



7.0 EMPLOYMENT

Economic instability and labour market transformation have come to characterize the seventies. The framework of secure employment, rising incomes, and stable prices associated with the earlier suburban period has drawn to a close for a majority of the population. Traditional family housing costs have increased beyond the financial means of average families. Inflation accompanied by declining growth and wage levels is pushing many families into increasing levels of consumer debt.

The Commissioner of Social Services in the Region of Peel reported on studies carried out by his department in 1976 and 1977 on the income patterns of families with young children.⁴⁵ From 1975 to 1976 there were significant increases in the levels of debt incurred by two-parent two-income families, and by families with only one female income. The same study, carried out a year later, looked

at changes from 1976 to 1977. It revealed a decline in debt formation patterns for two-parent two-income families, marginal increases in the debt of one-parent one-female income families, and significant increases in debt levels for two-parent one-male income families.

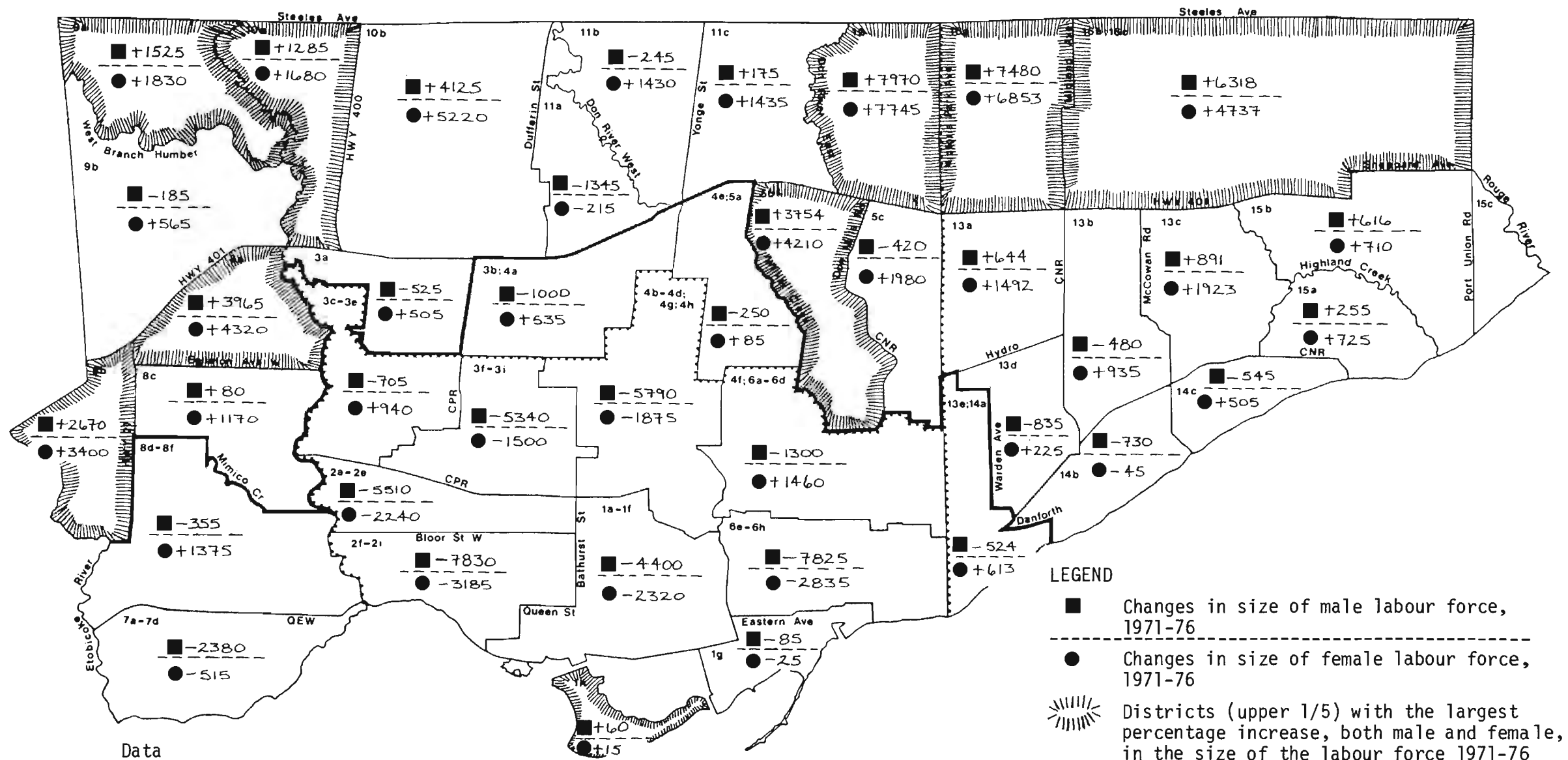
There is little reason to doubt that the financial strain experienced by families with young children in suburban Peel would differ significantly from pressures experienced by similar families in Metro's suburbs. Since 1976, and each year thereafter, real family income has been declining in relation to fixed and recurring expenditures. The Peel report estimated that from 1976 to 1977:

"The two-parent, two-income family unit saw a 10% drop in net available income after the family had paid their shelter, food, clothing, utilities, debts, and other actual expenses."

One response by suburban families to changing economic conditions has been more women seeking work in the labour market. Enclosure 30 identifies increases in the numbers of women in the labour force from 1971 to 1976. In every rapid growth district with the exception of M.P.D. 11A and M.P.D. 14B, there were more women in the labour force

⁴⁵ Commissioner of Social Services, Regional Municipality of Peel, Family Unit - Cornerstone of Peel Paper #2, September 1976, P. 6.
Paper #4, June 1977, P. 6, 7.

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Data
Source: Statistics Canada

in 1976 than in 1971. The number of men in the labour force have declined in some suburban districts, either as a result of retirement or out-migration. The widespread decline in the numbers of men and women across the central urban area reflects both out-migration of adults in prime family formation years, and increases in the numbers of aged.⁴⁶

Enclosure 31 describes the growth of labour force participation rates by women from 1971 to 1976. There were substantial increases in the participation rates of suburban women. By 1976 suburban women had higher participation rates in the labour force than women in the central urban area. The suburban participation rate grew by 10% in a five year period. In one district in North York, M.P.D. 10A, the participation rate grew from 45% in 1971 to 66% in 1976. Women are in the labour force, one might assume, to financially contribute towards high mortgage costs and thereby relieve pressures on family budgets, because more women are heading up their own households, and as a result of women pursuing work roles in the labour market.

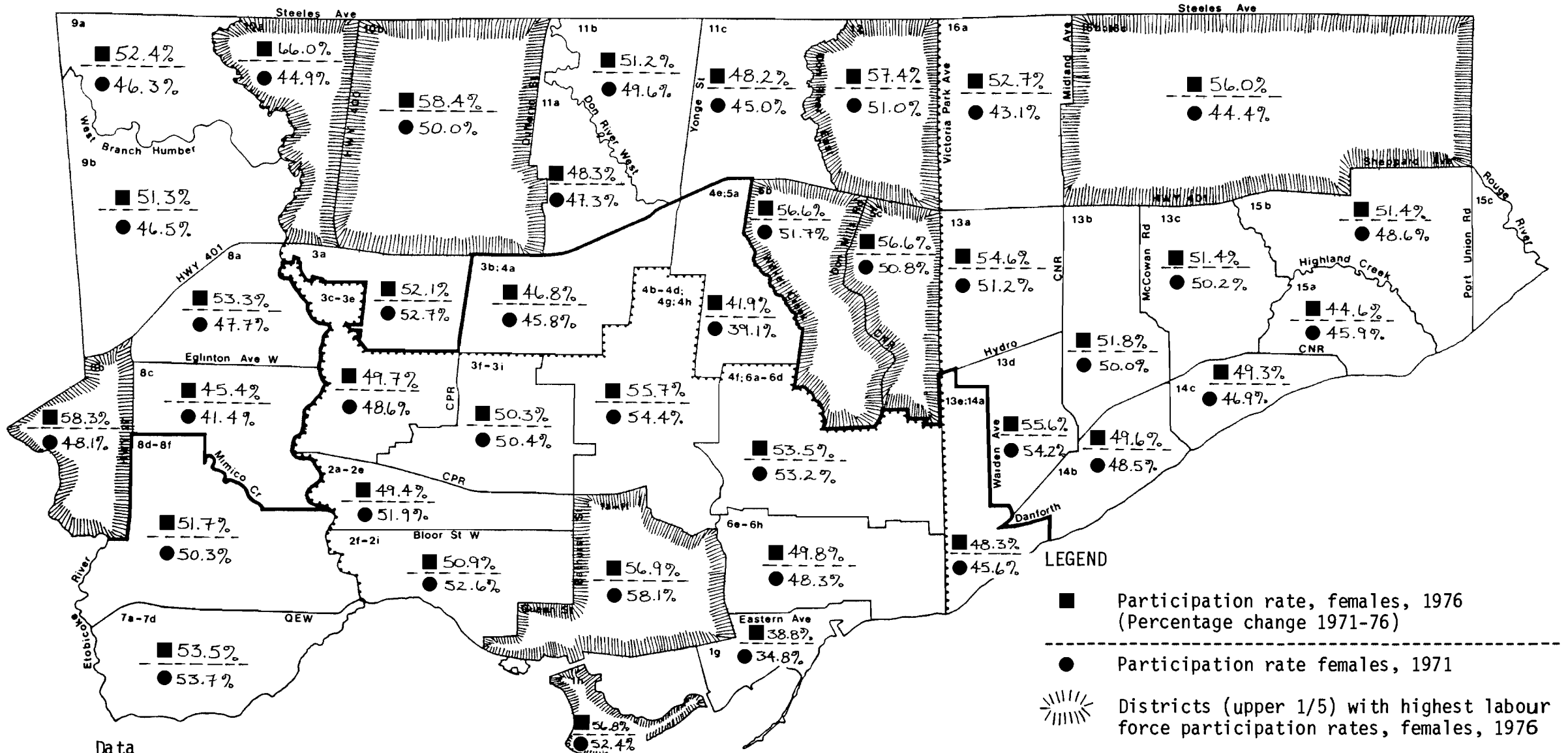
This need to contribute to family incomes would be highest in the suburbs, where the majority of Metro's child rearing families are to be found. Seven of the eight districts with the highest participation rates for women were in rapid growth districts in 1976; four of these districts were north of Highway 401.

Large numbers of suburban women in the labour force means fewer women at home during the day, as in the earlier post-war period. It means fewer women available to serve as local community service volunteers, and as sources of social integration in suburban neighbourhoods. There is less time available for daily forms of social contact through which neighbourhood cohesion develops. There are significant changes in the life of the post-war suburbs. The scale of participation by women in the labour force indicates that this change is coming from all parts of the suburbs - the single family home sector, as well as town houses and apartments.

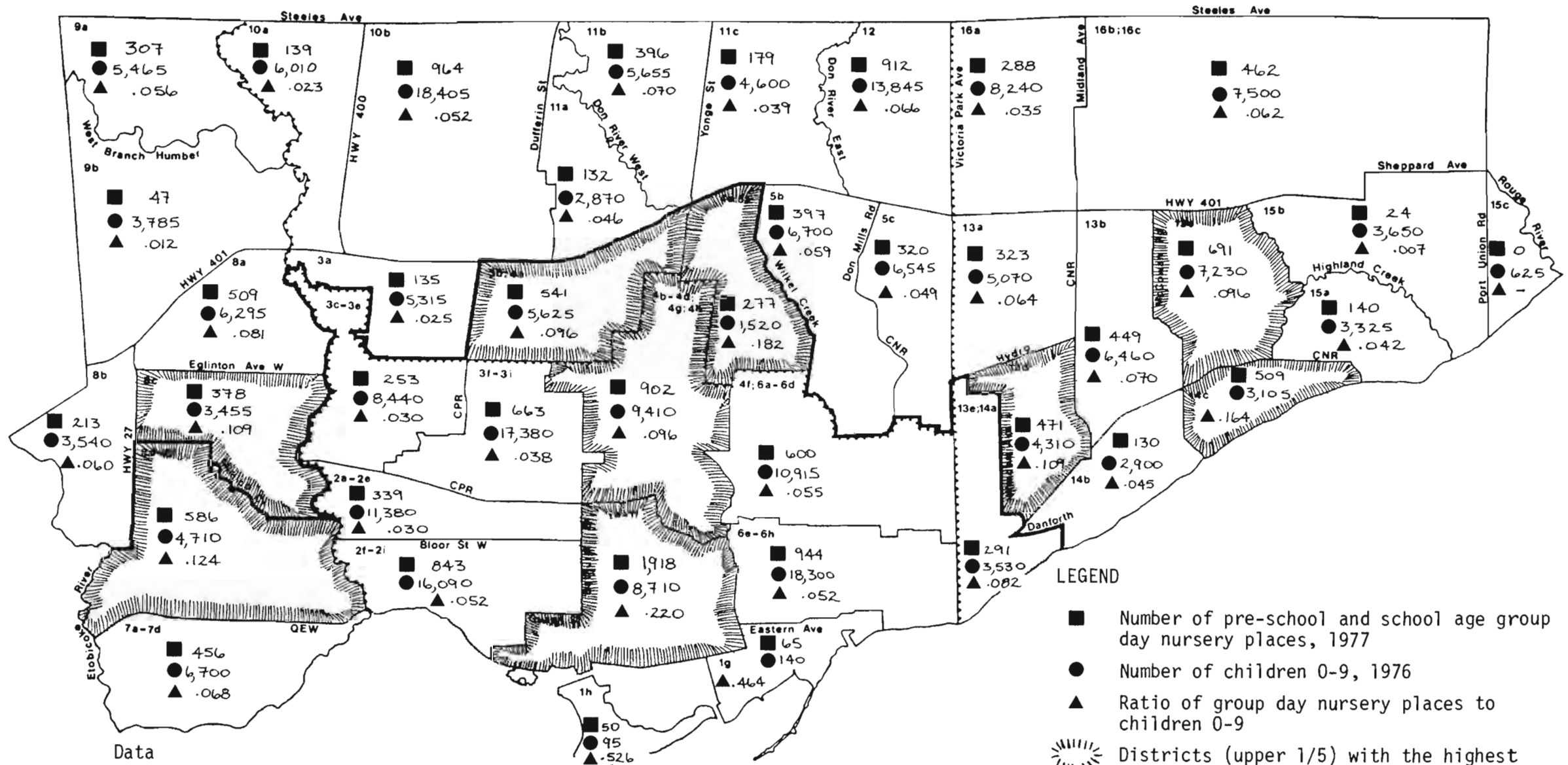
There are still suburban districts with significant numbers of young children aged 0-4. Most of these districts are located north of Highway 401. It is in these districts that some of the largest increases have taken place in the participation rates of women from 1971 to 1976. There

⁴⁶ Toronto Planning Board, City Planning, Vol. 1. No. 2, Sept. 1978, P. 6.

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Data
Source: Statistics Canada



Data

Sources: Community Information Centre
of Metropolitan Toronto

Assessment Data

Note: Day nursery refers to both full and part day places; group refers to services operated out of the home in community facilities and settings.

LEGEND

- Number of pre-school and school age group day nursery places, 1977
- Number of children 0-9, 1976
- ▲ Ratio of group day nursery places to children 0-9
- ☼ Districts (upper 1/5) with the highest ratios of group day nursery places to children 0-9

are therefore pre-school children in these districts in need of adequate child care while their mothers are out of the home in the labour force.

Enclosure 32 examines the distribution of group day nursery places in Metro in 1977, in relation to the 1976 child population aged 0-9. This is not a complete picture of supervised forms of child care; it was not possible to distribute the location of home day care places, nor the range of after-school programs in schools and community centres. Nevertheless, group day nursery places are a very basic form of child care. From the distribution one can observe that there are no suburban districts north of Highway 401 with high ratios of group places in relation to the child population aged 0-9, particularly where the labour force participation of women increased significantly from 1971 to 1976. Some districts with high ratios of group places - such as M.P.D. 8C, M.P.D. 4E/5A, and M.P.D. 14C - are areas with low participation rates for women (as well as low levels of publicly assisted family housing). There appears to be a limited relationship in the distributions between districts where women are working, and where there are large groups of children aged 0-4. The distribution of group day nursery places in Metro is not particularly responsive to the social needs of suburban

children, particularly in districts north of Highway 401.

Both public and voluntary agencies in Metro have recognized and argued for the need to expand the availability of financially accessible and adequate forms of child care in Metro's rapid growth suburbs. Provincial policies of restraint in recent years have been insensitive to the needs of young children in the suburbs. Provincial policies have assumed that decreased financial support for quality child care will influence women to remain at home, out of the labour force, and thereby alleviate the pressure on jobs. These assumptions fly in the face of hard economic realities. Many women will continue to seek work outside the home, full or part-time, in response to current economic conditions. Reduced provincial support for child care in the suburbs will only lead to more children being placed in unsuitable and hazardous settings, as was recently evident in North York. Inadequate child care was a major concern that came out of project interviews with family and children's service workers. Reduced provincial support for child care only increase the stresses on family life, already strained by economic instability. These policies serve to jeopardize the welfare of children and are inconsistent with recently stated prevention objectives in the field of children's services.

With large numbers of suburban men and women in the labour force, unemployment levels are a subject of concern. Enclosure 33 and Enclosure 34 identify unemployment levels for adult women and men (aged 25 and over) as recorded in the 1976 census.

The census reference period for documenting unemployment levels is one week, in contrast to the labour force sample, where the reference period is four weeks. Of some curiosity is the disparity in national unemployment rates for June 1976 between the census and the unadjusted labour force survey rate for males aged 25 and over. The census, with a narrower reference, shows that the unemployment rate of 4.1% in Canada. The labour force survey, with the wider four week reference period, estimates a 3.4% unemployment rate for males aged 25+ for June 1976. What this suggests is that unemployment levels for males aged 25 and over in the suburbs and central urban area, may be higher than what is reported in the labour force survey for Metro. An ongoing monitoring of unemployment levels within Metro is not possible since the federal government does not make available unemployment distributions within Metro on an ongoing basis. This prevents urban officials and community agencies from knowing where important social need patterns may be developing in the community.

A labour market bulletin issued in 1978 by the Canada Employment & Insurance Commission, notes that: "Geographically, the outer periphery areas of Metropolitan Toronto have continued to register large increases in the incidence of unemployment."⁴⁷ We can assume then, that the incidence of unemployment has increased in Metro's suburbs since 1976. We do not know, however, in what parts of the suburbs it is most severe, nor for which groups of people.

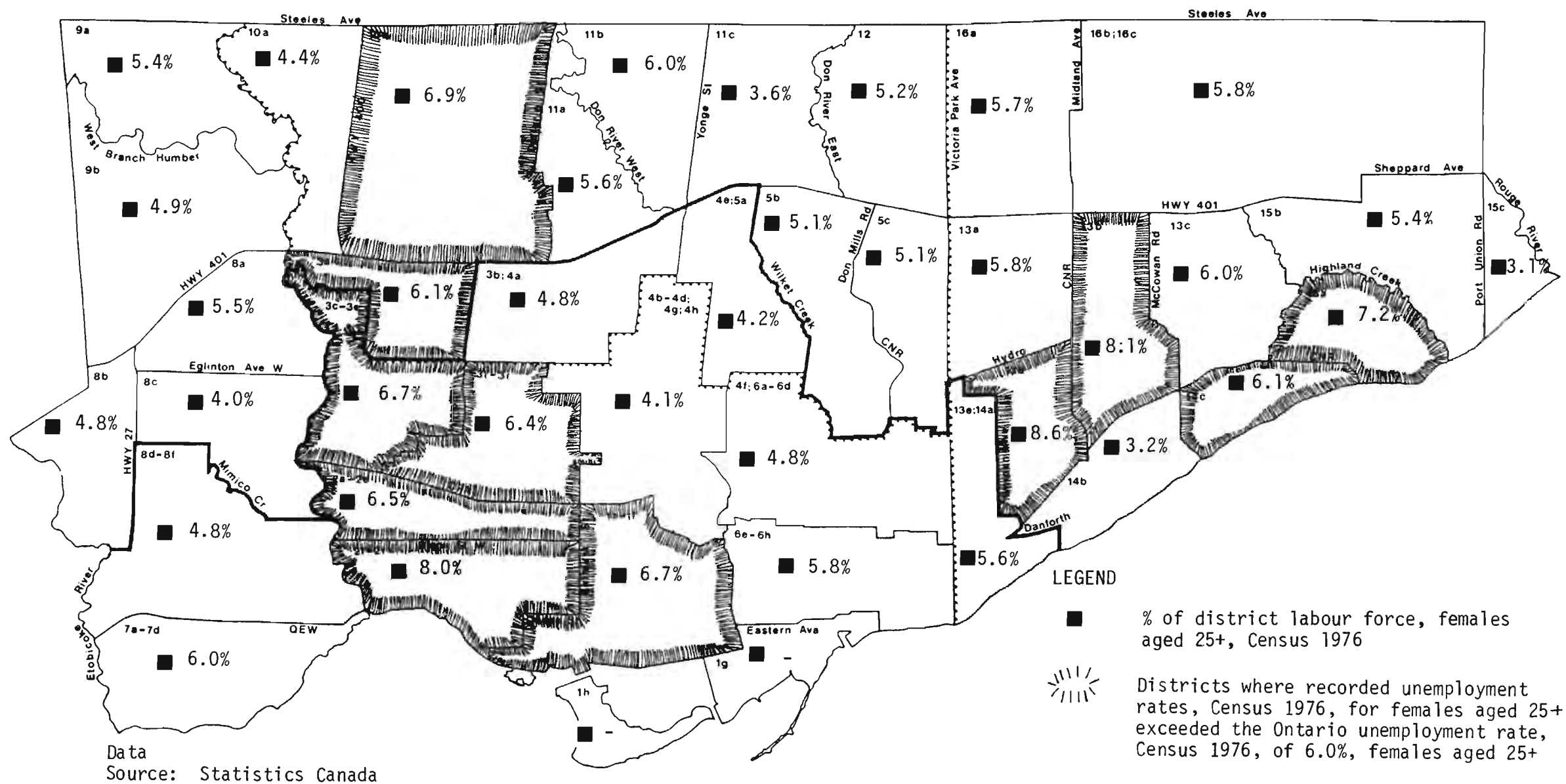
It should be stressed that the unemployment levels reported from the 1976 census are conservative projections of what current unemployment levels would be in Metro. These distributions are however useful in noting two important patterns: (1) the incidence of recorded unemployment in districts of Metro in 1976 relative to Ontario levels, (2) differences in unemployment levels between districts in the suburbs and in Metro. These patterns would not be expected to shift substantially with increases or decreases in unemployment levels over a 2 - 3 year period.

The 1976 distributions reveal that high unemploy-

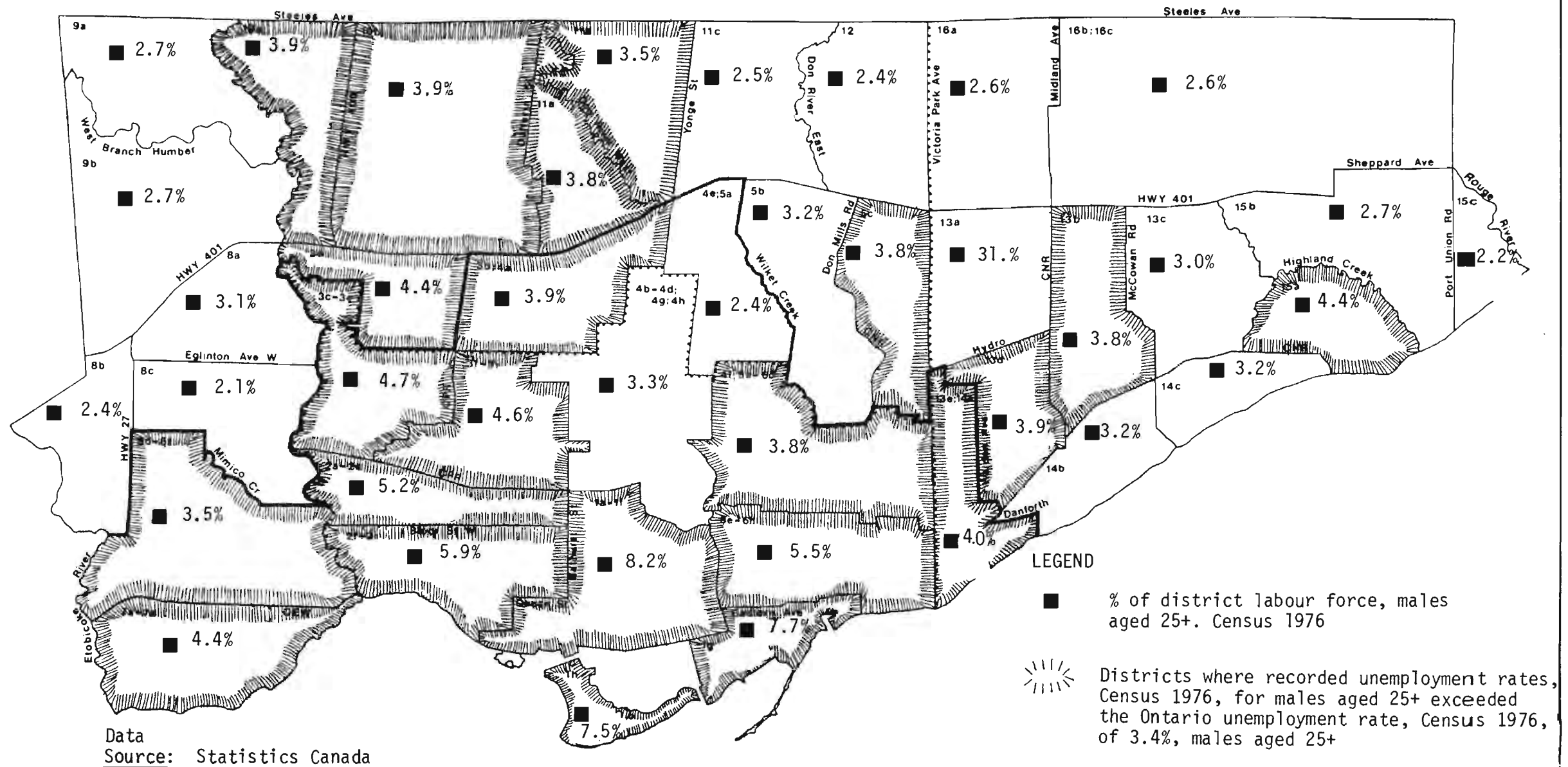
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Canada Employment & Insurance Commission.
Labour Market Bulletin: Toronto Area
Volume 2, Number 4; April 15, 1978 p-1

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-ment levels for adult women are to be found in both the central urban area and the rapid growth suburbs. There is a continuous strip of high unemployment from the downtown of Toronto into the west part of Toronto, from the Lakeshore, up through York and North York, to Steeles Avenue. Another concentration of unemployed women is in central Scarborough, with two districts - M.P.D. 13B and M.P.D. 13D - having the highest recorded levels for Metro.

The 1976 distributions for adult males reveals the extent to which crisis levels of unemployment exist across Metro for people in prime family formation years. Throughout the western portion of North York, on the east-central boundary of North York, and in central Scarborough, unemployment levels for adult males are all above Ontario averages. Within the central urban area, the crisis is widespread. With the exception of one district grouping - M.P.D. 4B-4D/ 4G / 4H - adult male unemployment levels are above the Ontario level. In the downtown of Toronto, they are more than twice the Ontario percentage. There is little reason to be surprised therefore, with the heavy out-migration of family age adults from the central area from 1971 to 1976. High unemployment levels at family formation ages, combined with financially inaccessible family housing, are not conditions which encourage family formation and

child rearing in Metro.

The original Metroplan strategy recognized the urgency of securing provincial and federal government co-operation to monitor the labour market, and to promote job creation. These efforts have been consistently frustrated by the insensitivity of Queen's Park and Ottawa, who have abdicated a leadership role for government in developing economic strategies. Instead governments are pursuing policies of widespread and indiscriminate restraint. Not only has the province refrained from exercising economic leadership in its own domain, but it continues to deny Metro council access to the abundant revenue sources of Metro in order to get jobs created locally.

The absence of an economic strategy for Metro makes it hard to understand the structure of the job supply; in particular, what forms of new jobs are being created locally, and how suitable these jobs are to sustain family life in the future. Higher rates of adult male unemployment relative to the Ontario percentage, and lower rates of adult female unemployment relative to Ontario, suggest that more of Metro's new jobs are low pay and limited benefit forms of service work, which women have been willing or are required to accept. This would not be surprising, since federal and provincial job creation investments in the seventies - through income and

Table : 12

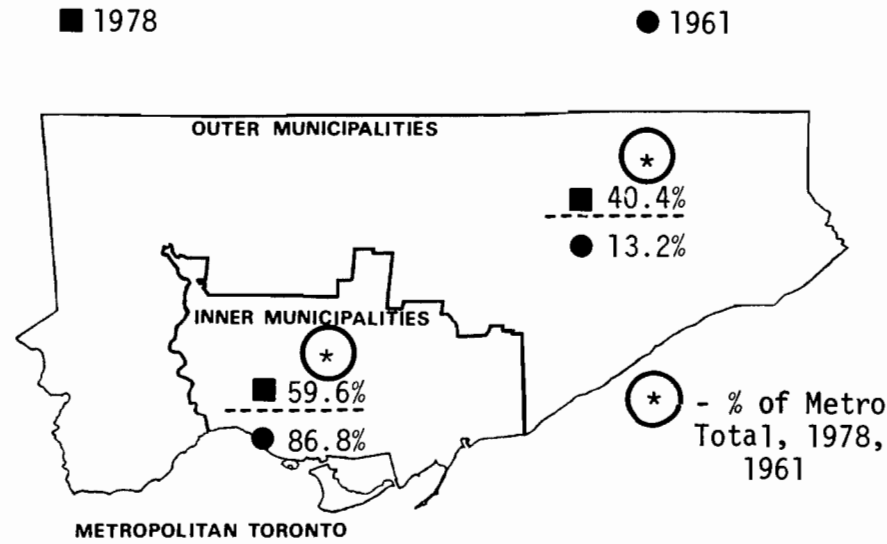
Summary: Labour Force Profile, 1976 and 1971 - 76

Labour Force Characteristic	Central Urban Area	Rapid Growth Suburbs	Metropolitan Toronto
Change in size of male labour force, 1971 - 76	-12.2%	+14.1%	-1.0%
Change in size of female labour force, 1971 - 76	-3.9%	+34.5%	+11.1%
Labour force participation rate, females, 1976 and participation rate change (%), 1971 - 76	51.8% (+.2%)	53.5% (+10.1%)	52.6% (+4.4%)
Recorded unemployment, females, aged 25+, 1976	5.8%	5.7%	5.7%
Recorded unemployment, males, aged 25+, 1976	4.9%	3.2%	4.1%
Recorded unemployment, females, aged 15 - 24, 1976	10.5%	10.2%	10.4%
Recorded unemployment, males, aged 15 - 24, 1976	12.8%	11.4%	12.1%

Data Source: Statistics Canada

Figure: 29

Distributions: Persons Receiving General Welfare Assistance,
Monthly Sample, 1978 and 1961



Data

Sources: Metropolitan Toronto Social Services Department
Report on the Assumption of Basic Welfare Costs
by the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto,
Metropolitan Toronto, R.J. Smith, Commissioner,
1968

sales tax cuts - have heavily subsidized the retail services sector, a traditional source of low quality jobs. Indiscriminate priming through sales and tax cuts are now acknowledged to have failed in creating significant numbers of new jobs. These wasteful forms of public investments also divert scarce government resources away from more productive forms of job creation required in Metro - such as capital construction and municipal services development - which result in higher quality jobs for men and women who wish to remain in Metro, form families, and raise children.

Table 12 is a labour force profile summary, identifying patterns in 1976 and selective changes from 1971 to 1976 for the rapid growth suburbs and the central urban area. The size of the male and female labour forces increased in the rapid growth suburbs from 1971 to 1976, higher for women than for men; in the same period, there were declines in the central area, highest for men. The labour force participation rate for women was higher in the suburbs, up 10% in a five year period. There were similar levels of unemployment for adult women in the suburbs and central area; the unemployment rate was much higher in the central area for adult men. There were similar levels of unemployment for female youth in both areas, there was higher unemployment for male youth in the central area. The unemployment

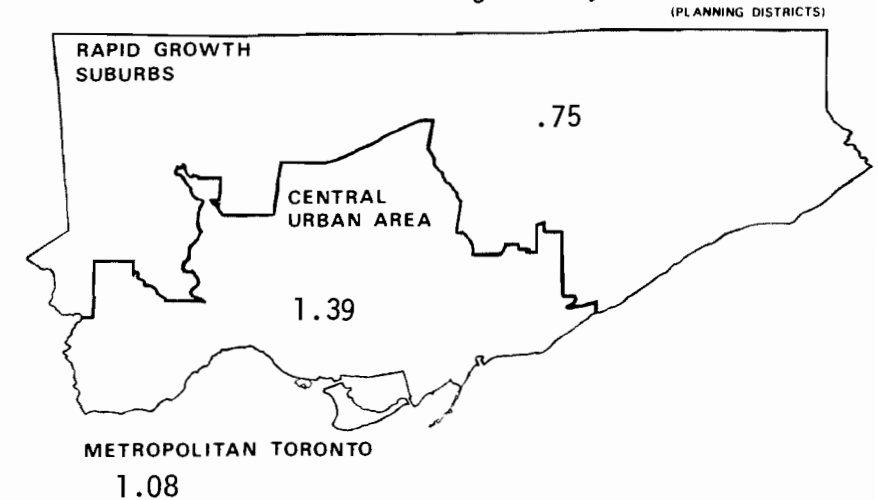
levels for male youth were higher than for female youth in the rapid growth suburbs, central area, and as a result, in Metro as a whole.

Figure 29 provides further evidence that financial dependence, in part related to unemployment, is no longer a unique characteristic to be associated with the inner municipalities of Metro as it might have once been. In 1961, only 13% of General Welfare Assistance (G.W.A.) recipients were in Metro's suburban municipalities. In 1978, this had increased to 40%. Recipients of G.W.A. are either employable, or are being processed for long-term support on Family Benefits. Data was not available for the project, but there is reason to believe that the distribution of Family Benefit recipients in the suburban municipalities is even higher.

Figure 30, along with Enclosure 35 and Enclosure 36, look at the job supply side of the employment picture in Metro. As might be expected, the availability of jobs is highest in the central area, where there were 1.39 jobs in 1976 for every resident labour force member aged 15 and over. The highest level of job supply was in the city of Toronto (1.73). The suburban supply ratio was .75 job per resident labour force member. These ratios, of course, do not reveal the full range of job choices for Metro residents which exist

Figure: 30

Distributions: Ratio of District Job Supply Per Resident Labour Force Member Aged 15+, 1976



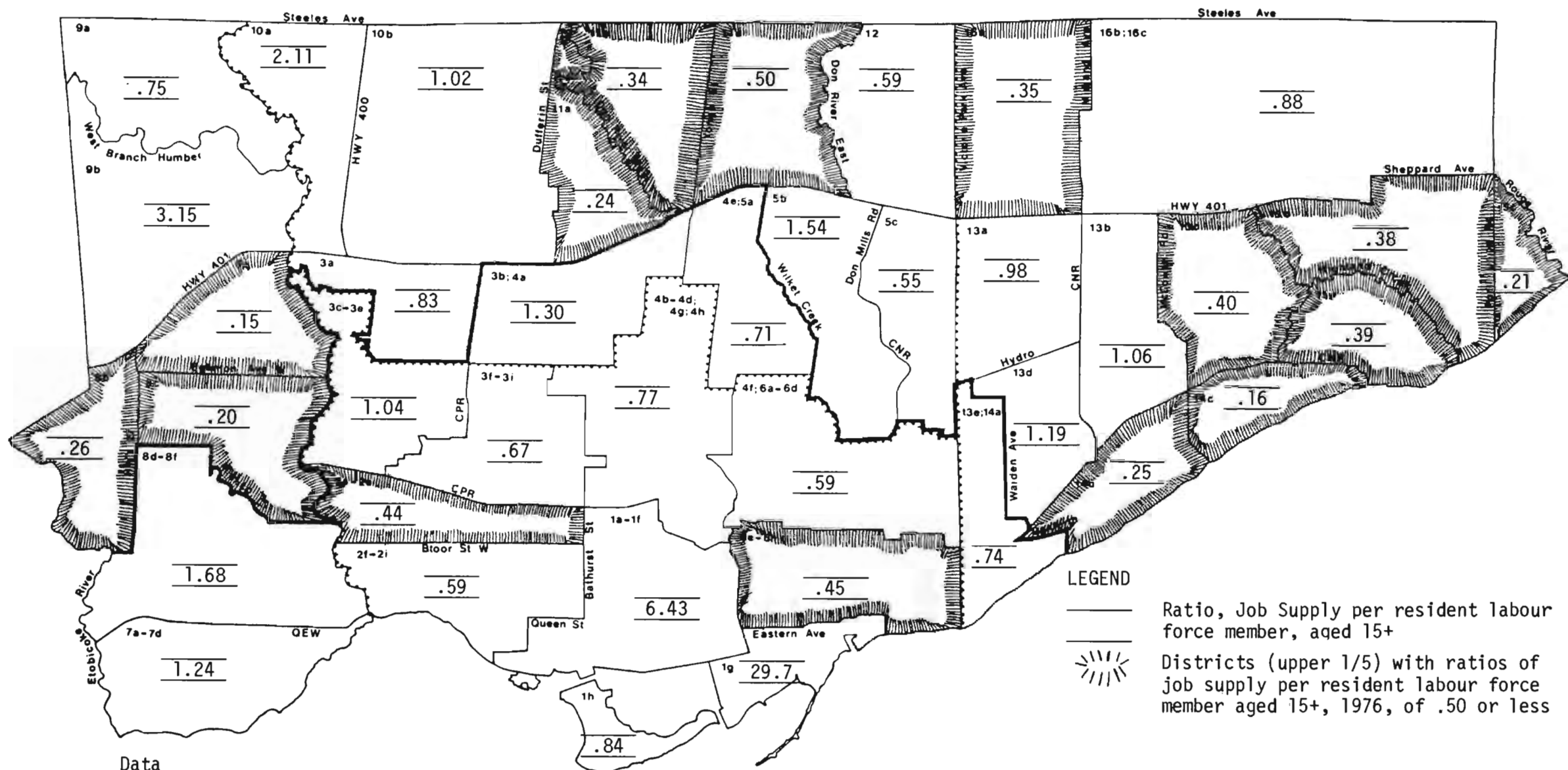
COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

East York	.59
Scarborough	.66
York	.66
North York	.87
Etobicoke	.97
Toronto (City)	1.73

Data

Sources: Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department
Statistics Canada

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Data

Sources: Statistics Canada

Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department

in the Toronto urban region outside of Metro.

In the early suburban family household, it was assumed that the male adult would travel extended distances for employment, and would possess the private means to pursue necessary travels for work. The change in labour force composition of the suburbs - women seeking full and part-time forms of work, youth, increasing older populations, require some modifications in traditional assumptions. These groups tend to be more transit-dependent and in some instances, require work closer to their places of residence.

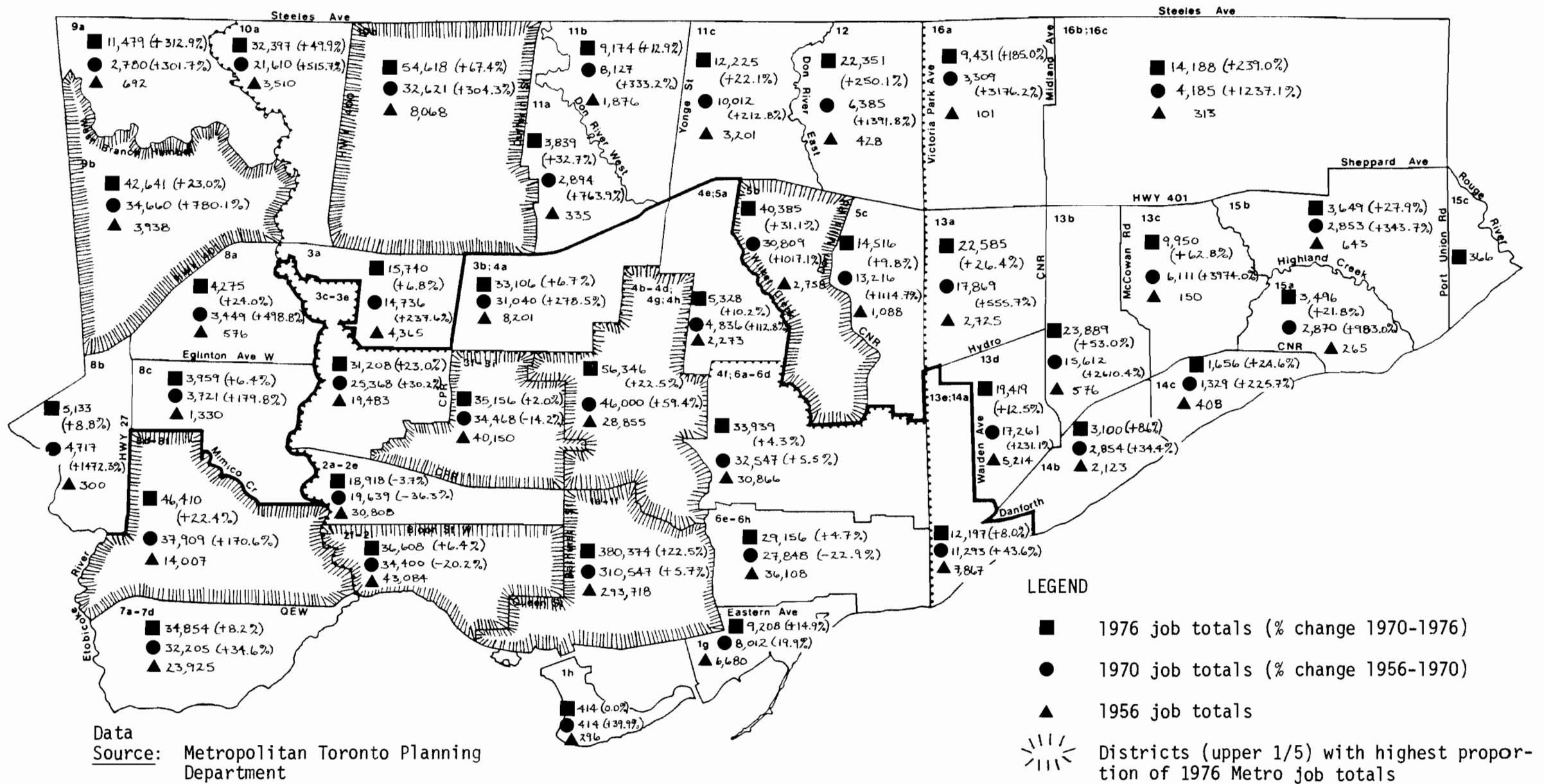
The job supply distribution across suburban districts indicates that the lowest areas of job availability are in Scarborough where rapid public transit linkages are least developed. Districts in Scarborough with low levels of job supply are also areas that have shown higher unemployment rates in 1976 for adult females and males.

In looking at the location of jobs in Metro districts, suburban areas in North York - M.P.D.5B and M.P.D.10B, - and Etobicoke -M.P.D.9B were among those districts in 1976 which contained some of the highest proportion of Metro's jobs outside the downtown. The growth of job opportunities in these areas is quite evident. Nevertheless, in 1976 the downtown districts (1A - 1F) contained roughly the same number of jobs

(380,374) as in all the rapid growth suburban districts combined (384,461). Once more, the job supply picture is more limited in Scarborough. There were no districts in Scarborough containing a high proportion of Metro's jobs.

The Metropolitan objective of decentralized job development is one approach in responding to the employment needs of suburban residents. This strategy could yield middle and long term benefits. As a strategy, however, it is not complete. The job yield of decentralization will be slow and most likely not create the range of employment choices required by different groups of suburban residents who comprise the labour force. Policies to increase accessibility to the larger Metropolitan job market, particularly for residents of Scarborough, remain an important need for groups without private means of mobility such as women and youth.

Where the thinking underlying decentralization leads to urban policies which limit the availability of public transit to suburban job seekers, then serious social inequities can arise. It is somewhat easier for those living downtown, with more than half a million jobs within 20 minutes accessibility by public transit, to formulate the principle that people should seek out jobs in proximity to where they live. The principle becomes somewhat tarnished in suburban districts where the pool of available jobs within 20 minutes accessibil-



ity by public transit might be less than 5% that of the downtown.

Employment planning to respond to new labour force conditions in the suburbs will require a number of complementary public strategies.



8.0 IMMIGRATION

Throughout the post-war period, Metropolitan Toronto has served as a primary immigrant reception region for Ontario and Canada. In 1961, one out of every five Metro residents had immigrated to Canada during the previous fifteen years (1946-1961); one out of every three Metro residents in 1961 was born outside of Canada.⁴⁷ The highest concentration of immigrants was to be found in the central urban area, particularly in the western districts.

The rapid population growth of Metro in the post-war period drew heavily on the influx of new Canadians into the region. On the whole, immigrants to Metro tended to occupy older housing stock of the central area, constructed before 1920. Homeownership was a primary objective of post-war immigrants. It conferred a sense of rootedness and belonging in a new country. For most, the first house to be owned was generally an older house in

the central area, often in greater need of repair and as a result, more financially accessible. Post-war immigrants played a major role in conserving and rehabilitating the older housing stock of the central area, even before the middle class conversions of the late sixties and seventies. Some immigrants remained in the central area; others were eventually able to find their way into the suburban housing market.

High levels of post-war immigration to Metro resulted in the cultural transformation of the central area. Toronto became a cosmopolitan community with visible cultural variation in many districts and neighbourhoods. There were now many languages to be heard across the city, accompanied by a growing multi-cultural economy of commerce and services reflecting the immigrant presence. From 1946 to 1961, 98% of all immigrants to Metro were from European countries of origin, primarily - Italy, Germany, and the British Isles. This was a major period of adjustment for both established residents and newcomers, in part facilitated by the compactness of the central area where immigrant settlement took place. New immigrants of similar cultural background were able to locate near each other in sufficient numbers to develop communal forms of self help. The physical environment accommodated to their presence; small stores were converted

⁴⁷ Anthony H. Richmond, Immigrant and Ethnic Groups in Metropolitan Toronto: A Preliminary Study. York University, 1966. P. 37-39

into new enterprises reflecting the cultural influence of Metro's newcomers. Early post-war immigrants had a visible sense of their own presence in the community, and in turn, made a visible contribution to the commerce, services, and cultural experiences of city living.

The large scale absorption of immigrants into the central area placed new demands on public and voluntary services. This was a difficult period of adjustment; eventually the schools, police, public health, and family agencies gradually came to reflect the new multilingual and multicultural realities of the immigrant populations they served.

From 1961 on, there were continued high levels of immigration to Metro. Each year, an average of 53,000 immigrants settled in Metro; this represented almost three out of every ten immigrants to Canada.⁴⁸ There were, however, major shifts which had taken place in the settlement pattern of new immigrants to Metro. In the early seventies, the inner municipalities were no longer the exclusive reception areas for new immigrants; Metro's suburbs were now major reception areas in which the first experiences of Canadian life were taking

place for growing numbers of adults and children.

Figure 31 and Enclosure 37 identify the estimated population of immigrants aged five and over, who migrated to Canada between 1971 and 1976. These are estimates because the 1976 census only recorded individuals who did not reside in Canada prior to June 1971. This could also include Canadian citizens and previously landed immigrants who were living outside of Canada during the 1971 census. This would lower the count somewhat, but not significantly, in light of illegal immigrant residents - many of whom might not be reflected in the census count. In 1975, the Mayor's Task Force on Immigration from the City of Toronto quoted an R.C.M.P. estimate that there could be up to 100,000 illegal immigrant residents in Metro. As well, the census data does not include children aged 0 - 4 born into recent immigrant families while in Canada. Thus the data presented would more likely be a conservative estimate of recent immigrant settlement in Metro. The distribution patterns appear to be consistent with other data.

In 1976, one half of all immigrants to Canada from 1971 to 1976 (aged 5 and over), had settled in Metro's suburban municipalities. A higher proportion of

⁴⁸ Toronto Board of Education, Immigration Statistics for Canada, Ontario, & Metro, June 1977, and Government of Ontario, Education Statistics, 1976.

school-aged immigrant children aged 5 - 14 were in suburban municipalities - 19% of all immigrants to the suburbs, 15% in the inner municipalities. The City of Toronto continued to receive the largest number and proportion of immigrants, closely followed by North York, where recent immigrants constituted 10% of the population. Scarborough, while having a lower percentage of total immigrants, had the highest percentage of school-aged immigrant children - 21% of all recent immigrants. Etobicoke had the lowest proportion of recent immigrants to Metro, but still a high percentage of school-aged children. Declining elementary school enrolment in the suburbs has been accompanied by increased numbers of school-aged immigrant children, often with special learning needs.

Enclosure 37 identifies the distribution of recent immigrants to Metro by districts. Those districts in which recent immigrants comprised either 10% of the general population, or numbered 10,000 or more, have been highlighted. The proportion of recent immigrants are of interest in identifying social changes in the residential composition of districts; higher numbers of recent immigrants suggest concentrated areas of need in Metro districts, irrespective of what the proportions may be.

In 1976, there were six districts in the rapid growth suburbs which were among the highest reception areas for recent immigrants to Metro. These districts were located in North York and Scarborough, in areas which sustained higher levels of population growth from 1971 to 1976. In the early seventies, recent immigrants to Metro had joined with other Canadians in becoming pioneer settlers in newly developing suburban areas of Metro. Areas of recent immigrant concentration in the central area remained south of Bloor Street, and up the western districts into York.

One rapid growth district -M.P.D.5B - had the highest proportion of recent immigrants in all of Metro. This reflected large concentrations in the district south of Eglinton Avenue, where almost one out of every three residents in 1976 was a recent immigrant to Canada. This is the same area where inter-governmental negotiations have failed in almost ten years to provide the neighbourhood with a much needed "human resources" centre.

There is little recent research to identify the varying factors which influence the settlement choices of recent immigrants to Metro, particularly of

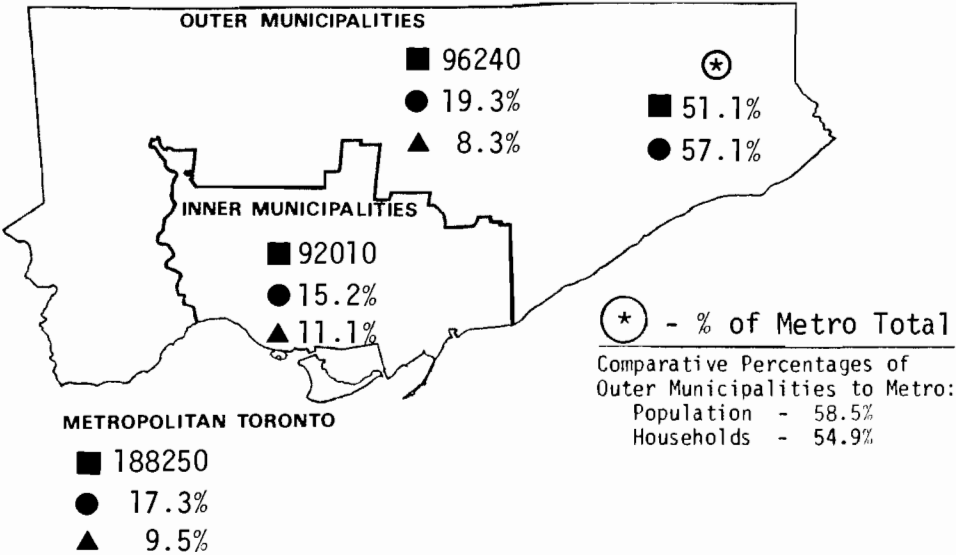
those who have gone to the suburbs. Project respondents serving recent immigrants suggested that there was a diminishing supply of inexpensive housing in the central area, as in previous years. Large scale suburban apartment developments - both private and public - along with town-house (and stacked townhouse) developments, had become new forms of financially accessible housing for recent immigrants. There are other factors which would influence a move to the suburbs. These include:

- (a) the cultural diversity of recent immigration and the absence of developed support networks in the central area for some new groups. This would act as a filtering process in light of scarcer central area housing. Recent immigrants of cultural backgrounds without support structures and networks in the central area would find it more difficult to locate and settle in these districts;
- (b) a preference by recent immigrant families with children to enjoy the benefits of suburban living upon arrival in Canada;

Figure: 31

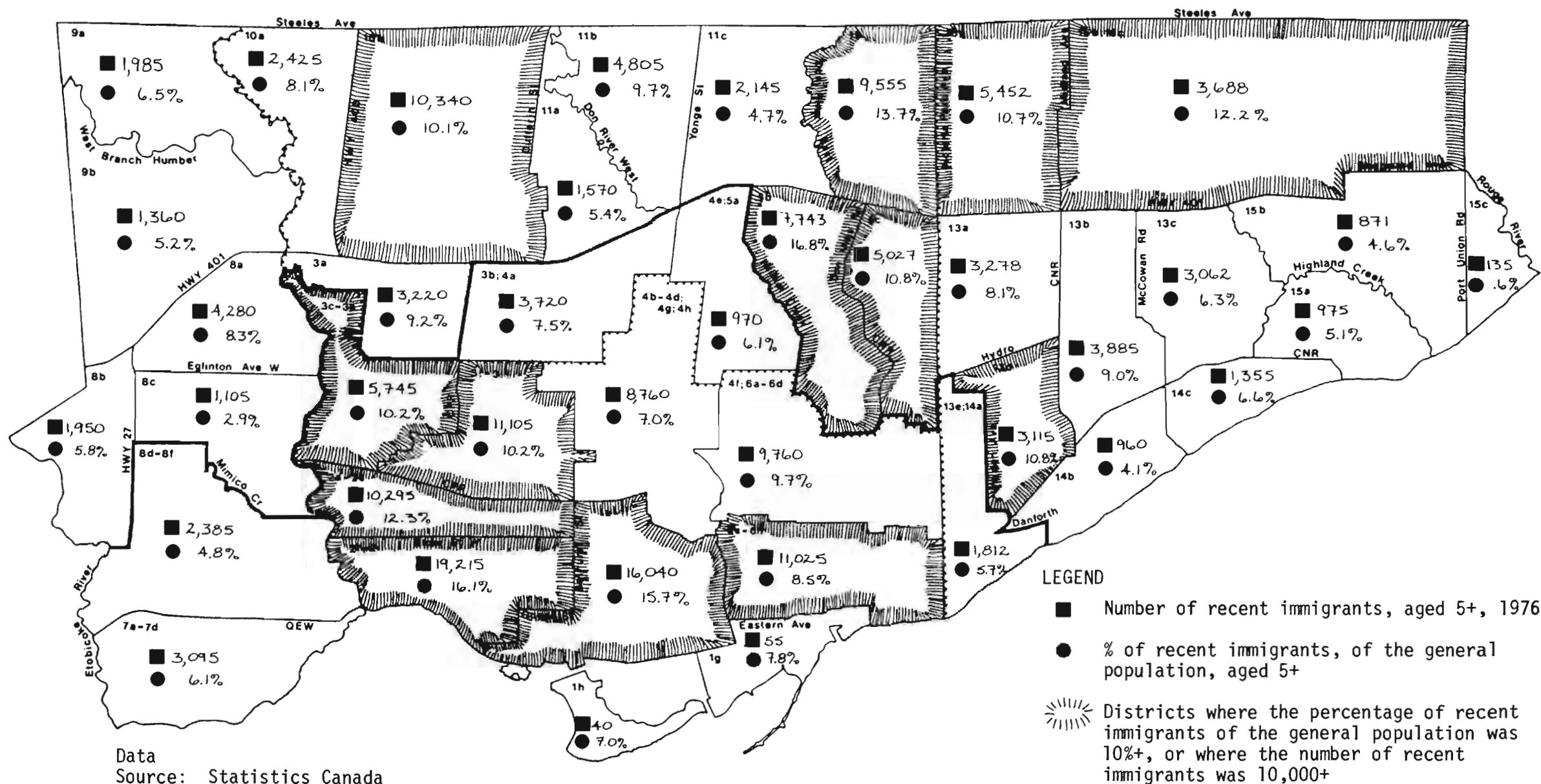
Distributions: Estimated Recent Immigrant Settlement Patterns, 1976

■ number of recent immigrants, 1976 ● percentage aged 5-14, 1976
▲ percentage of recent immigrants to general population, 1976



COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS			
Toronto (City)	■ 69370 ● 15.5% ▲ 11.7%	East York	■ 9760 ● 12.0% ▲ 9.7%
North York	■ 51510 ● 18.5% ▲ 9.9%	Scarborough	■ 28595 ● 21.3% ▲ 7.9%
York	■ 12880 ● 16.5% ▲ 9.8%	Etobicoke	■ 16135 ● 18.4% ▲ 5.8%

Data Source: Statistics Canada



Note: Recent immigrants refer to persons aged 5+ who migrated to Canada between 1971-1976

- (c) the location of recently developed publicly-assisted housing in newer suburban districts;
- (d) the presence of established ethnic networks and clusters in the suburbs arising from earlier periods of immigration, and the desire of recent immigrants to reside in proximity to such networks and clusters.

In previous periods there has been a relationship between large scale immigration into the urban centres and the growth of new suburban communities. As immigrants settled in the centre, established residents moved further out. This pattern was already evident in the late nineteenth century in a number of North American cities.⁴⁹ Early suburbs reflected the cultural homogeneity of established residents who had left the cities. In many respects this pattern was also evident in Metro Toronto into the early and mid sixties. For much of the post-war period of rapid suburban growth in Metro, suburban neighbourhoods and communities included adults and children more familiar with the experiences of Canadian living. Earlier

post-war suburbs in Metro included districts with ethnic and cultural diversity, but these were residents for whom the suburbs were not usually their first exposure to Canadian life.

The 1971 to 1976 immigrant trends have led to mixed suburban communities of established residents and newcomers to Canada. The incomplete process of suburban community building is now faced with the need to integrate residents into a new society and culture. It has long been recognized that adapting to a new society and culture is a difficult process for individuals and families. Over time the central urban area developed institutions and self-help societies to facilitate the integration of recent immigrants. The compactness of the central area facilitated mobility and access to extended family and kinship networks of informal support. The availability of inexpensive housing through the urban core and centre made it possible for clustering to occur.

Some adult immigrants spent most of their lives in transitional communities in the urban centre. Compact and culturally homogeneous communities made it possible to draw upon traditional supports in adjusting to Canadian

⁴⁹ P. Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America (1820-1920). Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1978. P. 124

life. It was often only the children of early immigrants who were fully integrated into the mainstream of Canadian life.

The pattern of recent immigrant settlement in Metro's suburbs is quite different from what has traditionally occurred in the central area. In the suburbs there are highly dispersed and culturally diverse pockets of recent immigrants in contrast to the more homogeneous and compact clusters of the central area.

The cultural diversity of suburban immigration reflects national patterns of the late sixties and early seventies. Increasingly, new immigrants to Canada have come from countries and regions outside of Europe. Since Metro has been the largest urban reception centre for new immigrants to Canada, changes in national patterns would be quickly evident in Metro. Dispersed suburban immigrant pockets in the suburbs are a result of alternative housing patterns in the suburbs. Rapid growth suburbs are new environments in which there is a limited stock of older and less expensive housing in the process of being recycled. Suburban family homes are expensive and because of zoning limitations are

not adaptable to immigrant needs, such as multiple family occupancy.

The established suburban neighbourhood is largely inaccessible to new immigrants. Apartments and townhouse developments accessible to recent immigrants are generally located on the periphery of established neighbourhoods, or in developments separated from established areas by empty land, commercial/industrial/institutional uses, or wide arterial roads. Thus there is an insufficient supply of affordable, usable, and contiguous housing in the suburbs to enable more compact and homogeneous forms of immigrant settlement to occur. Dispersion limits the possibilities for communal and mutual forms of support to develop. This places a heavier burden on suburban community services to facilitate the orientation and adjustment of new immigrants.

The 1976 Census did not include information on the countries of origin of recent immigrants to Canada. The Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board was an important source of social data on the cultural



■ Denotes 50 or more children
● Denotes 30-49 children

Note: This is a selective distribution and does not include children of non-Canadian birth in the public school system.

Table: 13

Major Recorded Countries of Birth (100 or More Children), Children of Non-Canadian Origins,
Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board, K-8, 1978

OUTER MUNICIPALITIES

Italy	990
Philippines	825
United Kingdom	817
Jamaica	632
United States	300
Poland	250
Guyana	247
Ecuador	224
Trinidad & Tobago	181
Portugal	168
Hong Kong	160
Yugoslavia	160
India	150
Ireland	117
Argentina	105
Chile	105
Columbia	103
Uruguay	102

INNER MUNICIPALITIES

Portugal	4,652
Italy	1,602
Philippines	599
United Kingdom	294
Poland	269
Ecuador	268
Jamaica	132
Trinidad & Tobago	117

Data Source: Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board

diversity of immigrant children in their schools. Enclosure 38 identifies the distribution of major recorded countries of birth of immigrant children in elementary grades (K-8) of separate schools in Metro in 1978. This is a selective distribution and does not include children of non-Canadian birth in the public school system.⁵⁰ Table 13 is a summary of major recorded countries of birth by outer and inner municipalities.

The cultural diversity of immigrant students is most evident in two rapid growth suburban districts. In M.P.D.10B (North York), there were more major countries of recorded birth than in any other district of Metro. Another North York district - M.P.D.12, also included a diversity of cultural origins. The countries of origin in these districts reflect national immigration patterns; there are children living in rapid growth suburbs who were born in Latin America, the Caribbean, Southern and Eastern Europe, and Asia. Table 13 provides further evidence of the cultural diversity in the suburbs. In 1978, there were 18 major recorded countries of birth of separate school immigrant children (Grades K-8) in suburban municipalities; in the inner municipalities there were fewer major countries of origin (8),

⁵⁰ It was not possible to develop similar distributions for suburban public schools in Metro. The Etobicoke and North York Boards of Education did not possess developed or available data on the cultural backgrounds of immigrant children in their schools. Data was available from the Scarborough Board of Education in municipal summary form.

but highly concentrated origin patterns (Portugal, Italy).

In the Scarborough public schools, over 7% of all elementary school pupils in 1978 were from non-European countries of origin -- from India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Bangladesh, Japan, China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, the Caribbean Islands, Guatemala, Guyana.⁵¹ A review conducted of the Welcome House case-load from 1974 to 1977 indicated that the rapid growth suburbs as well as the central areas were primary settlement areas for new immigrants from Eastern Europe, Caribbean, Russia (Jewish), India, Pakistan, Greece, Korea, Middle East, Italy, Chile, South East Asia.⁵² The only exception were immigrants from Portugal who settled in the central area; this pattern is consistent with the separate school distributions.

The suburbs of Metro have been generally unprepared to serve as settlement areas for new immigrants. In part this reflects the serious social limitations of urban planning by local government, combined with the

⁵¹ Scarborough Board of Education, May 1, 1978.

⁵² S. Hilbert, Immigrant Settlement Patterns in New Suburban Areas. Unpublished paper, Atkinson College, York University, Social Welfare Department, January 1978.

absence of active consultation by senior government levels with local government on the urban implications of federal immigration policies. There is no local government authority with the responsibility to develop and monitor social data, identify changing social needs, and exercise leadership in preparing public and voluntary programs for the new social conditions requiring their services. It is only when un-addressed social needs explode into disruptive crises, such as the racial tension of recent years, that local government begins to exercise policy leadership.

For significant numbers of immigrant adults and children, trying to start a new life in the suburbs of Metro is a very difficult experience. Sources of this difficulty, as identified by project respondents, include:

(a) the absence of resources in the public schools to serve the special learning and adjustment needs of immigrant children.

School principals and classroom teachers have often been faced with unanticipated numbers of new immigrant children at the start of the school year, without the preparation or back-up to serve these children. For many immigrant

children, a suburban high rise apartment surrounded by other tall buildings and empty land, is not only their first exposure to Canada, but to urban life in general. These children are often experiencing a number of difficult adjustments at the same time -- to Canadian life and customs, to suburban living, to a new language, and sometimes to forms of family instability associated with the adjustment process.

The school classroom becomes the setting in which all the adjustment difficulties of immigrant children become evident. This places severe demands on classroom teachers and the existing resources of the school. There are additional costs involved in securing the resources to facilitate the learning and adjustment needs of suburban immigrant children. There is the need for ESL (English as a Second Language) teachers, school-community workers to bring the family and the classroom closer together, student services assessment and counselling staff, teacher in-service education, summer and evening booster programs, referral and follow-up with community agencies. In short, major public investments are required in suburban schools to serve the needs of immigrant children. Suburban school

boards have been unable to make the range of investments required. In a brief to the federal government in 1977 urging Ottawa to help finance supplementary programs for immigrant children, the Scarborough Board of Education stated:

"The cost involved in meeting the present Scarborough program for immigrant students places a heavy burden on the Scarborough school system. The Scarborough Board of Education is completely unable to assume the cost involved in adding staff on additional programs.

If the suggested program is to be implemented, it must be financed from resources not now available to the Scarborough Board of Education."⁵³ (emphasis added)

The additional needs which Scarborough stated in 1977 as being necessary to serve immigrant children included:

⁵³ Scarborough Board of Education, Meeting the Needs of Scarborough Immigrant Students: A Brief to the Minister of Manpower and Immigration, March 1977. P. 3

31 teachers, 10 teacher aides, 5 liaison workers, and back-up resources at an annual cost of \$750,000.

Service workers noted that classroom teachers in suburban areas with large populations of immigrant children were often operating under acute stress, overwhelmed by the educational and adjustment needs of their children, but unable to provide the individualized attention required by immigrant children. Suburban schools have generally assumed that the child's family - particularly in the classic suburban household - was a supplementary resource to promote the learning objectives of the school. With immigrant children the school is required to provide not only additional support to the child, but also to orient families into the learning activity of the school. With fewer suburban households now having a direct relationship to the schools, and established residents feeling that they have already paid for their children's learning, there is a limited political will in suburban municipalities to face the new educational needs of their schools.

(b) a serious crisis arising from the absence of financially accessible and publicly regulated child care.

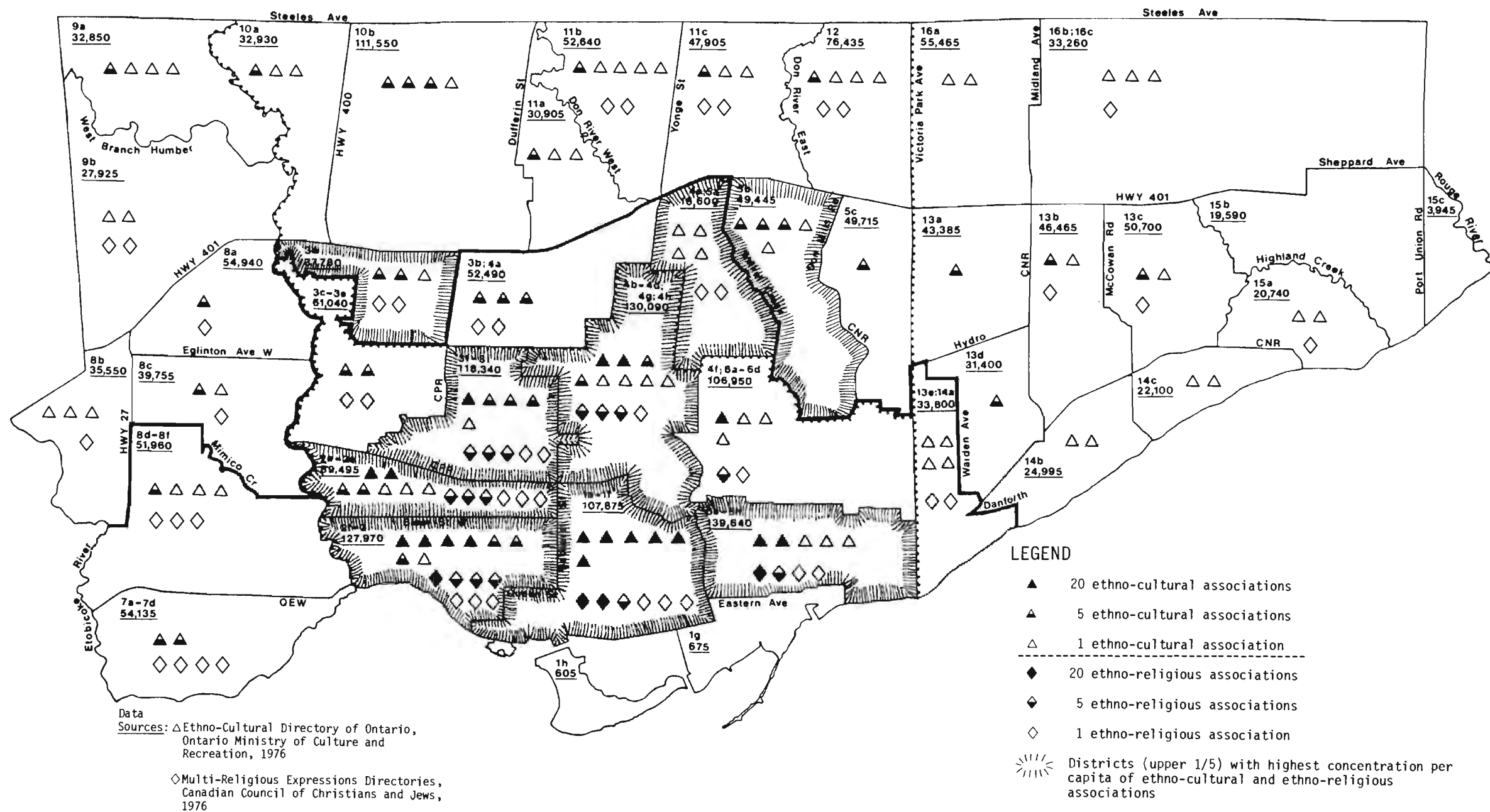
Many women from recent immigrant households are in the labour force as primary wage earners to support their families. Day care services are critically required by suburban immigrant families of all cultural backgrounds.⁵⁴ Where adequate care is neither available nor accessible, some of the alternative arrangements are unsatisfactory to the welfare of children. Unsatisfactory arrangements cited by project respondents included low quality unregulated care, young children left alone on apartment floors, both parents off to work before breakfast and children sometimes not showing up for school, younger children coming alone or being left for periods of time inside shopping centres. With extended family and kinship systems often cut off, suburban immigrant families are more dependent on community supports. Provincial cutbacks in financing day care have not resulted in fewer immigrant women in the suburbs joining the labour force; it has meant increased hazard and threat to the welfare of young suburban immigrant children where inadequate child care exists.

(c) the severe isolation and stress experienced by immigrant women in the suburbs, particularly where English is not their first language, or where marital instability has developed.

Respondents cited instances of immigrant women who did not speak English being fearful of leaving their suburban dwelling to shop or use public transit, for fear that they would get lost and be unable to communicate with strangers to receive directions. In compact central area settings, particularly where there was more cultural homogeneity, the streets were less a source of fear. There were people around and stores of one's own cultural background as familiar and reassuring sources of casual support.

Public environments in the suburbs - plazas, local centres - are anonymous settings in appearance, presentation and function, primarily meeting the needs of established residents. They have a limited capacity to reflect the multi-cultural presence of new Canadians in the suburbs. The colours, languages, textures, forms and specialty retail services associated with multi-cultural settlements in the central area, are just not in evidence in Metro's rapid growth suburbs. The visible environment provides limited recognition and confirmation of suburban cultural realities, other than the public presence of the people themselves. Thus the opportunities for casual contact and exchange between

⁵⁴ S. Hilbert, op.cit.



immigrants of similar cultural origin are few. This increases the isolation experienced by suburban women.

There are few services in Metro's suburbs specifically directed to the needs of recent immigrant women. These services tend to be primarily located in the central area. The major reception and orientation facility of the Ontario government - Welcome House - remains inaccessible to suburban women in its somewhat dated harbour location. English language programs for immigrant women with pre-school children are offered in a number of suburban locations such as churches. These are valuable services, but not a substitute for multi-purpose service centres to meet the counselling, employment, language, health, and recreation needs of suburban immigrant women.

(d) insufficient access to sources of social integration with members of one's own culture, or the general community.

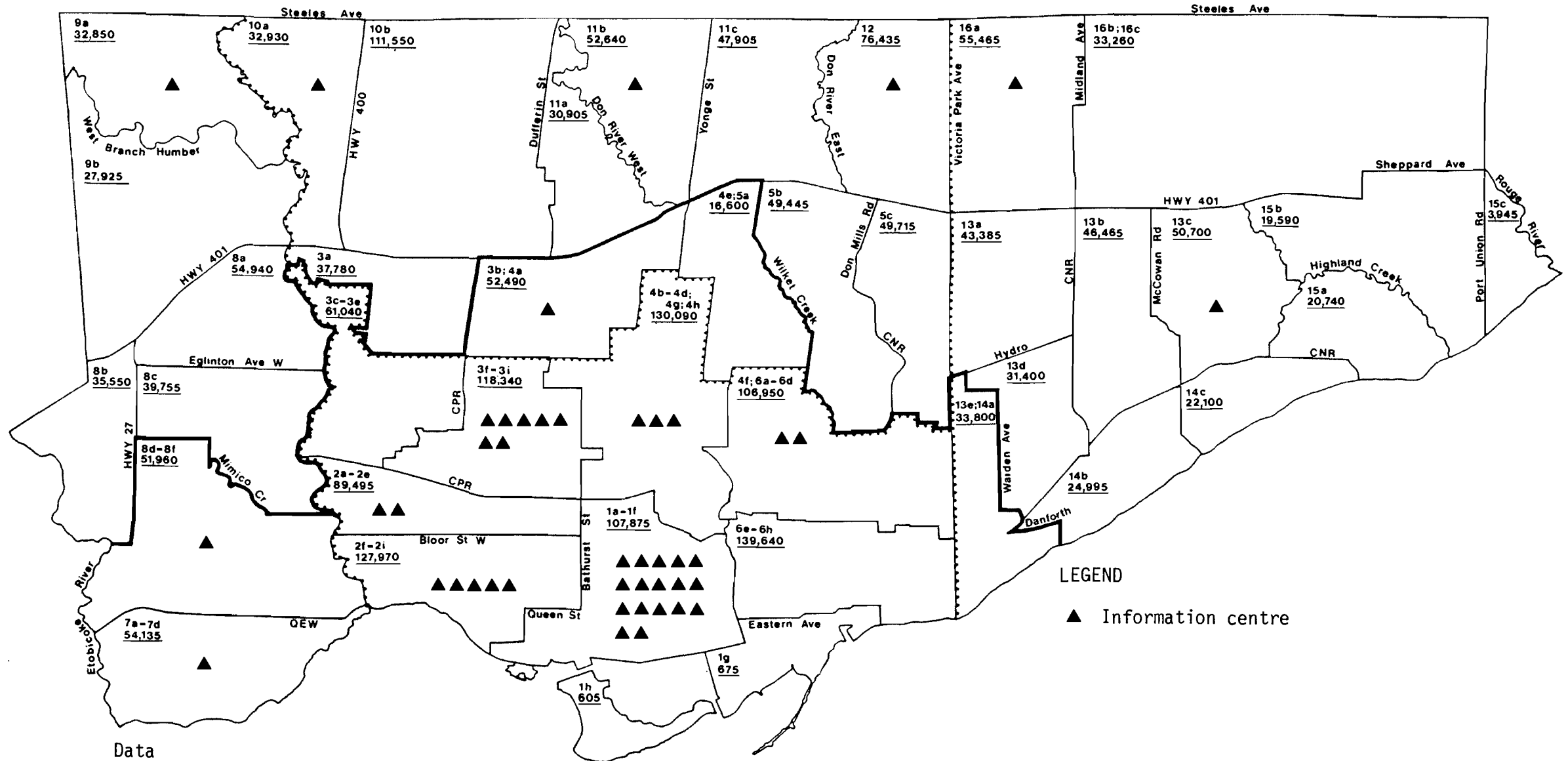
While there are significant numbers of new immigrants in the suburbs, ethno-cultural and ethno-religious associations are largely located in the central urban area. This reflects the longer tradition of immigrant settlement in the centre, and the consequent location of communal and mutual support associations in these areas. Enclosure 39 indicates that there are far fewer ethno-cultural and ethno-religious association in districts

north of Highway 401, where large numbers of new immigrants have settled.

Dispersed and multi-cultural forms of suburban immigrant settlement have created special problems for public funders of ethno-cultural associations. In many rapid growth suburban districts there are a diversity of ethno-cultural residents. It is not within the financial capabilities of public funders to separately finance each of the ethno-cultural groups in every suburban district where they are located. Multi-cultural initiatives are required in the suburbs; there are however limited forms of inter-group relations work being carried out under private, voluntary, or church auspices to develop and promote such initiatives.

Metro's suburbs have become multi-racial as well as multi-cultural communities. Project respondents noted that there were still undercurrents of racial tensions in suburban districts; there was however a general view that the difficult periods of conflict and violence might have subsided for the present time. Where racial tensions persisted, they were particularly directed to Asian minorities. In suburban communities where there are neighbourhood

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Data

Sources: Information Directory
Community Information Centre of Metropolitan Toronto, 1977
Yellow Pages Directory, 1977

voluntary agencies, residents and service workers have provided local leadership in promoting sound inter-group relations. In most other communities, the police have assumed major responsibilities in easing racial tension, and in promoting productive forms of communication with minority group leaders and residents. Other than the police, however, there are few if any community workers operating in rapid growth districts with broad mandates to promote constructive patterns of race relations. There is no ongoing funding available for detached youth workers; there are few school-community relations workers in local areas; site planning offices do not exist; neighbourhood agencies struggle on limited budgets; there are few, if any, church funded community development projects. What are sometimes designated as community development programs are limited in function to offering consultation, but do not perform an initiating role.

While overt racial tension has decreased in the suburbs, respondents were fearful that prolonged and increased levels of unemployment in immigrant settlement areas, primarily among youth and young adults, could lead once more to conflict and violence. Unemployment was cited as a major contributing factor to serious racial tension of recent years.

(e) inadequate information resources and services for recent immigrants unfamiliar with government and community programs, or where special language difficulties exist.

Service respondents noted with satisfaction that major public services in the suburbs such as hospitals, police, treatment and counselling centres, libraries, had developed multi-lingual capabilities. This served to facilitate the use of programs, once recent immigrants were aware of a service and how to link up with it. There are however very limited resources in Metro's suburbs to increase immigrant awareness for the range of programs and support which exist or may be used.

Enclosure 40 identifies the distribution of information centres in Metropolitan Toronto in 1977. Included are municipal-wide as well as locally-based services. Municipal-wide information services rely primarily on the use of the telephone to help those in need of assistance. Most possess multi-lingual capabilities. These services are available to all residents of Metro. In recent years recognition had developed that locally-based information centres, operating on a neighbourhood or district basis, are important supplements

to municipal-wide programs. They offer individuals access to drop-in forms of direct personal contact for concerns sometimes too complex or sensitive to be discussed over the telephone, or where reassurance is sought in the process of receiving information. Local information centres can also specialize in areas of particular interest to the neighborhood or districts they serve. Areas of specialization can include income support, rental housing, or child care.

In 1977 the distribution of local information centres was inconsistent with the location of recent immigrants to Metro. There were significantly fewer local centres in the rapid growth suburbs in relation to the number of centres located in the central area. Districts with large and diverse numbers of immigrants - M.P.D.5B and M.P.D.10B - were without fully operational local centres. This is a source of special concern. Service respondents noted that suburban immigrants were facing difficulties with the unemployment insurance program. In the central areas, local information centres play a major role in ensuring that immigrants, particularly where language difficulty exists, receive fair and equitable treatment from U.I.C., and are not subject to arbitrary judgements because they are less familiar with, or at times intimidated by, government programs. Local information centres are also

important sources of support in helping recent immigrants acquire needed health, English instruction, family counselling, and other similar programs and services.

Provincial financing of local information centres is available only where there is some cost-sharing by municipalities. Suburban municipalities in Metro have frequently placed a low priority on the adequate financing of local centres. This has tended to discourage voluntary efforts to initiate and sustain suburban information centres.

Other gaps in suburban information support for recent immigrants included limited interpreter services for general needs, and insufficient multi-lingual publications and directories on existing services and resources.

In brief then, new immigrants in the suburbs face serious difficulties. They are expected to integrate into Canadian life far sooner than previous generations of immigrants, without the formal and informal supports which have traditionally existed or been required. The settlement of recent immigrants in the suburbs is not a temporary phenomena. While the numbers of new immigrants to Metro will decline significantly from over 50,000 a year

to around 30,000 in light of new federal ceilings (100,000 a year for Canada), the suburbs will continue to absorb at least half of all new immigrants to Metro. Support services are required to facilitate the settlement of immigrants who will come in the future, and to serve the unmet needs of immigrant children and families who settled in Metro's suburbs during the seventies.



9.0 YOUTH

The 10 - 19 population is currently the largest age group in most suburban districts of Metro. Environments which accommodated the parenting of younger children are now faced with large numbers of older children, adolescents, and young adults. The suburban response to the dominant presence of youth in their midst is one of unease and tension. This was the most consistent theme to emerge in almost every interview conducted, whether with residents, front-line workers, or service providers.

The sources of suburban unease and tension are somewhat understandable. The period of adolescence is frequently a difficult stage of transition for both adults and youngsters. These are often unpredictable years, where the behaviour or activity of young people can drift into unanticipated directions, outside the realm of parental aspiration and expectation. This element of unpredictability is a situation faced by all parents and communities, irrespective of family income levels, occupational status, cultural background, family structure, the type of home in which one lives. Feelings of unease and uncertainty about

youth are not unique to Metro's suburbs. The social effects on youth of the deteriorating economic climate are being felt everywhere. There are, however, special conditions which intensify the experienced impact of youth in Metro's suburbs, and contribute to the current climate of unease and tension.

The dominant presence and visibility of youth is a new experience for the post-war suburbs. Youth are neither adults nor fully dependent children; they are subject to the influences of the general culture, and less subject to the supervision and control of adults as are younger children. Youth are using the environment in ways which were neither anticipated nor intended. Suburban youth, as part of the phenomena of the last decade, have acquired increased levels of discretionary income. They have been encouraged to become active market consumers for age-related food, clothes, music and life style pursuits. Suburban youth are expected to act as adult consumers, often without the financial resources and judgement that is called for. While the market influences youth to consume, it creates an environment which does not enable them to meet some of their basic needs - needs for belonging, needs for expression, needs for social contact.

Metro's suburbs are going through an intensified adjustment process. There are the traditional adjustments that families experience when their children become adolescents. At the same time, the general community is being pressed into an accommodation to the dominant youth pressure.

The process of accommodation is proving to be a difficult one. The traditional suburban framework of support for child welfare and development is no longer sufficient. The support needs of youth go beyond the physical setting of the single family home, the neighbourhood, the school, and leisure facilities.

Older communities in the central urban area, have experienced previous generations of adolescents in their midst. Some accommodation has already occurred, whether this has taken the form of services which are in place, or an acquired measure of comfort in the visible use of the environment by young people. The physical compactness of the central urban area facilitates youth mobility and independent activity, even though such opportunities are generally viewed by adults as a liability rather than an advantage. From an adolescent perspective however opportunities for mobility and diverse experience are valued. Adults are more publicly visible users of the central urban environment. This reduces the conspicuous presence

of young people.

Metro's newer suburbs have neither the acquired experience nor the community resources necessary to respond to the range of legitimate social needs that are characteristic of the adolescent stage of development. The adolescent period is one where young people retain levels of dependence on family life and parental direction, but begin to experience community life independently. The ways in which the community responds to the presence and needs of its young people can in turn shape the attitudes of youth to adults and the general community.

In some instances the community may be required to offer support in order to compensate for difficulties in the home environment or in the parent-adolescent relationship. It comes as no surprise that suburban child welfare workers report increased demands for family and protective services involving adolescents. There are other forms of support which only the community can uniquely confer -- the opportunities to socialize, to observe and participate in public forms of community life, to pursue special skills and interests, to secure access to employment where jobs are scarce, to be counselled and

receive services in areas of intimate concern sometimes too sensitive to be fully discussed with parents.

A shared parental-community responsibility is required to respond to the legitimate social needs of youth. While parental responsibility is primary, the community also plays a critical role. For the community to meet its responsibilities, some measure of collective sensitivity and commitment is required.

There are a range of demands being placed on the suburban environment by youth from all family backgrounds. Middle class youth are among those who make extensive use of plazas as public meeting places, a continuing source of suburban tension.⁵⁵ Service workers noted the excessive use of alcohol, the sale and use of soft drugs, among a wide range of suburban youth. Access to part-time or full-time forms of work is a shared concern of all youth. A significant number of adolescents receiving child welfare services come from middle and upper middle income family backgrounds in Metro's suburbs. A Mississauga report on

⁵⁵ Perceptions of project respondents were similar to findings in: J. Dean, Streetwork Report, Don Mills Youth Scene, 12 Madison Youth Project, June 1971.

vandalism issued in 1976 noted that:

"... no correlation was found between the density of a residential area and the rate of vandalism in that area. Areas characterized by high rates of vandalism were typically low density areas, having less than 8 units/acre."⁵⁶

Vandalism was not to be necessarily associated with any socio-economic segment of the community, nor was it correlated with the residential density of a neighbourhood.

Social development patterns in Metro's suburbs during the last decade have increased the need for adequate youth supports. The post-war suburban environment incorporated a number of basic assumptions about conditions that would prevail as young children grew into adolescence. Many of these assumptions are not as self-evident as they once seemed:

(a) The two parent structure of family life is less secure.

⁵⁶ H. Wolf (Chairman), Report of Task Force on Vandalism, City of Mississauga, June 1976, P. 12 - 13.

One parent families, primarily mother-led, are increasingly prevalent in Metro's suburbs, and are to be found across all income groups. Parent separation often occurs when children are older. Adolescents face difficult periods of adjustment when one of their parents moves out of the home. Some suburban youth may have grown up for a number of years without a secure male or female parent relationship. There are now young people in the suburbs who need stable forms of adult contact and support outside the family environment.

- (b) The future is not as promising nor predictable as it was once assumed to be for those youth who applied themselves seriously at school, at home, and in the community.

Enclosures 41 and 42 document 1976 census data on youth unemployment throughout Metro districts. Because the census is conducted in June, the count records both youth out of school and looking for ongoing work, as well as young people looking for summer jobs. It should be stressed that the distributions in the enclosures are conservative projections of youth unemployment levels. They only include youth who had looked for work in a one-week reference period. This would eliminate significant numbers of young people who had become discouraged, were less motivated, or were less certain of where

to look for jobs. The general unemployment rate in Canada and Metro has jumped considerably since June 1976. We know that in recent years youth consistently represent 40% - 50% of the recorded unemployed, and that there are large numbers of unrecorded unemployed.

In 1976 there were seriously high levels of youth unemployment in many parts of the suburbs and throughout Metro. All but one of the districts with higher unemployment levels for females aged 20 - 24 were in newer suburban areas, primarily in Scarborough. There was a more even distribution between central areas and suburban districts in high unemployment rates for females aged 15 - 19, and in the combined rates for females aged 15 - 24. There were critically high unemployment rates for male youth clear across Metro. Almost two-thirds of newer suburban districts had unemployment rates for 15 - 19 year old males above Ontario percentages. There were even higher levels of unemployment for 15 - 19 years olds in the central urban area. Two-fifths of newer suburban districts had very high unemployment rates for males aged 20 - 24. Once more the central urban area had even higher unemployment rates. In two-fifths of newer suburban districts the combined rate of unemployment for males aged 15 - 24 was

above Ontario levels. Throughout most of the central area youth unemployment levels are above the Ontario rate.

It should be noted that high suburban youth unemployment in 1976 showed up in districts with a wide range of family income levels, and not just in districts with high concentrations of publicly assisted housing stock.

There is growing evidence that there are serious social effects for those who are unemployed.⁵⁷ The stress of being unemployed leads to increased and costly demands on service resources. There is evidence from project interviews that high youth unemployment is a direct source of instability to the present and future life of suburban communities.

One might note M.P.D. 9A in North Etobicoke, a multi-income and multi-racial community. In June of 1976 there were high unemployment levels for both females and males aged 15-19. In July of 1976, one month later, serious inter-racial conflict broke out among youth in the area.

57

H. Brenner, Estimating the Social Costs of National Economic Policy, Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1976

Respondents from other similar districts also related patterns of instability to youth unemployment. In one Etobicoke neighbourhood, instability declined when there were funds to hire local youth and to support their efforts to operate neighbourhood centre programs.

There are other forms of community instability that arise from high levels of youth unemployment. The Etobicoke Guardian, when commenting upon increased levels of vandalism in the borough, noted that:

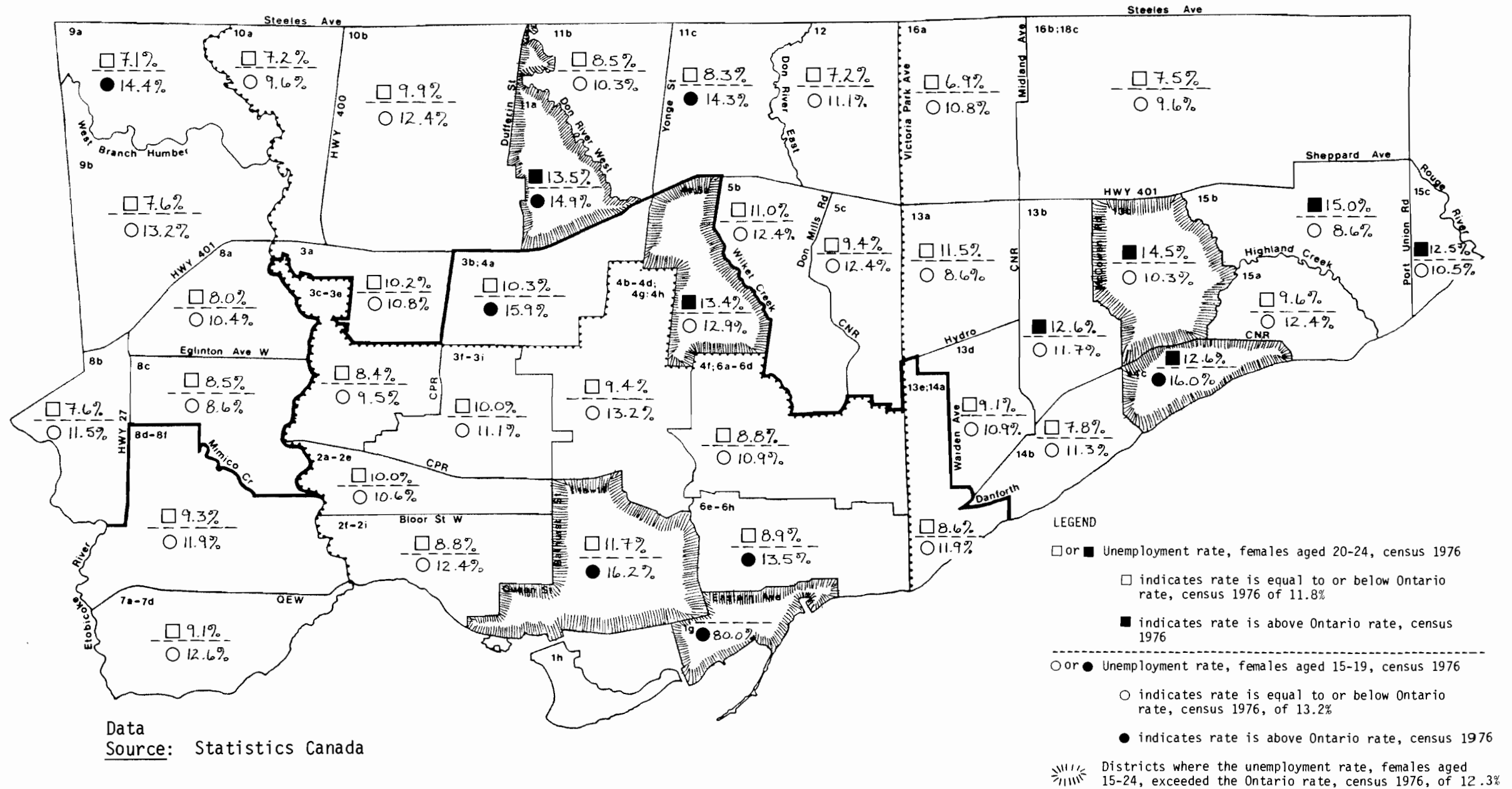
"Our industrial society is based on the work ethic, which includes respect for the property of others and sadly that ethic has eroded in proportion to the increase in the unemployment rate."⁵⁸

In a recent report summarizing investigations into vandalism, the Hamilton Social Planning and Research Council noted that:

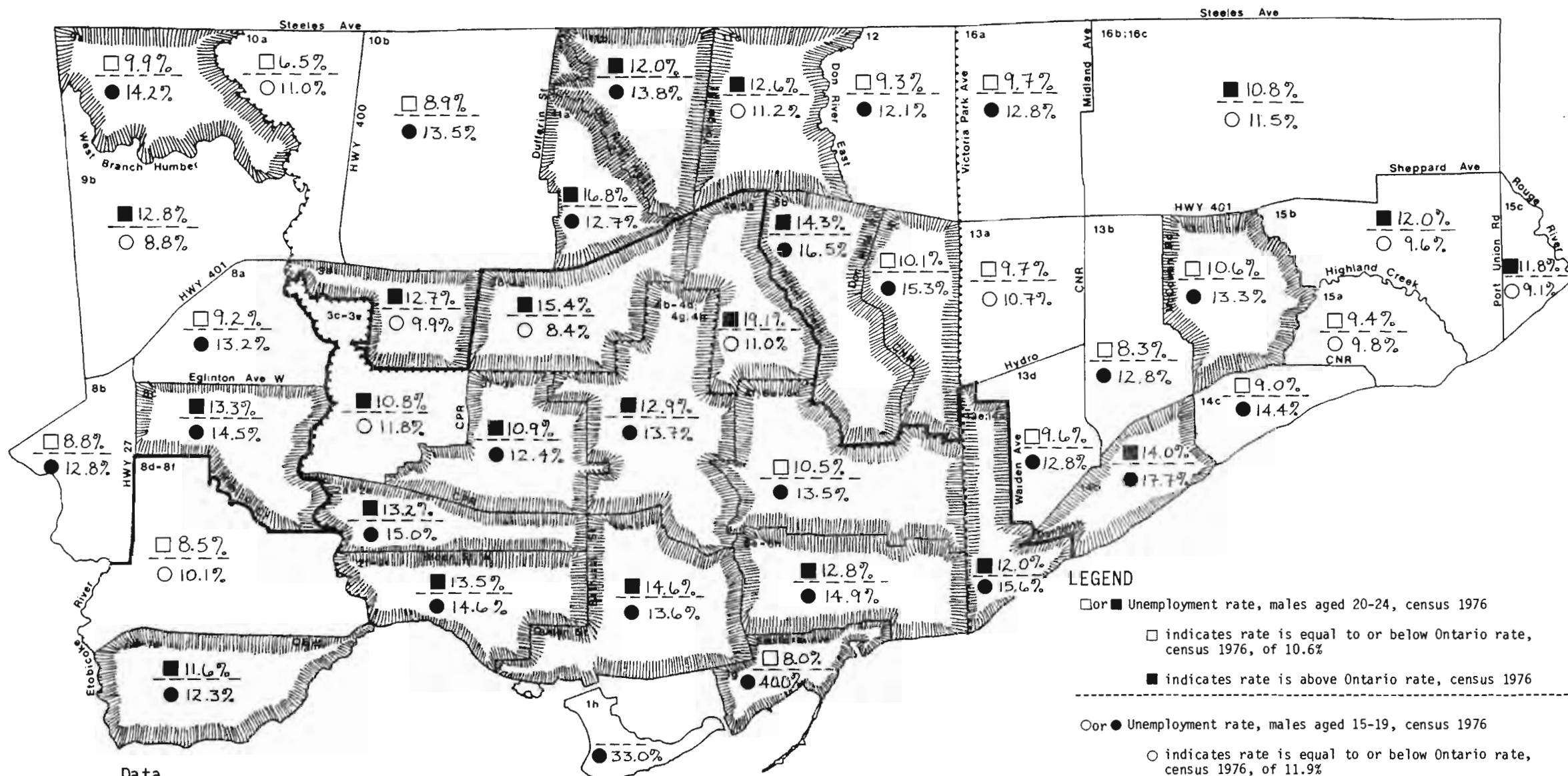
58

Etobicoke Guardian, High Unemployment Devalues Work Ethic, Editorial of May 7, 1978.

- 200 -



- 201 -



Data
Source: Statistics Canada

"The premises or expectations contained in the work ethic seem to be failing due to economic realities and with this failure is a growing frustration...The concept of a good education leading to good employment is no longer true. Failure to meet expectations result in a high degree of frustration and may lead to an increase in drug and alcohol related incidents."⁵⁹

Service workers reported increased numbers of school drop-outs, less accessible employment for youth, with groups of young people drifting aimlessly around suburban communities without work, and with nothing to do. Among such youth there is evidence of low self-esteem combined with anger. Growing numbers of suburban youth are among those applying for and receiving welfare. In general, there is a pattern emerging, once exclusively associated with the central urban area, of despondent groups of suburban youth with little sense of immediate direction, and prospects for an uncertain future.

⁵⁹ Hamilton Social Planning and Research Council, An Investigative Approach to the Problem of Vandalism in Hamilton-Wentworth. Interim Report, second draft; February 1978, P. 5.

- (c) Not all adolescents are growing up in single family homes or other kinds of ground-level dwellings.

For youth living in apartments, traditional basement recreation rooms, family rooms, backyards and driveways are not available for informal pursuits such as listening to louder music, having social contact with friends inside the home without direct adult observation, playing billiards, chatting casually in a driveway or on front steps. Even where recreation facilities are placed in apartment dwellings for specialized forms of youth activity, these facilities do not compensate for the absence of settings where informal social contact, characteristic of adolescent years, can be pursued. Although there is little evidence that youth growing up in suburban apartments are any special source of instability to the community, the physical limitations of the home increase their reliance on supportive experiences in the community.

- (d) The social and cultural homogeneity of suburban life has changed.

There are now youth in the suburbs for whom

Canadian life is a new experience. Racist epithets and incidents are as much a feature of suburban living as they are of the rest of Metro. Adjustment can be difficult in Metro's suburbs, where youth of multi-cultural backgrounds have limited opportunities for continuing attachments to their native culture while integrating into Canadian customs and patterns.

There are now a wide range of family income groups in the suburbs. Sometimes the contrast can be quite stark. As one resident noted, young people growing up in poverty can look out of their apartment windows and observe the contrasting affluence of single family homes just beyond. It is no longer possible to organize leisure programs on a "fee for service" basis and then assume relative homogeneity of family income levels so that all youngsters will be able to participate financially.

It was disconcerting to discover, for example, that youngsters from low-income suburban families were often unable to play in organized hockey leagues because of the cost of equipment and registration.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ L. Kalchuman, Minor Hockey is Big Business. The Mirror May 3, 1978, P. 54

One police officer interviewed cited the fund-raising efforts of his service club to help suburban youngsters from poorer families play in organized leagues. They were able to reduce the expense from \$60 to \$35 a youngster; this was still costly for youngsters from poorer families.

The need for community youth support does not arise because conditions are worse in the suburbs. There is little evidence that behaviour patterns of suburban youth are significantly different from youth elsewhere. The themes raised by service workers and residents when describing suburban youth are all too familiar to those who have worked with youth in the central area. These themes include:

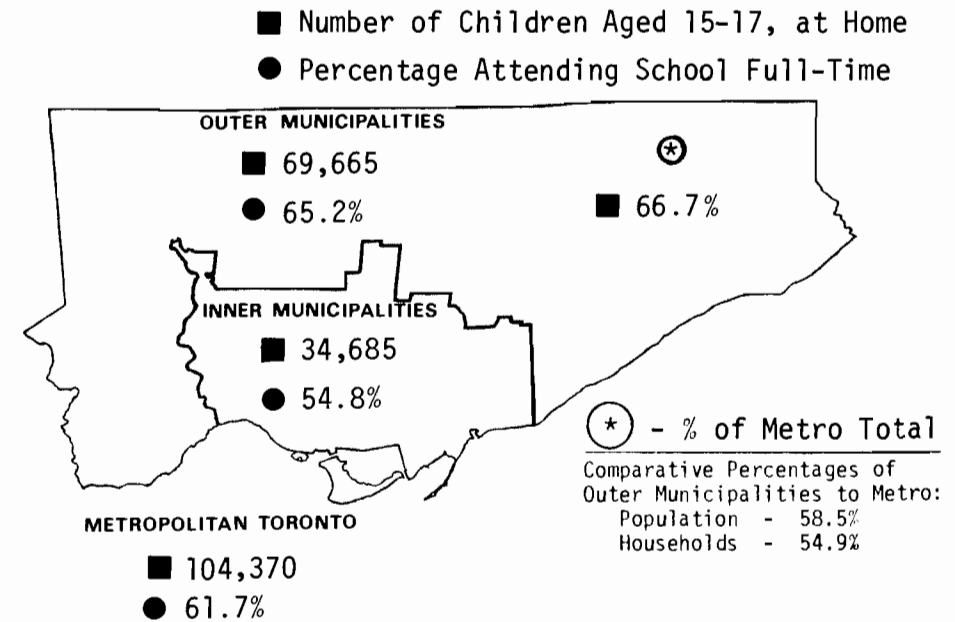
- young people complaining of "nothing to do";
- lots of organized programs but "kids don't often seem to be interested";
- observed differences between "motivated" and "unmotivated" youth;
- youth who are socially active, and those who are lonely and isolated from friends, adults, and the general community;
- concern over how to reach "kids";
- the expressed fear of youth gangs, whether real or perceived;

- apprehension over younger children being induced into inappropriate activity and behaviour by older youngsters;
- irritation with the personal appearance of youth, their public clustering in groups, the use of glib, loud, and sometimes offensive language in the presence of adults, and sometimes directed to older adults;
- the association of litter, untidiness, and property damage when groups of young people congregate in public places.

There are large numbers of older children and youth moving around on their own in Metro's suburbs. A recent study conducted in the Yonge/Finch and Jane/Finch areas of North York found that by age ten over 50% of those interviewed were permitted to travel alone of the T.T.C.⁶¹ By age 12 more than 70% of all children never travelled with adults, and 92% rarely or never travelled with older brothers and sisters. Older children and adolescents travelled with friends and found these experiences to be a source of enjoyment precisely because they were on their own. Adolescence is a time when young people form friendships and networks of contact with other adolescents and adults in the community. They engage in exten-

Figure: 32

Distributions: Full-Time School Attendance,
Children at Home Aged 15-17, 1976



COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

Etobicoke	■ 16,910	● 66.6%	East York	■ 3,500	● 58.6%
Scarborough	■ 23,075	● 65.5%	York	■ 5,955	● 58.4%
North York	■ 29,680	● 64.1%	Toronto (City)	■ 25,230	● 53.5%

Data
Source: Statistics Canada

⁶¹ J. Durlock, B. Duncan, G. Emby, Suburban Children and Public Transportation in Metropolitan Toronto. Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, January, 1976. P. 10.

sive forms of social discovery - of people, places, ideas, styles, all in the context of new social relationships.

Many suburban youth are living up to parental aspirations. They drop out of secondary school less frequently, attend post-secondary institutions in greater numbers when living at home (see Figure 17), and participate in a whole range of organized leisure programs provided by the municipality, voluntary agencies, and committed community volunteers. Figure 32 identifies the number of children aged 15 - 17 who were living at home in 1976, and the percentage who were in full-time attendance at school. In Metro's suburban municipalities 65% of suburban youth aged 15 - 17 were still in school full-time. The contrast with the inner municipalities is quite evident. In the City of Toronto nearly 47% of youth aged 15 - 17 were no longer in full-time attendance. Once more these are conservative projections. The census recorded a youngster in full-time attendance if he/she had been in school at any time in the preceeding nine months. Youngsters who dropped out during the 1975 - 1976 school year were recorded in school full-time.

While full-time attendance patterns are higher in the suburbs, there are still more than 33% of youth aged 15 - 17 who were not in school full-time. Even though these youth are

a distinct minority, they have important needs such as access to work-study programs, alternative schools, short-term employment prior to school re-entry, continued career and lifestyle counselling while on their own in the community.

These programs often place extra financial demands on the community. But there are too many youth currently in Metro's suburbs to expect that they will all turn out the same. Many youth will go through adolescence in ways which conform to parental expectation or aspiration. Other young people will have less predictable and sometimes trying patterns of development. Whether these patterns persist through youth into adulthood will in some measure depend upon the quality of community supports which are available when youngsters experience difficulty at home, at school, or in the community.

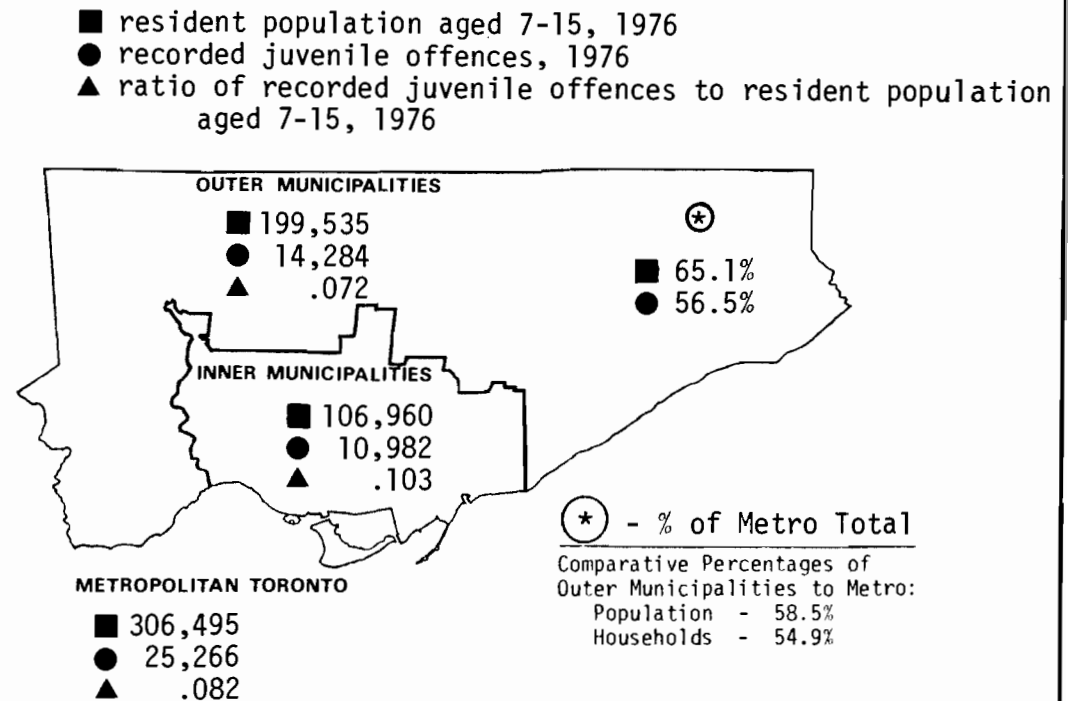
Figure 33 identifies levels of recorded juvenile offences in 1976 (base year of the report). Suburban municipalities contained 65% of all juveniles aged 7 - 15 in Metro. In 1976 56% of juvenile offences in Metro were recorded in the suburbs. Thus the ratio of offences to resident juveniles was lower than in the inner munici-

palities. Youth crime in the suburbs is not at crisis levels relative to the size of the juvenile population. However, given the large numbers of suburban juveniles, there were correspondingly larger numbers of youth apprehended in the suburbs in 1976. As a result, there is a clear need for programs and services to deal with deviant forms of youth activity. If one were to view 16 and 17 year olds (currently treated as adults when apprehended) as adolescents, then the scale of need for youth services is even greater.

Enclosure 43 identifies the distribution of juvenile offences by police division. Once more it is evident that in newer suburban areas of Metro there are large numbers of juveniles which in turn leads to larger numbers of recorded offences. The suburban ratios of offences to the estimated juvenile population are lower than central urban area ratios south of Davenport and the Danforth. Some would contend that higher ratios in downtown areas reflect the presence of non-resident juveniles in these areas and increased police surveillance, because of more patrol areas in these divisions. It should be noted that Division 41 in Scarborough had the highest number of recorded offences in 1976, and a ratio equivalent to some of the downtown areas. This should come as no surprise to public officials -- the Scarborough Agencies Federation reported in June of 1976 that there were unusually

Figure: 33

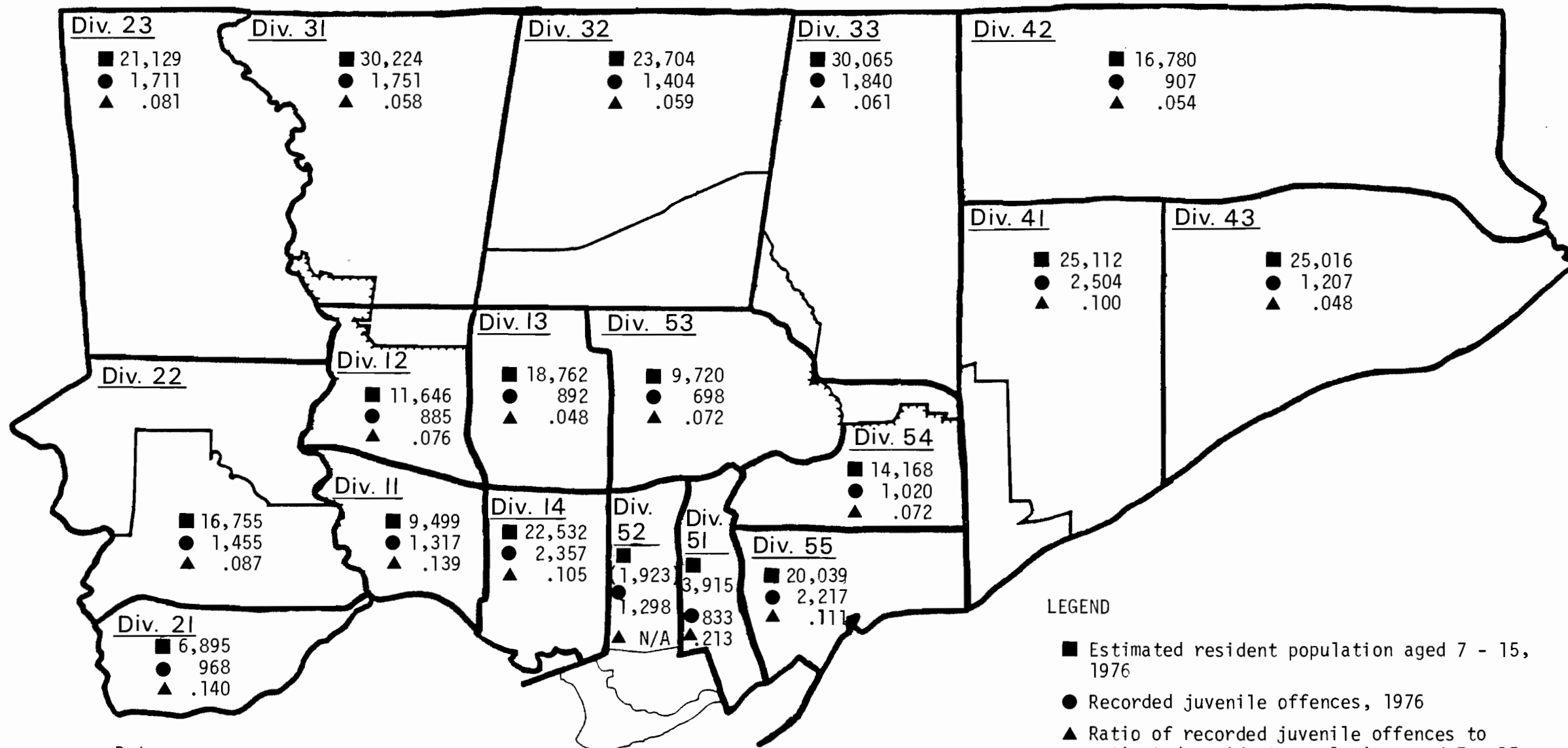
Distributions: Apprehension Patterns, Recorded Juvenile Offences, 1976



Data

Source: Statistics Canada
Research Department, Metropolitan Toronto School Board

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Data
Sources: Statistics Canada
Metropolitan Toronto Police Force

Please note: Offences record place of apprehension and not the place of residence of the alleged offender.

high offence levels in this division, based on an analysis of 1974 data.⁶² The report cited gaps in after-school services for Scarborough youth, particularly for young males who outnumbered female offenders by at least 4:1; of further concern was the difficulty of attracting young males into existing recreation programs. The report called for preventive programs:

"...matched to the characteristics of young offenders, their hours of operation and location." (P. 54)

It further noted that:

"...since shoplifting is the most frequent juvenile offence, programs should give consideration to operating in shopping areas." (P. 54)

Enclosure 44 identifies patrol areas in Metro where 300 or more juvenile offences were recorded in 1976. Of the eleven patrol areas with 300 or more offences, eight were located in newer suburban areas. This reflects not only the large numbers of juveniles in the suburbs, but the extensive use of plazas by young people as activity and meeting places.

⁶² D. Kimberley et al, Initial Report on Social Service Issues and Directions in Scarborough, Scarborough Agencies Federation, June 1976, Table 9. P. 52

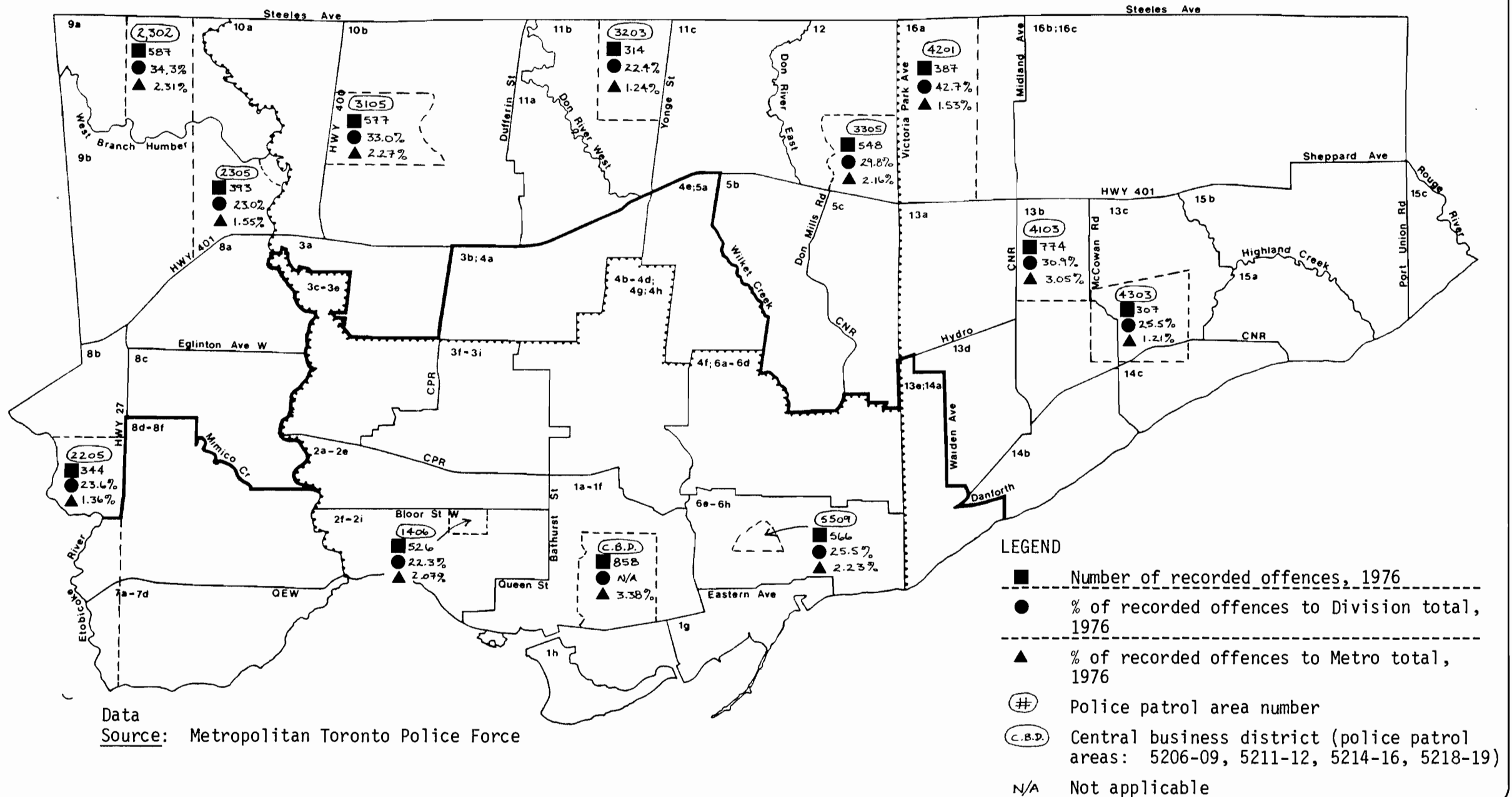
Patrol areas with high apprehension levels, including 1406 and 5509 in the City, were primarily those with major shopping centers. One patrol area in Scarborough - 4103 - had almost as many recorded offences in 1976 as the central business district of downtown Toronto.

Juveniles are a conspicuous element of the policing experience in the suburbs. The police may often be the only community service workers that many young people with difficulties come into contact with outside of the school.

There are few ongoing outreach programs in Metro's suburbs equivalent to the drop-in and neighbourhood services of the central area, to reach young people who are uncomfortable or unable to use established public programs or agency services. These young people may be: (1) unemployed, out of school, and with a vague sense of what to do, (2) experiencing family tension, (3) undergoing adolescent identity dilemmas, (4) new to Canada and going through some cultural disorientation, (5) in states of depression or loneliness and in urgent need of contact with adults who are not authority figures, (6) drifting into destructive life styles and peer group networks, (7) discovering their sexuality but reticent

PATROL AREAS, 1976

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or unaware of the need to monitor their personal behaviour, (8) unaware of the range of public and community resources that they may draw upon in Metro to pursue leisure or cultural interests, because of their suburban isolation.

The function of outreach programs are to reach young people with support in whatever ways that are effective. Approaches may include operating small "storefront scale" drop-in settings - casual non-judgemental, and non-intimidating - to facilitate contact and support. Outreach also includes a commitment to move around the community and reach young people where they are - in plazas, around school yards, in front of apartments, in the parks, at the library, etc. Detached work can be with individuals, groups, or networks of youth. Outreach programs are necessary supplements to the work of the schools, health organizations, and social agencies. They are flexible and adaptive in nature and can more readily be designed to reach the diverse range of young people who now live in the suburbs.

Outreach services are also an important approach to prevention. They provide an opportunity for the community to be in touch with young people through difficult periods of transition and adjustment where support can be offered before life situations deteriorate and require more intensive forms of treatment and corrections. The preventive value of outreach is

enhanced where there are back-up resources in the community for short-term and crisis support. One important gap cited by respondents was the absence in the suburbs of temporary accommodations where young people might stay for a night or longer while tensions or problems in the home were being addressed.

There is an urgent need for stable job creation programs to restore a sense of the work ethic among unemployed suburban youth. It is clearly not enough for the provincial government to limit its job programs to summer employment for young people in full-time attendance at school. Community employment programs for those out of school and without work can serve as a transitional experience into vocational preparation and labour market entry. Job creation programs are productive investment for everyone concerned. For adolescents and young adults there is the discipline of daily activity associated with work. Social integration is promoted where youth contribute to the life of their community.

With large numbers of suburban women now in the labour force, fewer volunteers are available for needed community services in the suburbs. The needs however remain and have increased in light of the social transformations of suburban life. There is important

community work for youth and young adults to perform in the suburbs; after school programs, supplementary child care, home support and para-transit services for the elderly, the development of neighbourhood and multi-lingual information resources, tutorial and educational assistance programs particularly for new Canadian children, multi-cultural programs, health information services, and the organization of leisure programs for those with limited financial resources. Community employment for youth can fill the gaps in current services for those in need who would be otherwise excluded. There is a direct benefit to all suburban residents from community employment programs. Where jobs are scarce for young people, and will continue to be scarce throughout the mid-eighties, job creation for youth is a preferable alternative to general welfare assistance, idleness, and subsequent despair.

Youth unemployment and job creation are not unique suburban concerns. Programs are needed throughout Metro. But Metro's suburbs have a special stake in seeing to it that these needs are addressed, for the majority of Metro's youth are now in the suburbs, and will continue to be there in the coming years. It is hard to assess the mood of unemployed youth and young adults at present. What appears to be apathy and resignation can conceal deeper feelings which are taking hold, and

which could erupt quite suddenly. If this occurs, Metro's suburbs could experience serious forms of disruption in the eighties, similar in some ways to what took place in many North American cities in the sixties.

Another major source of tension in Metro's suburbs is over the independent and informal use of public space by youth. As suburban children grow into adolescence, they behave as do youth in general. They begin to form social worlds independent from parents and other adults. Community meeting places are sought out in order to create and consolidate social contact experience.

In the suburbs the expectation exists that young people will carry out prescribed activities in public settings and then leave. Thus one goes to the recreation centre to swim, to the library to borrow a book, to the plaza to make purchases, to a restaurant to eat food. The outside entrance to an apartment building is for purposes of entering and leaving the building. As young people in the suburbs grow in numbers they increasingly challenge these restrictions. The conflict escalates. Security guards are hired; troublesome youth

are banned from public and private places. Because some are delinquent, a generalized image emerges which castigates all young people who lingers. A climate of irritation and resentment develops. Young people are aware of adult attitudes and respond accordingly.

Needless to say these conditions do not prevail everywhere, nor are they always evident with the same level of intensity. Nevertheless, tension between adults and youth over the use of public places clearly exists.

It is commonly recognized that many North American suburbs often suffer from aimlessness and a missing "sense of community"⁶³ There are limited opportunities for people to affirm a sense of common belonging and membership. The framework of belonging for most adults remains the home and the neighbourhood. Young people are breaking out of this framework as they begin to move on their own, engage in social discovery, and attend secondary schools where non-neighbourhood friendships and networks are developed. When young people transcend the framework of home and neighbourhood and move out

into the larger suburban community, they come up against the stark reality that they are almost alone in seeking public forms of community life. There are few adults around, walking, or casually acknowledging each other as in many parts of the central urban area. Young people are highly visible because adults are not there. As a result, young people come to be perceived as deviant, not for what they do -- that is seeking out public forms of community life -- but in relation to prevailing adult behaviours.

In interviews with suburban residents with cars, it became evident that moving around on foot was rarely seen as a form of personal transportation, but had been elevated to the status of leisure and physical fitness. Adults without cars did not see movement on foot as a source of leisure or health promotion. Walking to them was an unfortunate necessity of their lives; unfortunate because suburban distances and physical surroundings made this less than a pleasant experience.

Adult use of the suburban environment tends to be specialized. Informal social contact can be secured through other settings -- at work, through home entertainment, in restaurants, loungers, private clubs, social

⁶³ C.M. Haar (Editor), The President's Task Force on Suburban Problems, Ballinger Publishing Company, Cambridge, Mass. 1974. P. 30-40

institutions, etc. The suburban environment has been stripped of public meeting places for young people. It is not appropriate to meet in front of apartments. There are few neighbourhood parks, compact and in the centre of local life. Large, open, and deserted spaces are foreboding and insecure. There are few lounges in recreation centres, schools, libraries, in which to meet.

The structure of retail activity has eliminated and jeopardized many traditional public meeting places for young people. A whole range of small owner-managed retail enterprises have given way to impersonal forms of chain retailing. For adults this may represent convenience, efficiency, and marginal savings in retail costs. For young people and the community in general important social benefits offered through small owner-managed enterprises are gone.

Chain retailing ventures focus on high volume and large turnover through to secure their profit margins.⁶⁴ They seek to minimize labour input, promote self-service,

⁶⁴ J. A. Dawson, The Suburbanization of Retail Activity in J.H. Johnson (editor) Suburban Growth, John Wiley & Sons, London, 1974. P. 157-172

standardize functions and procedures; they discourage lingering and social contact. Fast food chains seek to get young people in, have them spend, and then leave. In one fast-food outlet visited, there was in effect a parking rate structure on the wall. Young people were expected to spend 75¢ within a 20 minute period. This is in contrast to traditional owner-managed neighbourhood restaurants and variety stores where young people were often welcome to stay, meet other friends, or chat with the adult owner who took some interest in the young people being served. The same experiences might have been available in neighbourhood garages and service stations, drug stores, sporting goods outlets, record stores, bicycle repair shops, specialty food places, hobby stores and so forth. Most of these smaller stores do not exist in the post-war suburbs where high volume and large overhead space predominates. Less expensive retail space for owner-managed small enterprise, specialty functions, and community services provision is limited.

The emergence of shopping centres as primary community meeting places present additional difficulties. In the central urban area neighbourhood parks and sidewalks often serve as community meeting places. They are public places. Young people have the "right" to be

there, to walk, to browse, to sit on publicly provided benches if their behaviour conforms to public law and standards. They cannot as a group be discouraged or restricted in the use of public facilities. Suburban meeting places inside plazas and shopping centres are private spaces. The Supreme Court of Canada made this clear in a recent ruling.⁶⁵ Young people do not have a "right" to be there -- it is a "privilege", with the conditions of use privately determined.

In one large suburban plaza visited for this project prior to Christmas of 1977, it was possible for the plaza management to issue a directive to its security guards that young people should be discouraged from sitting on plaza benches and be asked to move. Senior citizens however, less a source of irritation to shoppers, would be allowed to use the benches. The plaza manager thought that having seniors around the plaza would enhance the Christmas spirit for shoppers. They were to be bussed in, encouraged to linger, and offered coffee. In this same plaza, a school principal reported that a youngster, having been banned from entry into the plaza, was also banned from visiting her physician's office

located in the plaza.

In another plaza visited over the lunch hour, youngsters were being lined up by a uniformed security guard outside a chain variety store in order to enter and make purchases. Groups of friends were arbitrarily separated. The security officer was prodding youngster on their shoulders to move on, or placing hands in front of their chests for them to remain outside. One young girl, upon leaving the variety store, expressed her hostility by symbolically banging her fist into the plate glass window of the store next door. The plaza had defined her and every young person as a potential shoplifter.

There is no suggestion that these are prevailing patterns in suburban shopping centres, but this is where present conditions can and sometimes do lead. Nor is this only a problem for youth. Adults have discovered that lawful forms of social and political expression - picketing, assembly, distribution of information - can be excluded from plazas and shopping centres. In the suburbs this means that social and political forms of public expression are less visible to young people.

⁶⁵ Harrison v. Carswell - June 26, 1975, Dominion Law Reports, 62 D.L.R. (3d) P. 69-83

The increasing location of public functions in suburban shopping centres raises important sets of questions. If young people are banned from a plaza, is it legitimate that the private judgement of a manager govern the right of a young person continued access to the services of a library, information centre, or health service. If a community agency wishes to place a detached youth worker in a plaza to reach groups of young people - this can now be restricted; similarly, if a group of youth or adults wishes to secure signatures on a petition opposing transit fare increases, or call attention to other conditions of common concern.

Where public forms of community life are missing, there are fewer opportunities for social integration. It led one respondent to note that "adults are intimidated by groups of youth especially if they don't know any of them". There are alternatives. Existing settings such as schools, parks, recreation centres, libraries can be redeveloped so that they in fact become alternative public meeting places for the community through which youth and adults develop a common sense of belonging.

In brief then, the presence of large numbers of youth in Metro's suburbs requires that there be adequate frameworks of support to ensure that these are productive years for young people. This includes outreach services, crisis support,

job creation, financially accessible recreation, and public forms of community life. Not to act is to face the possibility of continued and increased tension between adults and young people, irrespective of the protective measures that are taken in private and public settings. The investment in child welfare does not end with the home, neighbourhood, and school. Adolescence and young adulthood are fragile years, irrespective of how tough and assertive young people often appear to be. Not to invest or make provision for required support does not save money. It merely transfers to another set of taxpayers, five, ten or fifteen years down the road, higher social costs in the areas of treatment, corrections, and family welfare resources. It might be in the better interests of Metro's suburbs to make the required investments in youth support now, when it is less costly and likely to be more productive for all concerned.



10.0 LIFE CYCLE DEPENDENCE: THE ELDERLY AND SOLITARY PARENTS OF YOUNG CHILDREN

Youth and adults are less house-bound; they have the capacity for independent mobility, a major source of their visibility. When large numbers of youth and young adults are present in a community with unmet needs, visible forms of instability are evident. Communities are compelled to acknowledge that something isn't working out as well as it should. The responses can vary, but there are responses.

There are other groups in the community, less mobile who also require support. Where adequate forms of community support do not exist, these groups become less visible. Instability takes the form of hidden suffering, primarily through isolation.

The very old and the very young share many common needs in relation to residential environments. Both groups are limited in their respective capacities for independent functioning and mobility by virtue of age. The human life span inverts itself -- there are significant

states of social and physical dependence at the beginning and the end. Two groups with common environment needs are: (1) the elderly who live alone or at advanced stages of aging; and, (2) solitary parents of young children.

Solitary parenting in this report refers to a household where there is only one adult present aged 16 and over, caring for at least one child 12 and under. Single parents should be contrasted from solitary parents. Single parenting is where only one of the child's parents is present in the household. This does not rule out the presence of other adults in the household -- older adolescents, family adults (e.g. grandparent, parent sibling), an adult companion, or live-in help; people who are available to relieve, share, or assist the single parent in the care of young children. In states of solitary parenting there is only one adult present in the household, who assumes full responsibility for the daily care of the young child. This responsibility places limits on independent activity and mobility by the parent, including the pursuit of employment. With only one adult in the household, the income level of the family unit is lowered.

In the case of dependent elderly, it is their own condition which creates environmental dependence. With

TABLE 14:

Distributions and Ratios by Sex of Aged Adults (e.g. Elderly) and Solitary Parents
in Selective Life Situations, Metropolitan Toronto 1976 and 1977

Life Situations	METROPOLITAN TORONTO			OUTER MUNICIPALITIES			INNER MUNICIPALITIES		
	No. of Women	No. of Men	Ratio of Women/Men	No. of Women	No. of Men	Ratio of Women/Men	No. of Women	No. of Men	Ratio of Women/Men
Living above, Aged 60+, 1977	46,813	11,348	4.13	20,477	4,402	4.65	26,336	6,946	3.79
Aged 75+, 1976	48,655	24,625	1.98	21,850	10,910	2.00	26,795	13,725	1.95
Solitary Parents: Child 12 & under, 1977	8,832	876	10.08	6,009	543	11.07	2,823	333	8.48

Data Sources: Statistics Canada, 1976
Special Assessment Run, 1977

solitary parents of young children, the social dependence of the child limits the physical mobility of the adult. For purposes of daily living, the consequences are frequently the same -- households where adults live in states of isolation, either as a function of their own age, or the limitations imposed by the age of a dependent young child.

Both groups are now more likely to live on their own. In Metro's suburbs, the growth of apartment units and publicly assisted housing have created the conditions necessary for independent household formation.

The elderly and solitary parents frequently share the common experience of being poor.⁶⁶ Income support programs in Canada and Ontario are not generous. Labour market insensitivity to part-time forms of employment hurts solitary parents and the less dependent elderly more than others. There is however another dimension which increases the likelihood of poverty for these groups.

⁶⁶ See recent Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto reports:

(a) Social Allowances in Ontario July 1977.
(b) Old Age Insecurity August 1978.

When we speak about the elderly living alone or at advanced ages, and when we speak about solitary parents, we are really talking about adult women. It is in these two life situations -- agedness and solitary parenting -- that the social inequalities borne by women in general are most acutely experienced. In both life situations women form households without men. While women in these life situations are able to acquire their own housing, they frequently lack the private means to secure other resources for daily living. They are highly dependent upon frameworks of community support particularly with respect to mobility, access to community services, home support, continuing education, opportunities for social contact and community integration, and access to part-time work.

Men do not always fare better in these life situations, but there are important differences to note. Elderly males are less likely to live alone; wives tend to survive husbands. Because of labour force careers during much of their adult life span, elderly men are likely to have built up private pension entitlements. Men earn higher wages in the labour market, which improves the state of their financial resources in those

limited situations where men raise young children alone.

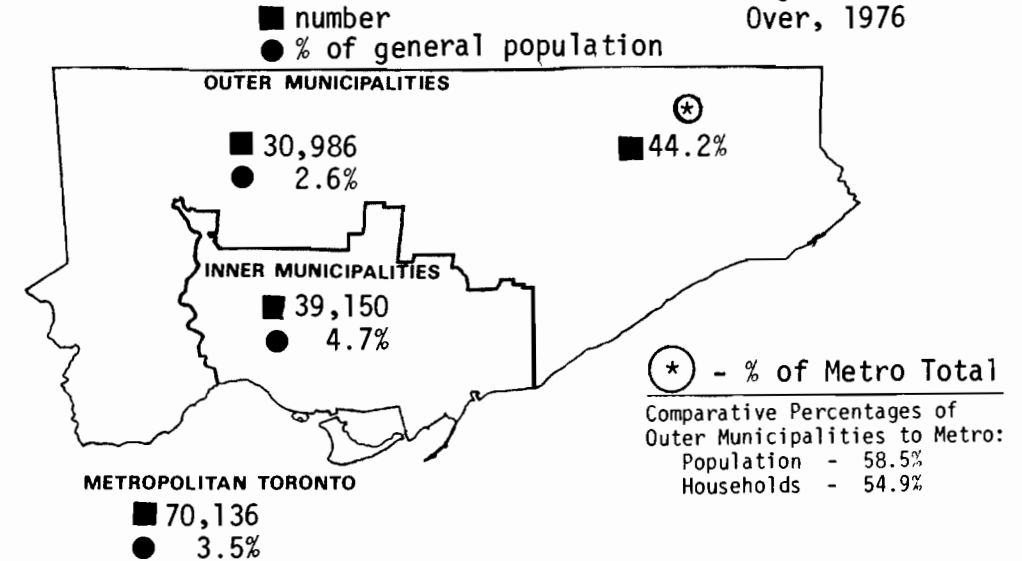
Table 14 identifies the distributions and ratios by sex of elderly adults and solitary parents in Metropolitan Toronto. In 1977 there were more than four times the number of women aged 60 and over living alone to men, almost twice as many women 75 and over to men, and ten times the number of women who were solitary parents of young children. Adults aged 60 and over living alone, and adults aged 75 and over, are overlapping categories. They are presented separately in the report as alternative perspectives on the common phenomenon of aged dependence.

The suburban ratios of women to men in states of aged dependence and in solitary parenting are slightly higher. Metro's suburbs are now faced with the need to provide physical and social support to groups of women who are not part of the classic husband-wife/child-rearing household.

Figure 34 identifies the distributions by municipalities of adults (men and women) aged 75 and over in 1976. Suburban municipalities had lower proportions of aged elderly than did the inner municipalities; nevertheless in 1976 44% of all Metro adults aged 75 and over were living in suburban municipalities. More importantly, the number and proportions of this age group will grow significantly in the suburbs and throughout Metro in

Figure 34:

Distributions: Estimated Distribution of Adults Aged 75 & Over, 1976

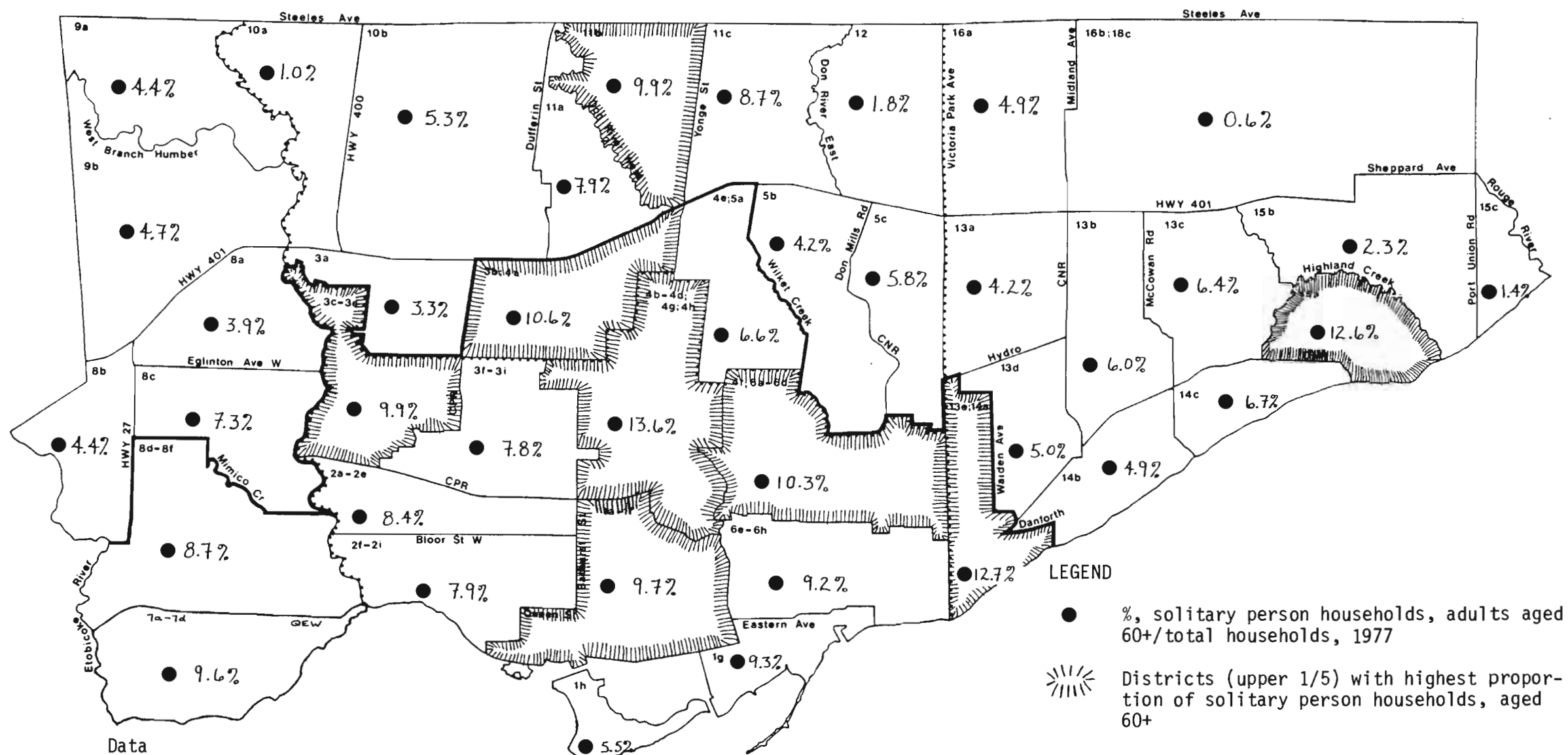


COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS:

Toronto (City)	■ 28,426 ● 4.8%	Etobicoke	■ 8,410 ● 3.0%
North York	■ 13,290 ● 2.4%	East York	■ 5,520 ● 5.6%
Scarborough	■ 9,286 ● 2.5%	York	■ 5,204 ● 3.9%

Data

Source: Metro Social Services Department
Ontario Community and Social Services



Data

Sources: Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department

Assessment Data 1977, Special Run

the coming decade.

Enclosure 45 identifies the distributions by planning districts of solitary person households in 1977, where adults were aged 60 and over. Two of the eight districts with the highest proportions of older adults living alone were located in Metro's rapid growth suburbs -- M.P.D.11B (North York), and M.P.D.15A (Scarborough). The highest proportion of solitary aged households were distributed across the central urban area.

In recent years there has been a growing recognition that agedness is not necessarily synonymous with dependence. With the average human life span now approaching 80 years, agedness has become an extended stage of human experience for increasing numbers of adults. For the younger elderly, physical dependence may not be the most significant change in their lives. The death of a spouse or friends, imminent retirement from work, require some form of social adjustment. Living alone at age 60 and over is a new experience for many elderly. It invariably leads to increased levels of social dependence on community resources and services to sustain independent patterns of personal living.

Aging is not necessarily a period of inactivity and withdrawal from community life. It is one in which new forms of dependence emerge because traditional supports are less

available. Aging is a period of disengagement from earlier patterns of life. With available community support, aging can become a period of re-engagement in other fulfilling forms of life.⁶⁷ If significant numbers of elderly come to live in isolation and despair, this is more a reflection on the state of community support than on the inevitabilities of the aging process.

The parenting experience also involves a process of disengagement and re-engagement, more so for mothers living alone. The time demands of parenting place significant limits on the opportunities for social activity and experiences associated with previous living patterns. Because the needs of young children are closely related to the physical and social resources of the residential environment, the social experiences of parenting are highly dependent upon the quality of community support in the neighbourhood or district. This is true when both parents are raising their children together. When adults raise children alone, dependence on community support increases considerably.

⁶⁷ O.R.C. Atchley, The Social Forces in Later Life: An Introduction to Social Gerontology, Wadsworth Publishing Company, Belmont, California, 1972. P.199-226

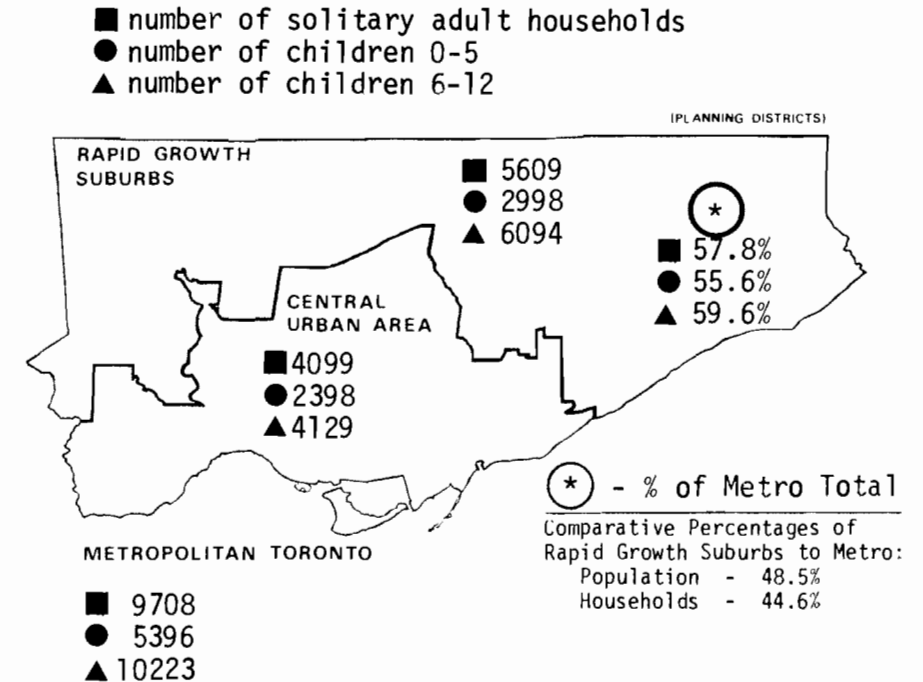
The rapid growth suburbs of Metro now contain higher numbers and proportions of solitary parents raising young children than the central area. Figure 35 indicates that in 1977, 57% of all solitary parents with younger children were in the newer suburbs. There were an average of 1.6 younger children in suburban solitary parent households, indicating a number of households where women were alone with two or more younger children.

Enclosure 46 documents the distribution of solitary parent households by planning districts. In 1977 districts with the highest proportion of solitary parent households with young children were all located in the rapid growth suburbs of Metro. These then are suburban households with high levels of dependence on community resources and services.

The proportions however are not an index of social need. There are significant numbers of solitary parents with young children in the central area with equally pressing needs for parenting support and child care services. The stress of raising young children alone is not related to the proportion of one's household to the total number of households. What the proportions indicate are the need for appropriately distributed parenting support and child care services in high need suburban districts as well as in the central area.

Figure 35:

Solitary Parent Households With At Least One Child 12 and Under, 1977



Data

Source: Special Assessment Run, 1977

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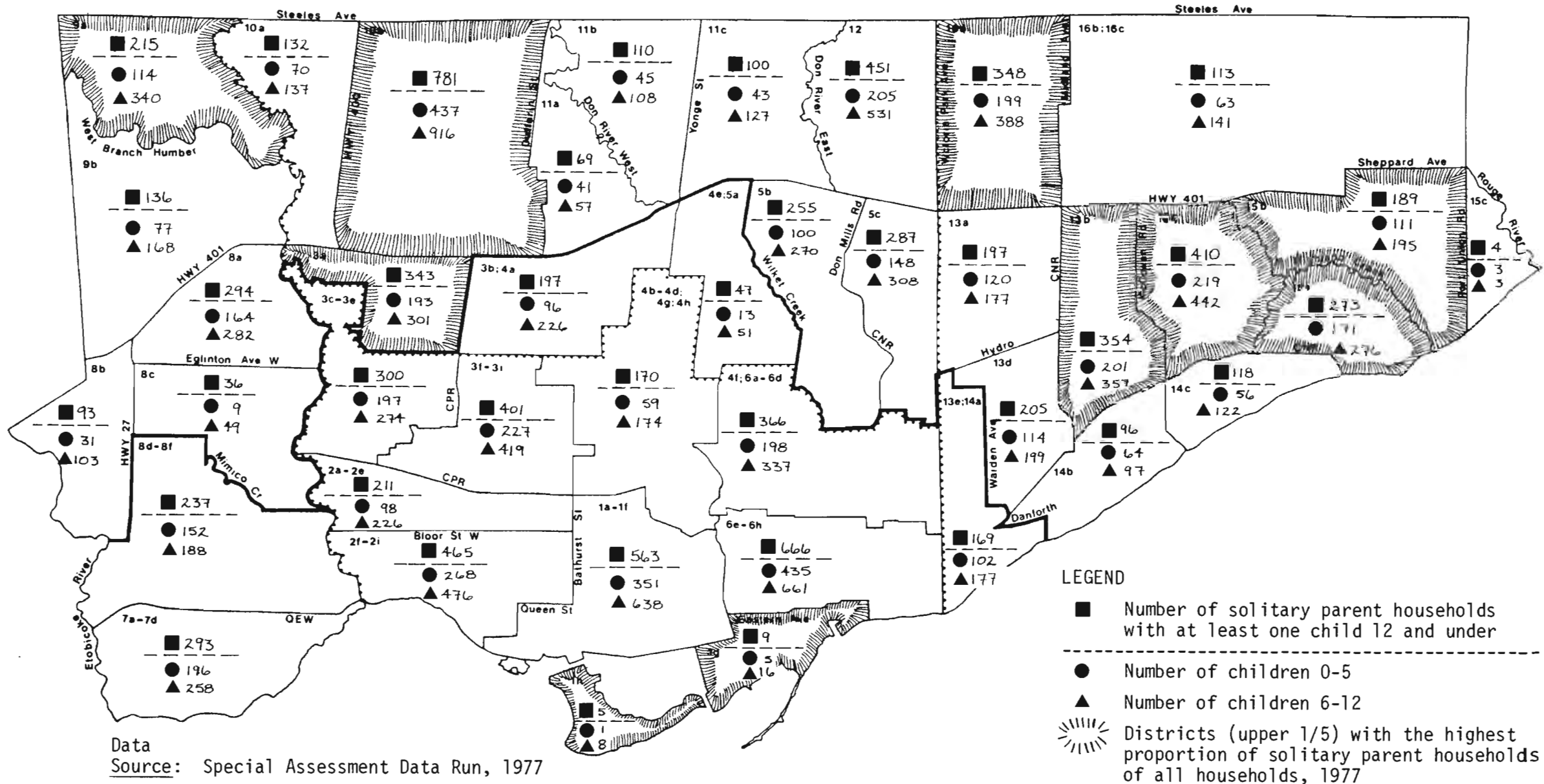


Figure 36 would suggest that OHC housing is a major source of accommodation for single parents living in the suburbs. Almost three-quarters of all one-parent OHC households in 1975 were located in Metro's suburban municipalities. Figure 37 indicates that nearly 60% of all OHC households with heads 65 and over were also located in suburban municipalities in 1975. One must assume that the composition and distribution of OHC households did not emerge overnight. There is therefore some measure of public responsibility where solitary parents and dependent aged are located in sites where the location is insensitive to the living needs of inhabitants.⁶⁸

Social isolation and difficulties in moving around the local area were common themes raised by respondents in describing the situations of dependent elderly and solitary parents in public housing environments. Frequently, local stores were at some distance from a development. Walking in the winter was sometimes hazardous. Of particular concern were wind tunnels around housing developments. Service workers reported that

⁶⁸ Also discussed in: A. Andrea, Senior Citizens Housing: Locational Considerations and Social Implications, Unpublished master's paper in Geography, University of Toronto, 1978. P.70.

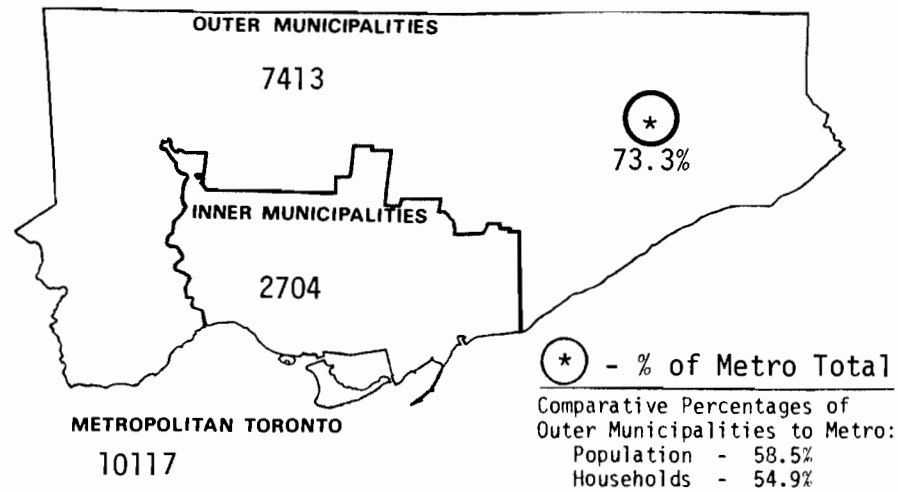
some solitary parents and elderly would stay indoors for days on end rather than risk the winds outside. Mothers would fear a 1,500 foot walk to a subsidized child care centre or library under these conditions. In two of the developments visited it was difficult for project staff to maintain secure footing in 30-50 yard walks from the parking lot to the building entrance. It is hard to understand how the land-use and public housing planning process could allow high rise apartment projects with surrounding open space to be built without requiring that these developments be wind-tunnel tested prior to construction, in anticipation that there might be prospective residents without cars who would be dependent upon walking. Nor is it understandable how developments could be put up, or acquired, largely inaccessible to local services.

The theme of isolation of the suburban elderly and single parents is not new. It has been documented in previous social reports on Metro's suburbs.⁶⁹ There are common problems of accessibility for both groups. The inadequacies

⁶⁹ I. Taylor, Profile Study of the Borough of Etobicoke Children's Aid Society of Metro Toronto and Etobicoke Community Health Department, August 1975; and D. Kimberley et al and, op. cit.

Figure 36:

Distributions: Number of One-Parent OHC Households, 1975



COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

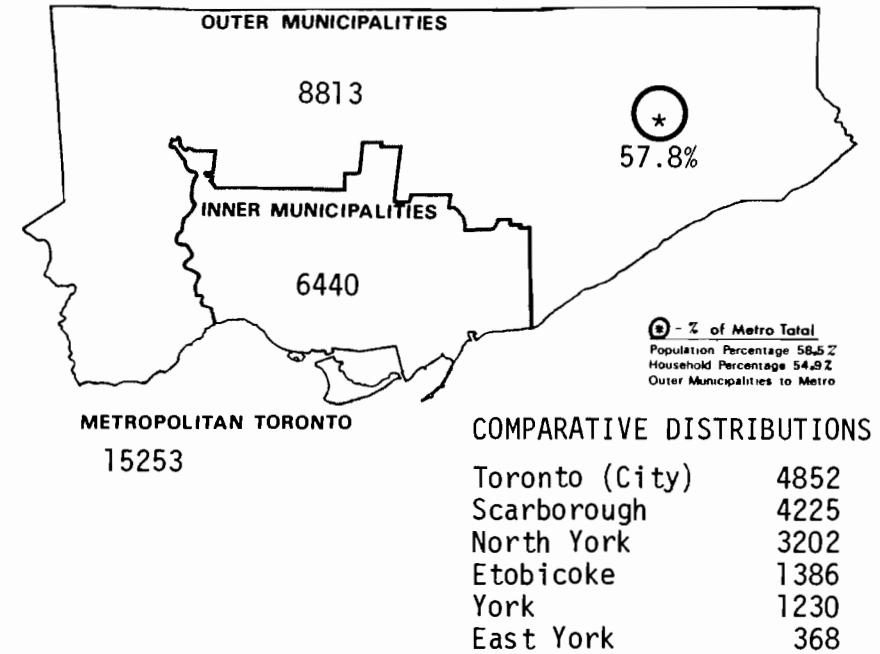
Scarborough	3603
North York	2768
Toronto (City)	2308
Etobicoke	1042
York	368
East York	28

Data

Source: Metropolitan Toronto Statistical Series, 1975

Figure 37:

Distributions: OHC Households With Heads 65+, 1975



Data

Source: Metropolitan Toronto Statistical Series, 1975

of public transportation services were often cited. This included long waits, poor connections, transit oriented to downtown with consequent difficulties moving across suburban municipalities. Both the elderly and solitary parents rely on public transit for access to medical services, since the aged and the young are high users of health care services.

Grocery shopping for both groups often requires the use of taxis, an additional expense for those on low and fixed incomes. There are fewer grocery stores in the suburbs with delivery services.

In recent years, para-transit services have been introduced on an experimental basis into some suburban districts. The transportation needs of the handicapped and less mobile elderly are supported through Metro's Wheel Trans service. These services are important initiatives in recognizing the need for supplementary transportation services. There are also community agencies whose volunteers assist the less mobile where special needs exist, such as transportation to health services. What is missing however is a para-transit strategy in the suburbs which would include all individuals with

special mobility needs, particularly around the local area. At present, there is no recognition of the supplementary transportation needs of parents in dispersed areas who are without cars and with young children.

Many common forms of community services are required by the elderly and solitary parents to support daily living needs, and to promote opportunities for social contact and integration. Common forms of service include; day centres for activity, care, or informal contact; access to continuing education; specialized recreation services; home support services for the more dependent. While the forms are similar, programs are organized and offered on an age-related basis in light of differing affinities and interests. Urban policy perspectives should recognize common patterns of need in land-use planning and in funding priorities of community services.

Metro's suburban municipalities have recognized the social contact and integration needs of the elderly. Programs are provided by municipal recreation departments and voluntary agencies; included are clubs, excursions, befriending services, crafts, and other leisure activities. There are serious limitations on the ability of community agencies to extend home help and home support services in light of low

provincial subsidies for the elderly on modest incomes. There are gaps in home support service for groups of scattered elderly in districts north of Highway 401. Volunteers are more difficult to secure for home visiting and transportation services. This reflects increased participation rates by women in the labour force.

Respondents noted that the elderly, as do youth, seek opportunities for informal social contact in the community. The elderly linger in plazas, lounges of apartments, or at local centres. The suburban mailman was cited by respondents as an important source of casual daily contact. When the elderly linger in public places, they are less likely to be perceived as sources of irritation or threat to the community. As with youth however, the suburban environment makes limited provision for their informal contact needs. Public services have few lounges, coffee areas, or reading rooms. The social environments and cultural diversity of owner-managed small enterprises are missing. This limits the opportunities for immigrant elderly to pursue informal social contact with adults of similar cultural origin. Service workers noted that elderly suburban men were more dependent on casual environments than were women. In the

absence of community opportunities for social contact, some men were reported to spend long hours watching television or drinking either alone or in small groups.

The climate in Metro's suburbs is one of seeking to accommodate to the presence of older people. Respondents commented on the sensitivity of management in public housing settings in their support of the elderly. Unfortunately, the present revenue resources of suburban municipalities are limited. The province is committed to "deinstitutionalization" of the elderly, encouraging older adults to live in the community. Non-institutional support for the elderly will however be more costly in the suburbs. Dispersion, more limited opportunities for mobility, a non-supportive structure of public and retail services will increase the need for compensatory forms of community services. The more efficient use of land in the suburbs, along with more sensitive public and retail service environments, can have a significant influence on the extent and cost of required community services for future suburban elderly.

If compactness of living and increased independent access to social and environmental resources are to be possible for the elderly, more flexible forms of housing will

be required. The choices for the suburban elderly are quite stark at present. High rise apartments are often away from the neighbourhoods where children were raised or where grandchildren might live. For the elderly in family homes, the costs of maintenance are high. The heavy burden of the property tax was a persistent theme in interviews and public forums attended. More flexible suburban housing would make living alternatives available to the elderly. Alternatives could include "granny flats" in existing neighbourhoods through low-rise forms of redevelopment, or the conversion of single family homes; non-profit housing and services on vacant school land; agency sponsored housing clusters for the elderly in apartments and townhouses.

Metro's suburbs appear to be receptive to meeting some of the housing needs of the elderly. There is less resistance to non-profit forms of housing for the elderly than there is for families with children. Whether the rigidities of suburban neighbourhood zoning will be modified to increase the housing choices of the elderly remains to be seen.

In contrast to the climate for the elderly, there is less recognition in the suburbs for the support needs of solitary parents with young children. In part this

may be the result of lumping solitary parents in with the "public housing problem". It may also reflect limited frameworks for parenting support in general, particularly for pre-school children. This arises from continued assumptions about the self-sufficiency of the suburban family.

Public health nurses, child welfare workers, treatment centres, and voluntary agencies offer important forms of individual support and group programming. In North York, the Public Health Department, and Dellcrest Centre operate a telephone support service for parents. Recreation departments offer a range of specialized leisure activities.

Statutory services - public health, child welfare, are distributed throughout the suburbs. Municipal-wide voluntary agencies offer local programs; these vary relative to local conditions and available resources. There are special programs such as Times Change, Mothers on the Move, Opportunities for Advancement, which focus in on the employment needs of women, including mothers. These are non-statutory services; the extent and continuity of their funding, their availability where needed in the suburbs, are subject to government discretion. Recent reductions in federal financing of employment support services for women are evidence of how tenuous the future of these programs are.

The picture which emerges is one of a suburban patchwork of support for solitary parents of young children. This is not unique to the suburbs. The recently formed Special Committee on Children's Services by Metro Council recognizes the need to introduce some framework of planning to the provision of support programs. The absence of effective local centres of voluntary initiative in rapid growth districts limits the capacity of solitary parents to collectively identify and secure necessary supports. The physical design of the environment limits mobility and contact, and restricts the appropriate location of needed resources.

There are few child-parent centres in the suburbs (or in the central urban area) to serve as community meeting places and sources of informal support to parents caring for young children full-time. Storefront settings in the general community with their intimate and non-judgemental environments are often impossible to secure. A child-parent centre in North York, located on the main floor of an OHC apartment building, found parents from the apartment least likely to use the service for quite a while. Parents came with their children from outside the building, suggesting the strong need by parents with young children for more diverse opportunities

for adult contact outside the immediate residential environment. Service respondents noted that relationships between solitary parents in OHC developments were frequently strained or fraught with suspicion. Daily contact between parents in similar states of stress and despair introduced special tensions into living relationships. There was the need for solitary parents to have relationships with a range of parents, and thereby acquire alternative experiences and insight beyond the perspectives derived from common deprivation which characterize OHC public households.

Service workers did not note a direct relationship between isolated living in suburban environments and child abuse. Their sense was that isolation and poor housing acted as additional stresses but did not in itself induce abuse. If parents were abuse prone, however - low self-esteem, personal experience of abuse as a child, etc. - then the suburban environment with its isolation and lack of support was one more stress to contend with. This could contribute to, or accelerate, the breakdown in parental stability and result in abuse patterns.

Both parents and service workers noted the poor quality of outdoor suburban play areas - some called them "sterile". Indoor play environments, either in apartments or child-parent centres, were limited. This was of particular

concern in the winter when outdoor activity for young children is more restricted. Suburban dispersion sometimes made it more difficult to call on family relatives in a crisis. Emergency homemaking was difficult to secure. There was a clear absence of emergency hostels when household conflicts or problems made staying at home for parents and children undesirable. Second hand stores for less expensive appliance and clothing purchases were not always available. Getting a child to the emergency department of a hospital late at night where there was no car, meant depending on a neighbour, securing a taxi (hard to get in northern Etobicoke), seeking assistance from the police, or even the ambulance service. There were few, if any, information directories in suburban areas on the range of local services and programs in support of parenting young children. In some suburban districts, women reported that outlets to buy TTC tokens were inaccessible. This meant having to pay more costly cash fares. "Fee for service" recreation programs were a deterrent to the use of recreation programs where solitary parents were living on fixed incomes. Immigrant mothers with young children were particularly isolated, finding it hard to make contacts for the provision of mutual support.

Service workers stated that a sense of apathy had set in among some isolated parents. There was limited energy available to pursue patterns of daily living. A respondent noted that in one school parent apathy meant that children weren't taken to dentists even when the service was free and arranged for them.

The need for parenting support and adequate child care was repeatedly cited by service workers. Provincial cutbacks in social spending, below growth levels in the wealth of Ontario, are particularly damaging to the income and support needs of solitary parents and young children. Women have traditionally borne the social costs of living in new developments and suburbs even where there has been a two parent structure to family life. A paper presented to the U.N. Habitat Conference in 1976 by York University environmentalists made the following observations on what existing suburban research suggests:

"Women are stuck in isolated environments that lack day care facilities, jobs, and educational facilities for job upgrading. Part of the problem is related to planning practices that create homogeneous residential areas, single-use zoning, urban sprawl, and inadequate public transportation to support services. For women, these environmental

problems are often exaggerated by poverty, especially among sole-support mothers and the elderly."⁷⁰

There are significant pockets of the dependent aged and solitary parents - mostly women - living in Metro's suburbs. Their numbers will grow during the coming decade. Without adequate frameworks of social and physical support, patterns of hidden suffering and invisible deterioration are inevitable. The suburban environment can conceal these conditions more effectively than the central urban area where compactness results in the need to acknowledge social realities, or to at least defend the absence of required support.

The extent of social support required by dependent suburban elderly and solitary parents will be largely related to future land use and housing patterns. Housing is more than a source of accommodation; it confers or inhibits by its location access to the social resources of the general community. Current living environments are highly concentrated, but dispersed and isolated. Less concentrated forms of housing within more compact residential environments

would increase access to necessary forms of informal and formal support. For appropriate land-use policies and support programs to develop, the instruments for integrated planning by local government have to exist. There must also be the revenue sources available to finance non-profit housing and community service initiatives in the suburbs. Provincial fiscal policies which place the full burden of restraint on the needy and dependent in Ontario are not an encouraging sign for the future.

⁷⁰ R. Peterson, G. Wekele, D. Morley, Women and Environments: An Overview of an Emergency Field, York University, U.N. Habitat Conference, June 1976. P.13



11.0 CONCLUSIONS

The era of suburban and metropolitan innocence in Toronto is over. Stable post-war images of urban life in Metro, with clear social distinctions between the City and the suburbs, and the belief that Metro would sustain continued population growth into the indefinite future, no longer correspond to the social realities of what exists today or to the conditions which will have to be faced in the coming decade.

The post-war period of rapid growth in Metro was unprecedented. It was a transitional stage in the development of Metro. It is now clear that by 1971 rapid growth had come to an end in most of Metro's suburban districts. Some pockets of growth remained, primarily in the north-west parts of Metro. In this same period, serious population decline began to take place in the central urban area.

We lived through the seventies in Metro with post-war images, even when the social realities to sustain these images had already changed. Throughout

later periods of rapid population growth, important changes were taking place in the social development of the suburbs. These changes were less readily visible or evident in the way that new apartment buildings, plazas, roads, confer immediate and visible evidence of transformation. The process of social transition is never sudden. Perceptions generally lag considerably, particularly where new social realities are involved. As changes persist a vague sense begins to emerge that something different might exist. But there is uncertainty over how significant or extensive changes might be. Even as scattered forms of data and information begin to surface, they confirm the vague sense that change has occurred, but they do not necessarily identify the point at which many important changes transform what was once familiar in another form and at another time into a new set of realities.

The post-war suburbs had a sense of their own social uniqueness. They made available to large numbers of average income families alternative environments in which to raise younger children. They were the first human settlements in the evolution of urban civilization with explicit adult commitments of both men and women to child welfare as a primary source of community identity. The emphasis on parenting and child development was reflected

in the physical environments which were created and the services that were developed. The essential physical framework was the home, the neighbourhood, and the local elementary school. The essential social framework was a stable family structure with highly specialized roles for men and women, an ability to independently secure social supports when required, and a growth economy in which there were prospects for secure employment, rising incomes and stable prices.

As long as the social and economic assumptions remained intact, the physical integrity of the post-war suburbs could be preserved and reproduced. Physical environments do not have a life of their own. They reflect, support, or accommodate to prevailing social, economic, and political realities. If these realities change, the conditions upon which the forms of the physical environment depend also change.

In the early post-war period of rapid growth, Metro's suburbs were open environments. The classic neighbourhood was accessible to significant numbers of families with young children. The forms of the physical environment were not imposed, but reflected the dominant interest and aspirations of average Canadian families.

There was a sense of collective history in the suburban settlement experience of the post-war period; of families at

similar stages of development, of somewhat similar composition, in which there were common and accepted social roles for men and women. The shared history of this period was reflected in popular images which described suburban social realities of the time. These images incorporated elements of aspiration and attainment symbolized by these environments. It was through these images that post-war suburban life was largely understood. Whether the prototype images were ever accurate statistically is not necessarily significant. The images served to shape the dominant perceptions of residents and non-residents alike, and became the critical foundations for the exercise of social judgements with respect to who really belonged in these environments, who was in fact there, what were social needs, how public dollars should be allocated, which public functions were "not in keeping with the desirable land use characteristics of the community"⁷¹ (emphasis added).

⁷¹ Public concepts of that which is "desirable" emerge through collective judgements of preference and value. The purpose of data is to clarify the consequences of exercising a particular judgement, or to ascertain whether the stated realities upon which judgements are made do in fact correspond to what exists. Of critical importance from a social planning perspective

Within Metro, the electoral structure of metropolitan government has continued to rest on the assumption that there are major social differences between the City and the suburbs, and distinct social interests to be defended from each other. As a result, Metro Council has become a forum for confrontation politics in the seventies, in which the rituals of dated images are played out. The question must be inevitably asked, in whose interests are these confrontations taking place. To what extent are the social images and interests as distinct as they were once assumed to be. If new social realities in the suburbs are not yet understood at the metropolitan level, nor adequately reflected in the priorities of local government, then perhaps the instruments of planning and decision-making are somewhat faulty. Is it necessary or desirable to continue to protect the people of the suburbs and the city from each other through indirect spokesmen; or can the people of Metropolitan Toronto directly determine

are the social consequences of prevailing assumptions, and the soundness of the public instruments through which collective judgements are subsequently developed.

The quote in the text could have come from any number of public planning documents. In this instance it is taken from Report on Existing Planning Policies, North York Planning Department, February 1977, P.81.

what their common and diverse urban policy interests might really be.

The social development patterns reviewed in this report suggest that important social transformations have taken place in the post-war suburbs of Metro. These environments now include significant groups of people across the entire human life span, in a diversity of family and individual life situations. There are pressing social needs requiring appropriate forms of community support. Social and economic conditions have changed considerably, particularly with respect to the forms of suburban family life. There has been a rapid decline in child-bearing by women. The "baby boom" of the post-war period has given way to the "baby bust" of the seventies. There are fewer young children in the suburbs. The cost of suburban family housing is out of reach of average income families. Many mothers are in the labour force as primary contributors to the income needs of their families. The time span of active child-rearing by family adults has been reduced considerably. Family adults have other needs which require support even as they rear young children - employment, mobility, social contact, continuing education.

The post-war suburbs assumed one set of family conditions for child-rearing, and the physical environment incorporated these assumptions. The prototype suburban family - father in the labour force, mother at home full-time, ownership of a ground level home with private open space, two - four children, homogeneous neighbours - is no longer the dominant reality of suburban life in the seventies. It is now an image that belongs to the social history of the post-war period of rapid growth.

What do we have instead? The post-war suburbs always included families and individuals whose life situations did not correspond to the prototype perceptions. But they were seen as exceptions to the general trend. Public frameworks of response which developed in suburban municipalities in the post-war period, were not particularly sensitive to the special needs of dependent social minorities. The exceptions to the prototype image started to increase. Social changes have come from within - youth, aging adults, family separation, women in the labour force, mothers with grown children, unemployment - as they have come from without, in the varied backgrounds of new settlers in the last decade. The traditional suburban neighbourhood may remain physically intact, but it is no longer the same social environment as in earlier days. Within it, around it, at the

periphery, in local schools, in neighbourhoods nearby, are the visible signs of social transformation. The exceptions have continued to grow. There reaches a stage when the scale of the exceptions can no longer be ignored for they have in fact become an integral part of the community. Each of the exceptions may be a social minority in relation to established earlier settlers. Nevertheless, we would conclude that the social minorities taken as a whole now constitute the new social majority in Metro's post-war suburbs.

Who is the new social majority in relation to the homogeneous image of the post-war years. These include:

- * women in the labour force, contributing to family incomes or maintaining their own households with or without children;
- * pre-school children whose mothers are in the labour force in need of group care or various forms of home care;
- * increasing numbers of children in suburban schools with special social and learning needs, even as elementary enrolment declines;

- * women at home alone, full time, with few supports, raising children on deprivation incomes;
- * increasing numbers of elderly, including isolated and dependent aged, in need of home support and community services;
- * tenants, primarily in apartment residences, protected temporarily with rent review legislation;
- * recent immigrants, adults and children, from a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, many in states of difficult adjustment and without traditional forms of support;
- * large numbers of youth and young adults (under age 25) at varying stages of independence, with significant numbers unemployed;
- * unemployed adult men and women (over age 25) with or without family responsibilities;

- * households without an automobile, or with one automobile, whose residents are transit dependent;
- * divorced or separated household heads, without children, alone or in adult relationships;
- * families with younger children, living in apartments, unable to afford the transition to a low rise or ground level family home within Metro's suburbs.

These of course are not mutually exclusive categories. Numbers of families and individuals would be included in two, three, or more of these conditions or situations. Nevertheless this report would conclude that the aggregate numbers of persons in Metro's rapid growth suburbs who are living in situations, or experiencing the conditions described above, are the new social majority of these environments.

The message which emerges from this report is not an appeal for compassion for the needs of dependent social minorities, as might have been the case during earlier post-war suburban periods. It is a call for responsible public frameworks of policy, planning, and service provision which will address and respond to the special needs of the new social majority.

This report would further conclude that land-use frameworks of understanding urban life in Metro, reflected in City and suburban political designations, no longer accurately convey the increasingly common patterns of social development and need which now exist in both the post-war suburbs and the central urban areas of Metro. We have become a metropolitan city with a range of urbanized municipalities and districts. As a metropolitan city we exhibit the historical, social, and cultural diversity of any city - some areas are older, others are of more recent origins. There is as much social and cultural diversity within existing suburban municipalities, as there might have been between these municipalities and the central area in earlier years. More significant however, there are important sets of social needs and urban policy interests that cut across municipal boundaries in Metro, for which there is no political framework at present to directly reflect these realities.

Tables 15 - 18 (at the end of the conclusions) provide a summary profile of social development and housing patterns in the rapid growth districts and the central area. The social development profiles identify population patterns and social conditions, each of which requires corresponding frameworks of support or sets of policy initiatives at both levels of local government. Enclosures 47 - 50 which accompany

the tables, highlight those districts in which social development distributions are clearly above Metropolitan averages. These are districts in which population patterns and social conditions might require additional frameworks of support, and for whom the quality of urban policy initiatives in the identified areas are of special concern. Previous sections of the report have described forms of support and policy initiatives which may be required.

Tables 19 - 22 and Enclosures 51 - 54 which follow the social development profiles, examine from a suburban perspective, the distribution of non-traditional forms of accommodation: total units of apartments, tenant occupied dwellings, owner-occupied apartments, publicly assisted housing units. These distributions overlap considerably; their purpose is to identify which elements of overlapping categories are most distinct in suburban and central districts. A review of the social development profiles in the tables and enclosures reveal metropolitan patterns of need in most of the areas reviewed. The distributions of needs vary within each of the larger municipalities; in some municipalities districts of high need, such as immigrant support, may be an exception to general need patterns in the

municipality. But within a metropolitan context such districts form part of a significant social constituency of common interests.

Within the two-tier structure of local government in Metro, the function of a reconstituted Metro Council would be to exercise urban policy leadership which reflected the needs of important social constituencies such as working mothers, immigrants, the unemployed, single parents, the elderly, young couples in need of family housing. Many of the needs of these groups depend upon federal and provincial initiatives. The need for metropolitan urban policies is also important in the distribution of needed services. For many social minorities - such as immigrants, elderly, and solitary parents - where they live in a tight housing market is less a matter of choice and more a question of finding available housing. If the public health, recreation, or education programs of one municipality are less supportive than those of another Metro municipality, there isn't an open housing market within Metro to enable people on modest incomes to move freely between municipalities to get the local services they require. It would be inconsistent with fundamental principles of social equity that an immigrant child on one side of the street in Metro is able to attend a local school with a comprehensive range of multi-cultural resources, and a child on the other side in another municipality goes to a school with few such resources.

Local government in Metro's suburban municipalities face the enormous challenge of developing and implementing integrated land-use and service policies within a metropolitan framework. There is an urgent need to seriously address current social problems. Most of these problems are shared with the central urban area. The important difference however, is that these needs have been acknowledged in the central area, and the capabilities to address them exist or are being developed. Community agencies and service workers in the suburbs have been sending similar messages to suburban officials. These messages have not always been heard, or it has not been possible to respond as requested.

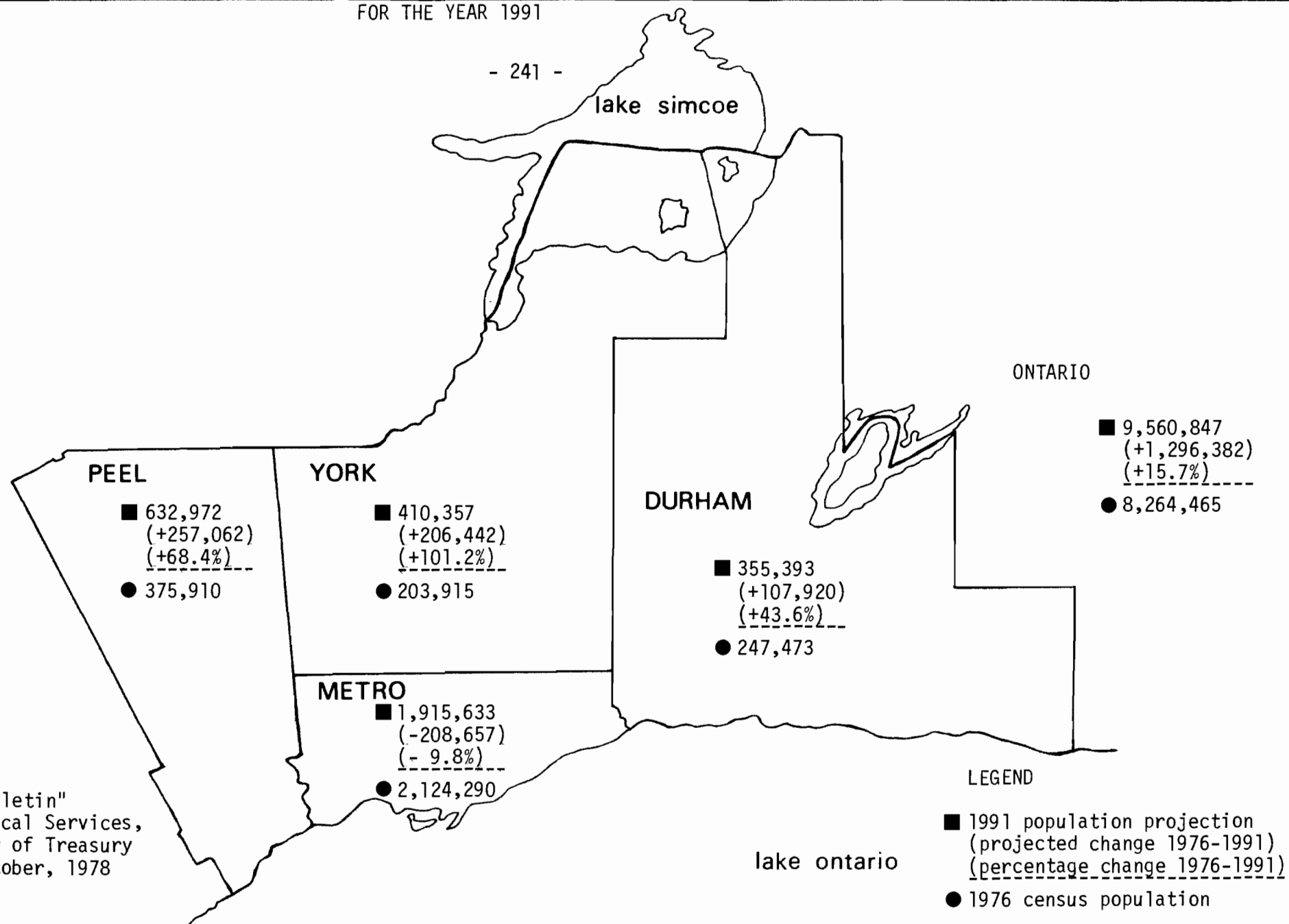
There is a lot of catching-up required in the suburbs. The critical public investments in social development were not made during the rapid growth period. Service funders have generally perceived high need to only exist in the central areas. Voluntary planning bodies at the metropolitan level might have followed-up the McCutcheon comments of 1963 with more consistency. Land-use and transportation planning, insensitive to changing economic and social conditions, has reproduced the social assumptions of the past or what the market would bear at the time; it has excluded from active consideration the social interests of those

without adequate forms of collective representation and without economic influence in the marketplace.

This report would conclude that for increasing numbers of the new social majority in the suburbs - aged adults, youth, solitary parents of young children, working mothers - existing suburban land-use patterns are not always efficient or effective in serving their needs. These are groups which are transit-dependent; benefit from compact, diverse, and public forms of community life; tend to have modest income levels; and have higher affinity and mobility needs in a residential environment. Dispersion and distances can militate against daily use of the environment for personal needs (e.g. shopping), the formation and maintenance of informal and family networks of support and social integration, and limit full or part-time employment opportunities, particularly for immigrants, single mothers and youth.

The purpose of this report is not to formulate specific planning and service recommendations; these will be addressed in the Part II policy report. The conclusions are intended to identify major areas for community review and discussion. The following areas are important to note:

- (a) there is the critical need to address the process of suburban planning so that it works with and reflects the diverse social interests of the municipality;
- (b) local centres of voluntary service and activity are required, primarily in high need suburban areas, to fill in service gaps, involve local residents in planning for social needs, and promote a sense of belonging and social participation for groups whose needs are not reflected in existing community associations;
- (c) the social and economic assumptions underlying current zoning policies should be addressed, in light of new family patterns, the needs of the elderly, and the social rights of dependent groups for non-institutional forms of residential living;
- (d) the role of municipally operated community centres needs to be reviewed to assess how they might become centres of multi-purpose support in the community;
- (e) funders and services should be sensitive to the distributions of needs that exist in Metro's suburbs in their allocations. There are important gaps to



Data Source: "Demographic Bulletin"
Central Statistical Services,
Ontario Ministry of Treasury
& Economics; October, 1978

TABLE 23:

Metropolitan Toronto Age Distribution Trends:
Census 1971 and 1976 and Ontario Projections in 1978
(Low Fertility and Low Net External Migration) for 1981, 1986, and 1991

AGE SPANS	CENSUS 1971	CENSUS 1976	PROJECTED 1981	PROJECTED 1986	PROJECTED 1991
0 - 9	347,520 (16.7%)	288,890 (13.6%)	272,036 (13.0%)	259,798 (12.9%)	221,521 (11.6%)
10 - 19	349,314 (16.7%)	364,495 (17.2%)	304,958 (14.6%)	251,667 (12.5%)	237,348 (12.4%)
20 - 29	376,641 (18.1%)	407,280 (19.2%)	381,247 (18.3%)	331,641 (16.4%)	278,176 (14.5%)
30 - 39	285,619 (13.7%)	287,520 (13.5%)	344,333 (16.5%)	378,768 (18.8%)	346,528 (18.1%)
40 - 49	275,392 (13.2%)	263,900 (12.4%)	244,389 (11.7%)	248,481 (12.3%)	292,863 (15.3%)
50 - 59	202,578 (9.7%)	229,215 (10.8%)	237,679 (11.4%)	216,901 (10.7%)	197,482 (10.3%)
60 +	249,013 (11.9%)	282,990 (13.3%)	303,532 (14.5%)	331,932 (16.4%)	341,715 (17.8%)
METRO TOTALS	2,086,017 (100.0%)	2,124,290 (100.0%)	2,088,174 (100.0%)	2,019,188 (100.0%)	1,915,633 (100.0%)

Data Sources: Ontario Ministry of Treasury and Economics:
Central Statistical Services
Statistics Canada

TABLE 24:

Net Projected Changes in Metropolitan Toronto Age Distribution for 1976-1991,
Projected by Ontario in 1978 (Low Fertility and Low Net External Migration).

AGE SPANS	CENSUS CHANGES 1971-1976	PROJECTED CHANGES 1976-1981	PROJECTED CHANGES 1981-1986	PROJECTED CHANGES 1986-1991	NET PROJECTED CHANGES 1976-1991
0 - 9	-58,630 (-16.9%)	-16,854 (-5.8%)	-12,238 (-4.5%)	-38,277 (-14.7%)	-67,369 (-23.3%)
10 - 19	+15,181 (+4.3%)	-59,537 (-16.3%)	-53,291 (-17.5%)	-14,319 (-5.7%)	-127,147 (-34.9%)
20 - 29	+30,639 (+8.1%)	-26,033 (-6.4%)	-49,606 (-13.0%)	-53,465 (-16.1%)	-129,104 (-31.7%)
30 - 39	+1,901 (+0.7%)	+56,813 (+19.8%)	+34,435 (+10.0%)	-32,240 (-8.5%)	+59,008 (+20.5%)
40 - 49	-11,492 (-4.2%)	-19,511 (-7.4%)	+4,092 (+1.7%)	+44,382 (+17.9%)	+28,963 (+11.0%)
50 - 59	+26,637 (+13.1%)	+8,464 (+3.7%)	-20,778 (-8.7%)	-19,419 (-9.0%)	-31,733 (-13.8%)
60+	+33,977 (+13.6%)	+20,542 (+7.3%)	+28,400 (+9.4%)	+9,783 (+2.9%)	+58,725 (+20.8%)
METRO TOTALS	+38,273 (+1.8%)	-36,116 (-1.7%)	-68,986 (-3.3%)	-103,555 (-5.1%)	-208,657 (-9.8%)

Data Sources: Ontario Ministry of Treasury and Economics:
Central Statistical Services
Statistics Canada

be addressed at present: outreach services to youth, child care and parenting support to solitary parents, temporary hostels, centres of multi-cultural identity and activity, home support for the elderly, information programs with multi-lingual capabilities. These are only illustrations of unaddressed needs. The real need is to develop the suburban capability in local areas and at the municipal level to identify and respond to existing and emerging forms of need.

The seventies have been a major turning point in the development of Metro. It is only at the end of the decade that we are coming to realize the kind of changes we were living through from the beginning. The realities which we are facing are somewhat different from the perceptions which were held in the early seventies. The forces shaping these changes have not sprung up on us suddenly; they were there to be seen in the early seventies, but we were looking at other things. The social changes in Metro's suburbs reflect the maturing of the post-war environment, and the influence of societal forces on local development patterns.

In existing and future areas of urban concern, the fate of Metro's post-war suburbs and the central urban area are linked closely together.

Recently released provincial projections for Metro show that we are entering a period of population decline. These projections are based on low fertility rates and low immigration levels consistent with prevailing conditions and trends. They do not, it should be noted, take into account what future effects will be on tendencies to family formation and child-rearing as a result of high levels of youth unemployment and costly family housing in Metro. This could have significant implications in Metro. The Social Planning Council considers the provincial projections to be reasonable indicators of where Metro seems to be headed in the next decade. Pushing these projections to the year 2001 makes the assumption that current conditions on which trends are projected and distributions developed will hold consistently for a 20-year period. This is not a useful assumption; things can and will most likely change in the interval.

Enclosure 55 identifies the distributions of projected populations for much of the Toronto urban region to 1991. The rapid growth areas with undeveloped land for new family housing are outside Metro. Peel, York and Durham are expected to substantially increase their existing populations; Metro's population would decline

by about 10%. Tables 23 and 24 indicate what form the decline might take; most of the projected decline would be in the number of children in Metro ages 0 - 19. The adult age groupings 20 and over would redistribute themselves, with only a marginal net loss of 14,141. The largest increase would be in the adult age group 60 and over.

The projections identify a trend for Metro which does not suggest fewer households, but fewer children, and more elderly. Table 25 identifies the emerging aged dependence pattern in Metro. There will be a higher proportion of dependent households in Metro relative to households with adults in the labour force. There will be significant public costs involved in providing income and community services to maintain the independent living patterns of dependent elderly. The responsibility for financing these programs would be assumed by a smaller proportion of households with working age adults.

The reduction in the number of children will not necessarily result in a proportionate reduction in education costs. Plant and administrative overheads are fixed; there are lags in the adjustments in the numbers of classroom teachers; those who remain are at advanced stages in their profession and command higher salaries. Dye and Garcia recently

Table 25:

Aged Dependence Ratio;
Ratio of Population Aged 65+ to
Population Aged 20-64

<u>Year</u>	<u>Metropolitan Toronto</u>	<u>Ontario</u>
1971	14.0	15.6
1976	15.3	15.9
1981*	16.8	16.8
1986*	17.9	17.5
1991*	20.5	19.4

* Ontario Projections

Data Sources: Statistics Canada
Ontario Treasury & Economics

examined per capita expenditure patterns in North American cities going through population changes. Cities in decline, even with modest population declines of under 1% a year, faced increased per capita costs for municipal services.⁷² Increased costs could be offset where senior government levels assumed more financial responsibility for the financing of local functions. It is hard, without further review, to assess fully the social implications for Metro of population decline. Changes in the age structure of the labour force could influence the forms of economic development which take place in Metro, and the commercial assessment base upon which local government depends.

If Metro is to stabilize its population, or even grow by modest levels in the next decade, opportunities for families with children to live in Metro will have to increase. This means the availability of jobs in the region and family housing within Metro. An economic strategy which looks at the job supply structure of the region should be a high priority for Metro Council; similarly, the development of a family housing policy by Metro would also be called for.

⁷² Thomas R. Dye and John Garcia The Political Economy of Growth Politics in Cities, Policy Studies Journal, Winter 1977. Vol. 6 P. 175 - 184.

The demographic bulge of working age adults in the eighties will move into the prime family home ownership years of ages 30-39. In light of lower fertility rates, and lower numbers of young immigrant families with children, not all the adults aged 30-39 in the home ownership market will have children, or more than one child. There might be significant competition in the Metro market for existing family housing, with young families (i.e. parents under age 35) with two or more children at somewhat of a disadvantage relative to adults without children, or two adults with one child. It might well be that there is a diminishing relationship between household capacity and household size. In light of the current dependence by average families on two sources of income to secure market housing, there might be an inverse relationship, in that fewer children lowers family expenses, and enables the continuity of the second income. This might mean that more housing space can be consumed. In other words one less child might mean the ability to afford one more bedroom - as a study, playroom, for visitors, plants, etc. Recent federal proposals to subsidize mortgage or housing costs for everyone, will not improve the situation in Metro for average income families with young children.

The declining child population reflects a trend across the society. Table 26 indicates that the proportion of children in Metro's suburban municipalities began to decline relative to Ontario in the late sixties. This would reflect eroding accessibility to family housing in Metro. The decline of the child population in Metro could be higher than what is presently projected by Ontario. This would be the result of lower national immigration levels which will hit Metro harder than elsewhere, high young adult unemployment, inaccessible family housing, and the rapid development projected in neighbouring Peel and York. If there are inadequate forms of child care in the community, this might serve as another reason to postpone or limit child bearing while living in Metro. Prospects for far fewer children in Metro, both in the central area and the suburbs, might be a future that many Metro adults would prefer. The City of Toronto has considered the presence of average income families raising young children to be a source of stability in the community. If this remains a preferred objective in Metro then policy leadership is required.

There is an equally pressing need to address the living needs of the elderly, who will be in the suburbs and Metro in greater number. The state of dependence of future elderly on costly institutional or support services might be directly related to whether there are available forms of compact

Table 26:

Proportion of Population Aged 0-19
of General Population

<u>Year</u>	<u>Outer Municipalities</u>	<u>Metro</u>	<u>Ontario</u>
1966	40.7%	35.7%	40.3%
1971	37.5%	33.4%	37.9%
1976	33.6%	30.8%	34.9%
1981*	NA	27.6%	31.0%
1986*	NA	25.4%	27.7%
1991*	NA	24.0%	26.1%

* Ontario Projections

NA Not Available

Data Sources: Statistics Canada
Ontario Treasury & Economics

housing, ready mobility through public transit, opportunities for phased retirement, access to continuing education, and less costly forms of primary health care.

If high levels of unemployment persist or grow worse in the suburbs and Metro, serious instability and self-destructive behaviour will increase. Given the absence of developed states of social integration in Metro's suburbs, instability could take the form of inter-group incidents based on age, culture, or race.

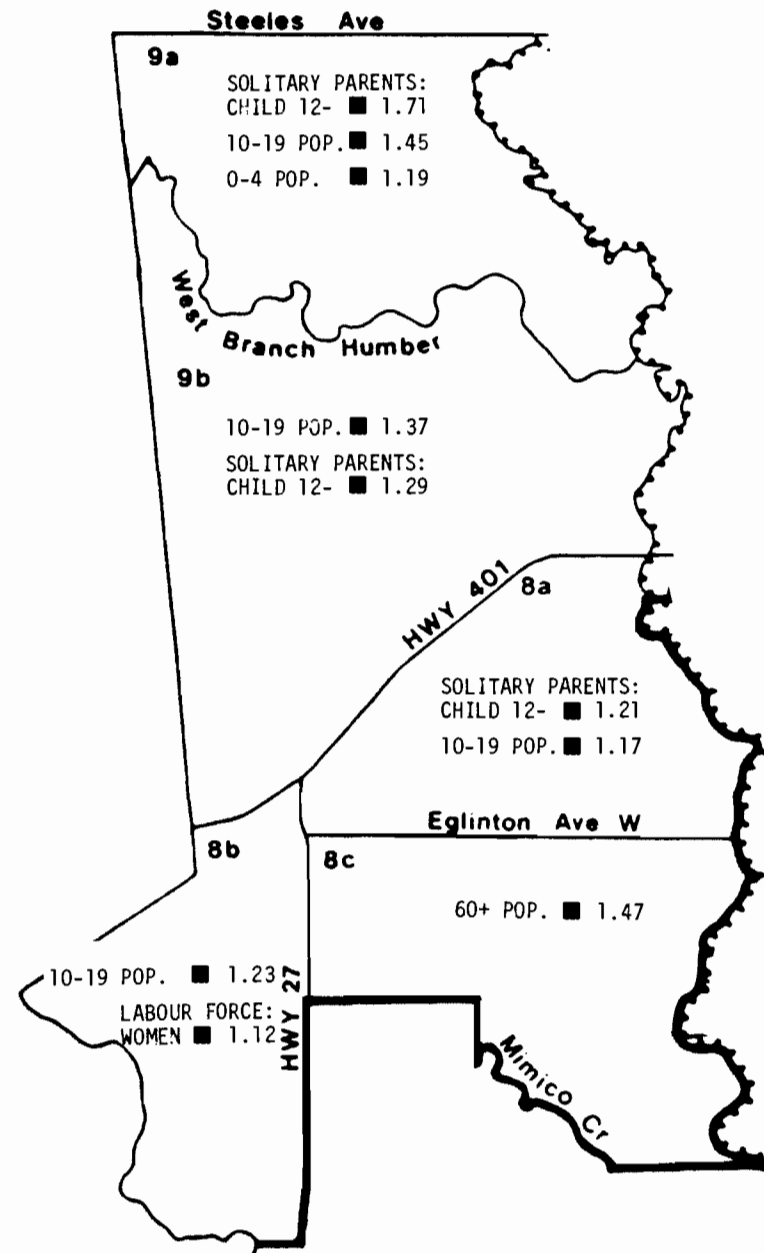
From a suburban perspective, the eighties will bring new urban conditions to be faced in common with residents of the central area. The ability to face these conditions effectively requires a conscious commitment to acknowledge and address the present crisis of unmet human needs in the suburbs. The changes which have taken place cannot be reduced to any one cause, such as the presence of suburban public housing. The changes go much deeper and therefore the responses will have to be more serious.

Table 15:
Social Development Patterns: Ratios in Relation to Metro Averages, 1976
Rapid Growth Districts, Etobicoke, 1951 - 1971

Minor Planning Districts	% Population Aged 0-4	% Population Aged 10-19	% Population Aged 60+	% Recent Immigrants	% Solitary Parents: Young Child 12-	Labour Force Rate: Women	% Unemployed Aged 25+	% Unemployed Aged 15-24
8a	.91	1.17	.77	.87	1.21	1.03	.85	.87
8b	.73	1.23	.72	.61	.57	1.12	.72	.88
8c	.61	1.03	1.47	.31	.21	.88	.60	1.00
9a	1.19	1.45	.47	.68	1.71	1.01	.81	1.00
9b	1.02	1.37	.67	.55	1.29	.99	.75	.96

RAPID GROWTH DISTRICTS, ETOBICOKE 1951-1971

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LEGEND

■ Ratio to Metro
average where the
ratio is 1.05 or more

Table 16:

Social Development Patterns: Ratios in Relation to Metro Averages, 1976
Rapid Growth Districts, North York, 1951 - 1971

Minor Planning Districts	% Population Aged 0-4	% Population Aged 10-19	% Population Aged 60+	% Recent Immigrants	% Solitary Parents: Young Child 12-	Labour Force Rate: Women	% Unemployed Aged 25+	% Unemployed Aged 15-24
3a	1.11	1.08	.77	.97	2.14	1.00	1.09	.99
5b	1.06	.99	.78	1.77	1.07	1.09	.85	1.18
5c	1.00	1.13	.68	1.14	1.29	1.09	.92	1.00
10a	1.42	1.29	.42	.85	1.14	1.27	.87	.74
10b	1.30	1.15	.55	1.06	1.71	1.13	1.06	.95
11a	.77	.89	1.48	.57	.50	.93	.96	1.32
11b	.86	.97	1.27	1.02	.43	.99	.96	.97
11c	.66	1.06	1.28	.50	.43	.93	.62	1.02
12	1.39	1.12	.37	1.44	1.43	1.11	.75	.84

RAPID GROWTH DISTRICTS, NORTH YORK, 1951-1971

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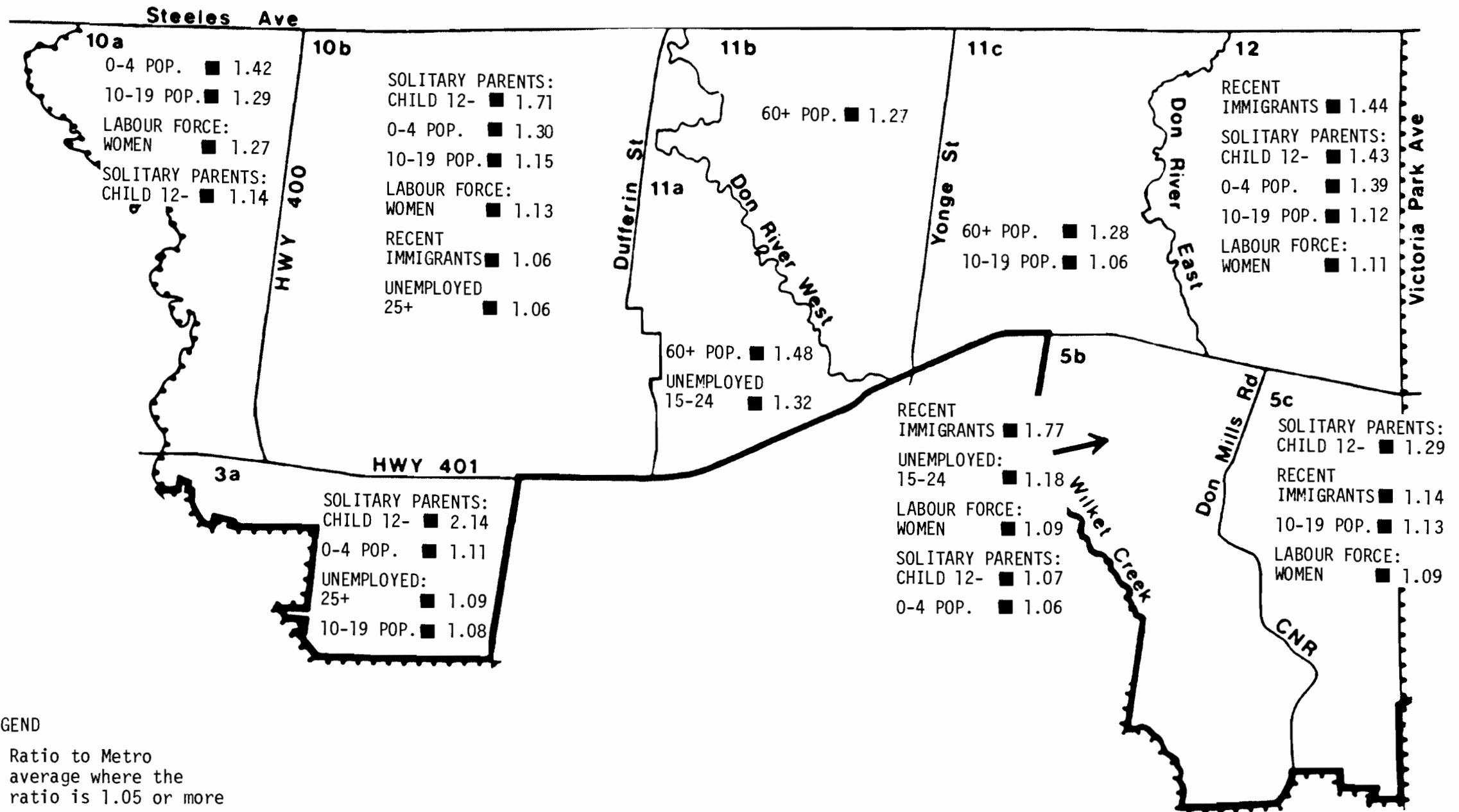


Table 17:
Social Development Patterns: Ratios in Relation to Metro Averages, 1976
Rapid Growth Districts, Scarborough, 1951 - 1971

Minor Planning Districts	% Population: Aged 0-4	% Population: Aged 10-19	% Population: Aged 60+	% Recent Immigrants	% Solitary Parents: Young Child 12-	Labour Force Rate: Women	% Unemployed: Aged 25+	% Unemployed: Aged 15-24
13a	.98	1.11	.81	.85	1.07	1.05	.87	.91
13b	.80	1.22	.79	.95	1.79	1.00	1.17	.99
13c	1.31	1.42	.58	.66	1.93	.99	.89	1.07
13d	1.25	1.04	.76	1.14	1.43	1.07	1.21	.91
14b	1.00	.83	1.06	.43	.93	.96	.77	1.12
14c	1.03	1.26	.80	.69	1.21	.95	.92	1.11
15a	1.25	1.32	.85	.54	3.00	.86	1.17	.91
15b	1.36	1.26	.43	.48	2.43	.99	.79	.99
15c	-	1.35	.69	.06	.29	-	.53	.96
16a	1.16	1.24	.62	1.13	1.50	1.01	.81	.88
16b; 16c	1.63	1.16	.28	1.28	.93	1.08	.81	.87

RAPID GROWTH DISTRICTS, SCARBOROUGH, 1951-1971

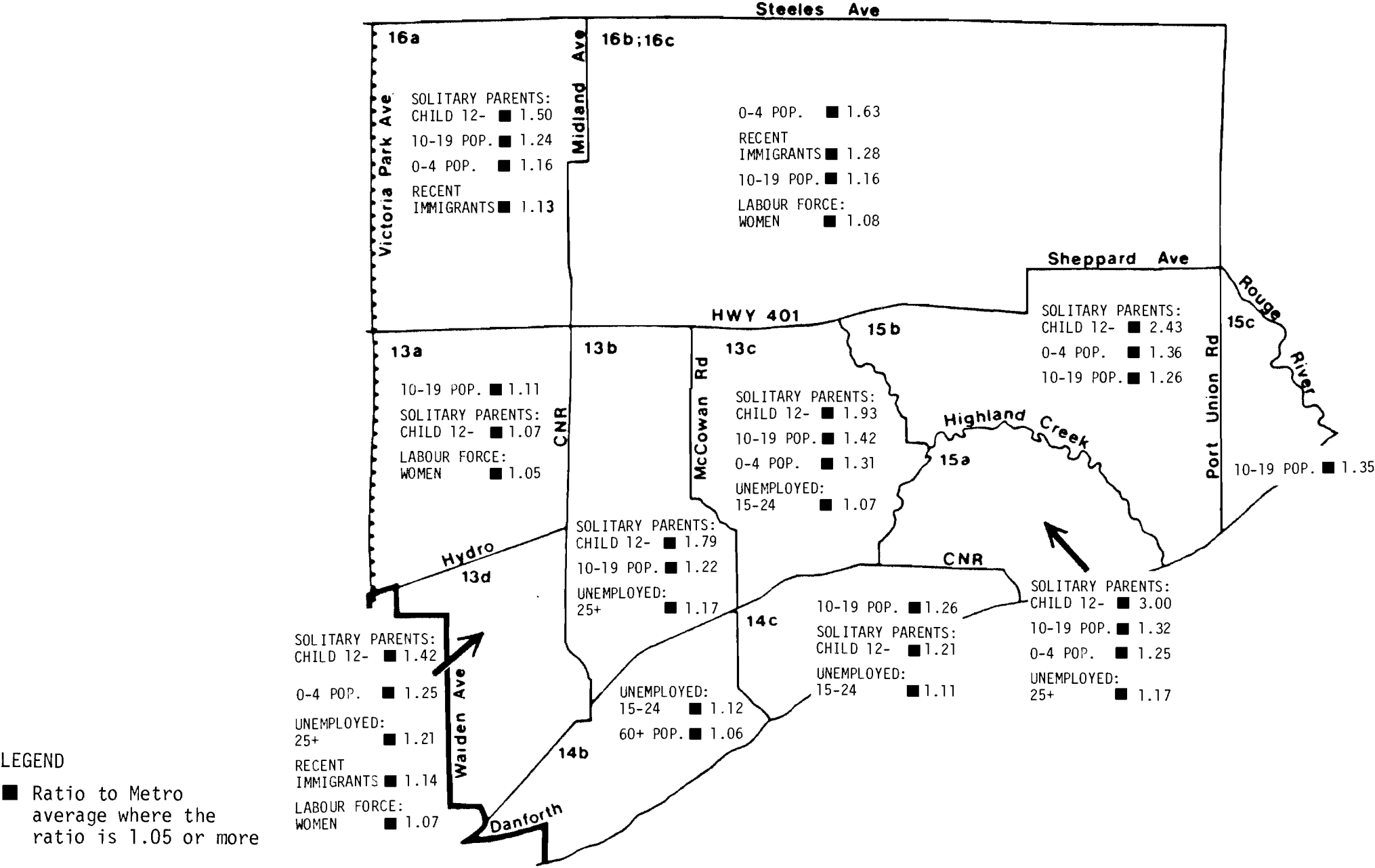


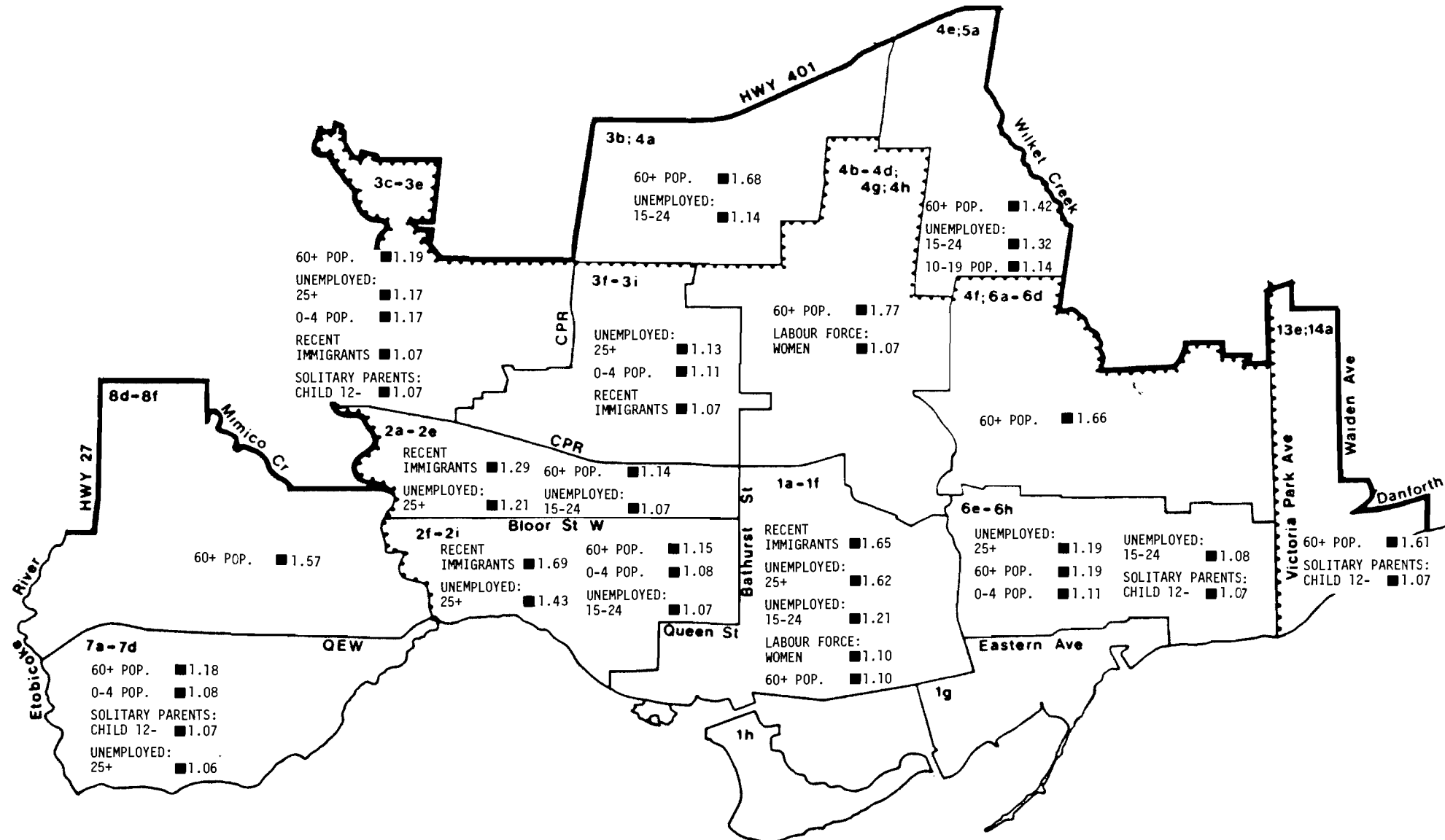
Table 18:

Social Development Patterns: Ratios in Relation to Metro Averages, 1976
Non-Rapid Growth Districts, Metropolitan Toronto, 1951 - 1971

Minor Planning District	% Population: Aged 0-4	% Population: Aged 10-19	% Population: Aged 60+	% Recent Immigrants	% Solitary Parents: Young Child 12-	Labour Force Rate: Women	% Unemployed: Aged 25+	% Unemployed: Aged 15-24
1a - 1f	.67	.66	1.10	1.65	.86	1.10	1.62	1.21
1g	1.16	1.24	1.09	.82	3.36	.75	1.09	2.71
1h	1.30	.81	.74	.74	1.57	1.09	1.02	.81
2a - 2e	1.03	.93	1.14	1.29	.57	.95	1.21	1.07
2f - 2i	1.08	.88	1.15	1.69	.79	.98	1.43	1.07
3b; 4a	.83	.87	1.68	.79	.79	.90	.92	1.14
3c - 3e	1.17	.91	1.19	1.07	1.07	.96	1.17	.88
3f - 3i	1.11	.97	1.03	1.07	.86	.97	1.13	.97
4b-4d; 4g;4h	.56	.65	1.77	.74	.21	1.07	.79	1.03
4e; 5a	.61	1.14	1.42	.64	.64	.81	.64	1.32
4f; 6a-6d	.94	.70	1.66	1.02	.64	1.03	.92	.92
6e - 6h	1.11	1.01	1.19	.90	1.07	.96	1.19	1.08
7a - 7d	1.08	.91	1.18	.64	1.07	1.03	1.06	.99
8d - 8f	.73	.82	1.57	.51	.93	1.00	.87	.86
13e; 14a	.86	.92	1.61	.60	1.07	.93	.98	1.02

NON-RAPID GROWTH DISTRICTS, METROPOLITAN TORONTO, 1951-1971

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LEGEND

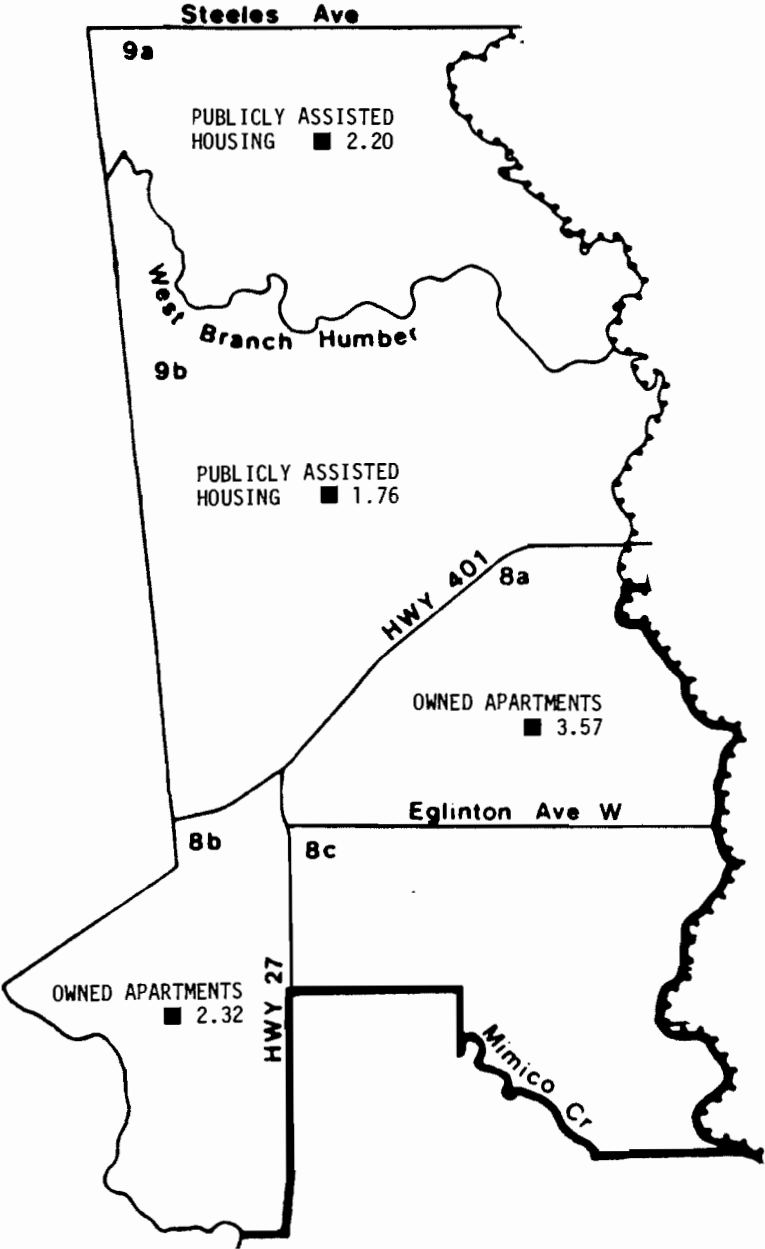
■ Ratio to Metro average where the ratio is 1.05 or more

Table 19:

Non-Traditional Accommodation Patterns: Ratios in Relation to Metro Averages, 1976
Rapid Growth Districts, Etobicoke, 1951 - 1971

Minor Planning Districts	% Total Apartment Units	% Tenant Occupied Dwellings	% Owned Apartments	% Publicly Assisted Housing
8a	.93	.87	2.32	.88
8b	.96	.68	3.57	.38
8c	.68	.62	.43	.10
9a	.49	.82	.67	2.20
9b	.60	.74	.28	1.76

RAPID GROWTH DISTRICTS, ETOBICOKE 1951-1971



LEGEND

■ Ratio to Metro average where the ratio is 1.05 or more

Table 20:
Non-Traditional Accommodation Patterns: Ratios in Relation to Metro Averages, 1976
Rapid Growth Districts, North York, 1951 - 1971

Minor Planning Districts	% Total Apartment Units	% Tenant Occupied Dwellings	% Owned Apartments	% Publicly Assistant Housing
3a	1.02	1.02	.61	1.86
5b	1.26	1.05	3.07	.45
5c	1.17	1.26	.76	.57
10a	.64	.63	1.22	2.27
10b	1.16	1.16	1.19	2.27
11a	.85	.86	.67	.04
11b	1.07	1.02	.96	.73
11c	.65	.76	.22	.43
12	.84	.80	1.41	.47

RAPID GROWTH DISTRICTS, NORTH YORK 1951-1971

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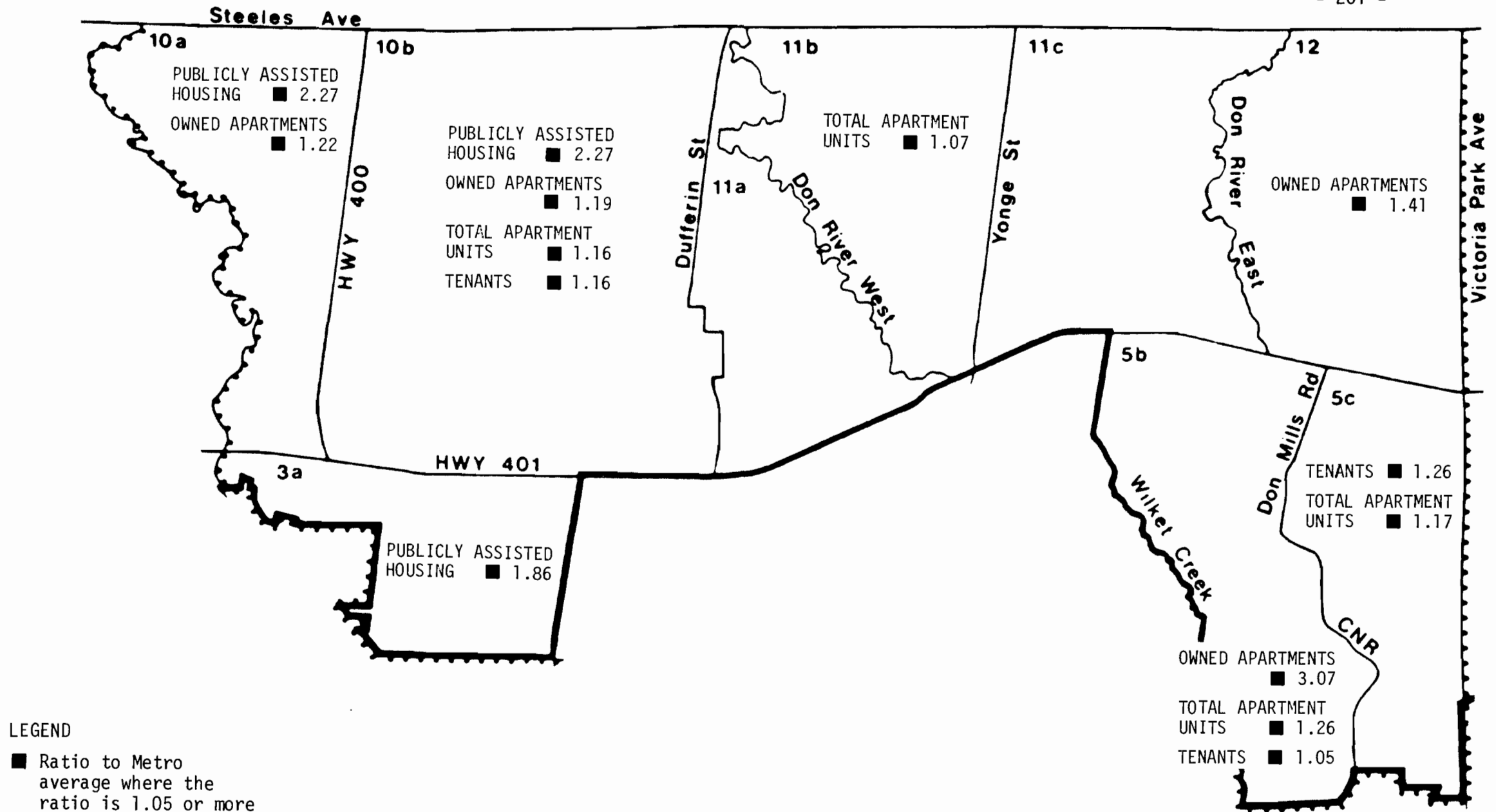
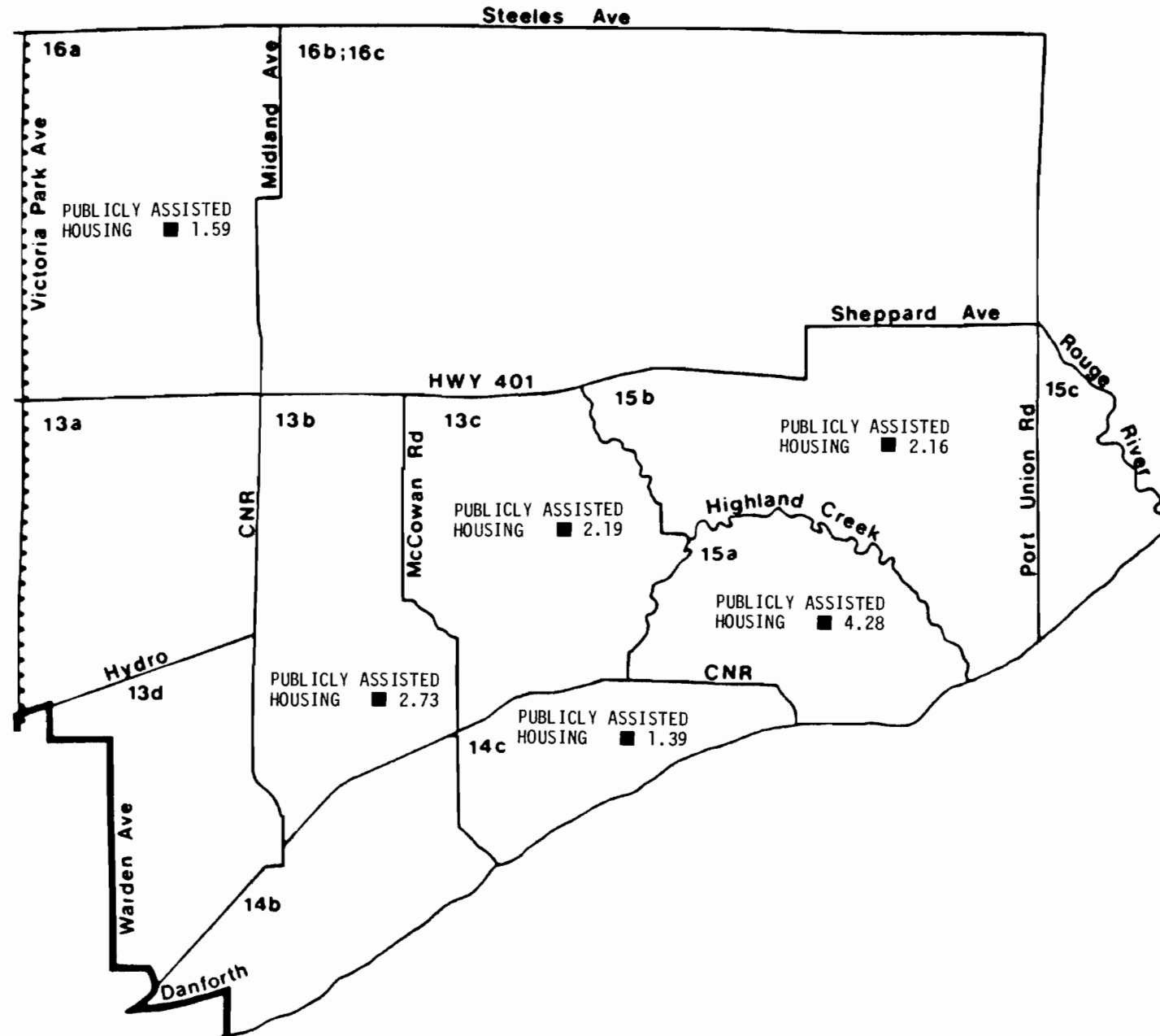


Table 21:
Non-Traditional Accommodation Patterns: Ratios in Relation to Metro Averages, 1976
Rapid Growth Districts, Scarborough, 1951 - 1971

Minor Planning Districts	% Total Apartment Units	% Tenant Occupied Dwellings	% Owned Apartments	% Publicly Assisted Housing
13a	.68	.73	.98	.96
13b	.53	.95	.26	2.73
13c	.84	.85	.26	2.19
13d	.97	1.04	.59	1.04
14b	.52	.57	.28	.39
14c	1.04	1.02	.76	1.39
15a	.89	.97	.44	4.28
15b	.52	.36	.20	2.16
15c	.03	.07	.02	-
16a	.96	.80	.98	1.59
16b; 16c	.13	.19	.63	.41

RAPID GROWTH DISTRICTS, SCARBOROUGH 1951-1971

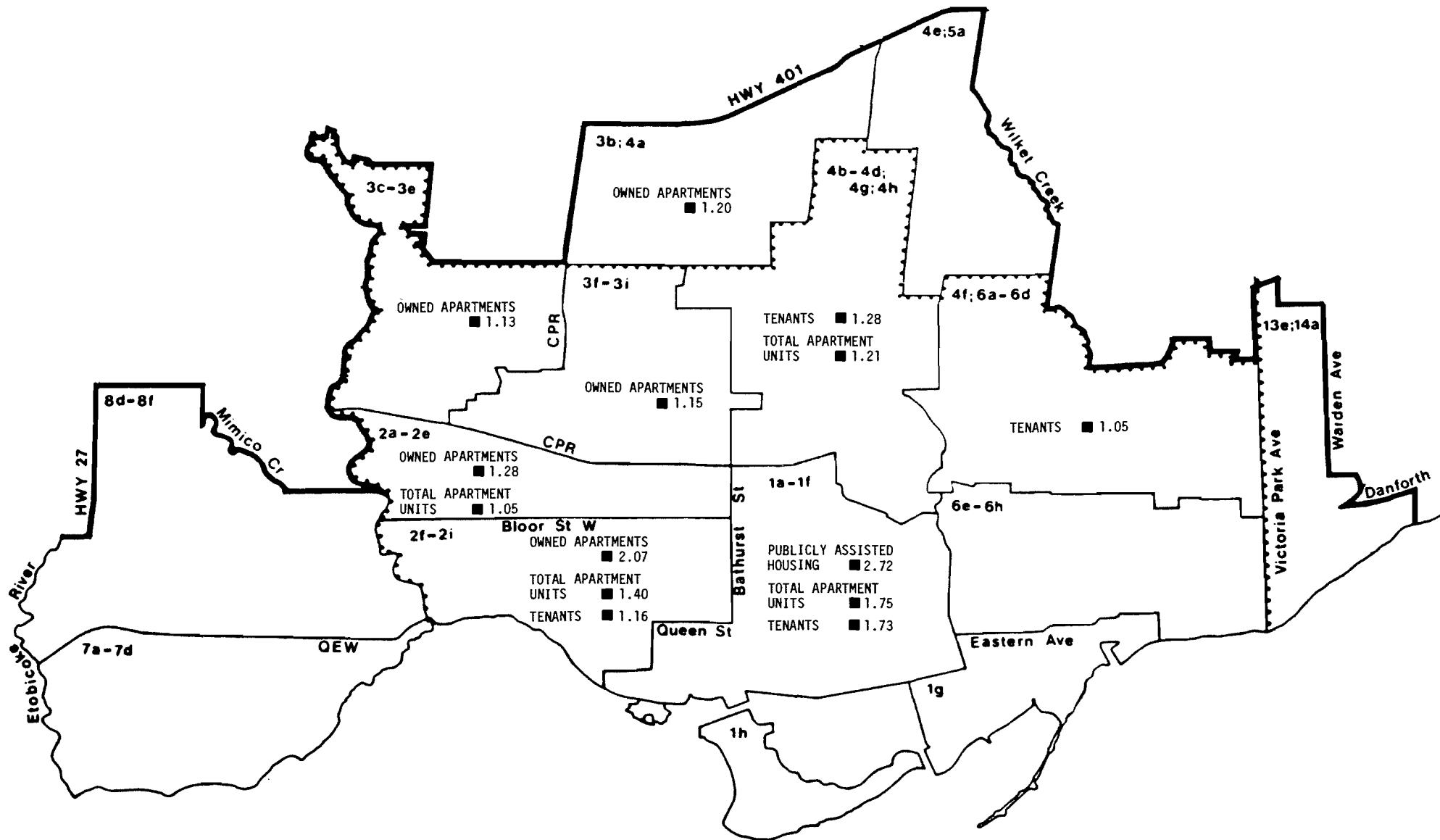


LEGEND

- Ratio to Metro average where the ratio is 1.05 or more

Table 22:
Non-Traditional Accommodation Patterns: Ratios in Relation to Metro Averages, 1976
Non-Rapid Growth Districts, Metropolitan Toronto, 1951 - 1971

Minor Planning District	% Total Apartment Units	% Tenant Occupied Dwellings	% Owned Apartments	% Publicly Assisted Housing
1a - 1f	1.75	1.73	1.02	2.72
1g	.51	.86	-	.80
1h	-	.71	-	-
2a - 2e	1.05	.89	1.28	.41
2f - 2i	1.40	1.16	2.07	.45
3b; 4a	.87	.90	1.20	1.00
3c - 3e	1.01	1.03	1.13	.73
3f - 3i	.82	.93	1.15	.30
4b-4d; 4g; 4h	1.21	1.28	.57	.02
4e; 5a	.52	.56	.09	-
4f; 6a - 6d	.99	1.05	.89	.47
6e - 6h	.91	.90	.91	.99
7a - 7d	.74	1.02	.50	.22
8d - 8f	.82	.84	.28	.81
13e; 14a	.84	.94	.26	1.85



LEGEND

■ Ratio to Metro average where the ratio is 1.05 or more



A P P E N D I C E S

1.0 SUBURBAN SERVICE PROVIDERS

1.1 GENERAL TOPIC SHEET

I SERVICE DELIVERY

- * suburban service area
- * major services provided
- * profile of people served: age, income, cultural background, housing environments, family structure
- * suburban service districts: number, size, designation, rationale
- * service outlets within districts: number, range of services offered, types of setting, rationale
- * joint programs with other groups at district level

II SERVICE TRENDS

- * changing social conditions of borough served
- * new demands on respondent's services
- * current service priorities
- * effect of financial restraints
- * recent reports or data on suburban services
- * suburban districts receiving special emphasis, or additional programs
- * suburban districts particularly difficult to serve
- * forms of co-ordination with other services in the borough

III LOCAL RELATIONSHIPS

- * ways people find out about respondent's service
- * language capabilities: head office, field staff
- * resident and user involvement in: planning of programs, provision of services
- * support provided to self-help groups
- * assumptions on how people get to district service outlets: walk, transit, automobile
- * groups, if any, with difficulties in getting to service outlets

IV SOCIAL NEEDS

- * major service gaps across the borough served
- * data sources for monitoring suburban conditions
- * special groups: youth, immigrants, mothers and children, elderly, others

INFORMATION REQUESTS

- * brochures/program directories/newsletters
- * service district maps
- * annual report 1976
- * other recent publications

1.0 SUBURBAN SERVICE PROVIDERS

1.2 SPECIAL POPULATIONS TOPIC SHEET

I YOUTH

- * recent changes in lifestyle patterns
- * types of organized leisure programs
- * use of community space and facilities: patterns and issues
- * responsiveness of established community services: recreation departments, family planning, police, churches, plazas and commercial services
- * knowledge of and ability to use Metro resources
- * access to lifestyle resources within the suburbs: clothes, amusement, stimulants
- * adult perceptions of youth behaviour
- * access to casual/part-time jobs; opportunities for career exposure
- * friendship, isolation patterns in relation to: housing environments, local area conditions

II IMMIGRANTS

- * recent immigration trends: suburban dispersal areas, cultural origins, urban/rural backgrounds, family structure
- * availability of support services: multi-lingual information centres, English language classes, self-help service groups, church programs, orientation services for women
- * responsiveness of established services: schools, recreation departments, libraries, family agencies, police, OHC, Manpower, welfare, hospitals
- * quality of inter-group relations; suburban areas of particular concern
- * adequacy of employment opportunities: full-time, casual and part-time
- * dependence on, and ability to use Metro resources

III MOTHERS AND YOUNG CHILDREN

- * recent trends in suburban family structure
- * availability of support services in local areas: play centres (outdoor/indoor), day care (full, occasional), child-parent programs, information-consultation, self-help
- * adequacy of local retail services: infant care items, stimulation (books, play things), etc.
- * getting around the local community with young children, and without a car
- * patterns of parenting, mutual support, isolation in relation to: housing environments, local area development, mobility
- * access to emergency services: after-hours health care, homemakers, hostels

IV ELDERLY

- * forms of suburban living arrangements
- * availability of support services to local area: meals-on-wheels, day centres, home care, homemakers, befriending, para-transit, information/consultation
- * adequacy of local retail services: food, health items, etc.
- * use of open space; local lingering areas
- * getting around (without a car) to: local retail services, support programs, public transit, open space
- * dependence on, and access to, the Metro environment: cultural and family ties
- * daily patterns of human contact/activity in relation to: housing environments, local area characteristics, mobility

2.0 LOCAL COMMUNITY INTERVIEWS

2.1 RESIDENT TOPIC SHEET

I SENSE OF COMMUNITY

- * what is this part of the borough called: by residents, borough officials, postal service, others
- * how has the area changed in the last 5 years: people, housing, amenities
- * extent of participation by people in local activities
- * internal communications: local newspaper, news-letters, flyers, directories, others
- * unique physical landmark(s): local area
- * unique physical landmark(s): borough
- * perceptions, feelings about local community life

II LOCAL PLANNING ISSUES

- * current problems
- * state of local organization: resident and interest groups
- * political strength: responsiveness of borough, Metro, others

III PERSONAL MOVEMENT

- * adequacy of public transit
- * safety issues: stop signs, traffic lights, etc.
- * use of open space: day, night
- * local places for meeting other residents: casual contact, lingering
- * people without cars: young families, youth, elderly
- * walking: to get somewhere, leisure

IV ACCESS TO METRO RESOURCES

- * knowledge of resources: Metro suburbs, downtown Toronto, outside Metro
- * use patterns, ease of access
- * opportunities for employment: full-time and part-time

V ADEQUACY OF LOCAL RESOURCES

- * use of public buildings: schools, libraries, recreation centres, etc.
- * adequacy of commercial facilities
- * levels of neighbouring: daily conversations and contact, home visits, help and support
- * youth, elderly, immigrants, mothers/young children
- * evening activities: films, eating out, pubs, lectures, performances, etc.
- * recreation programs: tennis, swimming, field sports, etc.
- * health care
- * emergency: police, fire, after-hour health services
- * municipal services: garbage, sanitation, snow removal, etc.
- * other

INFORMATION REQUESTS

- * resident/community newsletters, flyers
- * recent submissions or reports

2.0 LOCAL COMMUNITY INTERVIEWS

2.2 SERVICE WORKERS

I INTRODUCTION

II SENSE OF COMMUNITY

- * what is this area called: by residents, service workers
- * how has the area changed in recent years: people, housing, amenities
- * extent of participation by people in local activities
- * local planning issues
- * internal communications: local newspaper, newsletters, flyers, directories, others
- * unique physical landmark(s) of local area
- * perceptions, feelings about local community life

III SERVICE TRENDS

- * area and people served by respondent's service
- * recent emphasis in service provision
- * self-help groups/volunteer participation in service provision
- * special needs of: youth, mothers and young children, elderly, immigrants (see attached sheets)
- * major service gaps

INFORMATION REQUESTS

- * brochures/program directories/newsletters
- * recent reports or data on local area

2.0 LOCAL COMMUNITY INTERVIEWS

2.3 SPECIAL POPULATIONS TOPIC SHEET

I YOUTH

- * recent changes in lifestyle patterns
- * types of organized leisure programs
- * use of community space and facilities: patterns and issues
- * responsiveness of established community services: recreation departments, family planning, police, churches, plazas and commercial services
- * knowledge of and ability to use Metro resources
- * access to lifestyle resources within the suburbs: clothes, amusement, stimulants
- * adult perceptions of youth behaviour
- * access to casual/part-time jobs; opportunities for career exposure
- * friendship, isolation patterns in relation to: housing environments, local area conditions

II MOTHERS AND YOUNG CHILDREN

- * family structure patterns
- * availability of support services in local areas: play centres (outdoor/indoor), day care (full, occasional), child-parent programs, information/consultation, self-help
- * adequacy of local retail services: infant care items, stimulation (books, play things), etc.
- * getting around the local community with young children, and without a car
- * patterns of parenting, mutual support, isolation in relation to housing environments and mobility
- * access to emergency services: after-hours health care, homemakers, hostels

III ELDERLY

- * range of local living arrangements
- * availability of support services to local area: meals-on-wheels, day centres, home care, homemakers, befriending, para-transit, information/consultation
- * adequacy of local retail services: food, health items, etc.
- * use of open space; local lingering areas
- * getting around (without a car) to: local retail services, support programs, public transit, open space
- * dependence on, and access to, the Metro environment: cultural and family ties
- * daily patterns of human contact/activity in relation to: housing environments, local area characteristics, mobility

IV IMMIGRANTS

- * recent immigration trends: local dispersal areas, cultural origins, urban/rural backgrounds, family structure
- * availability of support services: multi-lingual information centres, English language classes, self-help service groups, church programs, orientation services for women
- * responsiveness of established services: schools, recreation departments, libraries, family agencies, police, OHC, Manpower, welfare, hospitals
- * quality of inter-group relations; local areas of particular concern
- * adequacy of employment opportunities: full-time, casual and part-time
- * dependence on, and ability to use Metro resources

3.0 SUBURBAN PLANNING ISSUES

GENERAL TOPIC SHEET

I ISSUE REVIEW

- * description of the planning issue
- * zoning and other regulations related to the issue
- * community and metropolitan significance of the issue
- * interest and background of respondent's group

II ISSUE DEVELOPMENT

- * policies adopted or positions taken by respondent's group
- * activities undertaken to promote policy or position
- * support and opposition from:
 - borough officials
 - citizen groups
 - public and private groups
 - others
- * current status
- * ways in which issue is perceived by:
 - media
 - people in the suburbs
 - people across Metro
- * prospects for resolution

INFORMATION REQUESTS

- * policy/position statements, reports, newsletters
- * submissions
- * key references re: by-laws, statutes, regulations

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF
SOCIAL WORK

Formerly National Conference of Charities and Correction

AT THE
FIFTY-FIRST ANNUAL SESSION
HELD IN
TORONTO, ONTARIO
JUNE 25-JULY 2, 1924

PERMANENT HEADQUARTERS
23-25 E. NINTH STREET, CINCINNATI, OHIO

PUBLISHED FOR THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

VI. NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

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The Immigrant. Means of Using National and Racial Customs and Organiza-
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THE RELATION OF NEIGHBORHOOD FORCES TO THE
LARGER COMMUNITY

PLANNING A CITY NEIGHBORHOOD FROM THE
SOCIAL POINT OF VIEW

Clarence Arthur Perry, Russell Sage Foundation, New York

To focus the discussion this morning I am going to set before you a hypothetical neighborhood planned from a social point of view. It is not put up as the best possible plan, but as a plan. It will at least afford us a point of departure for a discussion of purposeful planning and development of city neighborhoods.

Let us consider a district of 160 acres, located half way between the downtown business center and the boundaries of a city of less than 100,000 population. An area of 160 acres, if laid out rectangularly, makes a square of a half-mile on a side. If this area were triangular, the sides would be a little more than three-quarters of a mile long. The housing is of the single family per lot type and suited to people of moderate means. Suppose we wanted to plan this district so it would meet our ideals as to health, recreation, young people's environment, and all-round human happiness—how would we lay it out?

Civic center.—In the first place, I suggest that in the central part of the district we provide a green, square, rectangular, or oval in shape. On one side of this green let us set aside an ample site for an elementary public school. A part of the school plant—it might be in a separate building or in a building attached to it by an arcade—would be devoted to a branch of the public library.

Another portion of the school edifice—which again might be attached to it or incorporated within it—would be a hall large enough to serve as an assembling place for the pupils or for the citizens of the neighborhood. Back of the school there should be a yard large enough to afford ample play space for all the pupils.

On the remaining sides of the square, sites should be reserved for one or more churches, for a residential hotel, or for a fraternal hall. There might even be a little theater or a small motion-picture house facing on this public square. Placing these public buildings around a square of this sort would afford them better perspective and stimulate finer designing in the architecture of the buildings.

Shopping districts.—In the periphery of this district I would reserve areas for two, possibly three, local shopping centers. Each center should be at a point where large numbers of the residents customarily pass out of the district on their way to places of occupation in the downtown or other working sections of the city.

These shopping centers should be large enough to accommodate all the stores of a neighborhood character required to meet the needs of the population of that district. If, instead of running radially along the streets, these districts were bunched in two or three short blocks or rows of store buildings, the convenience of the patrons would be better served than it is by the usual arrangement. A certain number of these stores should be placed so that a service alley could be in the rear, making it possible to discharge and take in goods from a rear door and admit customers at the front door.

These business places might form a small square, in the center of which might be a motion-picture theater, a building large enough to have offices on the upper floors and an auditorium in the lower part of the house. In one of the shopping districts there should be a branch post-office, a police-station or at least a substation. In some districts a fire-house would also be located here.

No business buildings should be allowed in any part of the neighborhood other than these specially reserved shopping districts. Across the street from these points would usually be found the corresponding shopping districts of the adjacent neighborhoods so that the combined districts—there might be four of them—would make a busy local trading center.

Parks and playgrounds.—A standard for the allotment of neighborhood parks and play spaces, more frequently expressed than actually realized, calls for 10 per cent of the total area. That would give 16 acres for the district we are considering. A suggested distribution of this space is as follows: commons, $2\frac{1}{4}$ acres; baseball field, $3\frac{1}{4}$ acres; tennis courts, $2\frac{1}{4}$ acres; school yard, 3 acres; play field, 2 acres; parklets, 3 acres; total, 16 acres.

These spaces should be distributed about the district in such a way that they would be easily accessible and not occasion the concentration of sporting crowds in any one locality. The last item consists of small circles, triangular and rectangular grass plots—sometimes called breathing spots—set aside at the

junction of streets and in front of rows of houses. It is to be remembered that in this district most families are supposed to have yards in which small children can play, and that this allotment is not supposed to cover this neighborhood's requirements for large park space. The areas listed above are for the exclusive use of the residents of this district. In addition to these local and intimate recreation spaces there would be, of course, the large woodland and landscaped parks set aside for the enjoyment of the whole city.

Street system.—The streets forming the boundaries of this district should be designed as arterial highways and may be 100 or more feet wide. If any sides of the district were bounded by railways, water courses, or parkways, they would have the same effect of dividing it off from the surrounding territory. Within the district there should be a special street plan, a combination of the radial and gridiron patterns, designed to afford more or less direct communication with the civic center and with the shopping districts. The interior streets should be proportioned in width to the amount of traffic they will bear, the main streets being 70 or 80 feet wide and the side streets from 40 to 60 feet. To give variety of vista and avoid acute angles, streets should be curved or bent at junctions.

Lot subdivision.—The lot subdivision should be carried out in such a way as to afford a variety of residential layouts. Those persons who want to put their money into the house rather than the yard, and those who want more spacious grounds and only modest homes, should both be accommodated—that is, within limits. As a whole, the development should be designed to attract people of a fairly similar standard of living.

In all the cases where the lot subdivision indicates rows of houses, the group should be located so as to face upon a small park. Consideration should be given in the lot layouts to garage sites, and, where necessary, to service lanes.

Apartments should be permitted over the stores in the shopping districts, and several apartment buildings for residential purposes exclusively might be placed at the corners of the development. Each of these buildings should have ample courts or play space adjoining them. The number of these multi-family buildings would be determined by the density to be allowed and the land values which had to be realized.

These external characteristics cannot be considered as unrelated to the principles of growth and the processes of neighborhood life. Unless the plan facilitates these processes, and furnishes them with mechanisms, it will not be realized and would not exist if by some *tour de force* it were executed. When we come to consider the internal factors, or the essential principles, of a socially planned neighborhood we find that after the establishment of centers—a civic center, shopping centers—the next step is the definition of area.

Demarcation of the neighborhood district.—It requires only a slight observation of city life to discover that traffic highways such as railways, water courses, parkways, and arterial boulevards definitely cleave the social life of a district.

Just as voluntary associations within a district are divided by physical barriers, so they are facilitated and stimulated by the construction of railways or highways which become boundaries of a district and serve to set it off from the surrounding territory. On a city plan, a neighborhood can be marked by bounding it with wide arterial streets, with railways, parkways, or parks. Of course, an industrial or business area also hems in a district in a way, but even it should be separated from the neighborhood proper by a wide street. In the planning of new cities or new portions of old cities, the time is coming, I believe, when it will be a recognized practice to set off all neighborhoods by means of arterial streets and avoid laying down any traffic highways which would cut up undeveloped areas into such small and irregular areas that neighborhood life could not flourish within them. If this principle is recognized it will also provide ample traffic carriers for through-town traffic, and will make it unnecessary for this traffic to disturb the quiet and imperil the lives of those residing in the neighborhood districts.

Purposeful street systems.—The function of a street is to provide channels for movements to and from residences, places of business, and other institutions. It would seem axiomatic that streets ought to go directly toward the destinations of traffic currents, but no one can claim that any such purpose animates a street system formed upon the gridiron pattern. As a very famous English town-planner once said, "American streets do not seem to lead anywhere." Perhaps the reason we have never attempted to give our streets any particular direction is because we have not been aware of the fact that people in general do go in common directions.

Recently I had occasion to make an estimate of the weekly movements to and from an average home. I first divided the trips of the various members of the family into two classes, those of a downtown range and those of a neighborhood range. The man's daily trips to his business were put in the downtown class and the boy's trips to his school were classed as neighborhood movements. The wife's trips to the department store or the theater were classed as downtown, and her daily marketing as neighborhood. Summing up these various trips of the husband, wife, and two children, as well as the visits of the grocery man, of the mail carrier, and the garbage removal people, we found that the movements of a neighborhood range during the week numbered seventy-eight, and those of a downtown or beyond the neighborhood range numbered nineteen, or about four to one.

If we may assume that these estimates roughly approximate the actual movements to and from an ordinary home, and that similar movements begin and end at the other homes in the neighborhood, then we have some knowledge of city traffic currents.

We at once see that there is a definite whorl of strictly neighborhood movements and another whorl of less frequent movements extending beyond the neighborhood. Since the number of the neighborhood movements is so dis-

tinctly greater than those of the downtown range it would seem reasonable that a special street system should be provided to facilitate the neighborhood circulation.

If we stop to think a moment we will immediately see that the neighborhood trips of the average family are mainly to two places—to the local shops, and to the educational and religious centers. A common destination for children is the playground. In a district in which these various centers are segregated the street system should be such as to facilitate easy and direct movement to each of these centers. If we group our educational and religious centers around the civic center, and put our neighborhood shops and motion picture theater in one or two distinct points in the periphery, then we should have streets so arranged that, no matter where you live in the district, you can go directly either to the civic center or to the nearest shopping center. This generally results in a combination of radials for main streets and parallels for side streets.

The size of the neighborhood district.—By size I mean really population rather than area. What is the best number of people to house in a planned neighborhood district? I know of no experience which can guide us upon this point and so I offer only my opinion and the situation upon which it is based. My guess is that that number of people for whose educational service one up-to-date elementary public school would be required is the best number for a socially planned neighborhood. Educational experts now say that the best size for an elementary unit in a public-school system is one accommodating from 1,000 to 1,500 pupils. We ordinarily count one child of elementary school age for each five of population. So that on this basis our district should provide housing for from 5,000 to 7,500 people. If we have 6,000 people housed upon 160 acres, that gives a density of about 38 people per acre, or a little over seven families per acre.

Educational specialists declare that a half-mile is the maximum distance children should have to travel in order to attend an elementary school. Actual investigation shows that they will not travel more than one-quarter of a mile to reach a playground. It will be remembered that our 160 acre district, even if triangular in shape, is only three-quarters of a mile on a side so that this area with a school plant located in the center of it would meet these distance requirements very nicely.

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

Comprehensive planning.—The neighborhood district which has been described cannot be successfully realized except by one comprehensive and co-operative management. The landscaping, to have unity of effect, must be done by one person. The general types of housing construction must be specified by a supervising architect. Different builders may be allowed to operate in

the construction of houses, but their plans and specifications must be co-ordinated by the supervising agency. The lot subdivision, assignment of spaces, reservation of sites, and street system must be completely worked out for a given population before any part of the construction is begun.

The practical realization of model neighborhood developments.—As we have seen, a neighborhood laid out in a model manner involves the dedication of spaces for parks and playgrounds and the reservation of sites for possible public institutions. Such dedications and such comprehensive planning are costly to the developer. He will not perform them unless he can secure returns to cover the outlays they involve. It is believed that a comprehensively planned and self-contained development of this character would yield unusual values for which purchasers would be willing to pay. It will probably require an extensive advertising campaign to cause them to appreciate these extra values, but that is an educational feat which can be accomplished.

One very great value which can be realized with the right procedure is a greater permanence of the residential characteristics. An instance will make this clearer. In the planning of the residential suburb, Forest Hills Gardens, certain areas were set aside for the shopping district and for parks and school sites. The reservation of these areas formed a part of the condition under which residents purchased property. When the real estate company had practically completed the development, it transferred the rights and obligations under the restrictions to an incorporated association of the property-owners who are now administering those restrictions. Thus, the owners themselves became vested with the right and the power to insure the continuance of the residential characteristics as long as they wished them to continue. While the results of this method of procedure are too young to be finally appraised, it would seem that it offers real hope for a stabilization of values based upon the residential characteristics. So long as a majority of the property-owners live in that district, they are likely to keep business and other unpleasant elements out of it.

It would seem that a development corporation which could offer homes in self-contained districts where schools were conveniently placed, play areas were ample, and protected from outside traffic, where neighborhood shopping facilities were concentrated and accessible, where everything tended to promote a consciousness of common interest and local pride—it would seem that such a real estate proposition would not be difficult to market.

The social control of urban growth.—The problem of securing the kind of urban expansion which will satisfy social objectives is the problem of translating those objectives into prescriptions and formulas which can be effectually applied in city-planning and development. It is clear that those prescriptions will mainly concern the density of the population to be provided for and the uses to which land may be put. The closeness of habitations, both horizontally and vertically, affects their ventilation, the amount of their sunlight, and the recrea-

tional opportunities of their occupants, and we believe that these conditions are factors in health and moral development. These do not, of course, comprise all of our social objectives, but they indicate the importance of controlling population density in city expansion.

The application of a density standard is not, however, a simple matter. It might be decreed, for example, that future building construction should be regulated so that the density of the city as a whole should never exceed, say, seven families per acre. How futile such a regulation would be is readily realized when one reflects that it would not prevent the existence of highly congested slums in certain sections so long as their excessive density was offset by under-density in other residential sections. To secure the extension of the high density area would require only the inclusion of some outlying farm lands within the city limits.

It is hardly necessary to carry the argument farther. One can readily understand that standards as to density, business and residential uses of land, and the reservation and dedication of open spaces, can be effectually applied only to well-defined unit areas. They can be intelligently applied only in the light of accurate knowledge of the needs and character of such unit areas as they are to be when they are fully developed and fully occupied. Planning and regulation must therefore go together. Furthermore, density, use, and open space standards cannot be separated and applied independently to different unit areas. They are functions of each other and must be applied to the same district.

This paper is an effort to define and describe a residential unit district which would be useful in the application of formulas of a regulative and constructive nature in the planning and development of unimproved urban sections. It may be difficult or impossible to make such formulas legally enforceable upon all subdividers and builders, but an important step will be gained if our municipal zoning and planning authorities can be empowered to grant substantial privileges and extra latitude to those real estate developers whose plans and schemes do meet standards of an ideal character. Whether or not the neighborhood district described above will be found useful in this connection only time can tell. It would seem, however, that such a district with its physical demarcation, its planned recreational facilities, its accessible shopping centers, and its convenient circulatory system—all integrated and harmonized by artistic designing—would furnish the kind of environment where vigorous health, a rich social life, civic efficiency, and a progressive community consciousness would spontaneously develop and permanently flourish.

III-1

<u>Minor Planning District</u>	<u>Agency</u>	<u>Minor Planning District</u>	<u>Agency</u>
1a - 1f	<p>Main Office</p> <p>Big Brothers</p> <p>Bond Street Nursery School</p> <p>Boy Scouts</p> <p>Central Neighbourhood House</p> <p>Community Information Centre</p> <p>COSTI</p> <p>Community Care Services</p> <p>Council of Jewish Social Service Agencies</p> <p>Distress Centre</p> <p>Dixon Hall</p> <p>Elizabeth Fry Society</p> <p>Epilepsy Association of Metro Toronto</p> <p>Family Day Care</p> <p>Family Service Association</p> <p>Good Neighbours Club</p> <p>Huntley Youth Services</p> <p>Interval House</p> <p>John Howard Society</p> <p>Metro Downtown Boys' and Girls' Club</p> <p>Metro Toronto Association for the Mentally Retarded</p> <p>Multiple Sclerosis Society of Canada</p> <p>Native Canadian Centre</p> <p>Planned Parenthood</p> <p>Second Mile Club</p> <p>St. Christopher House</p> <p>St. John's Ambulance</p> <p>St. Stephen's Community House</p> <p>Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto</p>		<p>Toronto Hebrew Restablishment Service</p> <p>University Settlement House</p> <p>Victoria Day Care Services</p> <p>Victorian Order of Nurses</p> <p>Volunteer Centre</p> <p>Young Men's Christian Association</p> <p>Young Men's/Women's Hebrew Association</p> <p>Branch Office</p> <p>Family Service Association</p> <p>St. Christopher House</p> <p>Young Men's Christian Association</p> <p>Young Men's Christian Association</p> <p>Young Men's Christian Association</p> <p>Young Women's Christian Association</p> <p>Young Women's Christian Association</p> <p>Young Women's Christian Association</p> <p>Non-Member Agency</p> <p>Blind Ontario Association with Self-Help Tactics</p> <p>Chinese Interpreter & Information Service</p> <p>Don Vale Community Centre</p> <p>George Herman Memorial Foundation</p> <p>Interpreting Social Services for Portuguese</p> <p>Open Door Centre & Room Registry</p> <p>Operation Springboard</p> <p>Summer Centre for Seniors</p> <p>Toronto Rape Crisis Centre</p> <p>Women in Transition</p>

III-2

<u>Minor Planning District</u>	<u>Agency</u>	<u>Minor Planning District</u>	<u>Agency</u>
2a - 2e	Main Office Bloor Bathurst Information Centre Dovercourt Boys' Club St. Alban's Boys' Club Branch Office Young Men's Christian Association Non-Member Agency Children's Storefront		Family Service Association Jewish Vocational Services
2f - 2i	Main Office Centro Organizzativo Italiano Branch Office Family Service Association Non-Member Agency Aid for New Mothers Centre for Spanish-Speaking People	3c - 3e	Main Office Cradleship Creche Branch Office Family Service Association Red Cross Non-Member Agency York West Meals on Wheels
3b; 4a	Main Office Jewish Family & Child Services Jewish Home for the Aged Jewish Vocational Services Branch Office COSTI Council of Jewish Social Service Agencies	3f - 3i	Main Office Corbrooke Sheltered Workshop Branch Office Young Men's Christian Association Non-Member Agency Italian Immigrant Aid Indian Immigrant Aid Society
		4b - 4d; 4g; 4h	Main Office Mental Health Metro People and Organizations in North Toronto Visiting Homemakers Association Young Women's Christian Association

III-3

Minor
Planning
DistrictAgency4b - 4d;
4g; 4h

Branch Office

Distress Centre
Jewish Family & Child Services
Victorian Order of Nurses
Young Men's Christian Association
Young Women's Christian Association

Non-Member Agency

Arab Community Centre
Silent Voice of Canada

4e; 5a

Main Office

Canadian Institute for the Blind

4f;
6a - 6d

Main Office

Ontario March of Dimes
Toronto Rehabilitation Centre

Non-Member Agency

Call a Service Inc.
Neighbourhood Information Centre

6e - 6h

Main Office

Eastview Neighbourhood Association
Woodgreen Community Centre

Branch Office

Eastview Neighbourhood Association
Family Service Association
Victorian Order of Nurses

Minor
Planning
DistrictAgency

Young Men's Christian Association
Young Men's Christian Association
Young Women's Christian Association
Young Women's Christian Association

Non-Member Agency

Nellie's
Opportunity House

7a - 7d

Branch Office

Family Service Association
Young Men's Christian Association

Non-Member Agency

Storefront Humber

8a

Branch Office

Etobicoke Social Planning Council

Non-Member Agency

Willowridge Neighbourhood Action Centre

8c

Branch Office

Family Service Association
Red Cross

8d - 8f

Branch Office

Victorian Order of Nurses
Volunteer Centre
Young Men's Christian Association

<u>Minor Planning District</u>	<u>Agency</u>	<u>Minor Planning District</u>	<u>Agency</u>
9a	Main Office Rexdale Community Information Directory Branch Office Family Service Association Family Service Association Non-Member Agency Harp House	11b	Branch Office Family Service Association Metro Toronto Association for the Mentally Retarded Red Cross Non-Member Agency North York Seniors' Centre
9b	Non-Member Agency Braeburn Neighbourhood Place New Welfare Action Centre	11c	Branch Office Victorian Order of Nurses Volunteer Centre Young Men's Christian Association
10b	Main Office Dellcrest Children's Centre Branch Office Family Service Association COSTI Non-Member Agency Jane Finch Community & Family Centre	12	Branch Office Council of Jewish Social Service Agencies
11a	Main Office Centre for Creative Living Branch Office Young Men's & Young Women's Hebrew Assoc.	13c	Main Office East Scarborough Boys' & Girls' Club Information Scarborough Branch Office East Scarborough Boys' & Girls' Club Metro Toronto Association for the Mentally Retarded Red Cross
		13d	Non-Member Agency Samaritans of Scarborough

<u>Minor Planning District</u>	<u>Agency</u>
13e; 14a	Main Office West Scarborough Boys' & Girls' Club
14c	Branch Office Young Men's Christian Association
16a	Non-Member Agency Agincourt Community Services Association
16b; 16c	Branch Office Family Service Association

IV-1

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