



4.0 THE MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL GROWTH

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

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

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

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

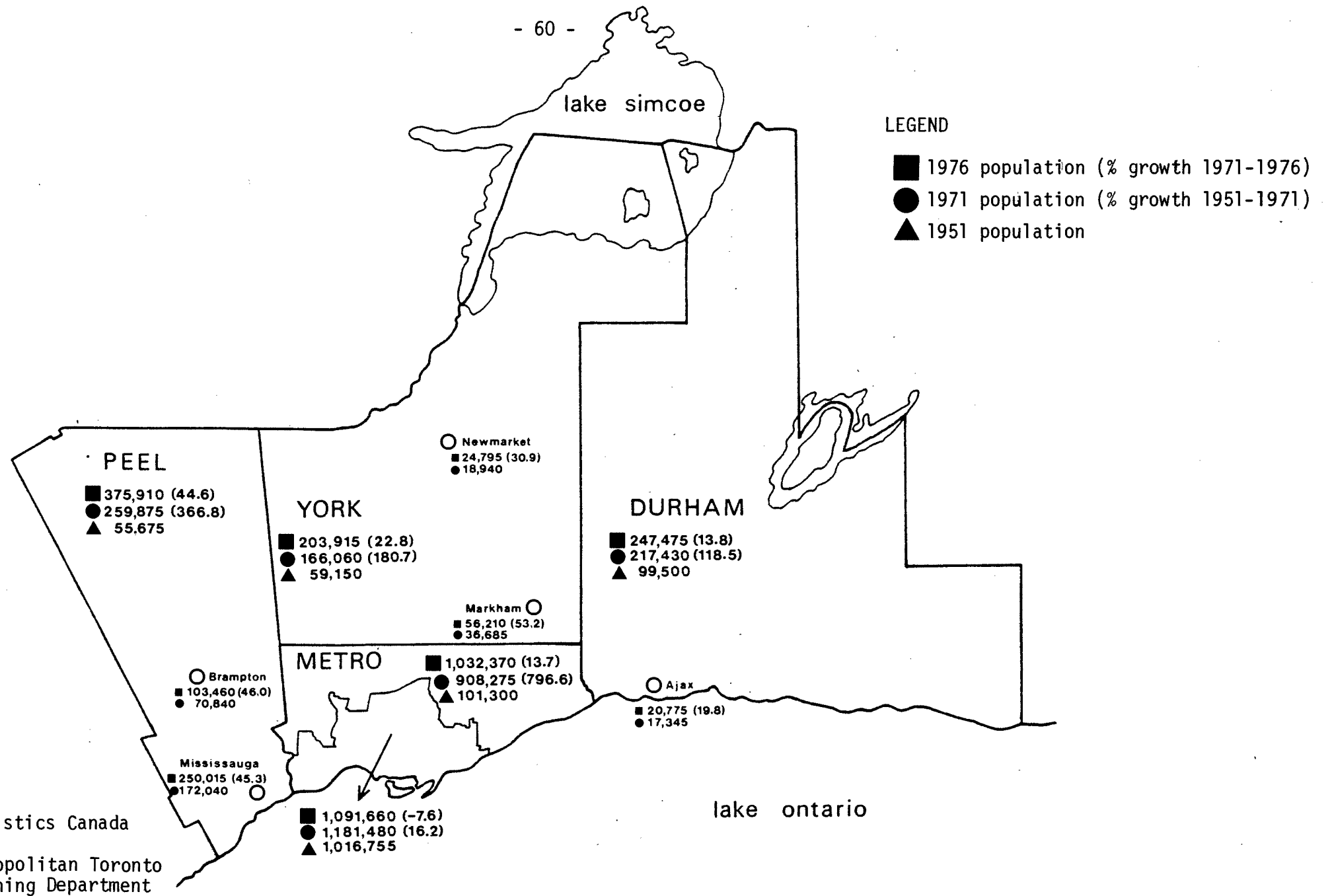
(d) generally overlooked yet quite significant, the entrenchment of trade unionism into the economic life of Canada, conferring directly and indirectly upon large numbers of workers some increased sense of employment security, necessary if long term financial and residential commitments (i.e. mortgages)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

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

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

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

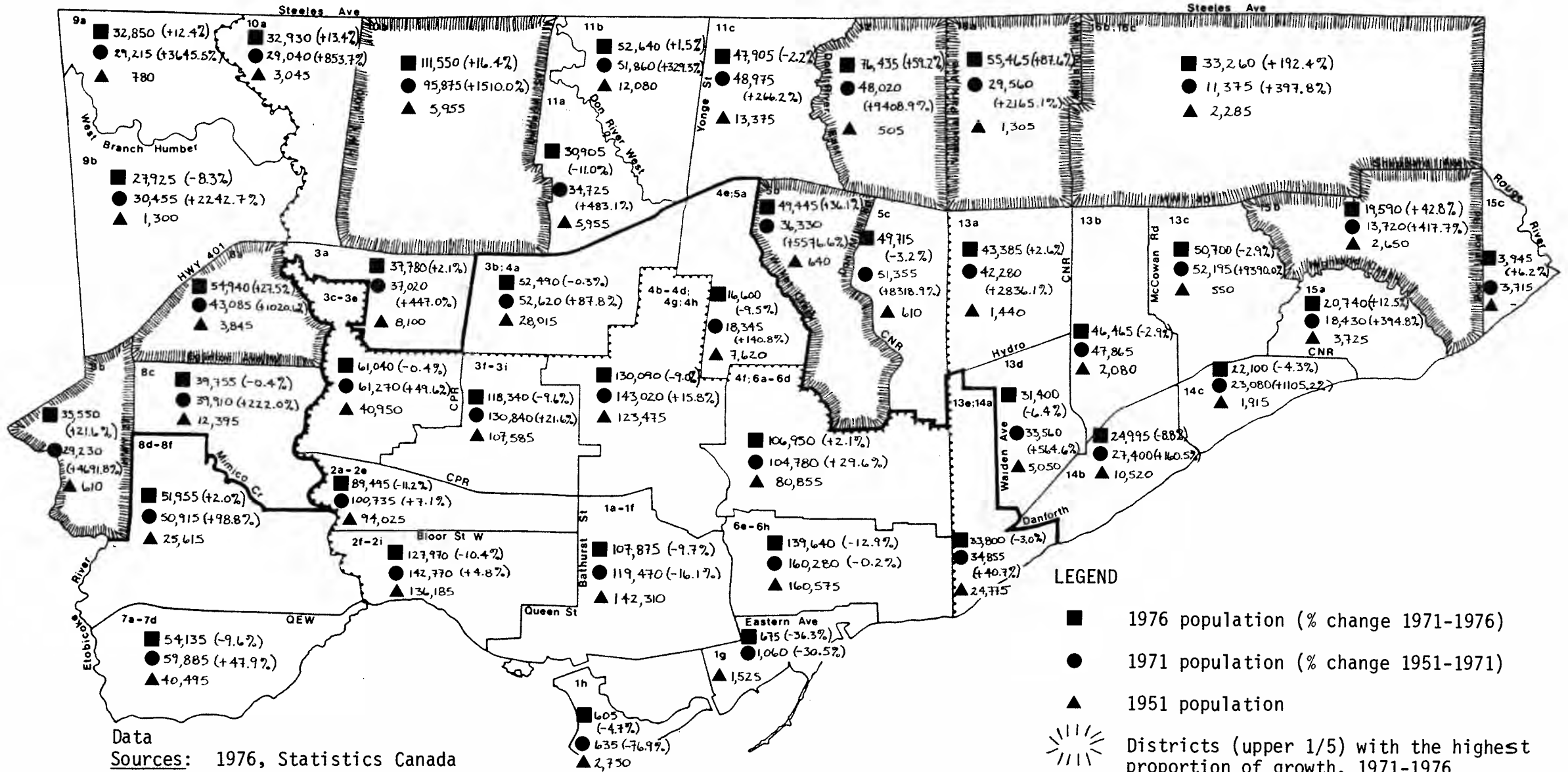
- 60 -



LEGEND

- 1976 population (% growth 1971-1976)
- 1971 population (% growth 1951-1971)
- ▲ 1951 population

Data Sources: Statistics Canada
Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department



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

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

Enclosure 9 identifies the distribution of population growth within Metropolitan Toronto from 1951 to 1976. In retrospect the scale of growth which took place was somewhat awesome. Within the twenty year period of 1951 to 1971, suburban districts with populations ranging from 500 - 6,000 grew to 25,000 - 90,000 people. In some areas, such as M.P.D. 10B, in North York the district acquired a population

which exceeded that of East York. These awesome growth patterns in part bear out the Carver contention that urban planners felt hard-pressed to keep up with events during the post-war period.

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

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

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

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

The debate that preceded the arrival of metropolitan government was essentially over capital expenditures. There was the recognition in Toronto that large scale suburban development would create demands to upgrade city capital

facilities.³¹ Suburban residents would use the city for work, shopping, and leisure. In the new settlements, there was the need for the basic amenities - water, sewage and refuse disposal, police, fire protection, and above all education facilities, libraries, and recreation centres. The city argued for amalgamation; the surrounding municipalities (with only one exception) were opposed. Metro emerged as a political compromise to accommodate opposing interest. Individual municipalities would remain; the metropolitan level would assume responsibility for financing capital development, provide a range of specialized services, and develop a plan for Metro and surrounding regional areas.

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

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

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

- (b) ways of communication;
- (c) sanitation;
- (d) green belts and park areas;
- (e) public transportation.

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

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

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

The assumptions underlying the framework for development were clearly stated:

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

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

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

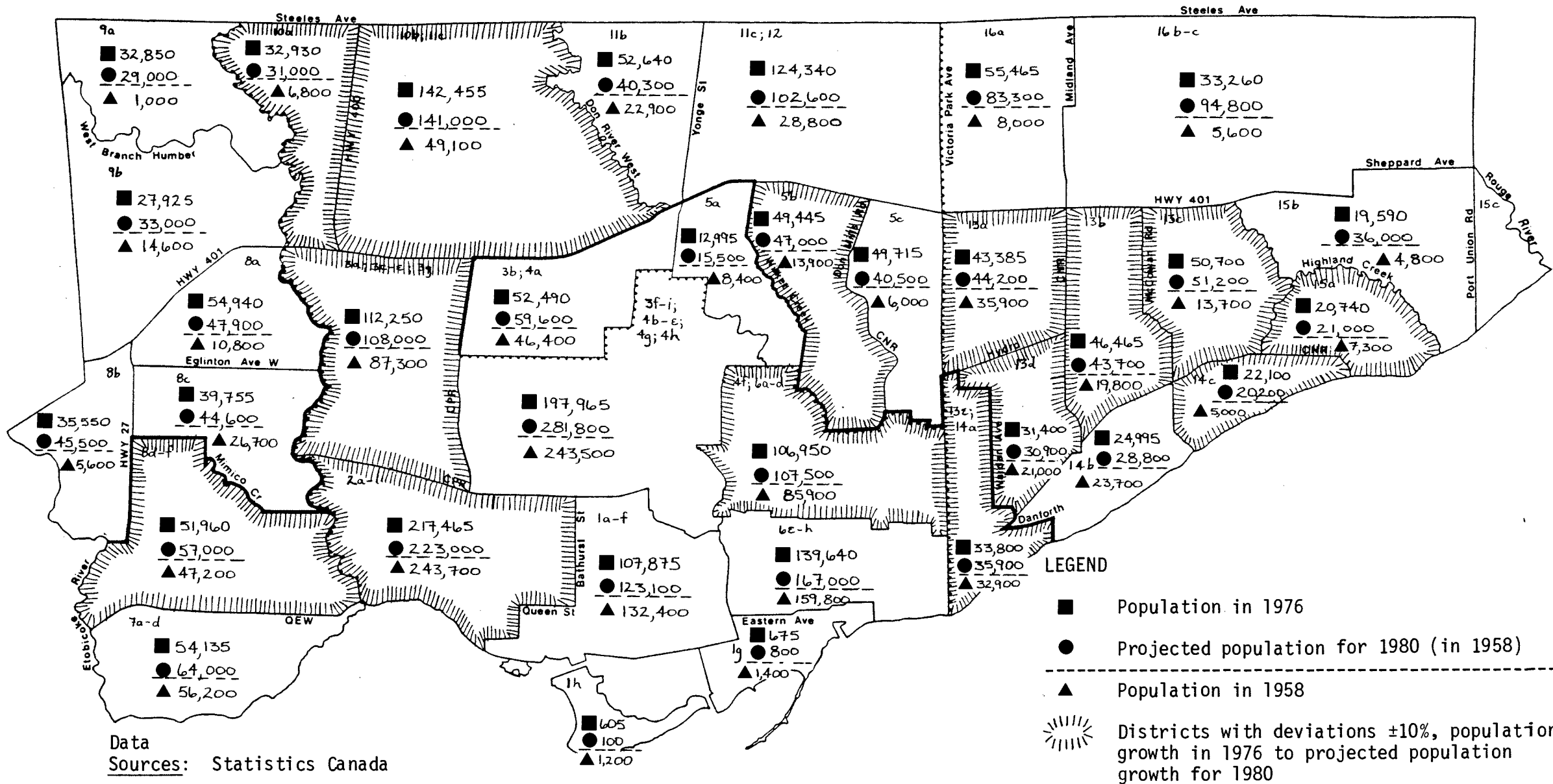
This involved putting into place the essential physical elements of water sewers, roads, transit, electrification, schools. Public investments created the first conditions necessary for human settlement, through which private initiative was then made possible. Public investments subsequently subsidized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

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

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

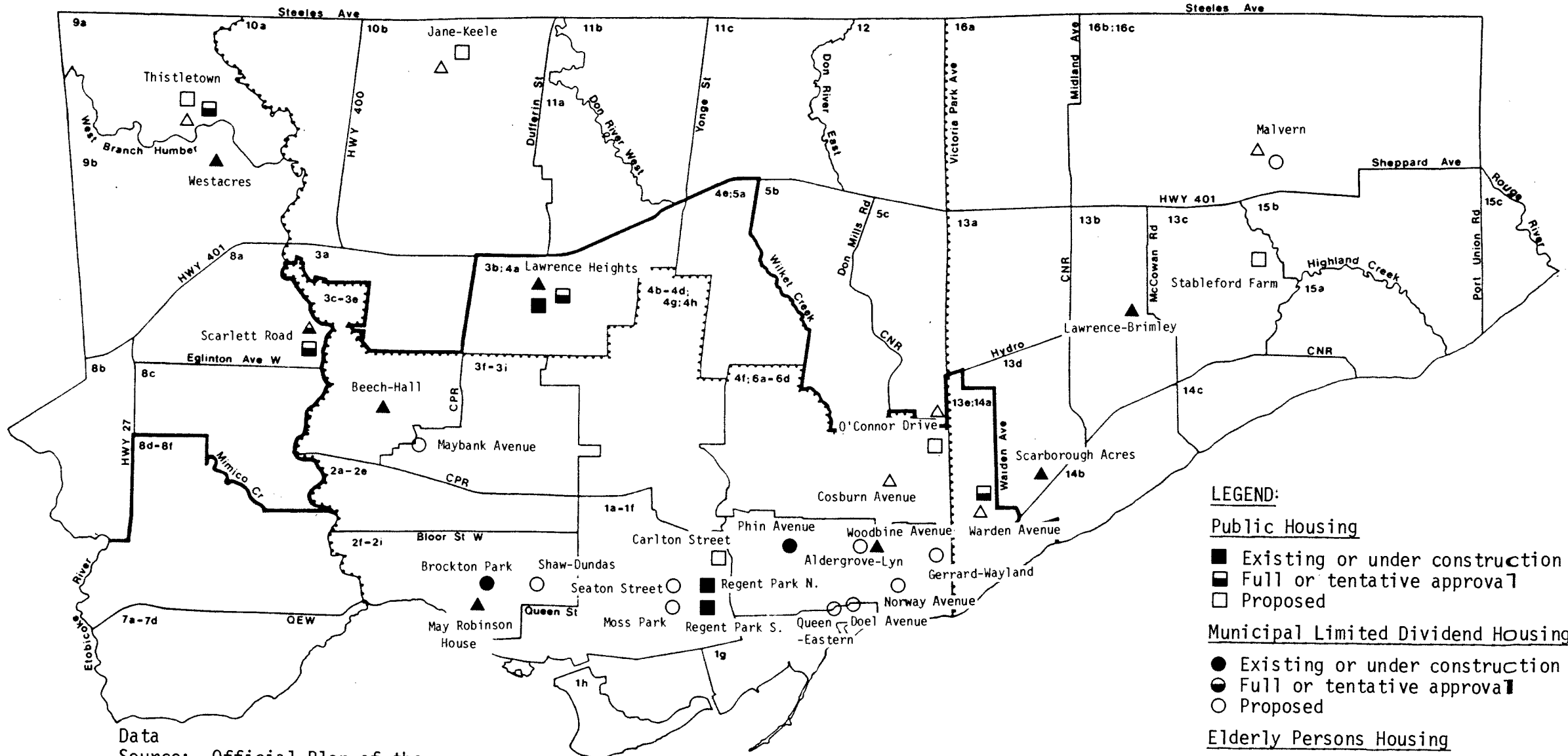
The patterns which emerge are quite significant. By 1958 it was fairly clear what was to take place in Metro's rapid growth area. In the north-western parts of Metro and through central Scarborough the projections were remarkably accurate. The projections for M.P.D. 10A and M.P.D. 10B/11A were within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

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



Data Sources: Statistics Canada

Official Plan of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area, September 1959



- LEGEND:**
- Public Housing
- Existing or under construction
 - ▣ Full or tentative approval
 - Proposed
- Municipal Limited Dividend Housing
- Existing or under construction
 - ◐ Full or tentative approval
 - Proposed
- Elderly Persons Housing
- ▲ Existing or under construction
 - ▴ Full or tentative approval
 - △ Proposed

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

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

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

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

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

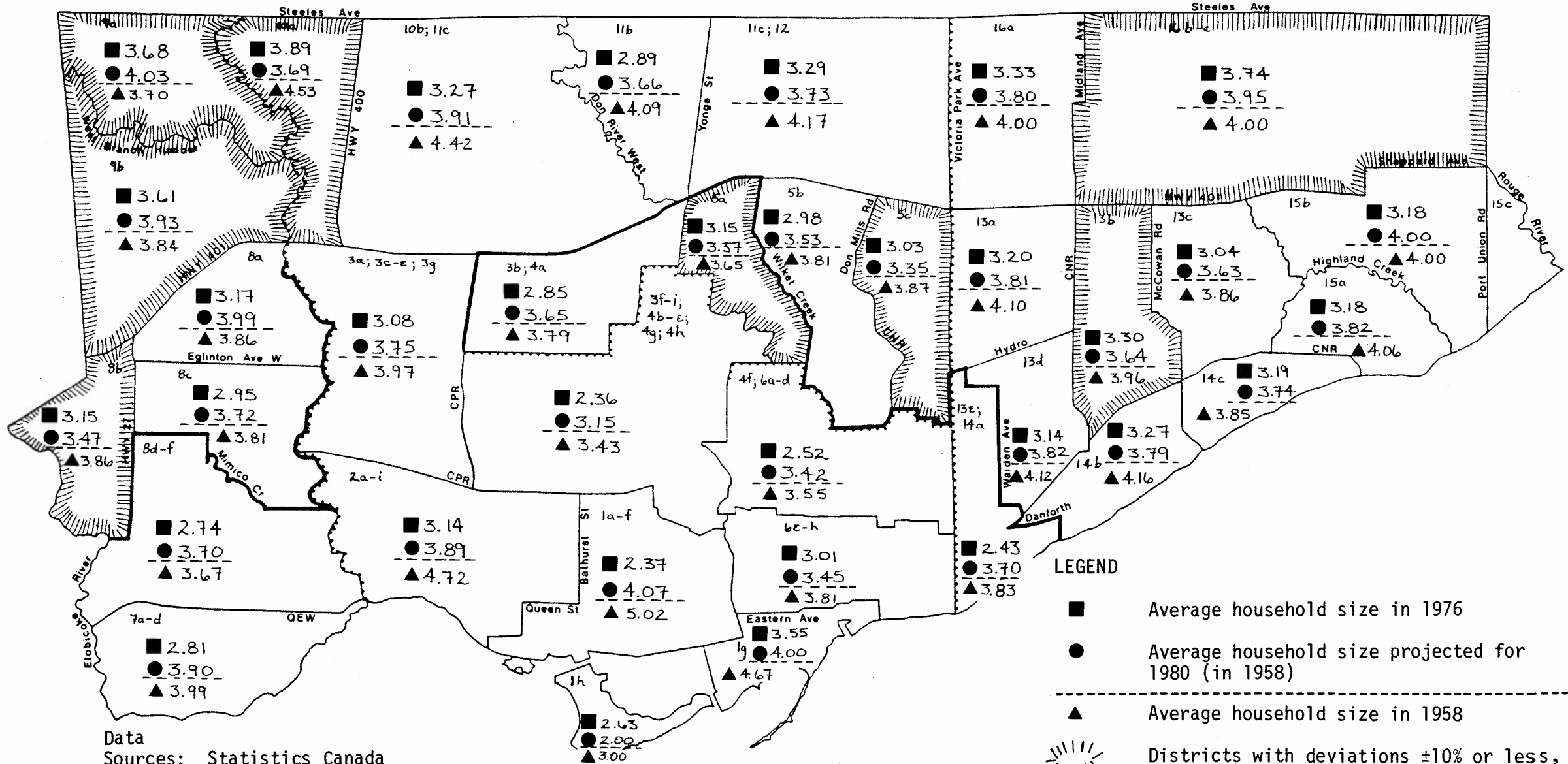
The plan correctly foresaw the relationship between the need for publicly assisted housing and developments in the private housing market. In this case there was concern over how older housing would be recycled in the future. The Plan recognized the need for public programs to conserve and rehabilitate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

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

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

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

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



Data Sources: Statistics Canada

Official Plan of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area, September 1959

- LEGEND**
- Average household size in 1976
 - Average household size projected for 1980 (in 1958)
 - ▲ Average household size in 1958
 - ☀ Districts with deviations ±10% or less, average household size in 1976 to projected average household size for 1980

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

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

Table 4

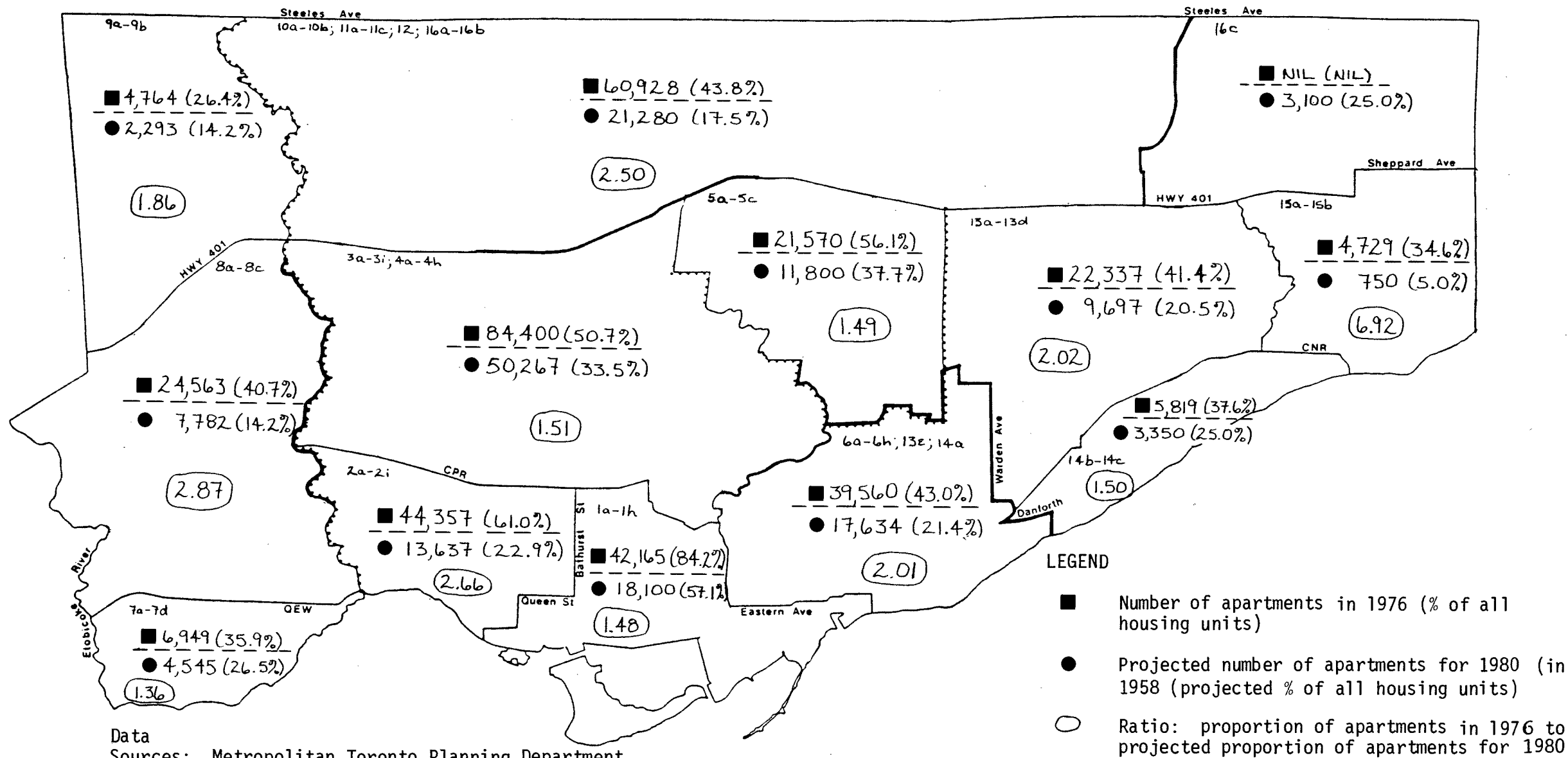
Families Who Are Lodging as a Percentage of All Families, 1976

Reference percentage: 17.1%, City of Toronto, 1951

METRO TORONTO	.9%
Toronto (City)	2.3%
York	.8%
East York	.5%
North York	.4%
Etobicoke	.3%
Scarborough	.3%

Data Sources: Statistics Canada
Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto

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



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

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

Enclosure 13 identifies what turned out to be the most difficult area of projection. This involved estimating what the proportion of apartments would be of all housing units in 1980. The projections in the 1958 plan were presented by major planning districts. Because of boundary modifications it has been necessary in this

enclosure to conduct large scale regroupings of districts for purposes of review. The patterns, however, remain clear. Across all of Metro the proportion of apartments to all housing units in 1976 ranged from 1.36 - 6.92 in excess of what was projected for 1980. In rapid growth suburban areas above the 401 (M.P.D. 10, 11, 12, 16A and 16B), the ratio was 2.50.

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

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

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

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

1958 that not all rapid growth development in Metro's newer suburbs would take the form of average income single family homes. There would be families on more limited incomes in both apartments and public housing developments.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Most significant, however, was the foreword to the study by the late Senator M. Wallace McCutcheon, then President of the Social Planning Council and chairman of the review. Of all the social welfare issues facing Metro

at that time McCutcheon chose to highlight the following issue in his foreword.³⁶

"Finally, and perhaps most important of all, throughout the study, the direct bearing that the growth and changing character of Metropolitan Toronto have on future welfare services emerges clearly. What is the implication of this fact?

"It means that the authorities responsible for the physical development of the community must take into account both its social needs and the social results of their actions. At present, unfortunately, this is not fully recognized in Toronto. We have accepted the need for long-range planning in such matters as subdivisions, community zoning and re-zoning; roads, water, sewers and schools are provided in accordance with formalized plans. But social planning groups have not been sufficiently involved in developing these plans ...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Throughout the rapid growth period in Metro's suburbs, there were efforts by borough voluntary councils and groups to address social conditions. A review of voluntary social planning reports from 1955 to 1971 reveals a number of common themes.³⁷ The most significant of them, beyond the citing of specific problems, was the recognition that "building a community" and duplicating the proximity of friends and relatives and support systems of traditional urban neighbourhoods was most important. Barriers to this were seen to be the long distances people were forced to travel, natural barriers to movement such as Highway 401, and poor transportation facilities. Longer travelling time discouraged people

from utilizing services which were available. Men spent more time getting to and from work, with consequent lack of time and energy to get involved in community activities. It was clear that these conditions impacted most heavily on low income people who were increasingly settling in the suburbs.

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

³⁷ See Appendix IV, Bibliography, Section II.

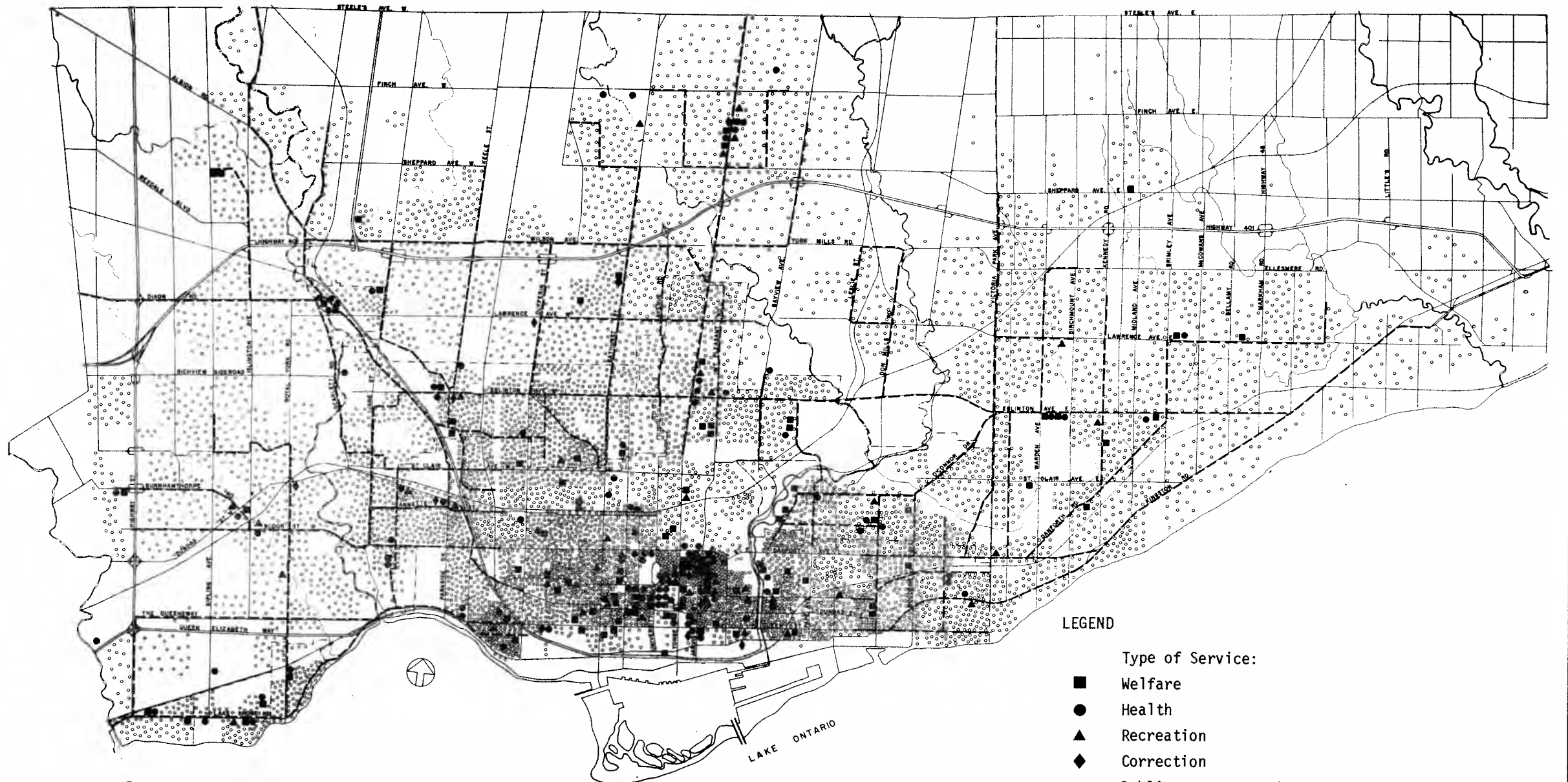
Enclosure 14 identifies the location in Metro of public and voluntary agencies in 1960. The concentration of agencies in the centre of Toronto is quite evident. In 1960 there were some smaller pockets of agencies clustered on the Lakeshore, North Yonge Street, Eglinton/Keele, and Eglinton/Warden. But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

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

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

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

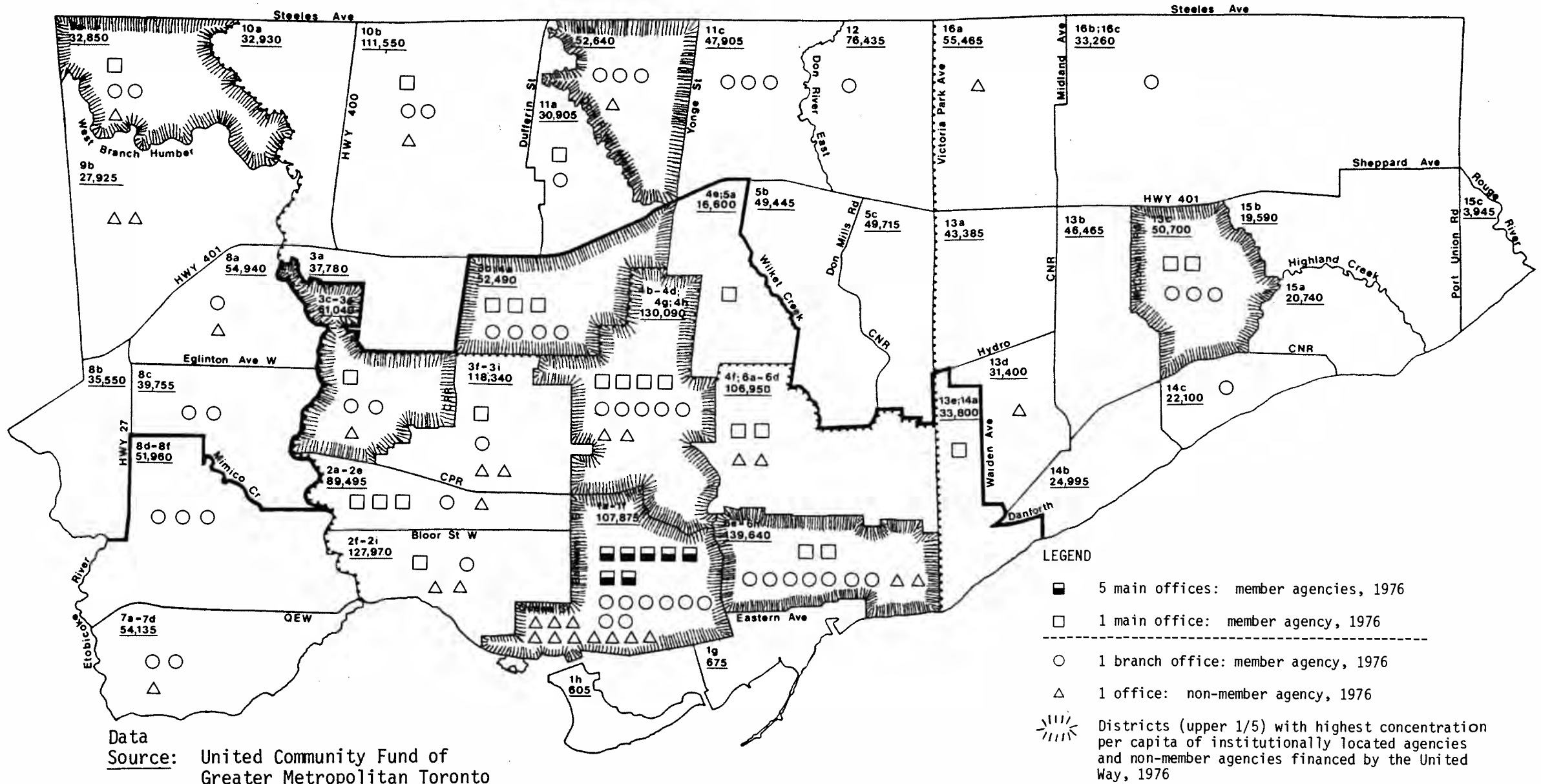
In previous periods of rapid urban growth there were voluntary agencies which operated directly in local areas. This included settlement houses, "Y's", neighbourhood workers associations. These voluntary agencies were more than sources of services and programs - they were physically visible and distinct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



Data
 Source: Social Planning Council
 of Metropolitan Toronto

- LEGEND**
- Type of Service:
- Welfare
 - Health
 - ▲ Recreation
 - ◆ Correction
 - Public transportation routes
 - One dot represents two hundred persons

AGENCIES AND NON-MEMBER AGENCIES, 1976



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

The assumptions in Metro's newer suburbs have been that statutory services such as schools, recreation centres, libraries, O.H.C. could become alternatives to traditional voluntary centres of neighbourhood service and initiative. There is growing reason to believe that these assumptions have not always worked out as well as anticipated. As a result, in some newer suburban communities, local residents and service agencies have been attempting to form neighbourhood voluntary agencies.⁴⁰ These efforts have been frequently hampered by the absence of adequate and ongoing funding, and sometimes by the unavailability of visible locations in order to become accessible and identifiable parts of the community. The initial forms of activity undertaken by these associations have been similar to the traditional directions pursued by

neighbourhood voluntary agencies. They have involved residents in planning for the social needs of their area, interpreted needs to other local agencies and public officials, sought to co-ordinate existing services, offered services and support in areas where gaps exist, and promoted sound inter-group relations in the neighbourhood and local area.

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

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

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

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

The political climate in Metro's suburban municipalities has come to reflect the absence of a public framework for planning and financing social needs, and the absence of neighbourhood voluntary agencies in local communities. Rose claims that it was the political resistance of suburban municipalities in the mid-sixties to the provision of social welfare services which necessitated the transfer of these programs to Metro in 1967.³⁸ In its response to the Robarts Commission in 1977, the Metro Social Planning Council expressed similar reservations over the extent to which the social needs of dependent minorities in Metro's rapid growth areas were sufficiently recognized in suburban municipalities.³⁹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As social trends and patterns begin to change in Metro's suburbs, with increased levels of transitional and special needs coming to exist, there is reason to be concerned with the patterns of response to social needs which developed in suburban municipalities during

the post-war period. The concern is whether the limitations in existing frameworks of response can be addressed and upgraded to meet both current needs and to deal with the economic and social changes of the eighties.

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

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

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

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