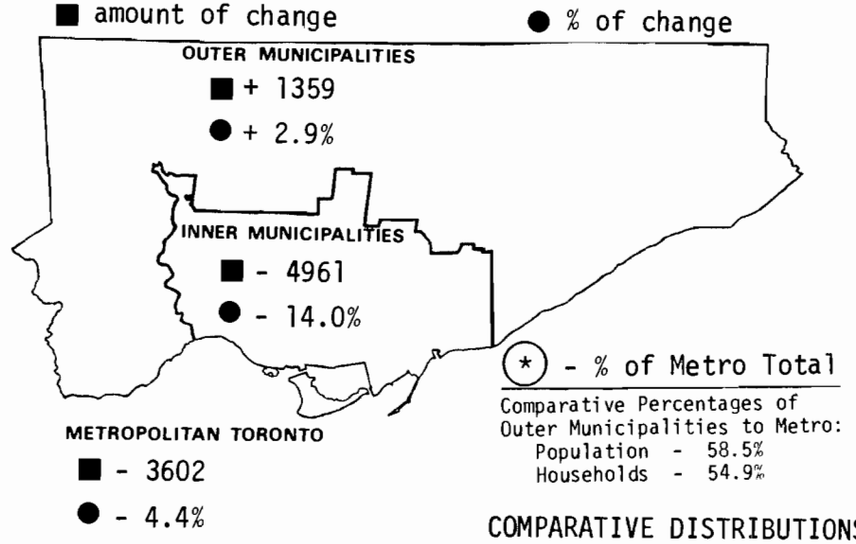
COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

North York	■ - 16353	● - 27.2%
Etobicoke	■ - 8480	● - 27.0%
York	■ - 3525	● - 25.8%
Toronto (City)	■ - 13289	● - 22.7%
Scarborough	■ - 7739	● - 14.1%
East York	■ - 1282	● - 12.8%

Data
Sources: School Boards of East York, Etobicoke, North York, Scarborough, Toronto (City), York, Metropolitan Toronto and Ontario Ministry of Education

Figure: 4

Distributions: Estimated Enrolment Change Elementary Registration, Separate Schools, 1976-1981 (Projection Base Period October 1978)



COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

Toronto (City)	■ - 5128	● - 19.7%
East York	■ - 336	● - 18.0%
Etobicoke	■ - 483	● - 4.4%
North York	■ + 377	● + 1.6%
York	■ + 503	● + 6.6%
Scarborough	■ + 1465	● + 11.4%

Data
Source: Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board

and in the physical design of the community. It was for most a major centre of social identity. What then becomes the alternative centre or centres of social identity in suburban neighbourhoods. Are there important alternative social functions which former school sites can serve in keeping with the new stages of suburban social development. Or will these special opportunities to plan for the future be overlooked and sites assigned over to what appears profitable in the short term. One suburban education board - Etobicoke - has commissioned a report to assess the feasibility of converting vacant school sites into non-profit housing for the elderly. This would be one example of planning for the future.

Figure 4 identifies the estimated enrolment pattern for separate schools during the same period. There is less volatility projected in separate school enrolment changes. There are marginal increases forecast for suburban enrolment, primarily in Scarborough, with a slight decline projected in Etobicoke. A large drop in the City of Toronto is foreseen in this period. The relative stability of separate school enrolment in the suburbs suggests that the shared use of public school sites will remain for the next while.

The projected enrolment decline in suburban public schools can be somewhat misleading. There are communities north of Highway 401 where significant numbers of elementary school children still exist. Boards that are reorienting themselves to decline in other parts of the municipality are faced with demands from north of Highway 401 to expand educational facilities and services. Fewer suburban households now have a direct relationship with the school system. Increasing numbers of suburban elderly who wish to remain in their homes find school funding from the property tax to be a heavy financial burden even with tax credits, as they try to manage on reduced and fixed incomes. Direct provincial funding of education continues to decline in relation to funds raised from the property tax. Metro's suburban municipalities do not have direct access to the commercial assessment base of the city in raising revenue for local services. The demand that is heard loud and clear by suburban trustees from the general community is to keep education taxes low.

There may be fewer children in Metro's suburban schools, but there are more special needs to be addressed. Table 5 indicates that in the last four years the suburban proportion of Metro's "inner city" (i.e. high need) enrolment increased from 29% in 1975-1976 to nearly 35%

Table: 5

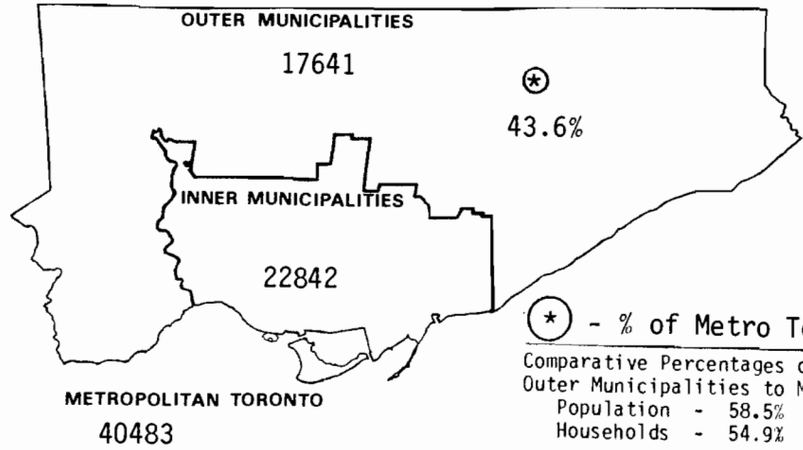
Education Boards Percentage of Total Metro Inner City Enrolment

	1978-79	1977-78	1976-77	1975-76
Toronto (City)	55.1	55.6	56.8	59.1
York	7.6	7.8	8.0	8.2
East York	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.5
INNER BOARDS	65.4	66.1	67.3	70.6
North York	12.7	12.7	12.8	12.1
Scarborough	15.2	14.3	13.3	11.3
Etobicoke	6.7	6.9	6.7	6.7
OUTER BOARDS	34.6	33.9	32.7	29.4

Data Source: Metropolitan Toronto School Board

Figure: 5

Distributions: Children in Public Elementary Schools From Families on Social Assistance, September 1977



COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

Toronto (City)	20421
Scarborough	7301
North York	6937
Etobicoke	3403
York	1763
East York	658

Data Source: Metropolitan Toronto School Board

in 1978-1979. Most of this increase has been in Scarborough, with some increase in North York.

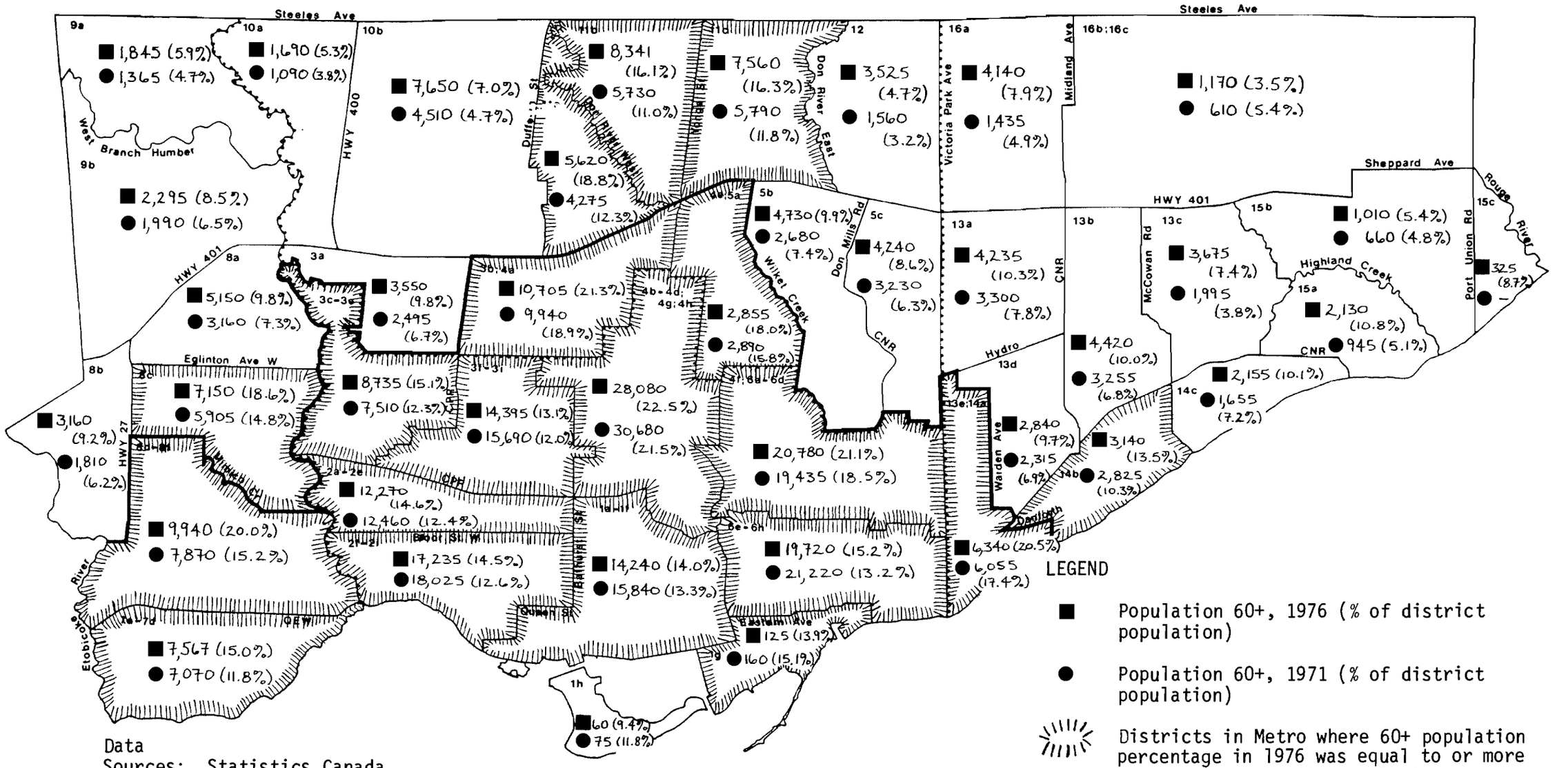
Figure 5 provides another view of the same concern. Metro's suburban schools now contain almost 44% of children from families on social assistance, highest once more in Scarborough. Suburban schools are now facing a range of similar conditions that inner city schools in the city have faced for many years. They are having to face these conditions however, in a time of economic instability, declining enrolment, and in a different political climate.

As a result of these conditions there are some neighbourhood schools in more recent areas of rapid suburban growth where serious overcrowding exists, school resources are inadequate to address the learning and development needs of their pupils, teachers feel strained, intimidated, and overwhelmed. Children are tired, undernourished; a climate of disorder and violence prevails. One teacher interviewed during the course of this project stated that she had to quit after a year of teaching in one such school north of Highway 401. The conditions faced as a teacher were similar to those encountered when she taught in a depressed area of Harlem (in New York City) in the late sixties. Her real sense of disbelief was in associating these conditions with how the physical environment first presented itself. The neighbourhood appeared to be just another higher density suburban area, with apartments, plazas, town houses. It was easy to drive through and be unaware of the social conditions which existed behind a range of ordinary physical structures.

When social development patterns change significantly in a short period of time, the limitations of existing frameworks become more evident. The decline in the life cycle stage 0-9 in the suburbs is not merely an item of passing demographic interest. New social conditions are created, for which existing response abilities may be inadequate. The future well-being of people, and in this case children, are tied-up however to the inability to respond as required.

From a planning perspective, the issue is not seeking out individuals to hold responsible. There is no evidence to suggest that suburban trustees and aldermen as a group are necessarily less concerned or committed to the well-being of their residents than their central area counterparts. It is more likely that the social and political capacities to respond will differ in relation to a number of local factors: life situation

ENCLOSURE 22: DISTRIBUTIONS (PLANNING DISTRICTS): LIFE CYCLE STAGE 60+, 1976 AND 1971



LEGEND

■ Population 60+, 1976 (% of district population)

● Population 60+, 1971 (% of district population)

Districts in Metro where 60+ population percentage in 1976 was equal to or more than the Ontario 60+ population percentage of 12.9%

Data Sources: Statistics Canada

Metro Assessment Data

of the general community, state of organizational development, financial base, social impacts of the physical environments, the economy, the design of services, and so forth. The issues in planning are to identify what exists and what is likely to change, and eventually suggest ways in which more responsive frameworks can be developed - to meet current needs, and adapt to future patterns. Reassessing the ability of the suburban educational framework to respond to suburban children with special social needs is one such pressing area.

Enclosure 22 identifies the distribution of adults aged 60+ through Metro. In every one of Metro's suburban districts their numbers have increased from 1971 to 1976, as did their percentage of the total population (with the exceptions of M.P.D. 16B/C, still in a state of rapid growth). Five rapid growth suburban districts had percentages of adults aged 60+ above the Ontario level. Each of the major central district groups had proportions of aged 60+ above the Ontario level, even though their actual numbers had increased in only 40% of the district groupings. The percentages of aged 60+ went up in all central district groupings in relation to the total population.

It should be noted that the distributions of early and late life stage concentrations in Metro's suburbs generally bear a limited relationship to the political boundaries of suburban municipalities. For each of the life stages described the zones of concentration go east/west across Metro. Adjacent districts in different municipalities frequently have more in common with each other relative to age structure concentration, than they do with many other districts in their own municipality. The zone of concentration for children aged 0-9 runs across districts north of Highway 401, with concentrations in the eastern portion of Scarborough. The concentration of those aged 10-19 follows Highway 401 - both to the north and south - from Etobicoke through parts of North York to greater concentrations in central and eastern Scarborough. The highest concentration of adults aged 60+ is between Bloor and Eglinton, starting in Etobicoke, moving through York, north Toronto, up Yonge Street to North York, south of Eglinton again through East York to Scarborough.

The implications for developing a framework for social policy in Metropolitan Toronto should be considered. Within their respective suburban municipalities, districts

with age structure concentrations (i.e. 0-9, 10-19, 60+) may be minority districts relative to the social composition of the majority of other municipal districts. Within Metro however, these concentrations form a distinct and important set of social interests with a range of common social policy needs. Unfortunately, there is no direct political framework at present through which common social interests in Metro can come together and pursue their shared policy needs at the local government level.

6.0 HOUSING, HOUSEHOLD, AND FAMILY PATTERNS

The age distributions of a population provide one view of a social environment. The early and late stages of the life cycle highlight the presence of individuals with special forms of dependence by virtue of age. The social structure of an environment however, rests in the living arrangements of individuals, the ways in which people are grouped into common dwellings or households. The most common form of household is one defined by family relationships, whether through birth or marriage. Family living arrangements can vary significantly. These can include married couples with or without children, children with or without both parents, two formally related families sharing a common dwelling. Non-family households identify persons living in dwellings without birth or marriage relationships to other people. Most frequently it refers to adults living alone as solitary person households.

Households are social structures in which primary forms of daily life are experienced. Households are sources of mutual support or of self-maintenance; they are also environments which in some measure reflect or shape people's social perceptions and the ways they interact with worlds outside the home. If one assumes that most households in an environment are similar in composition and form, it is then possible to further assume that such similarities in household patterns lead to common public interests in the residential area or larger community.

Most people in a community tend to have limited forms of direct contact with the majority of households outside their neighbourhood. More often it is the work role of individuals requiring contact with households which heighten the awareness of the social realities which lie behind the physical structures. Teachers, principals, public health nurses, clergy, elected officials, electoral campaign workers, service volunteers experience more direct forms of household contact. In many instances household patterns may be inferred from the forms of housing which are visible, or from the movement of people in public settings such as plazas, schools, roads and so forth.

There are periods in the life of a community when the composition of the housing stock is more of a reliable indicator of household patterns. This is most likely to be true when a common age range of people emerge from a common set of previous experiences, which in turn shapes their subsequent patterns of activity. The period following World War Two was one such occasion - large groups of adult men and women of family formation age experienced the common disruption of daily living arising from the war.

The period of rapid suburban growth in Metro until somewhere in the mid-sixties included the absorption of family formation patterns postponed because of the war, from early post-war levels of immigration, and from the age cohorts too young to participate in the war but part of the post-war family pattern.

Thus the formal images of the post-war suburbs along with the concentrated period of family formation and child rearing conferred credibility on the assumption that early forms of the suburban housing stock reflected common household patterns. As noted previously,even apartment units in Metro's suburbs included large numbers of families with children. It was part of public policy in Metro, as reflected in the 1958 plan, to make provision for a growth in suburban apartments. These could be expected to serve as transitional forms of accommodation for young families prior to securing ownership of a ground-level home.

Table 6 identifies the forms of housing built in the post-war period in Metro's suburban municipalities, and the levels of net population growth achieved during the same periods. The housing stock is divided into two categories: ground level units - attached or unattached; and apartment units, i.e. - above ground level.

Table: 6

(a) Growth Rates of Ground Level and Apartment Housing in the Outer Municipalities of Metropolitan Toronto, 1951-1976.

Time Span	Growth, Ground Level Units	Growth Apartment Units	Growth Ratio: Ground Level To Apartments
1951-1961	+89,172	+31,595	2.82
1961-1971	+61,583	+78,475	0.78
1971-1976	+32,122	+54,722	0.59
NET 1951-1976	+182,877	+164,792	1.11

	Ground Level	Apartments	Ratio: Ground Level to Apts.
1951 Stock	53,780	5,360	10.03
1976 Stock	236,657	170,152	1.39

(b) Net Population - Household Growth, Outer Municipalities of Metropolitan Toronto, 1951-1976

Time Span	Population Growth	Household Growth	Ratio - Pop'n: Household Growth
1951-1961	+458,684	+120,767	3.80
1961-1971	+435,231	+140,058	3.11
1971-1976	+117,840	+86,844	1.36
NET 1951-1976	+1,011,755	+347,669	2.91

Date Sources: Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, Statistics Canada

From 1951 to 1961 the growth in ground level units was predominant by a 2.82 ratio over apartment unit growth. During this same period the net population - household growth was 3.80, that is an average of 3.8 additional new residents for every new occupied dwelling, suggesting the predominant settlement of families with two or more children. From 1961 to 1971 the growth ratio in housing units had shifted; there was now .78 of a new ground level dwelling for every new apartment unit constructed. The net population - household growth ratio had modified to 3.11, suggesting continued settlement of families with two or more children, but the emergence of alternative forms of household development. From 1971 to 1976 apartment unit growth was even more predominant, accompanied by a significant decline in the net population - household growth ratio to 1.36, suggesting a very mixed pattern of settlement and household development. The predominant form of household formation in new occupied housing units was no longer two parent families with two or more children.

Table 7 identifies the net population - household growth for the same period in the inner municipalities of Metro.

Table: 7
Net Population - Household Growth, Inner Municipalities of Metropolitan Toronto, 1951-1976.

Time Span	Population Growth	Household Growth	Ratio - Pop'n: Household Growth
1951-1961	+42,633	+36,778	1.16
1961-1971	+31,218	+59,257	0.53
1971-1976	-82,455	+12,630	-6.53
NET 1951-1976	-8,604	+108,665	-0.08

Data Sources: Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, Statistics Canada

The period from 1951 to 1961 in the inner municipalities reflects a net population - household pattern similar to that of the outer municipalities for 1971 to 1976. The volume of new housing units added to Metro does not in itself necessarily mean that the population is significantly growing. In the inner municipalities from 1961 onwards each new occupied housing unit did not increase the population by one or more persons. New housing units can serve to re-house the existing population size, either because older units have been demolished as in the inner municipalities, or because new patterns of household composition are emerging in the suburbs and throughout Metro. Within Metro as a whole from 1971-1976, there was a 13% net growth of occupied housing units, with only a 2% growth in net population. Metro housing projections and recent provincial population projections would indicate that from 1976 to 1981 there would be a 10% growth in new housing units, with a population decline of under 2%.

Table 8 identifies important shifts which took place in the composition of households in Metropolitan Toronto from 1971 to 1976.

Table: 8

Household-Population Distributions in Metropolitan Toronto, 1976 and 1971

Household Size	1976		1971	
	% of all Households	% of Population	% of all Households	% of Population
1	20.5	7.0	15.0	4.6
2	28.6	19.6	27.0	16.6
3	17.3	17.7	18.0	16.6
4	16.9	23.1	17.9	22.0
5 +	16.7	32.6	22.1	40.2

Data Sources: Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department
Statistics Canada

There were major shifts at both ends of the household size spectrum, in the percentages of solitary person households and households of five or more people. The distribution of solitary person households grew by more than 5% in this

period, the distribution of households of five or more persons declined by a similar level. Solitary person households represented 1/5 of all households, but contained 7% of the population. Households with five or more persons represented over 1/5 of all households in 1971 and contained 2/5 of the population; in 1976 they had declined to 1/6 of all households, with 1/3 of the population. Two person households had increased somewhat from 1971 to 1976; declines were registered in Metro for the percentages of three and four person households.

Figure 6 identifies changes in the actual number of households with five or more people in Metro from 1971 to 1976. Five or more persons in suburban households would tend to indicate households where there are two parents with three or more children or related family members. (There are very few households with lodgers or secondary families in the suburbs.) Declines were registered in each municipality of Metro, with Etobicoke showing the highest decline in the suburbs. Figure 7 identifies change patterns in the actual numbers of four person households for the same period. Four person households in the suburbs would in most instances also be family households, with the composition of children less predictable. Scarborough registered an increase of 22% in the number of four person households; North York was lower with 12%, with Etobicoke lowest at 4%.

The composition of new family-type households in Metro's suburbs from 1971 to 1976 would not yet fully reflect the declining fertility rate of the seventies. Families with two or more children were being formed in the early and mid-sixties. The total Ontario fertility rate was still 2.8 in 1968. The decline in households of five or more persons in the suburbs from 1971 to 1976, and the modest increases in four person households in North York and Etobicoke, suggest a more limited settlement pattern of new families with two or more children in Metro's suburbs, with the exception of Scarborough. It would also indicate that children of earlier suburban settlers have grown up and are starting to leave home and live on their own.

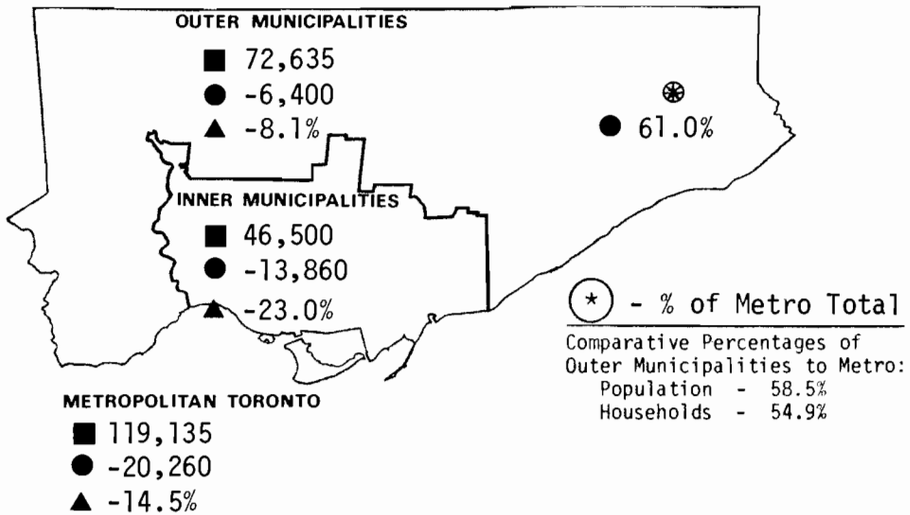
The substantial decline in the inner municipalities of households with five or more persons, and the decline in four person households, would tend to identify even more limited settlement patterns of younger families with two or more children in these areas.

There are a number of observations to be drawn at

Figure: 6

Distributions: Changes in the Number of Households With Five or More People, 1971-1976

■ Number of Households 5+, 1976
● Change from 1971-1976
▲ Percentage Change from 1971-1976



COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

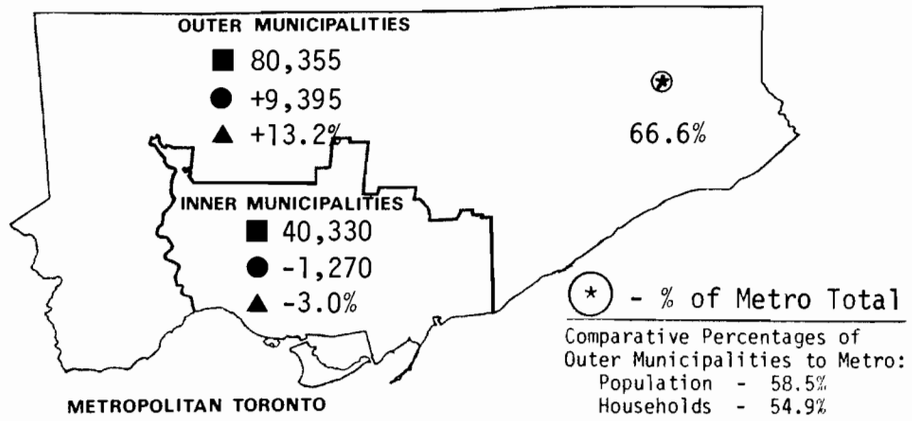
Toronto (City)	■ 35,270	
	● -11,325	
	▲ -24.3%	
Etobicoke	■ 16,245	
	● -3,060	
	▲ -15.9%	
North York	■ 32,775	
	● -1,955	
	▲ -5.6%	
York	■ 7,450	
	● -1,800	
	▲ -19.5%	
Scarborough	■ 23,615	
	● -1,385	
	▲ -5.5%	
East York	■ 3,780	
	● -735	
	▲ -16.3%	

Data Source: Statistics Canada

Figure: 7

Distributions: Changes in the Number of Households With Four People, 1971-1976

■ Number of Four-Person Households, 1976
● Change from 1971-1976
▲ Percentage Change from 1971-1976



COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

Scarborough	■ 26,230	
	● +4,780	
	▲ +22.3%	
North York	■ 35,575	
	● +3,895	
	▲ +12.3%	
Etobicoke	■ 18,550	
	● +720	
	▲ +4.0%	
East York	■ 5,200	
	● +150	
	▲ +3.0%	
York	■ 7,980	
	● -90	
	▲ -1.1%	
Toronto (City)	■ 27,150	
	● -1,330	
	▲ -4.7%	

Data Source: Statistics Canada

this point.

With the passing of time there is no longer a uniformity in the family composition of Metro's suburbs as in the earlier rapid growth period. There are families in the suburbs who were part of the earlier settlement period; both adults and children in these families have now advanced in years. As children grow older, become less dependent on parents and begin to move out, the size of these households begins to decline. Eventually when all the children have moved out, parents might choose to remain in the household themselves, or sell the home and acquire an apartment dwelling for their later years. A portion of the recent suburban apartment market has been directed to older family adults without children ("empty nesters"). The successful marketing of a number of such suburban apartment projects suggests that there are family adults who wish to remain in the environment for apartment living, rather than move to the central area, after raising children. Presumably their ground level dwellings are recycled through sale to families with children, but perhaps fewer children (i.e. two rather than four) than might have lived there in previous times.

The additional apartment unit in the suburbs, along with the recycled ground-level house, represent two units of housing but might only contain together the same number of persons that were originally in the ground-level house when it first came to be occupied.

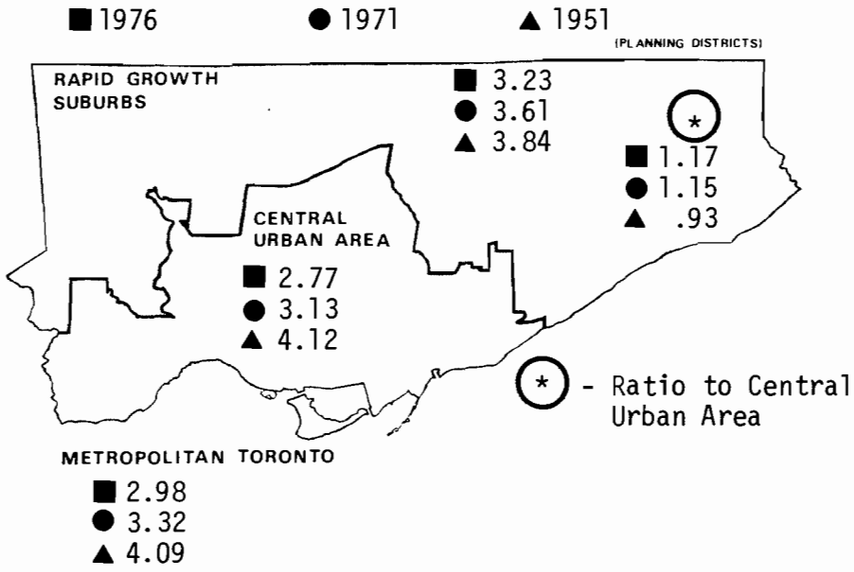
Figure 8 describes the decline in average household size in Metro from 1951 to 1976. The more significant period of decline for the central area was from 1951 to 1971, when the average size declined by 24%; in the rapid growth suburbs, the period of significant decline began in 1971, with a decline in average household size of almost 11% by 1976, a level of decline similar to the central area for this period.

This decline in the suburbs reflects the shifting composition and patterns of household formation and development in the seventies.

The predominant form of housing units which have been added to the rapid growth suburbs of Metro since the mid-sixties have been apartments, at levels far in excess of the increases provided for in public policy as stated in the 1958 Metro plan. Figure 9 identifies the growth of apartment units in 1951 from nearly 6% of the total housing stock in the rapid growth suburbs, to nearly 43% of the stock in 1976. Enclosure 23 documents the distributions of

Figure: 8

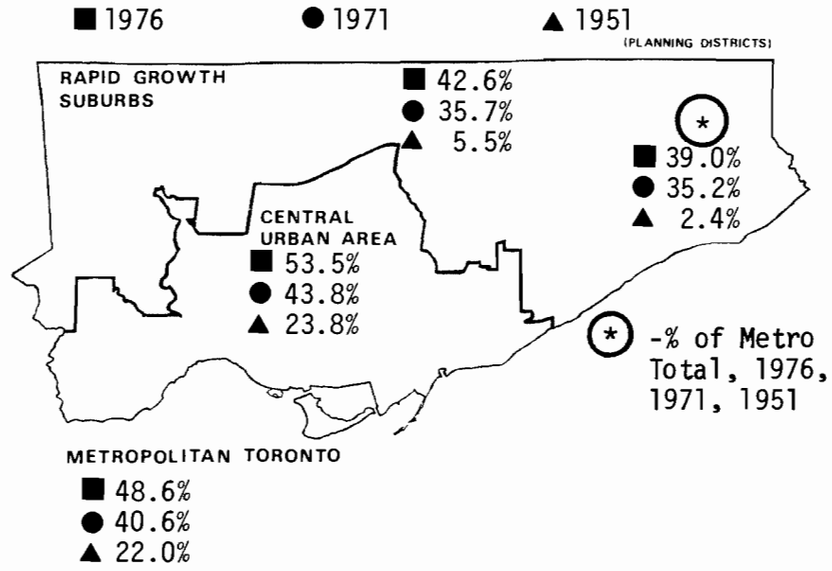
Average Household Size



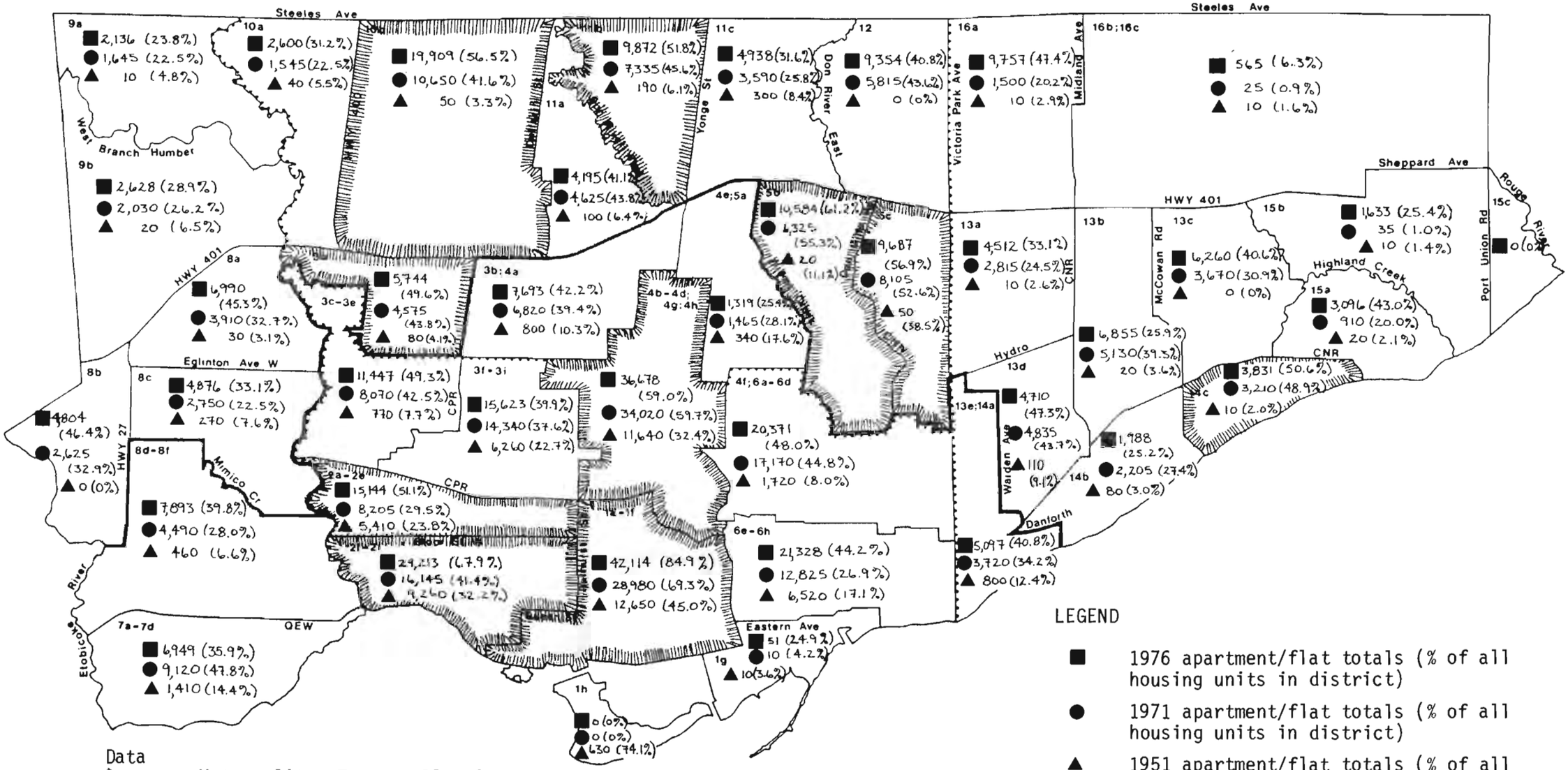
Data
Sources: Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department
Statistics Canada

Figure: 9

Percentages of Apartments/Flats of All Housing Units 1976, 1971, 1951



Data
Source: Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department



Data Source: Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department

LEGEND

■ 1976 apartment/flat totals (% of all housing units in district)

● 1971 apartment/flat totals (% of all housing units in district)

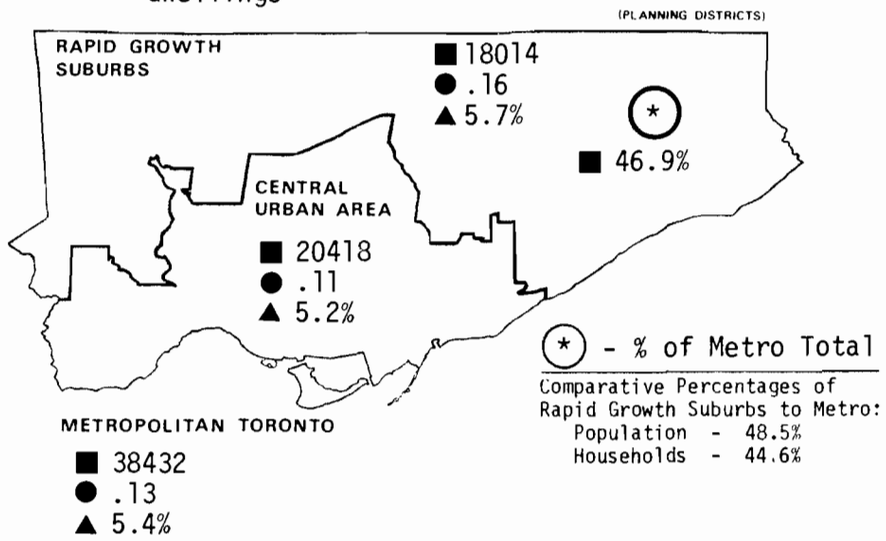
▲ 1951 apartment/flat totals (% of all housing units in district)

Districts where apartment/flat percentage in 1976 was 50%+

Figure: 10

Distributions: Owner-Occupied Apartment Dwellings, 1976

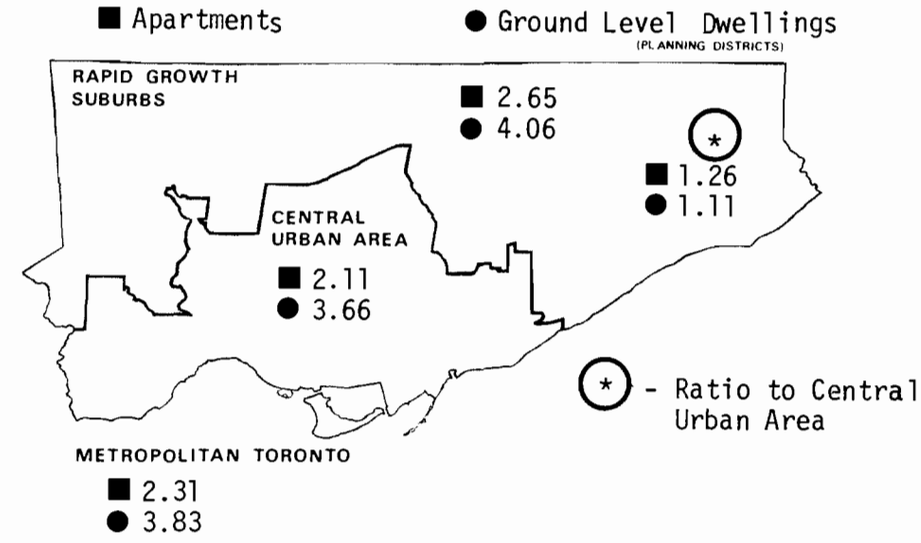
■ number of owner-occupied apartment dwellings
● ratio: owner-occupied apartment dwellings to tenant-occupied dwellings
▲ percentage of owner-occupied apartment dwellings of all occupied dwellings



Data Source: Statistics Canada

Figure: 11

Apartment and Ground Level Dwellings, Average Household Size, 1971



Note: Ground Level Dwellings include singles, semis, row and maisonette housing units

Data Source: Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department

this growth by planning districts. In 1976 there were five rapid growth districts where the proportion of apartment units in the district was over 50%; in M.P.D. 5B the proportion of units at 61% was only exceeded by districts in the City of Toronto south of Bloor Street.

In light of the limited supply of remaining land in Metro, the large scale development of apartments in Metro's rapid growth suburbs has meant an emphasis away from ground level dwellings. The supply of traditional low-rise family housing in the suburbs has not grown in proportion to the total housing supply. There has been a concerted attempt made in the seventies to market apartment dwelling ownership, the condominium, as an alterative to traditional low-rise forms of suburban family housing. Figure 10 identifies levels of owner-occupied apartment units in 1976. In the rapid growth suburbs, apartment condominiums represented nearly 6% of all housing units, in excess of the central area proportion. There was a higher ratio of owner-occupied apartments to tenant-occupied apartments in the suburbs than in the central area.

There is reason to believe that suburban apartments continue to serve as transitional dwellings for families with children in the suburbs. Figure 11 indicates that in 1971 the average household size in rapid growth suburban apartments was 2.65, more than 25% higher than the central area. Such an average size would reflect the presence of family units with children in apartments in the rapid growth suburbs. In 1976, 20% of all apartments in the rapid growth suburbs included four or more persons, in contrast to 13% for the central area. Given that there are relatively fewer low-rise and ground level forms of new family housing available in Metro's suburbs, will families with young children in apartments accept an apartment condominium as an alternative?

In a major study conducted in the early seventies in Metro of apartment and single home dwellers in the suburbs and downtown, Michelson found little evidence to substantiate such an assumption.[40] Families he found, are prepared to accept high rise apartment living, and in general convey expressions of satisfaction, if an apartment is only a transitional setting on their way to a ground level dwelling. The satisfaction is therefore premised on: (1) the assumed temporariness of the setting,

40 W. Michelson, Environmental Choice, Human Behavior, and Residential Satisfaction, Oxford University Press, New York, 1977.

Table 9

Housing Ownership Accessibility, Metropolitan Toronto, 1967 - 1976

Year	Average House Price, Metro[1]	Average Annual Family Income, Metro[2]	Ratio: House Price to Average Family Income	N.H.A. Interest Rate[3]	First Mortgage: Monthly Principle and Interest Repayment[4]	Ratio: Monthly First Mortgage Repayment to Monthly Gross Family Income
1967	24,078	9,789	2.46	7.000	152	.19
1969	28,929	10,900	2.65	9.375	222	.25
1971	30,426	12,933	2.35	9.250	232	.22
1972	32,513	14,000	2.32	8.750	235	.20
1973	40,605	15,742	2.58	9.500	314	.24
1974	52,806	18,200	2.90	10.875	453	.30
1975	57,581	19,922	2.89	11.125	505	.30
1976	61,389	21,486	2.86	11.625	556	.31

1. Source: MLS Price History, Toronto Real Estate Board, September 1977.
2. Source: Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto.
3. Data Source: Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. NHA interest rate is based on the high and low rates for the year, divided by 2, and rounded to the closest rate on the interest rate schedule.
4. Based on a 90% first mortgage repaid over 25 years.

and (2) the anticipation of moving on to a ground-level home in the near future.

Michelson concludes that the alternative is not to modify the high rise dwelling. Most adults will not accept the high rise apartments as appropriate settings in which to permanently raise their children from birth through adolescence. Michelson notes:

> "If the satisfaction which people have in the high-rise is based on the premise of a subsequent move to a house or the equivalent, then the surest path to satisfaction lies not in tinkering with the act of building a better high-rise; it lies in creating sufficient numbers of houses, so that both the quantitative and qualitative dimensions of the supply side of the market are sufficient for the premise of future inability to be valid for more than just the very affluent segment of the society....
>
> It is not the ornate features of the house that serve as the major attraction to the respondents surveyed, but rather some of its most basic characteristics - control of the premises, relative economic security, self-containment, and private, open space. These are found in basic houses as well as in deluxe houses." (emphasis added) P. 366-7.

In the past this cycle of transition of apartment to ground-level home could on the whole, be fulfilled, most often within Metro. There is increasing evidence that for most average income families, access to a ground level home is becoming an increasingly remote prospect within Metro.

Table 9 identifies the progressive erosion of financial accessibility to home ownership by average income families within Metropolitan Toronto from 1967 on. The critical variable that emerges is not housing price, but interest rate level. The ratio of price to average family income varied by 17.8% during the 1967-1976 period. The dramatic increase in interest rate levels, up 66.1% during this period, meant that in 1976 first mortgage principle and interest repayment

required 31% of average gross family income. Since 1976 interest rates have continued to rise steeply. The monthly carrying ratio in 1976 is only for the first mortgage; it does not include second mortgage costs, property taxes, heat and utilities, nor repair and maintenance. This could drive the average monthly cost of a family home up to almost 50% of net monthly family income. It must also be remembered that family earnings increase with age of primary adult earners. Therefore, families where the parents are under 35 with two or more children face a substantial financial burden in the private family housing market within Metropolitan Toronto.

Two consequences emerge: either average income families with young children now in suburban apartments will have to leave Metro for a home, or alternatively, some families will discover that there is little likelihood that they will in fact be moving into a low-rise or ground level house with their children. The realization by parents that they will be compelled to raise their children from birth to adolescence in a high rise apartment could have unknown yet significant implications for states of family stress by both parents and children in their present apartment accommodations. For other young adults at the family formation age inaccessible low-rise family housing within Metro might mean perceiving that the choices they face are to live in Metro with few if any children, or leave Metro if they wish to raise children in low-rise forms of family housing.

From the preceeding observations it can be stated that household patterns in Metro's suburbs are undergoing a process of change. Older family households are beginning to thin out; large scale apartment development is reducing the average household size; apartment residence is not perceived by families with young children as an acceptable alternative to a ground-level family home; rising interest rate levels have priced existing family houses within Metropolitan Toronto outside the reach of average-income families.

What has become evident is that the post-war Keynesian framework for the supply of financially accessible family housing within Metropolitan Toronto has broken down for the present generation of average-income families with young children.

This is not necessarily true for the Toronto urban region, outside of Metropolitan Toronto, where less costly forms of family housing are being built. But for

the post-war suburbs of Metro, it means fewer new families with younger children to replace earlier family settlers. In this sense Metro's rapid growth suburbs have started to lose their unique post-war distinction from the central urban area. They no longer confer, as they once did, special sets of social opportunities for average-income families with young children to settle into family environments in order to raise children. The ground-level housing stock in Metro's suburbs can no longer be assumed to reflect homogeneous households with people undergoing common experiences of parenting and child development.

Metro's post-war suburbs have entered the stage of more stable urban development that has traditionally characterized the central area. The introduction of new housing units into the suburbs will not necessarily lead to significant increases in population. Lower household size and the thinning out of earlier family households will largely offset much of the population gains from new housing units. What has frequently been missed in population projections for Metro in the early seventies, is that the volume of new housing units is less an indicator of continued population growth than the forms of financially accessible new housing which are produced. Urban environments experience sustained forms of population growth when they remain settings in which new generations of average-income families wish to and are able to remain and raise their children. Prospects for these families in the suburbs and central area are at present limited.

Many theories have been offered recently for the rise in family house prices outside the reach of average-income families.[41] They range from contentions that monopoly forms of private production have arbitrarily raised land costs, that municipalities have created bottlenecks to restrict alternative forms of family housing, that there has been an excess of demand to consume housing (demand-pull), that production costs have risen (cost-push). These are clearly not mutually exclusive explanations - they in some way describe how the Keynesian approach to the supply of family housing in Metro is no longer working. If new opportunities are to exist for young families to settle in the suburbs and Metro, then alternatives to the Keynesian approach will have to be found within Metro. This would involve an increased public role in

---

41 L.S. Bourne, Choose Your Villan: Five Ways to Over-Simplify the Price of Housing and Urban Land, Urban Forum, Spring, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1977. P. 16-24.

the direct production of housing, as well as the capability to restructure the property tax system within Metro.

Large scale forms of apartment development have introduced new social dimensions to Metro's rapid growth suburbs. To casual observers of urban environments, apartments generally appear to be one-dimensional physical forms, without evident variation in household composition or social identity. In reality, apartments confer significant levels of social diversity upon an environment. They open up life style opportunities and facilitate the adoption of alternative living arrangements.

It would be far too deterministic to suggest that apartments contribute to new living patterns. The social forces that lead the young to setting up their own households at an earlier age, to mothers raising children on their own, to elderly seeking their own households in later years emerge and develop over time. Apartments have created the physical conditions necessary for new living arrangements to become possible. They are highly adaptive forms of housing which can accommodate to a variety of household patterns. Units can vary in bedroom size, they cost less relative to ground level dwellings and thereby increase opportunities for independent living, occupancy involves fewer major investments. It is relatively easier to set-up a household, and also to leave and move on.

For some families and individuals, apartment living is seen as a temporary situation. Rental apartments facilitate transitional living needs. There are however, increasing numbers of individuals, particularly the elderly, for whom a suburban apartment is expected to serve as a more permanent residence. These suburban residents do not enjoy the security and predictability of tenure associated with home ownership. Such protections have been sought through provincial legislation in areas such as rent review and residential tenancies provisions. Rent review only exists as a temporary form of protection for another year; apartment vacancies are below 1%. Tenants continue to face an uncertain future.

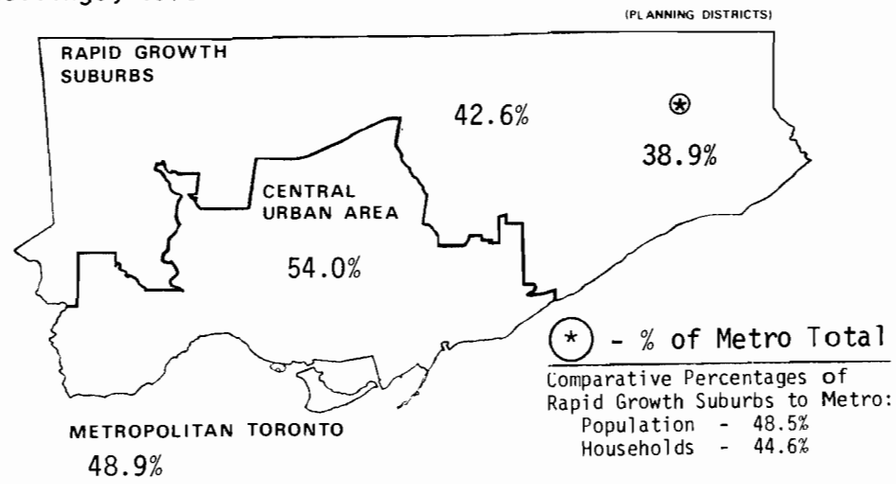
The predominance of the suburbs as communities of home owners has been replaced by increased numbers of residents living in rental accommodations, without the sense of security of tenure enjoyed by earlier settlers. They remain highly dependent on public policy to confer basic forms of residential protection. Figure 12 indicates that nearly 43% of all dwellings in

the rapid growth suburbs were occupied by tenants in 1976. North York had the highest proportion of tenants at 47%, followed by Etobicoke and Scarborough. Enclosure 24 indicates heavy concentrations of tenants in four districts of North York and two districts in Scarborough; M.P.D. 5C in North York contained the third highest proportion of tenants in Metro, with M.P.D. 10B, also in North York, fourth highest. The incorporation of tenant households into the social and political life of the community, a task difficult to achieve in the central area, is another new challenge to be faced in Metro's suburbs in the years ahead.

The wide-spread location of apartments in the suburbs has conferred physical accessibility to the suburban environment for many social and cultural groups of people. It has thereby contributed to the social diversification of the environment, and as a result, introduced characteristics of the central urban area to the suburbs. Another major source of social diversity in Metro's suburbs has been the growth in publicly assisted housing units, enabling families and individuals from modest income backgrounds to settle in the suburbs.

Figure: 12

Percentage Tenant Occupied Dwellings, of All Occupied Dwellings, 1976

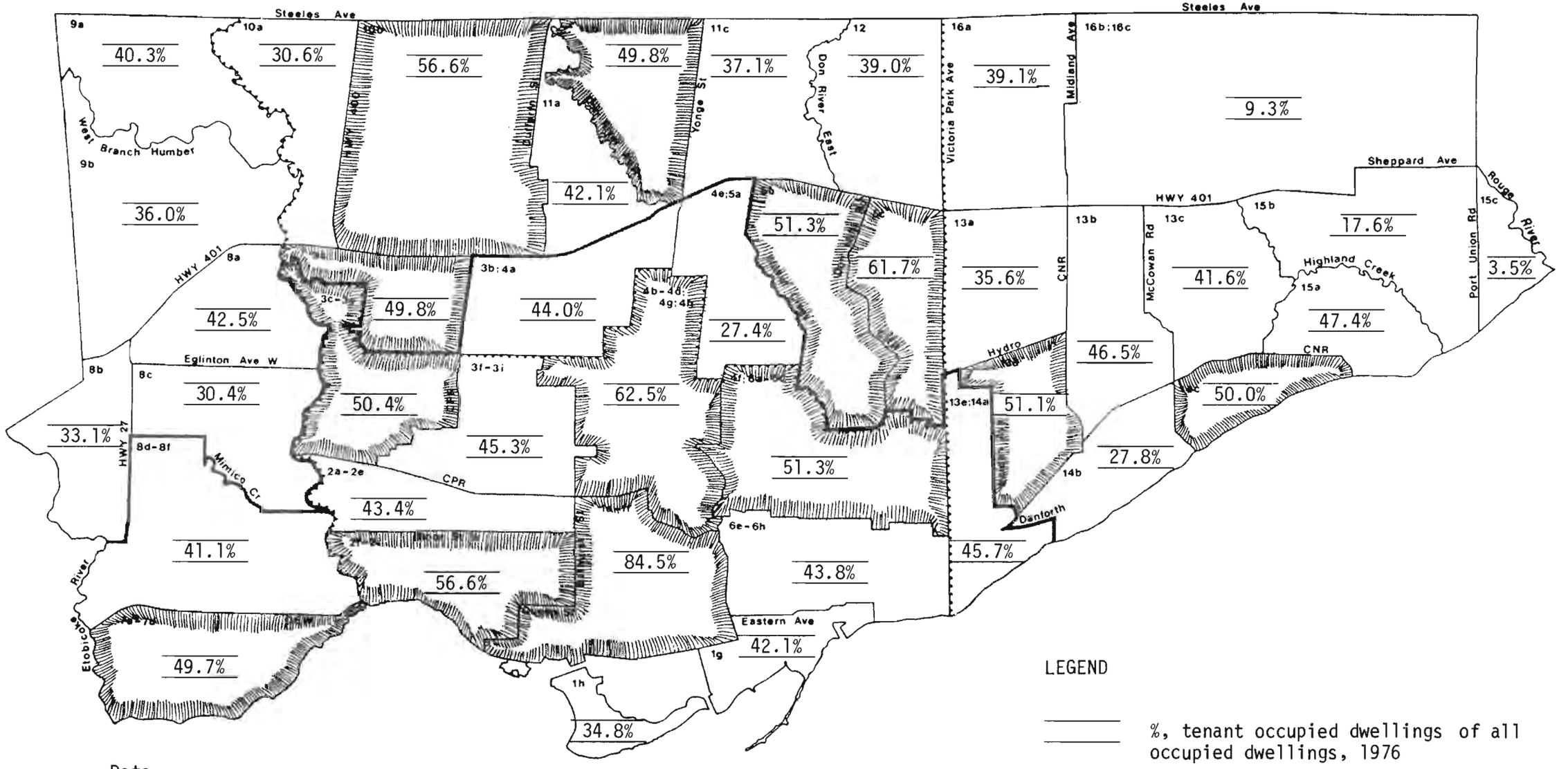


COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

Scarborough	38.4%
Etobicoke	40.2%
North York	47.2%
York	49.6%
East York	56.3%
Toronto (City)	59.5%

Data Source: Statistics Canada

ENCLOSURE 24: DISTRIBUTIONS (PLANNING DISTRICTS): TENANT OCCUPIED DWELLINGS, OF ALL OCCUPIED DWELLINGS, 1976



Data
Source: Statistics Canada

LEGEND

%, tenant occupied dwellings of all occupied dwellings, 1976

Districts where 50% or more of all dwellings are tenant occupied

The introduction of apartments and publicly assisted housing to the rapid growth suburbs of Metro was the result of stated public policies in the Metroplitan Toronto Plan of 1958. The form of suburban development anticipated by the 1958 plan was to make Metro once more unique in North America. The objective was to avoid the stratification of the region, with the poor left in the central area and the more affluent withdrawing into suburban enclaves. Providing accommodation in the suburbs to those on limited incomes was one way to avoid regional stratification. In large measure the objectives of the 1958 Plan have been achieved.

Table 10 documents the distribution of publicly assisted low and medium rental housing between the rapid growth suburbs and the central urban area. Medium rental stock is included, such as co-op/non-profit, since these units are sometimes occupied by lower income residents through rent supplements. Limited dividend developments are also included; they incorporate indirect subsidies to enable housing accessibility for those on more modest incomes. The total of publicly assisted low and medium rental stock is identified, as indicators of social diversity and the presence of populations with more modest incomes, less able to privately secure resources and support and thereby more dependent on the availability of community-provided services.

Metro's rapid growth suburbs now contain a larger proportion of publicly assisted housing stock than is located in the central urban area - nearly 53% of all of Metro's O.H.C. developments, 60% of Metro Senior Citizen Housing, and 50% of limited dividend projects. It should be remembered that the rapid growth suburbs contain only 45% of Metro's housing units. The central area contains a far higher proportion of more recent forms of publicly assisted housing, co-op/non-profit, which are less concentrated and more integrated forms of development. Only 5% of all co-op/non-profit housing units are in the newer suburbs. This reflects the commitment of the City of Toronto to promote publicly assisted housing alternatives to the traditionally large developments, and the absence of such initiatives in the suburbs. It is estimated that 9% of all housing units in the rapid growth suburbs are publicly assisted, in contrast to 6% in the central area. There is the assumption however, that some older housing of the central area remains a source of accommodation to families and individuals on modest incomes.

Table: 10

(a) Number of Units and the Percentage Distribution of Total Publicly Assisted Housing Stock by Category Within Metropolitan Toronto

Area of Metro	O.H.C. Developments (1976)	Metro Seniors (1976)	Co-op/ Non-Profit (1978)	Limited Dividend (1978)	Total: Low/Medium Rental Publicly Assisted Housing
Rapid Growth Suburbs	14,805 (52.5%)	5,548 (59.7%)	143 (5.1%)	10,447 (71.1%)	30,943 (56.3%)
Central Urban Area	13,400 (47.5%)	3,743 (40.3%)	2,639 (94.9%)	4,242 (28.9%)	24,025 (43.7%)
METRO TOTALS	28,205 (100.0%)	9,291 (100.0%)	2,782 (100.0%)	14,689 (100.0%)	54,968 (100.0%)

(b) Estimated Percentage Distribution of Total Publicly Assisted Housing Stock, All Housing Units (1976/78)

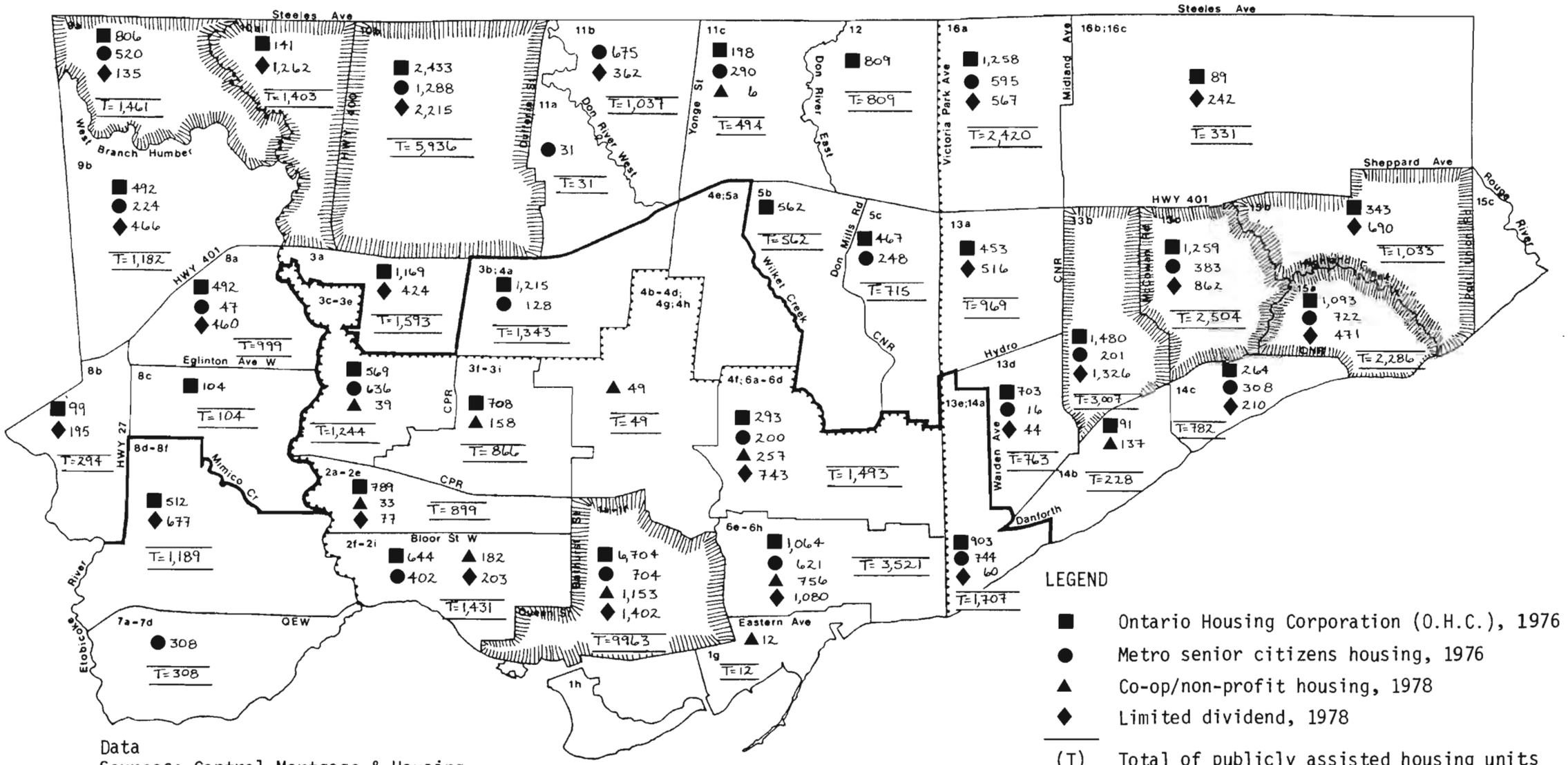
Rapid growth suburbs - 9.3%

Central urban area - 5.8%

The distributions provide strong evidence that Metropolitan Toronto has become stratified into rich and poor municipalities as in other urban regions of North America. Families and individuals on modest incomes can be housed in both suburban and central area municipalities. It then becomes important to examine the ways in which this objective has been met.

Enclosure 25 documents the distribution of publicly assisted housing stock across districts. The distributions indicate that the objective has largely been met in some municipalities through creating high concentrations of publicly assisted stock. Seven of the eight districts in Metro with the highest concentrations are located in the rapid growth suburbs. Thus all municipalities in Metro including the suburbs, have a diversity of income groups; the stratification that does exist is within the suburbs between areas with high concentrations of publicly assisted housing and those districts with low proportions. These concentrations reproduce the traditional exclusionary patterns of the central area. The lowest proportion of low and medium rental publicly assisted housing stock in any major district of Metro is to be found in the district grouping 4B-4D/4G/4H in the central area.

The reproduction in the suburbs of central area concentrations in the distribution of publicly assisted housing stock has led to some important differences. The compactness of the central area and the ready availability of public transit makes it easier for residents to move into the general community. Suburban O.H.C. developments in some districts are cut off from the general community through excessive distance and the absence of adequate public transportation services for transit-dependent populations. This often results in higher states of isolation from experiences outside the development. Where such isolated concentrations exist, particularly with O.H.C. sponsored housing, the result has been the creation of distinct neighbourhoods and communities with an O.H.C. identity. In some districts efforts have been made to co-locate public developments near commercial arterials and private subdivisions. In the absence of local voluntary agencies in these areas, co-location has not necessarily resulted in higher levels of social integration. Co-location by itself is not sufficent to promote the process of community building. Where public projects and subdivisions are contiguous, they tend to remain socially separate in states of tenuous co-existence.

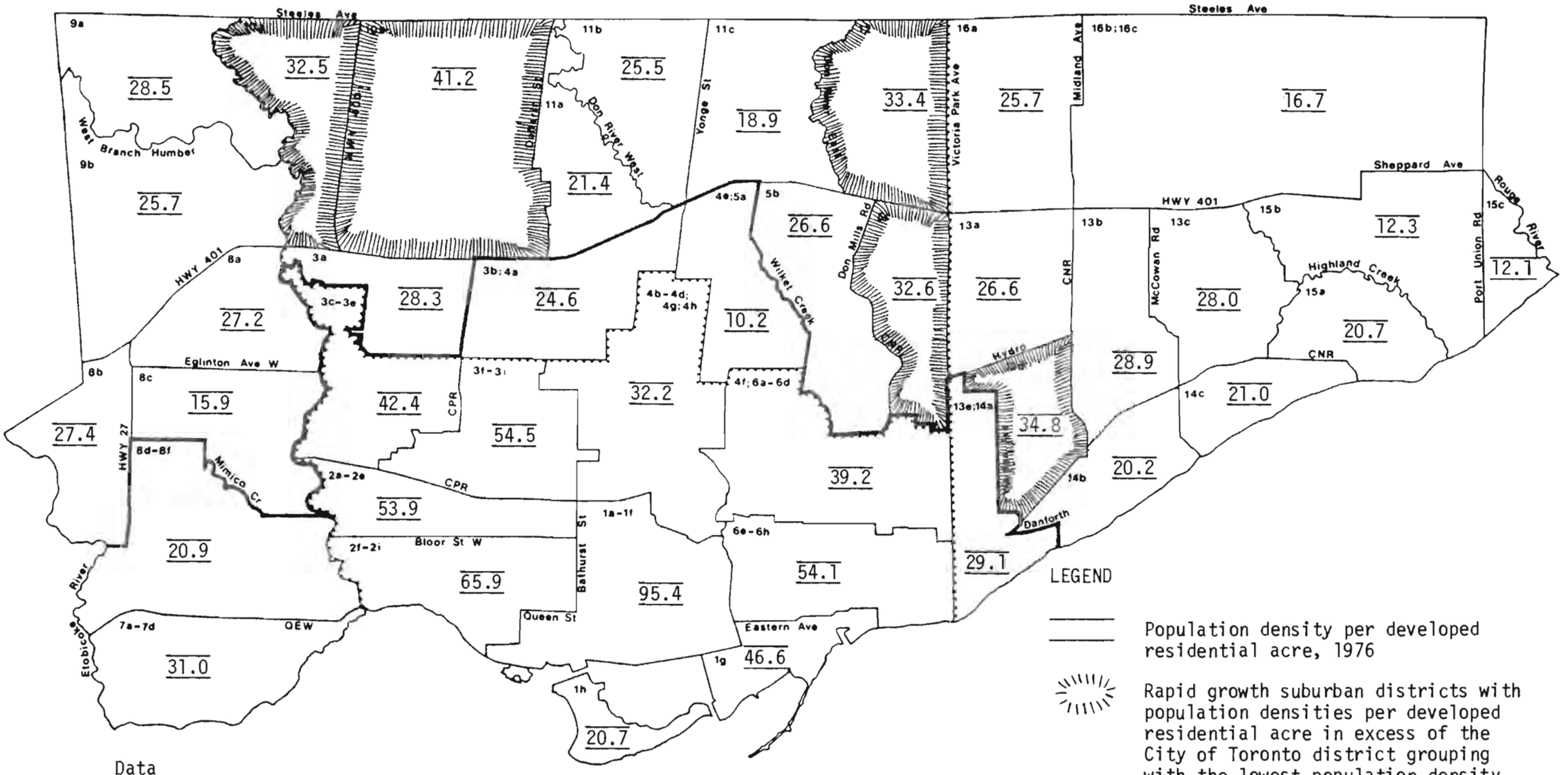

Steeles Ave
Steeles Ave
HWY 401
HWY 401
Sheppard Ave
Eglinton Ave W
Bloor St W
Danforth
QEW
Eastern Ave
CPR
CNR
Yonge St
Don River West
Don River East
Don Mills Rd
Victoria Park Ave
Midland Ave
Warden Ave
Hydro
Wilket Creek
Mimico Cr
HWY 27
Etobicoke River
Rouge River
West Branch Humber
9a 806 520 135 T=1,461
10a 141 1,262 T=1,403
10b 2,433 1,288 2,215 T=5,936
11b 675 362 T=1,037
11a 31 T=31
11c 198 290 6 T=494
12 809 T=809
16a 1,258 595 567 T=2,420
16b;16c 89 242 T=331
9b 492 224 466 T=1,182
8a 492 47 460 T=999
3a 1,169 424 T=1,593
3b;4a 1,215 128 T=1,343
4e;5a
5b 562 T=562
5c 467 248 T=715
13a 453 516 T=969
15b 1,259 383 862 T=2,504
15a 1,093 722 471 T=2,286
15c 343 690 T=1,033
8b 99 195 T=294
8c 104 T=104
3c-3e 569 636 39 T=1,244
3f-3i 708 158 T=866
4b-4d; 4g;4h 49 T=49
4f;6a-6d 293 200 257 743 T=1,493
13d 703 16 44 T=763
13e;14a
14b T=228
14c 264 308 210 T=782
8d-8f 512 677 T=1,189
2a-2e 789 33 77 T=899
2f-2i 644 402 182 203 T=1,431
6a-6d 6,704 704 1,153 1,402 T=9963
6e-6h 1,064 621 756 1,080 T=3,521
1g 12 T=12
1h
7a-7d 308 T=308
33b 1,480 201 1,326 T=3,007
91 137
903 744 60 T=1,707
LEGEND
Ontario Housing Corporation (O.H.C.), 1976
Metro senior citizens housing, 1976
Co-op/non-profit housing, 1978
Limited dividend, 1978
(T) Total of publicly assisted housing units
Districts (upper 1/5) with the highest proportion of publicly assisted housing units to all housing units
Data Sources: Central Mortgage & Housing
Ontario Housing Corporation
Metropolitan Toronto Housing Corporation

Within O.H.C. projects, important social and cultural changes have been taking place. These settings now include a variety of families, many who have only recently arrived in Canada. There have been minimal forms of ongoing support programs within these developments to promote stable settlement and inter-group relations. One or two community relations workers, under-used recreation and community facilities, do not represent a serious response to the support needs of the residents. Local schools have often been unprepared and without sufficient resources to accommodate to the range of social needs which children of varied cultural and family backgrounds bring with them to the classroom.

The policy objectives of the 1958 Plan to introduce low rent housing into the suburbs have been met. The ways in which these objectives have been met - isolated concentrations, absence of community services - have resulted in the creation of high need communities living in limited states of social integration with the general community, with serious and pressing human problems which are largely unaddressed.

The construction of O.H.C. projects in the suburbs is virtually over. The last O.H.C. project was completed in 1976. The corporation's assisted housing program in Metro is at a stand still. These developments have been blocked by community resistance, municipal opposition, lack of "suitable" sites and higher development costs. The breakdown in the post-war framework for the supply of family housing in the suburbs is complete. The private family market is increasingly inaccessible to average income families; the public sector is no longer producing family housing for low-income residents. There are no equivalent efforts at present in the suburbs to those of the City of Toronto in developing scattered and integrated forms of low and medium rental housing.

The diversity of housing stock in Metro's suburbs has altered traditional density patterns associated with post-war single-family home neighbourhoods. Figure 13 indicates that there are more dispersed patterns of population settlement in the rapid growth suburbs than in the central area. The ratio of population density per square mile of the post-war suburbs to the central area was 0.51 in 1976. There is however, somewhat less of a difference in the compactness of residential settlements. The suburban/central area ratio of population densities per developed residential acre was higher in 1976 at 0.63. Enclosure 26 distributes residential densities by planning districts.



LEGEND

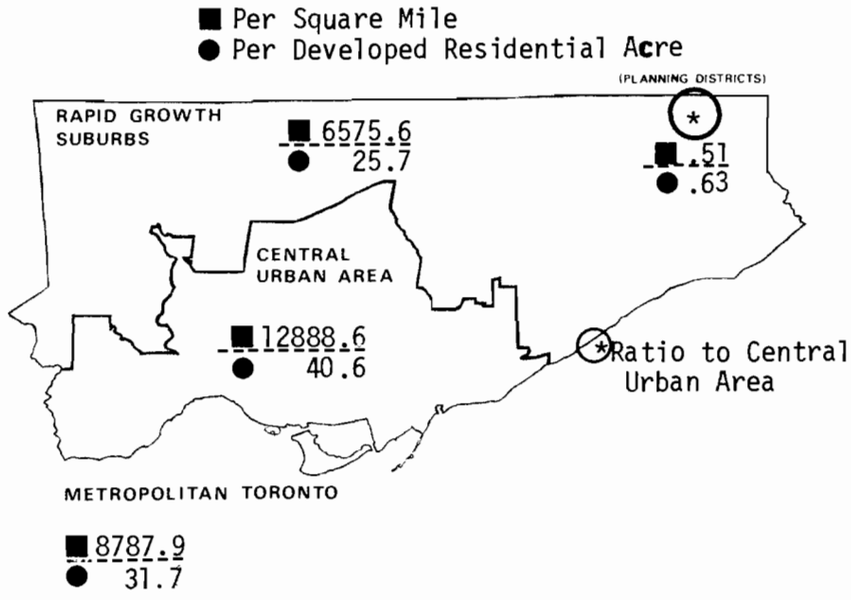
Population density per developed residential acre, 1976

Rapid growth suburban districts with population densities per developed residential acre in excess of the City of Toronto district grouping with the lowest population density per developed residential acre, 1976: M.P.D. 4B-4D/4G/4H-32.2

Data Sources: Metropolitan Toronto Planning Dept.
Statistics Canada

Figure: 13

Population Densities, 1976



Data Sources: Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, Statistics Canada

In 1976, five rapid growth suburban districts had population densities per developed residential acre in excess of the lowest district grouping in the City of Toronto. The residential density in M.P.D. 10B exceeded that of East York. In rapid growth suburban districts with multiple forms of housing, settlements are more compact, yet remain dispersed in relationship to the large community. The predominant image of sprawl across all of Metro's suburbs conceals the significant difference in residential densities that exist between districts. These images also conceal the significant disparities that exist within districts in land occupied by traditional single family homes, and in the amount of land occupied by high-rise apartment dwellers.

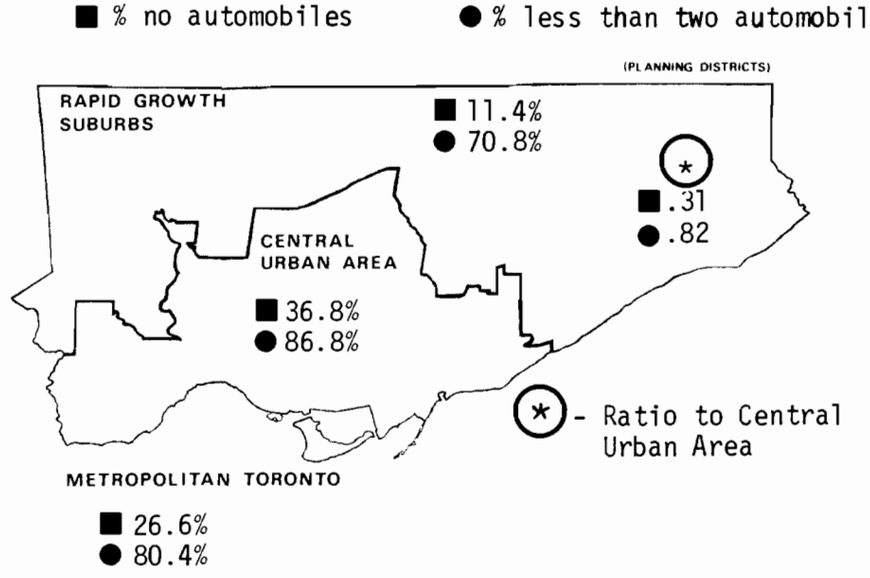
There are also significant differences in access to private forms of mobility. In highly dispersed residential areas, even where people live in somewhat more compact settings, walking is frequently not feasible either because of distance or climatic conditions. Reliance on the automobile, in contrast to walking or public transit, has come to be an accepted feature of suburban living. The two car household came to be associated with the post-war suburbs: one car to enable the adult male to commute to work; the second car, for women at home during the day

with children. In dispersed environments children become highly dependent upon adults for mobility outside the neighbourhood for specialized activities (e.g., organized sports, skill instruction) and for visiting friends. The second car was to enable mobility by women and children while the other car was driven to work. The lack of provision in the 1958 Plan for assigning public transit a major mobility role in the rapid growth areas would have assumed that suburban settlers could meet their mobility needs through access to a private automobile. These assumptions were not always made in the development of rapid growth suburbs or new towns at the periphery of established urban areas in the post-war periods. In Swedish new towns outside of Stockholm, rapid forms of public transit with connections to the urban core were built into the centre of new developments.[42]

Figure 14 indicates that by 1971 the assumptions about the extent of people's accessibility to the private automobile were not holding up. Only 29% of all households in the rapid growth suburbs had two or more automobiles. In 1971, 64% of all rapid growth households were housed in ground level dwellings. Assuming minimal levels of two car households in apartment dwellings, it is possible to state

Figure: 14

Percentage Households With No Automobiles and Less Than Two Automobiles, 1971



Data Source: Statistics Canada

42 D. Popenoe, op. cit.

that there were less than two cars in at least 60% of ground level suburban households in 1971. With many women either in the labour force, or at home during the day with children, one might therefore assume that there is some measure of transit dependence in the majority of suburban households. In 11% of rapid growth households there was no automobile at all. The 1976 census did not record automobile ownership in its household surveys. One can assume however that, with increasing numbers of elderly and lower income households in the suburbs, the number of suburban households without cars would have increased from 1971 to 1976.

In brief then, some of the new social conditions in Metro's rapid growth suburbs in the seventies include: major changes in the housing stock resulting in new forms of social and cultural diversity; large numbers of tenants; districts with residential densities in excess of some established central area districts; the reduction in average household size and in the size of established family households; and more limited than assumed access to automobile mobility.

The suburbs however, are also subject to important social and economic influences of the post-war period which are re-shaping the structure of living arrangements as reflected in household and family patterns. These changes are transforming the demands placed on the residential environments. For some households, there is far less support sought in the neighbourhood; for other households, dependence on the residential environment has increased considerably.

What we have witnessed in the post-war period is the emergence of the advanced welfare and market society, making available new forms of supportive services, protective benefits, and household commodities, thereby introducing new opportunities for personal living and household arrangements. Governments now provide important education, health, community service, and income programs. The market sector has widened the scope of its activity, moving extensively into the field of personal services in support of daily living: this includes functions such as food preparation, convenience shopping, cleaning, personal maintenance, opportunities for diversion through entertainment and travel.

For increasing numbers of those who are employed, work settings have become new sources of social protection and support. Employment financed pension, health, disability programs, leisure activities, a heightened emphasis on continuing education both within the workplace and outside, expanding opportunities for work-related mobility and

personal network formation, are transforming the workplace from a functional setting focused primarily on production, to one in which increased forms of social attachment are encouraged and supported. The human resource or social development dimension to the work setting is in some measure an outgrowth of the new imperatives flowing from technical and service work. Individuals are expected to exercise more discretionary judgement in carrying out assignments, and in successfully meeting organizational objectives.

The implications of these changes for personal living are profound. Forms of support and protection which adults and children traditionally secured through family households, kinship networks, and belief structure are increasingly available within the general community. Access to broad forms of support and protection now exist outside the sphere of traditional private relationships such as birth, marriage, kinship, charity, and domestic servitude. Support and protection in the advanced welfare and market society exist in theory for all those who possess public access rights in the forms of: community membership - for government and voluntary programs, income resources - for market services, and labour value - for employment related benefits.

The result has been the gradual decline of individual dependence on families and private households for many of the necessities of daily functioning and survival. In effect, both the market and public sectors, through their services, programs, and employment policies, have socialized - or made publicly available - important forms of support and protection for personal living. Private households have traditionally been the physical and social environments through which primary forms of support and protection for daily living have been secured. The critical settings in the post-war period through which increasing numbers of people have come to secure, either directly or indirectly, primary forms of support and protection for daily living are increasingly organized and situated in public environments, or in what have been recently designated as public households.[43]

---

43 The concept of public households has emerged as one of the themes for a publication in progress on the emerging service society (University League for Social Reform, Toronto; R.M. Novick, E. Frerichs, authors and editors). The public household theme has been subsequently pursued by J. Lemon, The Urban Community Movement: Moving Toward Public Households, in D. Ley, M. Samuels, Humanistic Geography, Maaroufa Press, Chicago, 1978.

Public households are situated in the community, the marketplace, the work setting, and most often co-exist with personal and family households. They are distinct public environments through which some or all of the social benefits for daily living are secured. Some public households offer their benefits through becoming alternative environments in which people spend periods of time together. Other public households confer their supportive and protective benefits directly on the private household and its members.

There are four main functions which public households serve in relation to people's daily living needs:

(1) they can relieve private household members from the routines, stress, and risks of daily life.

One out of every five food dollars is now spent outside the home; this should increase to one out of every three dollars by the end of the eighties. There are few individuals who consume all their meals in the course of a week in their private households. This is also true for older children and adolescents who increasingly consume food in fast food chains, independent from adults.

Therapy programs and self-help groups are public environments outside the private household in which problems associated with daily living are assessed and responded to.

There are increasing numbers of community agencies which make their benefits available within the private household. Homemaking and home support services to the elderly, the infirm, the convalescent, families under stress, parents of the retarded are publicly organized benefits to enable residents to maintain private living arrangements.

The insurance principle is a public household benefit protecting people from the risks of daily life.

(2) they can extend opportunities for social experiences and personal development beyond what the private household is able to offer.

For many adults, the work place has become an important source of support and protection beyond the traditional labour-income relationship. Work places, particularly in service settings, are environments in in which sustained, diverse, and sometimes intimate forms of adult living take place. People occupy designated locations, have lunch together, sometimes travel and learn together, increasingly make decisions together, and frequently see each other outside the context of work.

For children the extension of social opportunities are primarily associated with educational households, through which a similar range of living experiences and opportunities take place. In the post-war period, children and adolescents have extended considerably the length of time spent in educational households at secondary and post-secondary levels.

The great debate of the seventies has been over whether pre-school children require public day care households to acquire opportunities for learning and development beyond the experiences available in private households. Public policy in Ontario still sees day care households as sources of relief to low-income families from routine functions of daily life where the mother is in the labour force, or as a relief from the stress of daily life where the mother is living alone.

The most dramatic extension of public household experiences for adults and children in the post-war period has been through the introduction of television into private households. Many hours are now spent by millions of people every day in common contact with social images and experiences that cover an infinite range of human life situations.

(3) they can serve as <u>transitional living environments</u>, as temporary alternatives to private household living in response to stress, illness, or as a result of mobility to more distant places.

Most people during the course of a year live in public settings away from their private households for limited periods of time. The most frequent occasion for such forms of residence is as a result of travel for leisure, or in relation to employment. Levels of travel in the post-war period have increased substantially. Hotels have emerged as major settings for transitional living. They also serve as centres of continuing education for visitors and local residents.

University domitories were at one stage public households for the supervision of young adults living away from family households. While levels of supervision have decreased in post-war years, they remain publicly organized environments for temporary forms of common living.

Hospitals were one of the first forms of public household living as centres of healing and care. In recent years there is growing recognition that temporary households are needed for women under stress (with or without children), youth from unstable homes, transient

adults unfamiliar with urban living, half-way houses for people on the road back into private household living.

Children are often subject to changes or instability in their home environments requiring temporary living arrangements such as foster care programs operated by child welfare agencies.

(4) they can serve as primary living environments where high states of dependence exist.

There are groups of adults and children, such as the retarded, the handicapped, the disturbed, and the deviant, who have been unable to remain in private households for purposes of daily living. The tradiitional response to groups unable to live in private households has been to create public households removed from residential communities. These types of public households are referred to as institutions. They include treatment centres, mental institutions, prisons, residences in isolated rural settings. They are institutional in that they reproduce within themselves all the physical and social conditions associated with the daily needs of the people they serve. Institutional households assume the inability of individuals to make productive use of the physical and social resources of residential communities.

These assumptions have come to be increasingly challenged. It is now believed that many dependent groups of people can, with special forms of daily support and protection, lead increasingly productive lives in residential communities as members of specially designed public households which are more commonly referred to as "group homes".

The emergence of public households as sources of support and protection have increased adult opportunities to pursue varied and independent forms of personal living. New private household arrangements have altered traditional relationships to the local neighbourhood. For those who are mobile, employed, and without dependents, basic forms of support, protection, and experience are increasingly to be found outside the neighbourhood in the workplace and in the market. Those who lack mobility, who are not employed but live on their own, have become increasingly dependent on the forms of public household benefits available within or close to residential areas.

Changes in patterns of adult living are challenging the social fabric of the classic suburban neighbourhood. The organizational principles of the post-war suburbs assumed the self-sufficiency of private households and a common rootedness to the neighbourhood through the parenting function. The one public household whose presence was at the centre of neighbourhood life was the elementary school. Market services were banished from the neighbourhood, as were other public household environments. Zoning sought to preserve the homogeneity of the neighbourhood as a place for child rearing families.

The composition of private households has changed considerably. There are families in different stages of development; there are growing numbers of adults living in families without children, or living alone. Women are increasingly out of the home during the day.

New kinds of households, and new forms of daily life, have led to changing neighbourhood relationships. With fewer children there is less common rootedness to the neighbourhood. Many households require additional forms of support beyond the elementary school.

Suburban neighbourhoods in Metro are being pressed to adapt in a number of basic ways. Most of these proposed adaptations involve the introduction of new public households into neighbourhoods and surrounding areas to support the diverse needs of private households. Some of the most acutely contested planning issues now relate to: (1) group homes, (2) day care centres, (3) crisis hostels for women and youth, (4) public non-profit housing, (5) fast food chains directed to young people, (6) mixed use redevelopment along major arterials to accommodate public transit, employment centres, and diverse forms of housing.

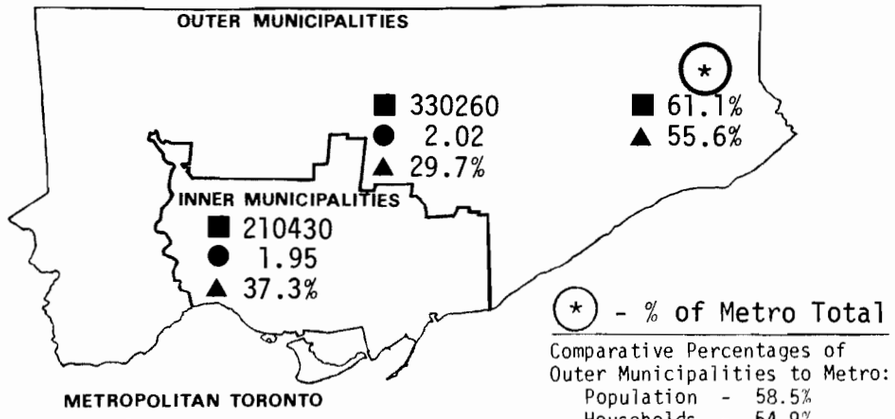
The resistance to thse changes is in defence of the classic neighbourhood, with its classic family households. It becomes useful then to examine the state of household and family patterns in Metro's suburbs, to assess the extent to which the classic family household pattern remains.

Figure 15 identifies family patterns in Metro in 1976. Suburban municipalities contain 61% of Metro's families, in excess of the central area. Not all suburban families have children living at home. In 30% of suburban families in 1976, there were no children at home. This in large measure identifies families referred to as "empty nesters", where children have grown up and left to live on their own.

Figure: 15

Distributions: Family Patterns, 1976

■ number of families
● average number of children per family with children at home
▲ percentage of families with no children at home



COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

North York	■ 147820 ● 2.02 ▲ 29.9%	Etobicoke	■ 80495 ● 2.00 ▲ 33.1%
Toronto (City)	■ 143870 ● 2.04 ▲ 36.6%	York	■ 36955 ● 1.93 ▲ 33.9%
Scarborough	■ 101945 ● 2.05 ▲ 26.7%	East York	■ 29605 ● 1.74 ▲ 44.7%

Data Source: Statistics Canada

NOTE: Census defines a child as an unmarried offspring of any age; the primary age span for children is 24 years and under.

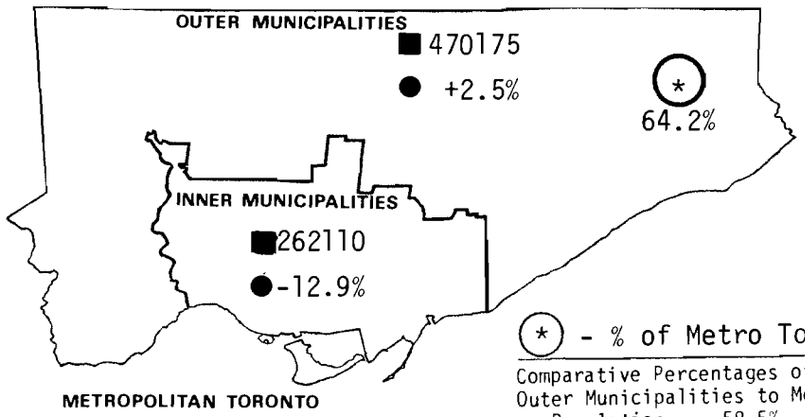
In those families where there are children still living at home, there are on average slightly over two children in such suburban families.

Figure 16 reveals that there was only marginal growth in the number of children at home from 1971 to 1976 in Scarborough and North York. These were the municipalities where much of the continued rapid growth from 1971 to 1976 took place. There was less growth in Etobicoke during the same period, and the number of children at home declined by 5%. The sharpest decline in Metro was in the City of Toronto where there were 15% fewer children at home in 1976 than in 1971.

One significant difference in suburban family patterns is in the greater number of children aged 18-24 who are still living at home. This might account for the slightly higher average number of children in suburban families. Figure 17 reveals that 48% of older children at home in suburban municipalities are in full-time attendance at school. This is somewhat higher than in the inner municipalities. North York had the highest proportion of older children at home and in school (51%); York and Toronto were lowest (under 40%).

Figure: 16
Distributions: Children at Home, 1976.

■ Number of Children at Home 1976
● Percentage Change 1971-1976



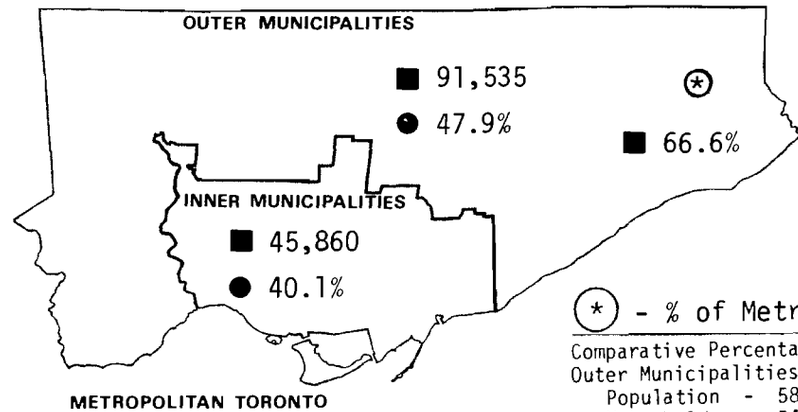
COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

Scarborough	■ 153150	Etobicoke	■ 107820
	● +6.9%		● -5.3%
North York	■ 209205	York	■ 47085
	● +3.8%		● -9.0%
East York	■ 47085	Toronto (City)	■ 186480
	● -5.2%		● -14.9%

Data
Source: Statistics Canada

Figure: 17
Distributions: Full-Time School Attendance,
Children at Home Aged 18-24, 1976

■ Number of Children aged 18-24, at Home
● Percentage Attending School Full-Time



COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS-ONTARIO ● 47.4%

North York	■ 40,290	Scarborough	■ 27,685
	● 50.9%		● 43.0%
Etobicoke	■ 23,560	Toronto (City)	■ 32,875
	● 48.4%		● 39.7%
East York	■ 5,085	York	■ 7,900
	● 44.6%		● 38.9%

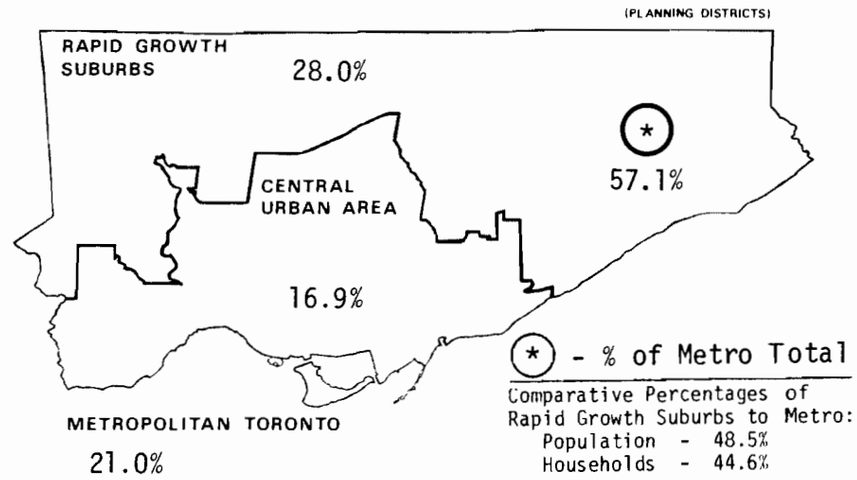
Data
Source: Statistics Canada

From the previous figures the following observations can be made. There is a mixed distribution of children in suburban families. There are now a significant number of families without any children living at home. In those families with children at home, around 20% of these children are 18 and over, with about half of them attending school full-time. From 1971 to 1976, even with pockets of growth in Scarborough and North York, there were only marginal increases in the number of children at home. There are fewer children aged 0-4; more older children will be leaving home in the coming years. It is more likely that suburban families with two children will become the upper range of family size in the future, rather than the middle range as at present, and the lower range as in the earlier post-war period. With fewer numbers of children in suburban families and neighbourhoods, there is less need for large suburban lots with extensive setbacks, and family housing with more than three bedrooms.

There is another reason to reconsider the scale of family housing in the suburbs. In the classic or prototype post-war suburban family, daily maintenance of the large family house was made possible because women worked inside the home on a full-time basis. With large numbers of suburban women in the labour force, this situation has changed considerably. In Figure 18 it is estimated that

Figure: 18

Estimated Percentage of Husband-Wife Families With Children At Home and Wife Working in the Home, of All Households, 1976.



Data Source: Statistics Canada

in 1976 only 28% of all suburban households were of the post-war prototype with women at home full-time with children. In the majority of suburban households, women were either in the labour force, or at home full-time without children.

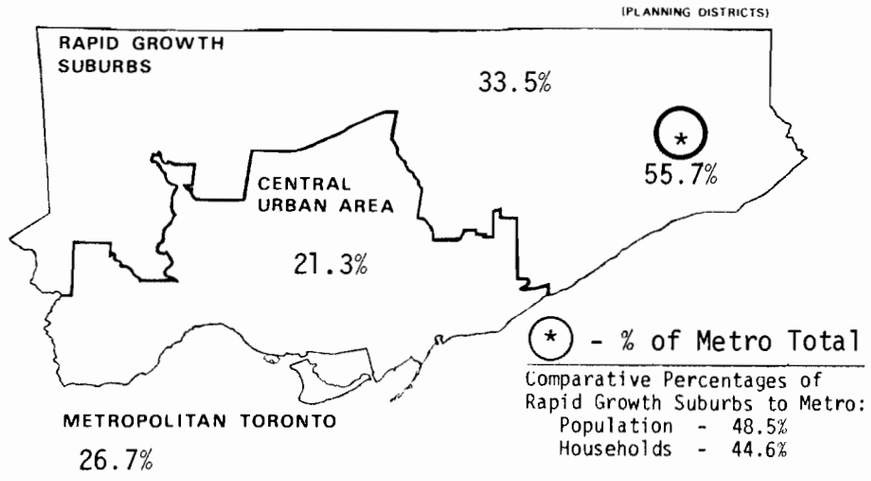
This clearly is a major change in family patterns. Community standards tended to discourage women from seeking work outside the home. As recently as 1966 the Metro Social Planning Council, in reviewing social conditions in the community, cited high levels of women in the labour force as an unfavourable social condition in a local area.[44]

In brief then, two conditions of the post-war prototype family have changed - the prospect of fewer children living at home, and far fewer women working at home full-time. Figure 19 and Enclosure 27 examine the extent to which the classic suburban family unit of two adults raising younger children still prevails. The classic family unit has been defined as one in which there were only two adults aged 16 and over, with at least one child twelve and under. Families with one or more adolescent aged 16 and over are therefore not included.

44 Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, Metropolitan Toronto: Social Planning Area Profiles, February 1966, P. 135

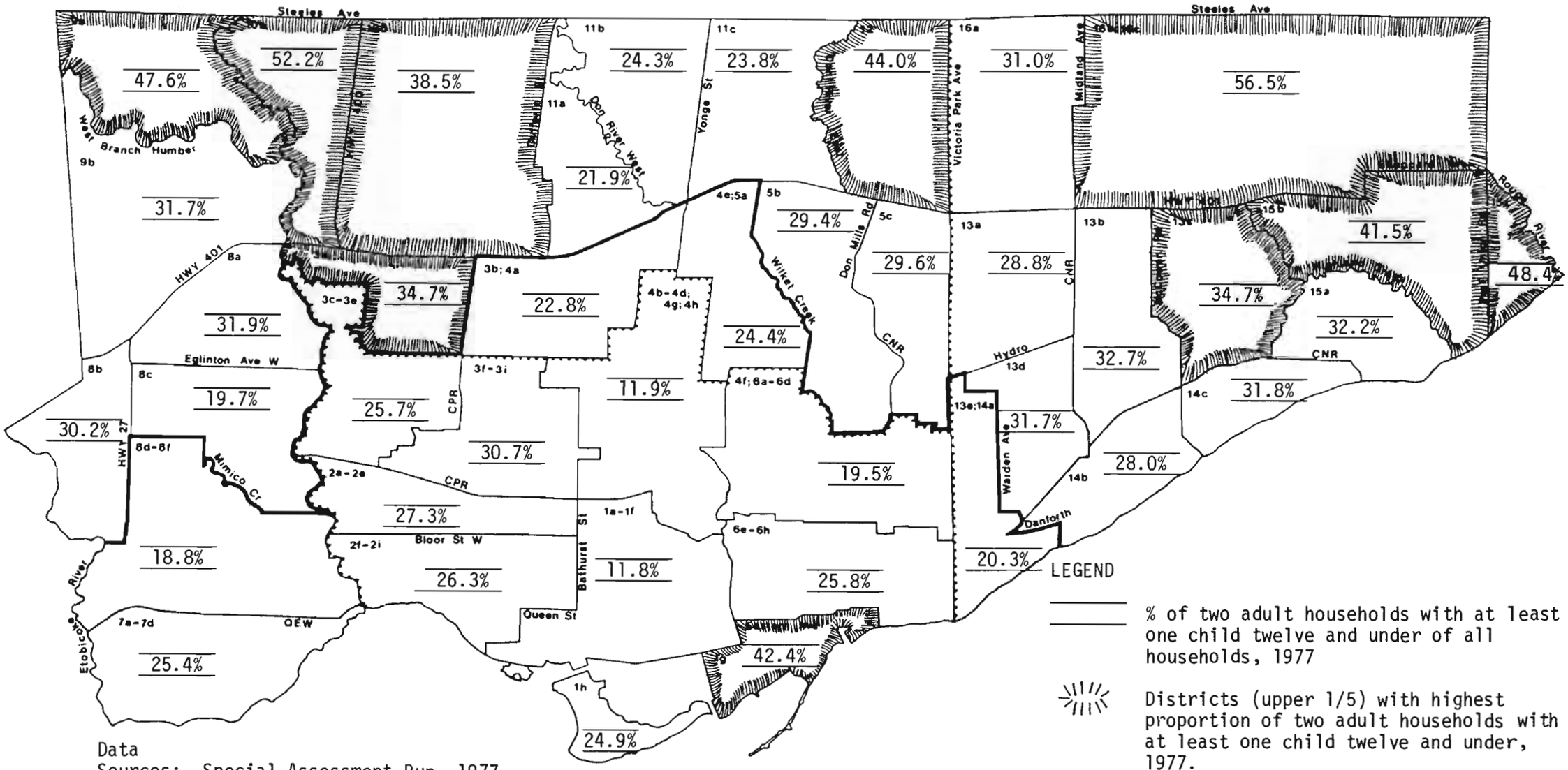
Figure: 19

Estimated Pecentage of Two Adult Households With At Least One Child Twelve and Under of All Households, 1977



Data Sources: Special Assessment Run, 1977

ENCLOSURE 27: DISTRIBUTIONS (PLANNING DISTRICTS): ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE OF TWO ADULT HOUSEHOLDS WITH AT LEAST ONE CHILD TWELVE AND UNDER OF ALL HOUSEHOLDS, 1977



LEGEND

% of two adult households with at least one child twelve and under of all households, 1977

Districts (upper 1/5) with highest proportion of two adult households with at least one child twelve and under, 1977.

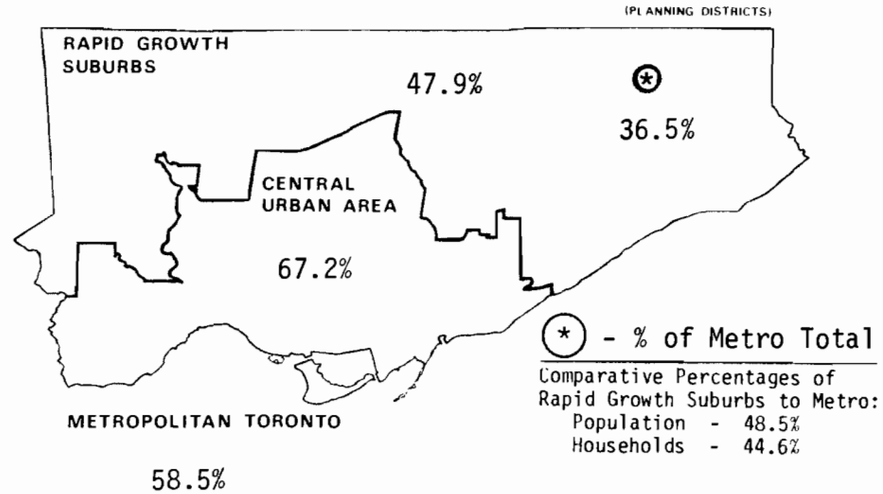
Data Sources: Special Assessment Run, 1977
Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department
Metropolitan Toronto Social Services Department
Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto

In 1977 it is estimated that only one out of every three households in the rapid growth suburbs consisted of two adults raising younger children. In only four rapid growth districts - M.P.D. 9A, M.P.D. 10A, M.P.D. 16B/C, M.P.D. 15C - did the proportion of these households come near to or exceed 50%. In the balance of the rapid growth suburbs, the classic family unit had in the mid-seventies become a minority household in their respective communities. The proportion of these households in the suburbs however was on the whole still higher than in the central urban area.

The balance of suburban households consist of either older children, one parent families, or no children at all. Figure 20 and Enclosure 28 identify the estimated distribution of households where there is no child aged 0-17 in the household. These would be households with fairly limited relationships to the school system. In 1976 nearly one-half of all post-war suburban households did not include a child aged 0-17. This was highest in Etobicoke at 56%, lowest in Scarborough with only 46% of such households. There were five suburban districts which were above the Ontario percentage in 1976. In these districts, and much of the central area, around three out of every five households were without children aged 0-17.

Figure: 20

Estimated Percentage of Households With No Child 0-17, Of All Households, 1976

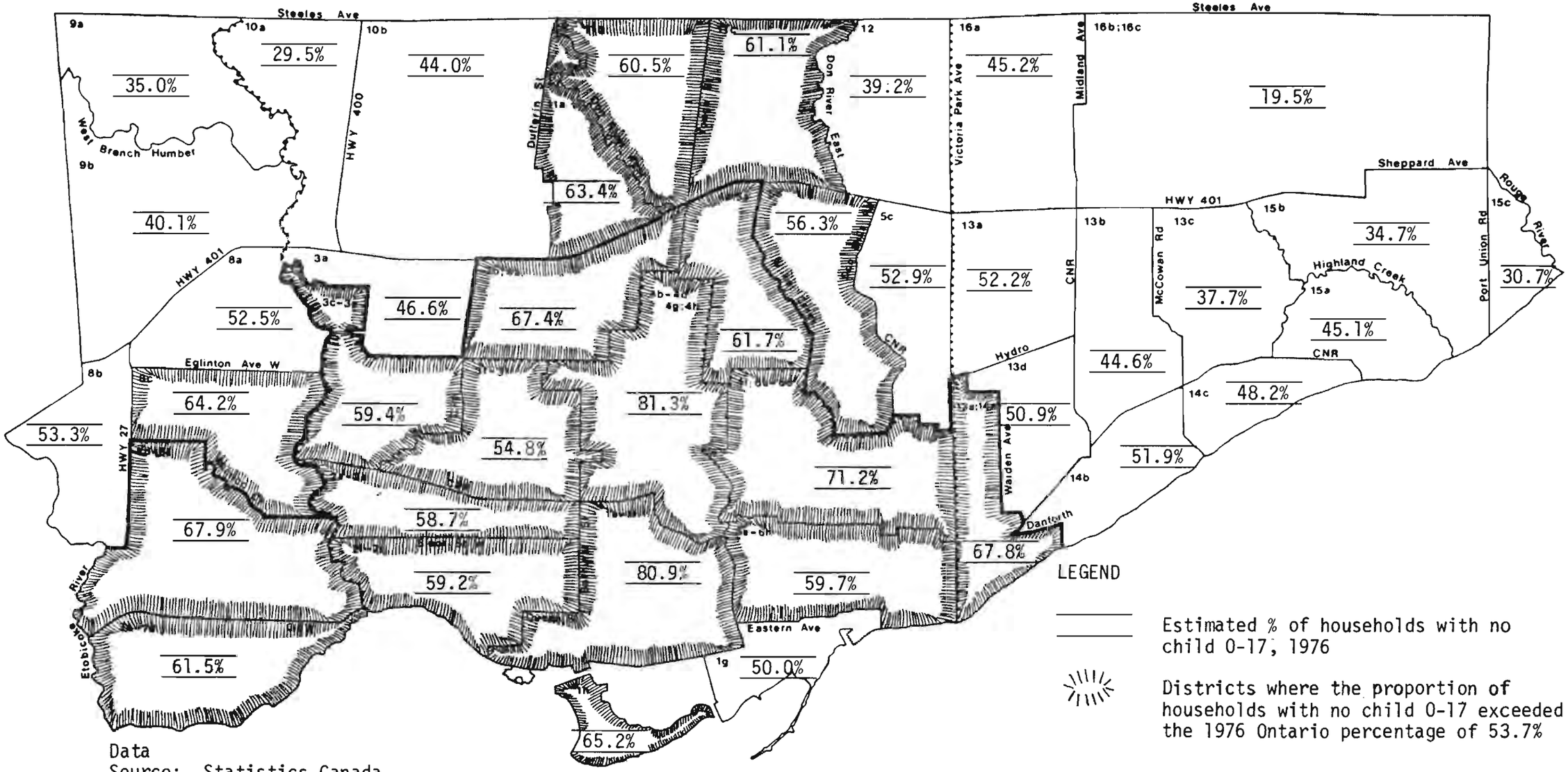


COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

Scarborough	45.7%
North York	52.1%
Etobicoke	56.4%
York	60.5%
Toronto (City)	68.3%
East York	71.2%

Data Source: Statistics Canada

ENCLOSURE 28: DISTRIBUTIONS (PLANNING DISTRICTS): ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH NO CHILD 0-17, OF ALL HOUSEHOLDS, 1976



LEGEND

Estimated % of households with no child 0-17, 1976

Districts where the proportion of households with no child 0-17 exceeded the 1976 Ontario percentage of 53.7%

Data Source: Statistics Canada

These distributions raise a fundamental question of whether educational financing in the suburbs and Metro can continue to visibly draw so heavily on the household related property tax, when fewer and fewer households have an ongoing relationship to the schools. Suburban districts with higher proportions of households with school-age children are those where continued growth occurred from 1971 to 1976, and where there are higher levels of publicly assisted housing.

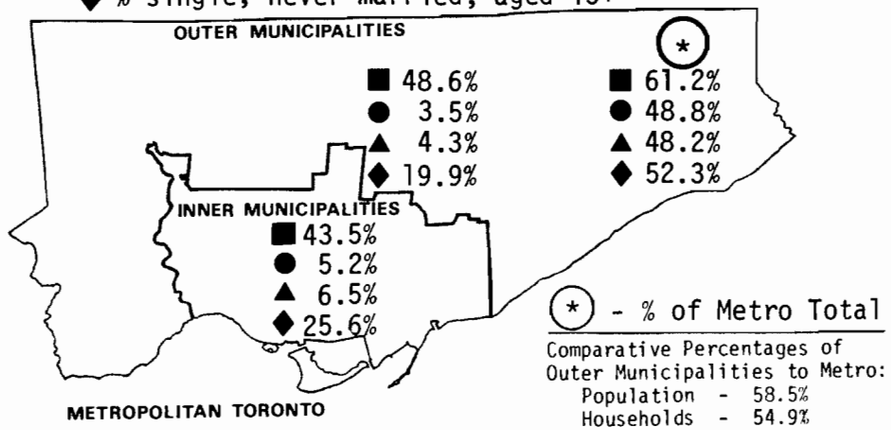
The decline of the classic family unit in the suburbs also reflects changing forms of family life. The suburbs of Metro have not been immune to larger societal patterns. Figure 21 identifies the marital status of the population aged 15 and over in relation to the total population. The majority of adults in suburban municipalities were living as husband and wife, slightly higher than in the central area. These were not all necessarily first marriages. In 1976 over 3% of suburban adults were living in states of separation and divorce with or without children. For some these would be a transitional form of living prior to remarriage; for others separation and divorce would begin a new stage of independent living. Widowed adults comprised 4% of the population in suburban municipalities; their numbers will grow in the coming years. Marital patterns were fairly similar in Etobicoke, North York, and Scarborough. In the inner municipalities there were lower proportions of adults living in marriage, a higher proportion who who living either separated, divorced, or widowed. Nevertheless, the differences in marital instability were not significant. The major difference was in the proportion of adults who were single and had never married. In the inner municipalities, more of the singles would be living on their own, rather than at home with their parents.

Changes in the stability of marriage, more older families in the suburbs where one spouse passes away, adults living on their own, in states of transition outside of marriage, with or without children, with or without other adults, adjustments to remarriage where there are children involved on either or both sides, these are major changes in family life which now exist in the suburbs of Metro.

All of these changes have a number of common implications: (1) they tend to reduce either temporarily or permanently levels of discretionary income available to adults. This reduces their capacity to independently sustain the private and public costs associated with the post-war suburban framework - of the large lot, the large home, low density neighbourhoods, inefficient land use for public

Figure: 21
Distributions: Marital Patterns of Population 15+, As a Percentage of Total Population, 1976

■ % in husband-wife relationship
● % separated, divorced
▲ % widowed
◆ % single, never married, aged 15+



COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

East York	■ 50.1% ● 4.7% ▲ 7.4% ◆ 20.9%	York	■ 48.1% ● 3.6% ▲ 5.6% ◆ 20.5%
Etobicoke	■ 49.7% ● 3.6% ▲ 4.6% ◆ 20.8%	Scarborough	■ 47.8% ● 3.5% ▲ 4.2% ◆ 18.9%
North York	■ 48.5% ● 3.4% ▲ 4.2% ◆ 20.1%	Toronto	■ 41.3% ● 5.6% ▲ 6.5% ◆ 27.5%

Data Source:
Statistics Canada

transit, dispersed centres of employment (2) they increased levels of adult dependence on community provided services and programs to compensate for the absence of adult contact and support available in and through marriage relationships.

Public debates over land use and zoning policies tend to avoid linking the physical form of a residential area to prevailing and emerging social patterns. Social and economic assumptions are implicit, but rarely surfaced and reviewed. The debates in urban planning highlight issues related to the economics of private production, the design features of physical forms, and the conveniences of established residents. One might suggest that the stability of an urban environment in the long run is less related to the principles of production, design and convenience, and far more related to the capacity of the built form to accommodate and reflect existing and emerging social realities. Compactness and more efficient land use in the suburbs to sustain community services, public transit, employment, lower cost family housing, are not arguments for an aesthetic vision of the urban form. They are statements of social need - of the physical conditions increasingly necessary to support and sustain changing forms of family life, and households with more modest incomes and resources.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the changing structure of suburban family households where children are being raised.

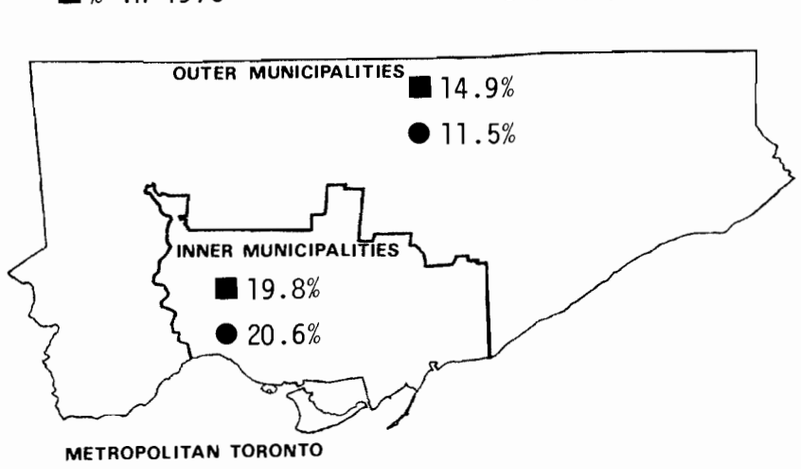
Figure 22 indicates that in 1976 almost one out of every six suburban families with children were lone-parent families. The proportion of these families increased from over 11% to nearly 15% in a five year period. The growth in the proportion of these families was similar in all three suburban municipalities. The proportion of lone-parent families was higher in the central area - one out of every five families - but had declined slightly since 1971.

Around 90% of all lone-parent families in the suburbs and Metro are headed by women. Figure 23 indicates that there has been a very substantial growth in the number of mother led families in the suburbs. From 1971 to 1976 there were 53% more mother led families in suburban municipalities - up by 64% in Scarborough, up 53% in North York, and up by 40% in Etobicoke, In 1976,Metro's suburbs had a higher number and a higher proportion of mother-led families than in the inner municipalities of Metro. In the City of Toronto there was an 8% decline in the number of mother-led families from 1971 to 1976.

Women who raise children on their own generally suffer from two forms of income loss: the absence of a second adult income in the household, and the lower earning levels of women in the labour force. In 1976 the average income of women-led family households was under 50% of the national family average. The implications for children growing up in suburban mother-led families are only too clear. If private family housing has become increasingly inaccessible to two-parent average income families, then it is virtually inaccessible to mother-led families - unless the mortgage has been largely paid up in an existing home, or there are very generous levels of child support payments being received. There is limited diversity of low-rise family housing in suburban neighbourhoods - duplex/triplex units, three or four storey apartments buildings. This makes it harder for suburban children to remain in their neighbourhoods, in their schools, and with friends, when the marriage of their parents breaks up. For children this means not only having to adjust to family life without one parent, but also to the disruption experienced when all the other familiar people and places in their lives disappear at the same time.

Figure: 22

Distributions: Percentage Lone-Parent Families Of All Families With Children in 1976 and 1971



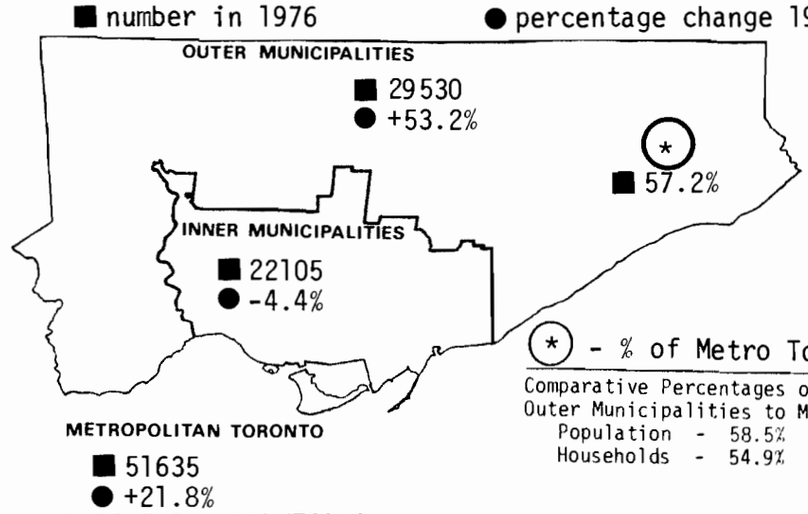
COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

Scarborough	■ 15.0% ● 11.5%	York	■ 16.1% ● 15.8%
North York	■ 14.8% ● 11.4%	East York	■ 20.4% ● 20.5%
Etobicoke	■ 14.9% ● 11.7%	Toronto (City)	■ 20.7% ● 21.8%

Data Sources: Statistics Canada
TEIGA, Government of Ontario

Figure: 23

Distributions: Female Headed Lone-Parent Families, 1971-1976



COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

ONTARIO	● +27.9%	Etobicoke	■ 6715 ● +40.0%
Scarborough	■ 9725 ● +63.7%	East York	■ 2820 ● +7.4%
North York	■ 13090 ● +53.3%	York	■ 3395 ● +3.7%
		Toronto (City)	■ 15950 ● -7.6%

Data Sources: Statistics Canada
TEIGA, Government of Ontario

Marriage instability, where one parent leaves the household, occurs across all family income groups. It is not always a situation that can be predicted, or for which children can be prepared. Suburban zoning policies, which do not permit diverse forms of low-rise family housing to exist, are insensitive to the residential needs of increasing numbers of children, who through no fault of their own, are in families where parents have separated. These policies are also insensitive to the residential needs of the widowed and elderly, some of whom might prefer to remain close to neighbourhoods where they have raised children or where their grandchildren now live, but are forced away because the housing choices are so stark - ground level houses which they cannot afford, or high rise apartments isolated from the community.

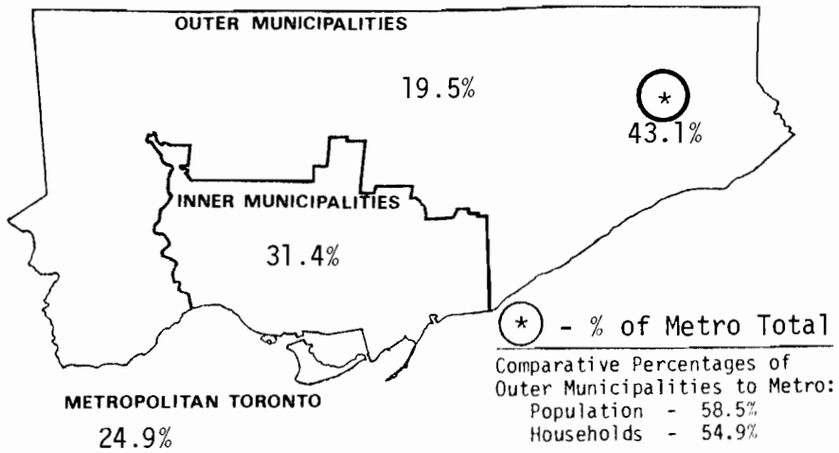
Metro's suburbs no longer consist of homogeneous family groups. There is a diversity of size and composition, age of adults and children, marital patterns, and roles of women, in suburban families of the seventies. The demand that suburban zoning preserve neighbourhoods in their original form clings to a set of historical images outside the realm of current social realities. These zoning policies only serve to exclude increasing numbers of children and elderly from suburban neighbourhoods. Some of those to be excluded in the future are living in these neighbourhoods today.

Women are now heading up households in increasing numbers. Figure 24 indicates that in 1976 one out of every five suburban households were headed by women. In the City of Toronto nearly one out of every three households are headed by women. These are households where women are raising children on their own, are living outside of marriage without children, and in 2%-4% of these households are living with husbands but have been declared the heads of their households. Women heading up households are responsible for their own maintenance; those who are not retired elderly are part of the growing majority of women who have a primary relationship to the labour force. Those who lump all women into the category of "secondary" wage earners fail to recognize the numbers of women in the suburbs and Metro who have become financially responsible for themselves.

Enclosure 29 identifies a new pattern of household living in the suburbs and Metro. The most predominant form of household formation in the post-war period in Metro and other North American urban settings has been the solitary person household. This is the result of large scale apartment development which has made solitary living financially accessible to adults, and to public household benefits that provide support and protection for

Figure: 24

Distributions: Percentage of Female Household Heads Of All Households, 1976



COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

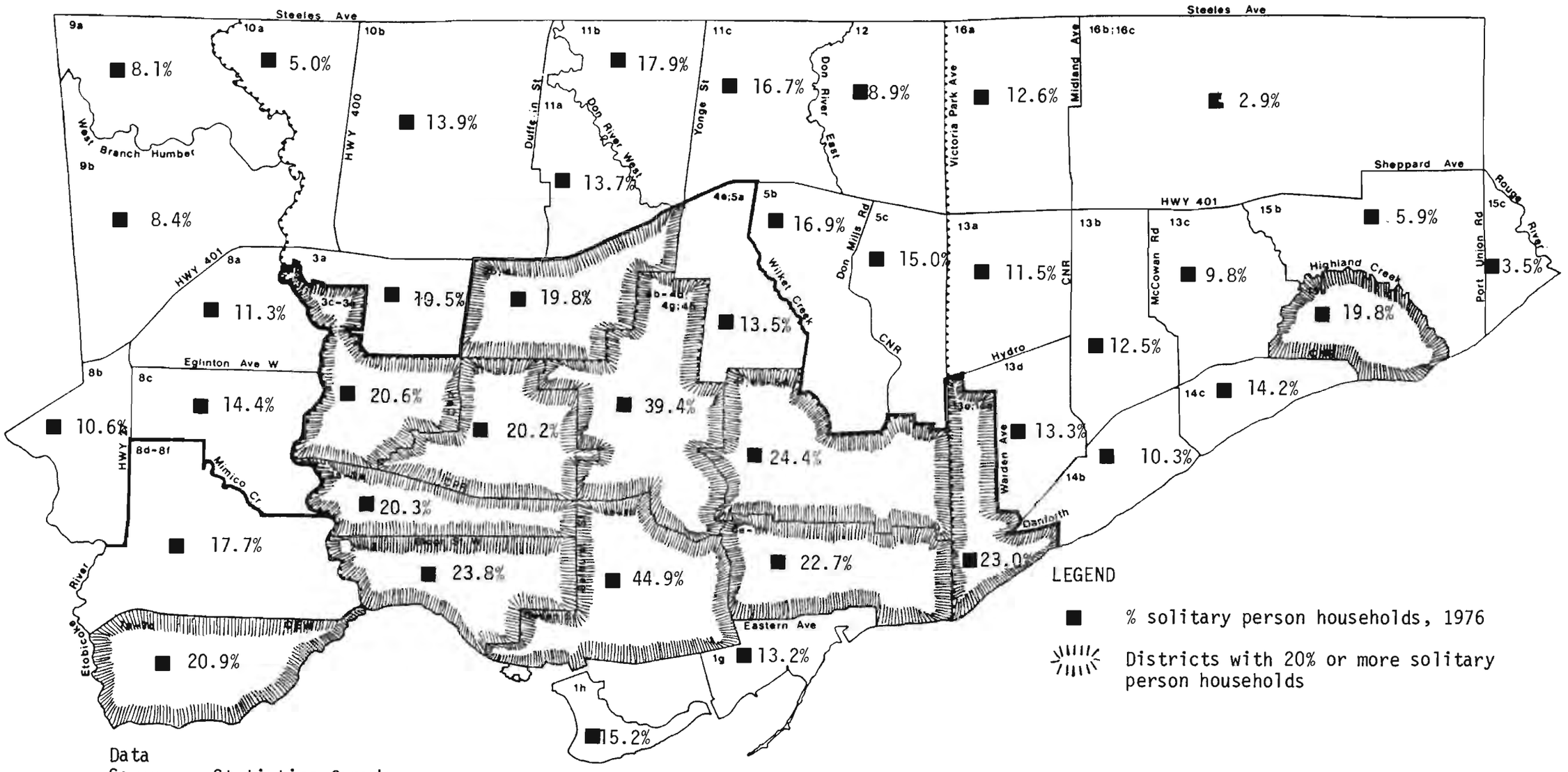
Toronto (City)	33.0%	North York	19.7%
East York	29.4%	Scarborough	19.3%
York	25.3%	Etobicoke	19.4%

Data Source: Statistics Canada

daily living needs in the absence of other adults in the household. The rapidity with which solitary living has emerged in Metro and elsewhere can be seen in the fact that it took one hundred years (1850-1950) for the percentage of solitary urban households to double (2.5% to 5%), and only twenty-five years (1951-1976) for the proportion of these households to quadruple in Metro (5%-20%). From 1971 to 1976, 58% of all net household growth in Metro was of people living alone. By 1976 Metro had already exceeded the percentage of solitary person households projected for the year 2001 in a Metroplan projection of 1975. Solitary household living was most prevalent in the central urban area, ranging from one out of every six, to two out of every five households across district groupings. In the rapid growth suburbs, the average per district was nearly one out of every seven households.

Solitary adult living increases people's command over personal space; for some it is the affirmation of independence and possibility in life patterns and styles; for others it reflects the involuntary outcomes of previous adult relationships. In former times, most of these adults would have been lodgers in private households or might have lived in extended family relationships. Living

ENCLOSURE 29: DISTRIBUTIONS (PLANNING DISTRICTS): SOLITARY PERSON HOUSEHOLDS OF ALL HOUSEHOLDS, 1976



LEGEND

■ % solitary person households, 1976

Districts with 20% or more solitary person households

Data Source: Statistics Canada

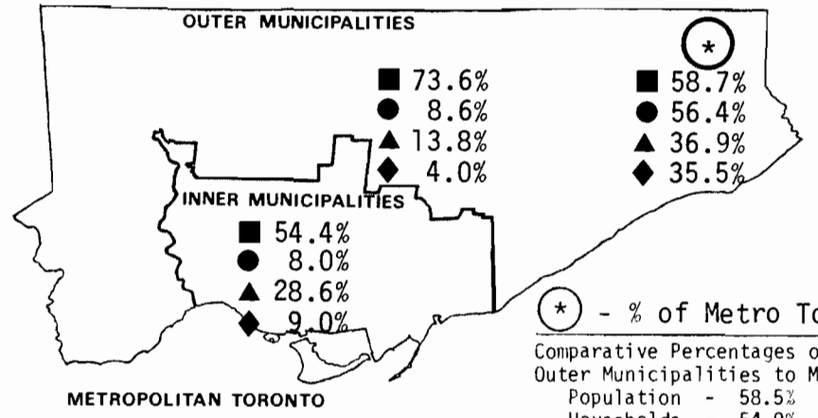
on one's own with minimal forms of daily accountability to others in the private household,creates however greater dependence on public household benefits for daily living needs. Accessibility to these benefits is facilitated for many where there is compactness and diversity in the surrounding urban environment. This is particularly true where there are elderly living on their own, as is happening now, and will happen even more in the future in the suburbs and Metro as a whole. Public policy in recent years has sought to avoid the need for institutional living by the elderly. If independent living is a preferred alternative, then there are serious urban planning implications if this objective is to be pursued.

Figure 25 is a summary of households patterns in Metro's suburban municipalities. In 1976 one out of every four suburban households were headed by adults living outside of a husband-wife relationship. Around one out of every three husband-wife households were without children. The suburban municipalities had a slightly higher proportion of lone-parent headed households than the inner municipalities. The suburbs, however, had less than half the percentage of non-family households than the inner muncipalities. It might be noted that in the City of Toronto nearly one-half of all households consisted of adults living outside of a husband-wife relationship.

Figure: 25

Distributions: Household Heads, 1976

■ % husband-wife headed
● % lone-parent headed (estimated)
▲ % solitary person
◆ % non-family household heads, two or more persons (estimated)



COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

Scarborough	■ 75.0%		York	■ 64.8%
	● 9.1%			● 7.9%
	▲ 12.6%			▲ 21.2%
	◆ 3.3%			◆ 6.1%
Etobicoke	■ 73.1%		East York	■ 60.4%
	● 8.1%			● 7.8%
	▲ 14.3%			▲ 24.4%
	◆ 4.5%			◆ 7.4%
North York	■ 73.0%		Toronto (City)	■ 51.0%
	● 8.4%			● 8.2%
	▲ 14.3%			▲ 31.0%
	◆ 4.3%			◆ 9.8%

Data Source: Statistics Canada

Table: 11

Number and Percentage Distribution of Non Husband-Wife Headed Households, of all Household Heads, 1976

	Total Non Husband-Wife Headed Households	Husband* Only at Home	Wife* Only at Home	WIDOWED		DIVORCED		SINGLE (NEVER MARRIED)	
				Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Scarborough	29,555 (25.0%)	2,235 (1.9%)	4,650 (3.9%)	1,390 (1.2%)	8,865 (7.5%)	1,030 (.9%)	3,155 (2.7%)	3,635 (3.1%)	4,595 (3.9%)
Etobicoke	26,090 (26.9%)	2,065 (2.1%)	3,215 (3.3%)	1,460 (1.5%)	7,840 (8.1%)	980 (1.0%)	2,310 (2.4%)	3,950 (4.1%)	4,270 (4.4%)
North York	47,580 (27.0%)	3,480 (2.0%)	6,045 (3.4%)	2,265 (1.3%)	12,880 (7.3%)	1,780 (1.0%)	4,695 (2.7%)	7,720 (4.4%)	8,715 (4.9%)
OUTER MUNICIPALITIES	103,225 (26.4%)	7,780 (2.0%)	13,910 (3.6%)	5,115 (1.3%)	29,585 (7.6%)	3,790 (1.0%)	10,160 (2.6%)	15,305 (3.9%)	17,580 (4.5%)
York	17,255 (35.2%)	1,095 (2.2%)	1,530 (3.1%)	910 (1.9%)	4,885 (10.0%)	505 (1.0%)	1,195 (2.4%)	3,115 (6.4%)	4,030 (8.2%)
East York	16,820 (39.6%)	1,025 (2.4%)	1,410 (3.3%)	845 (2.0%)	5,050 (11.9%)	505 (1.2%)	1,185 (2.8%)	2,585 (6.1%)	4,215 (9.9%)
Toronto (City)	112,825 (49.0%)	7,275 (3.2%)	8,895 (3.9%)	4,480 (1.9%)	24,365 (10.6%)	3,925 (1.7%)	7,300 (3.2%)	25,635 (11.1%)	30,950 (13.4%)
INNER MUNICIPALITIES	146,900 (45.6%)	9,395 (2.9%)	11,835 (3.7%)	6,235 (1.9%)	34,300 (10.7%)	4,935 (1.5%)	9,680 (3.0%)	31,335 (9.7%)	39,195 (12.2%)
METROPOLITAN TORONTO	250,135 (35.1%)	17,170 (2.4%)	25,740 (3.6%)	11,355 (1.6%)	63,895 (9.0%)	8,725 (1.2%)	19,840 (2.8%)	46,635 (6.5%)	56,770 (8.0%)

Note: *Includes separated household heads

Data Source: Statistics Canada

Table 11 documents the distribution of households which are husband-wife headed. Of particular interest are the relatively similar proportions in the outer and inner municipalities of households headed by men and women living in states of separation and divorce. There is little evidence to suggest that when marriages break up, husbands and wives leave the suburbs to live in the central area. There are also significant numbers of widowed who are in the suburbs. Research evidence indicates that most adults, once having settled in the suburbs, are fairly satisfied with living in these environments. Most adults will seek to remain in these environments, even when their personal life situations change and needs increase.

The suburbs face new social challenges such as these, not because they have failed, but because they continue to represent a form of living sought by family adults, even when they are on their own.

The suburban environment is less attractive to those adults who are single and have never married. There are almost three times the proportion of never married adults heading up inner municipal households than in the suburbs.

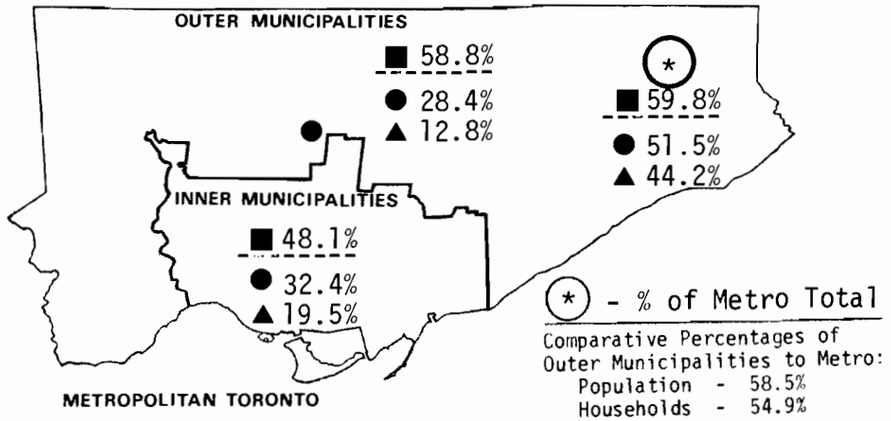
One might suggest therefore, that it is in the central area where adults tend to seek out first marriages (or equivalent permanent attachments); but there is less reason to believe that most adults, no longer living with their spouse, necessarily return to the central area to seek out a new adult relationship. This means that the suburbs have become places where single and older adults are seeking out new forms of social contact, and most likely intimacy, with other single adults. The suburbs are not easy environments in which to pursue single adult contact. The institutions of the suburbs - churches/synagogues, community centres - have been traditionally oriented to married couples and their children. The presence of single adults in these settings is sometimes a source of discomfort and unease. There is now a special responsibility placed on community agencies to serve the social needs of single adults, and to facilitate their integration into the life of the suburbs.

Figure 26 reviews the age span of household heads. The suburbs remain environments primarily made up of households headed by middle aged, and older aged adults. The proportion of households headed by elderly, aged 65 and over, will increase in the coming years. In light of the low proportion of single adult headed households in the suburbs (just over 8%), the majority of households with heads aged 34 and under would consist of younger families. The prospects of

Figure: 26

Distributions: Age of Household Heads, Of All Household Heads, 1976

■ % Heads, Aged 35-64
● % Heads, Aged 34 and under
▲ % Heads, Aged 65 and over



COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

Etobicoke	■ 60.7%	York	■ 51.3%
	● 24.9%		● 30.9%
	▲ 14.5%		▲ 17.9%
Scarborough	■ 59.4%	East York	■ 47.7%
	● 29.4%		● 30.3%
	▲ 11.2%		▲ 22.0%
North York	■ 57.4%	Toronto (City)	■ 47.5%
	● 29.6%		● 33.1%
	▲ 13.0%		▲ 19.4%

Data Source: Statistics Canada

this group for permanent settlement in the suburbs are unclear at present.

Even with the new diversity of family and household patterns in Metro's suburban municipalities, the suburbs retain their social distinction relative to the inner areas of Metro, in being predominantly family environments. Figure 27 reveals that in 1976, almost nine out of every ten persons in the suburbs (adults and children) were living in family relationships. Many of those living alone were in prior marriage relationships. The inner municipalites, and primarily the City of Toronto, had far higher proportions of people living outside of a family context.

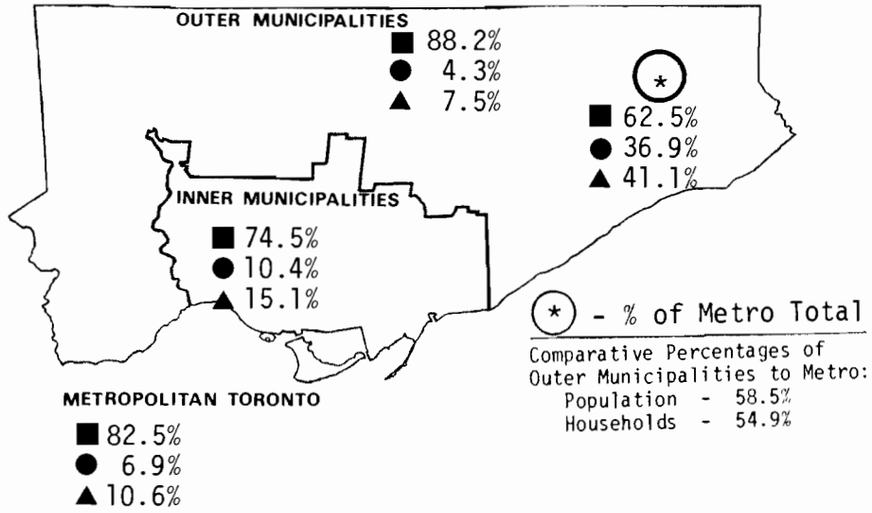
The suburbs remain centres for family living. The enormous challenge they face is that the forms of family living have changed significantly, as a result of new living patterns, and because the post-war suburbs now consist of families who have aged in these environments.

New forms of suburban family living have resulted in greater levels of social need for both adults and children. Child welfare can no longer be confidently pursued (if it ever could) through the design of the family home and the open space neighbourhood. In 1976, it is estimated that

Figure: 27

Distributions: Living Relationships, Adults and Children, 1976

■ % of the population living with family persons, 1976
● % of the population living alone, 1976
▲ % of the population living with non-family persons, 1976



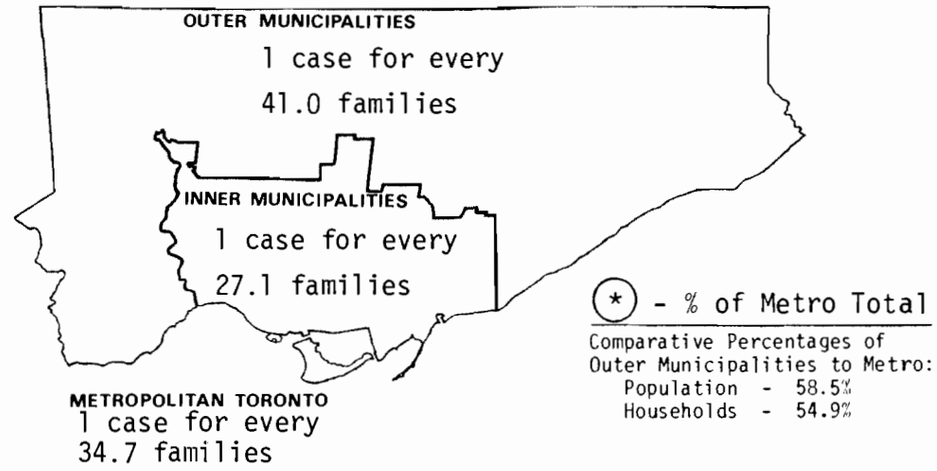
COMPARATIVE PERCENTAGES

Scarborough	■ 89.3%	York	■ 82.8%
	● 3.8%		● 7.4%
	▲ 6.9%		▲ 9.8%
Etobicoke	■ 87.8%	East York	■ 78.9%
	● 4.7%		● 9.7%
	▲ 7.5%		▲ 11.4%
North York	■ 87.7%	Toronto (City)	■ 71.9%
	● 4.5%		● 11.3%
	▲ 7.8%		▲ 16.8%

Data
Source: Statistics Canada

Figure: 28

Estimated Number of Families With At Least One Child Aged 15 and Under Per Child Welfare Family Service Case, Year End 1976



Data
Sources: Statistics Canada
Children's Aid Society of Metropolitan Toronto
Catholic Children's Aid Society of Metropolitan Toronto
Jewish Family and Child Services of Metropolitan Toronto

One out of every forty-one suburban families were receiving support services from a child welfare agency, where the family included a child aged 15 and under. This was lower than in the inner municipalities, where every 27th family was receiving support. But this does indicate that suburban parenting now requires varying levels of community support for both children and adults.

There is insufficient recognition at present in suburban planning, and in public funding patterns, for the diverse forms of family living which now exist. The climate of public thinking in the suburbs is still oriented to the classic family unit of the earlier post-war period. As a result, public services and policies are not responding to the new needs of children and adults. Needless to say, these needs will not disappear if they are ignored.

Metro's suburbs remain family environments. Change does not mean becoming like the central area, with its emphasis on fast paced single living. The suburbs can retain their unique social identity in relation to Metro by evolving into <u>flexible family environments</u>, able to accommodate the continuity and diversity of family experience consistent with the social realities of today.