



5.0 LIFE CYCLE CHANGES

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

Enclosure 16 outlines the significant change that has taken place in a fifteen year period. The Ontario average in 1976 had declined to under 8%. Not one of Metro's suburban municipalities were in excess of the Ontario average. The rapid growth suburbs now contained over 52% of Metro's 0-4 age group, with over 48% of

Metro's total population, a lower proportion relative to total population than in 1961. Scarborough and North York were still highest in the percentage of children aged 0-4. Etobicoke in 1976 had the lowest 0-4 percentage. As is evident from the regional map, areas with percentages of children aged 0-4 above the Ontario average were now outside of Metro, highest in Peel at over 9%. In 1976 Metro had the same relationship to Peel, York, and Durham in the percentage of children aged 0-4 relative to the Ontario average, as did the central urban area to the rapid growth suburbs in 1961.

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

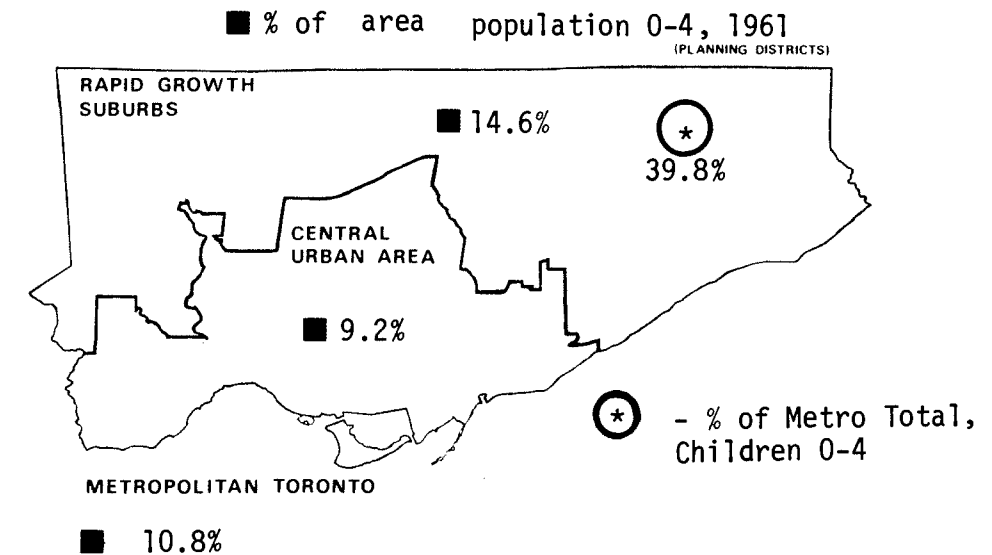
The shift in the age structure away from the dominance of the aged 0-4 group has varied in rapid growth suburban districts. One way of assessing the shift in patterns is to compare the percentage of aged 0-4 in suburban districts to the Ontario percentage

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

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

Figure: 1

Distributions: Life Cycle Stage 0-4, 1961



COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS, 1976

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

Data

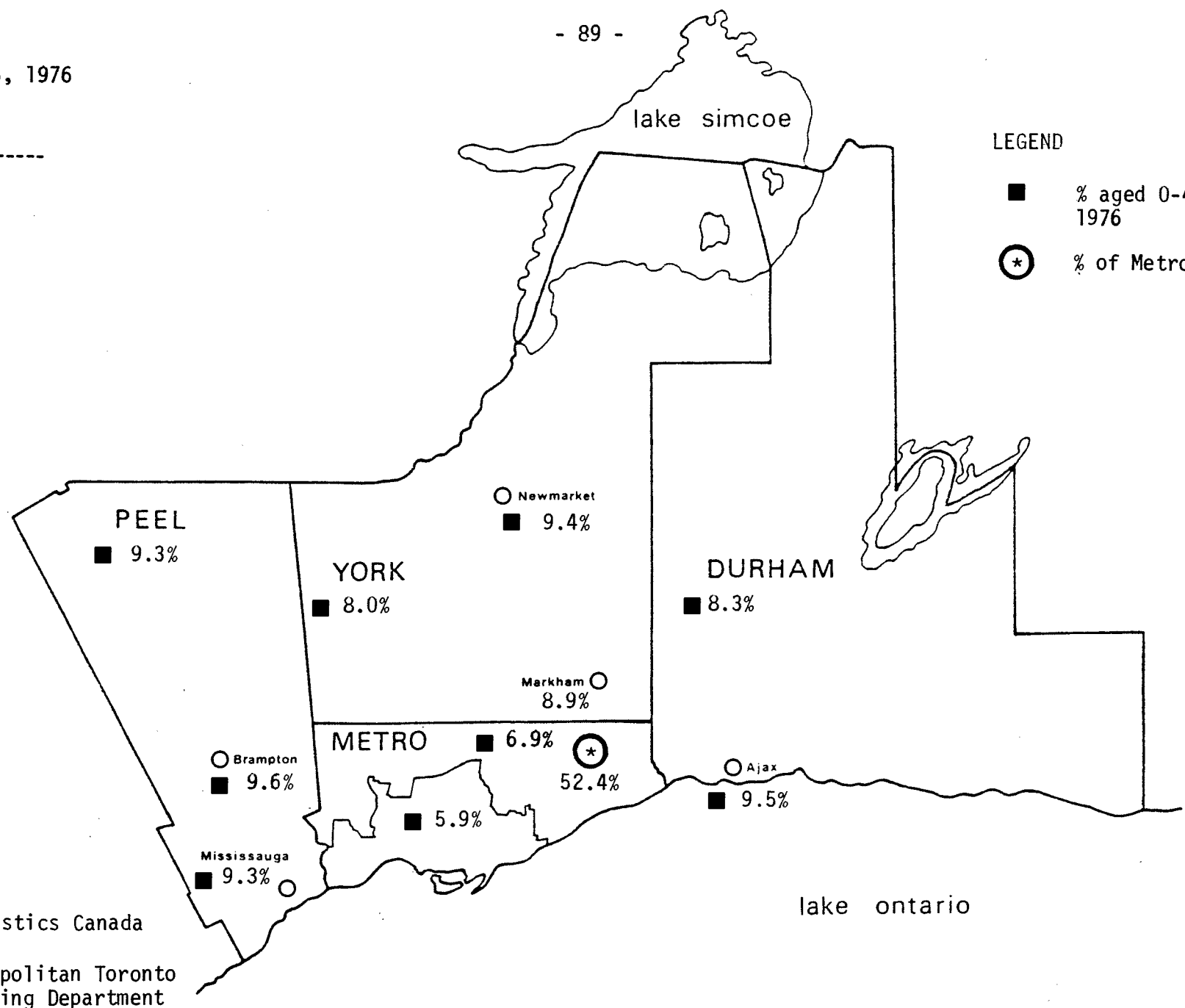
Source: Statistics Canada

COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS, 1976

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

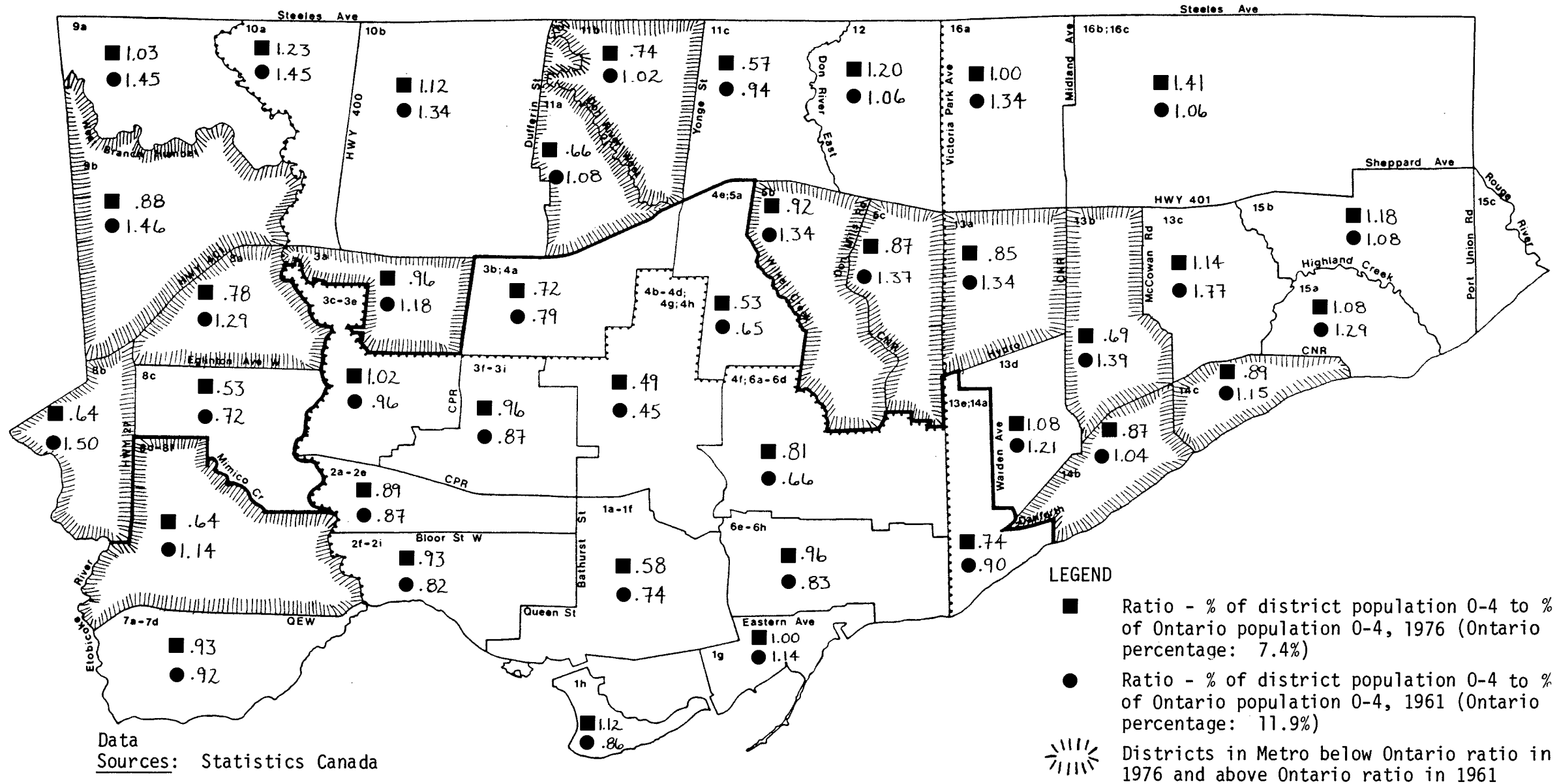
LEGEND

- % aged 0-4 of general population 1976
- ⊙* % of Metro total aged 0-4

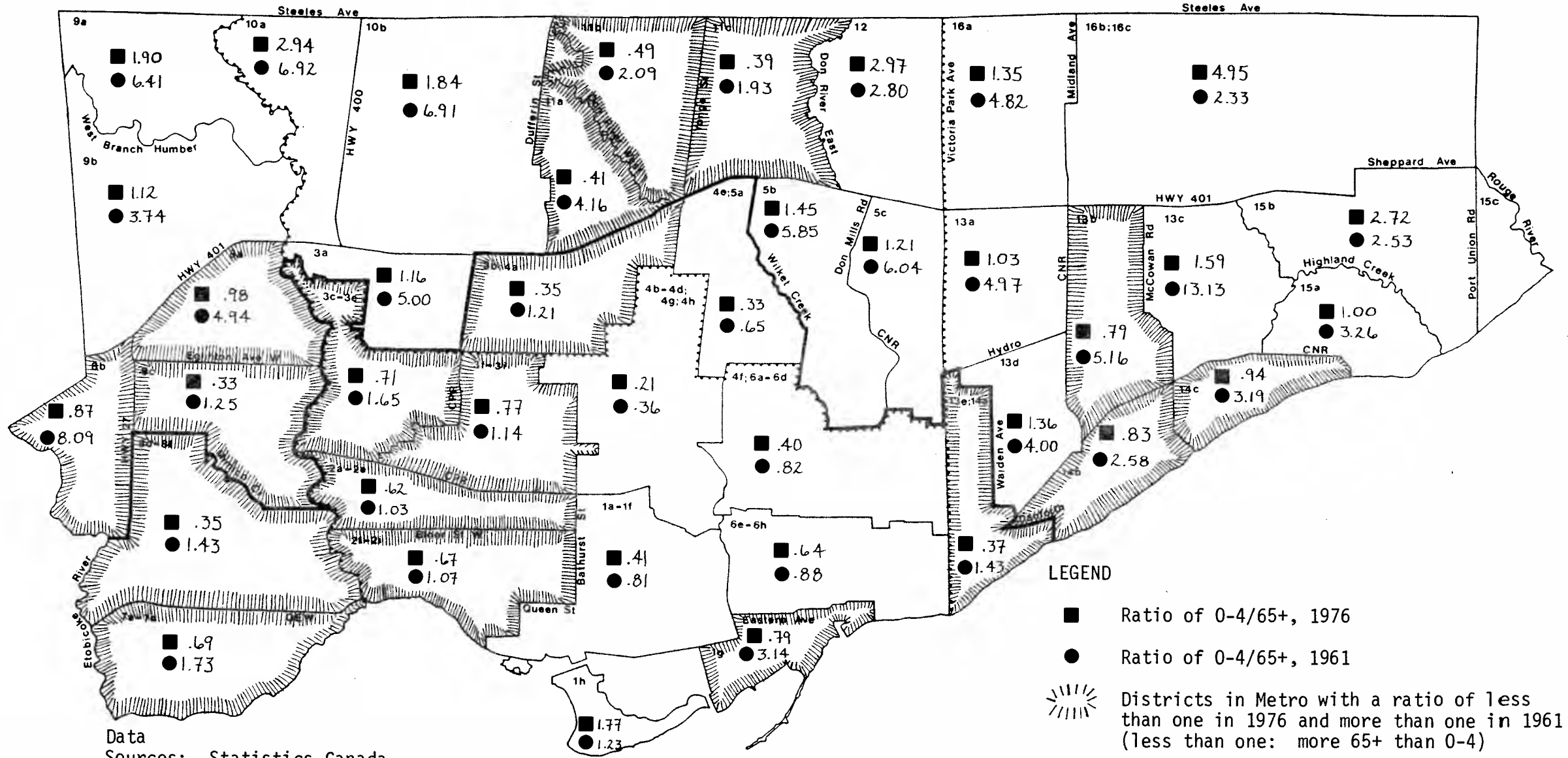


Data Sources: Statistics Canada

Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department



Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department



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

LEGEND

- Ratio of 0-4/65+, 1976
- Ratio of 0-4/65+, 1961
- ☀ Districts in Metro with a ratio of less than one in 1976 and more than one in 1961 (less than one: more 65+ than 0-4)

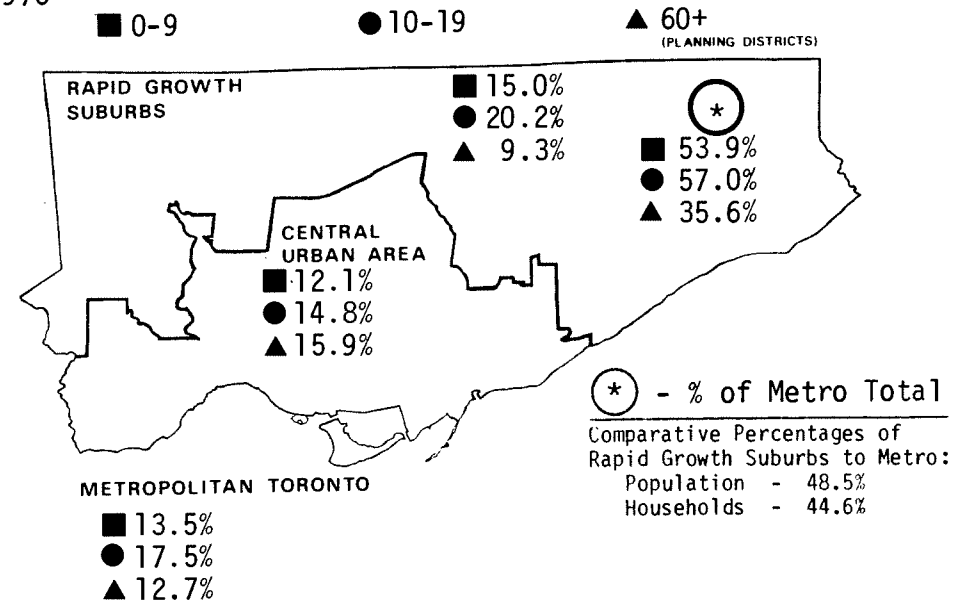
Enclosure 18 offers a different perspective on shifts in the rapid growth suburban age structure. Given the nature of early suburban development it would have been surprising to find districts with a higher ratio of adults aged 65+ to children aged 0-4. In 1961 there were no districts where the elderly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

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

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

Figure: 2

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



Data

Sources: Statistics Canada
Metro Assessment Data

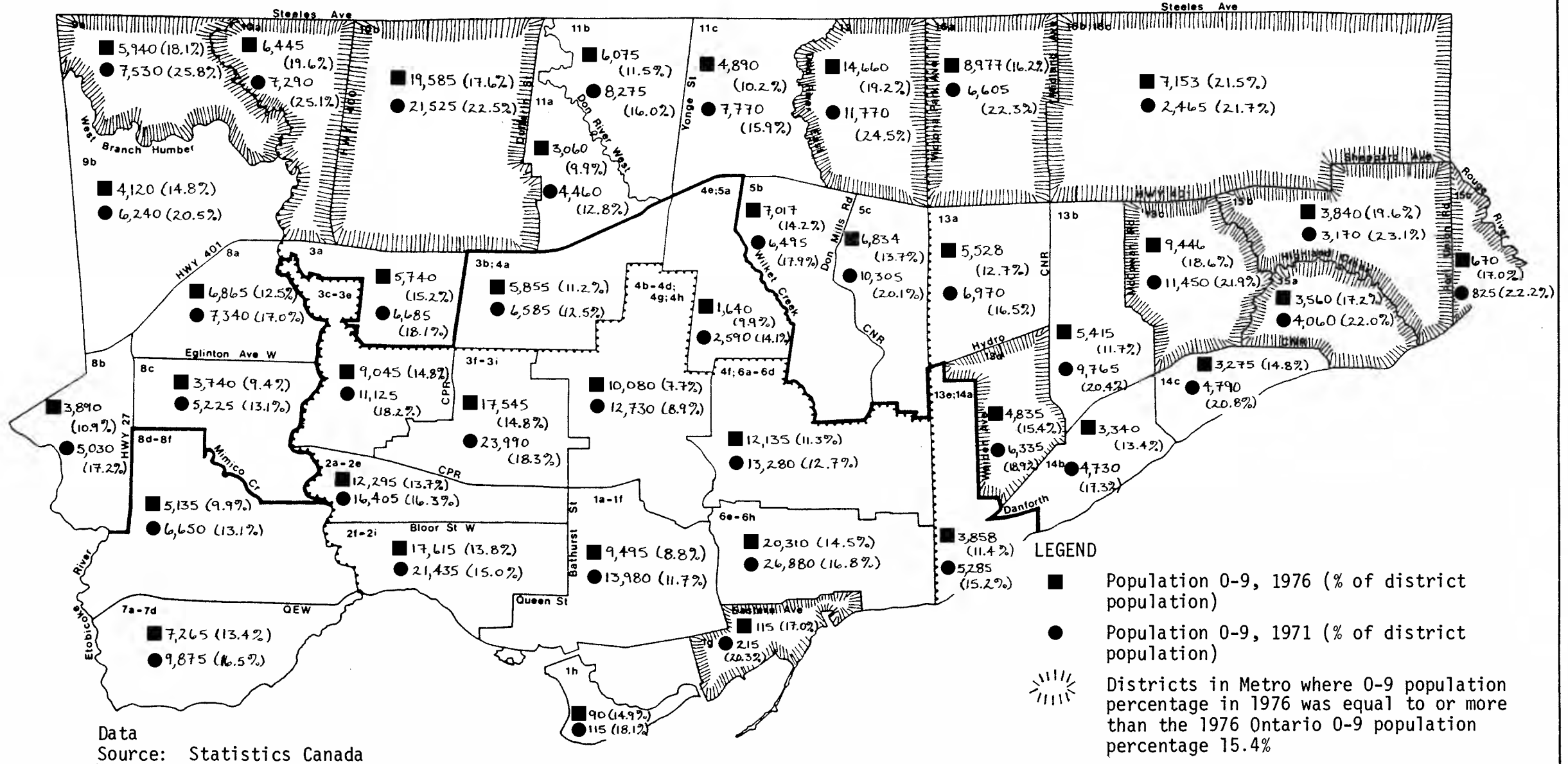
chosen (in contrast to the traditional designations of 0-4, 5-14, 15-24) because these stages identify relative states of child dependence on adults for accompanied and independent movement within community environments. The cumulative stage of 0-19 identifies the age range in which children are primarily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

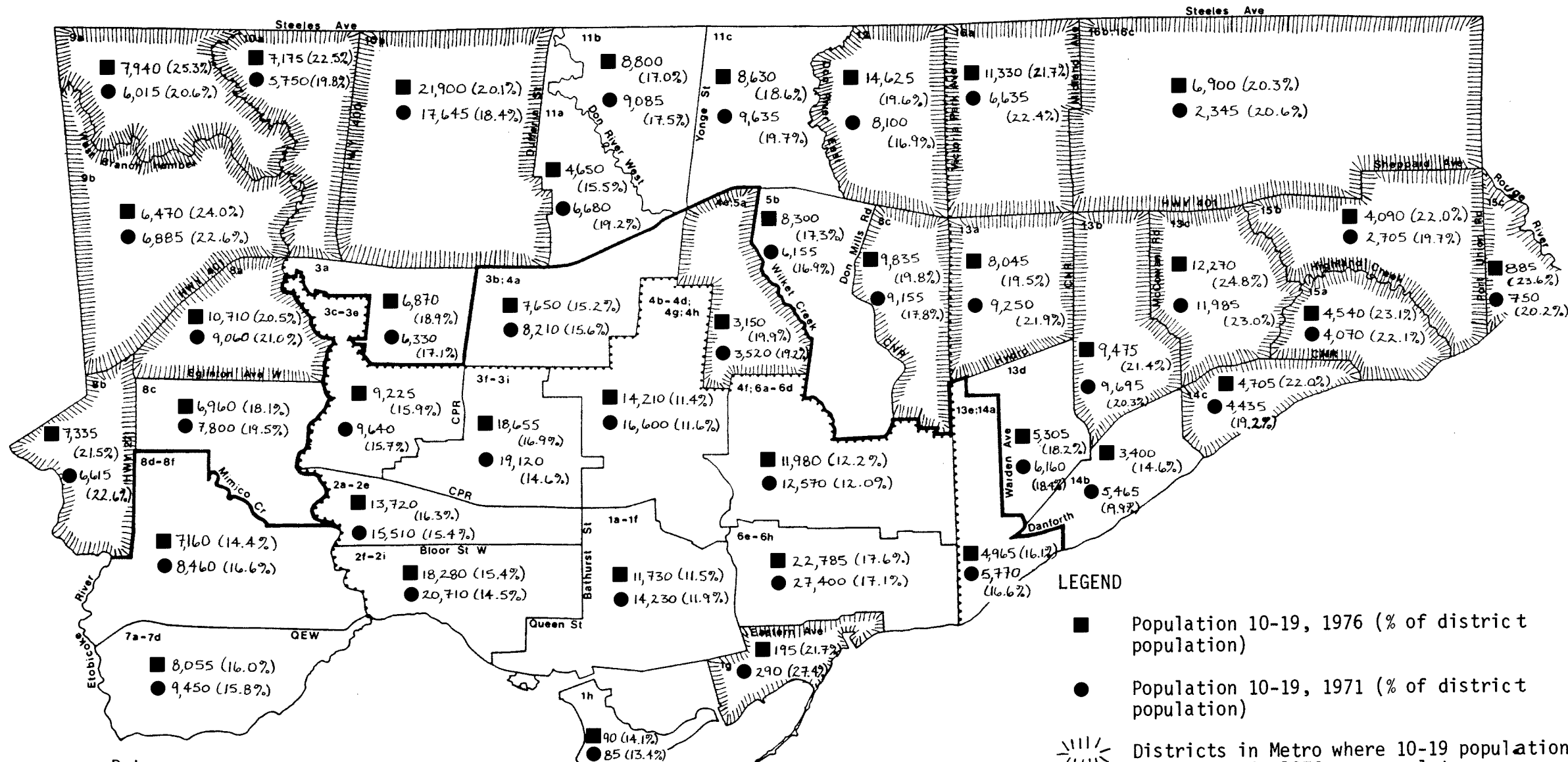
The distribution of age structures in Figure 2 reveal that the dominant age grouping of children in Metro's rapid growth suburbs is the age group 10-19, now constituting one out of every five residents in these districts. This is a new phenomenon for rapid growth areas, having large numbers of children involved in independent movement and activity in the community. The evidence suggests that the adaptation to this new reality is not always turning out to be an easy one. The rapid growth districts now contain 57% of Metro's

10-19 age group, significantly in excess of their proportion of Metro's population. The age group of 0-9 represents 15% of the rapid growth suburban population, 54% of the Metro total for this age group. There is less of a gap between the suburbs and central area in the distribution of younger children. With a declining fertility rate, the age structure in the suburbs will be getting older in the coming years.

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

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



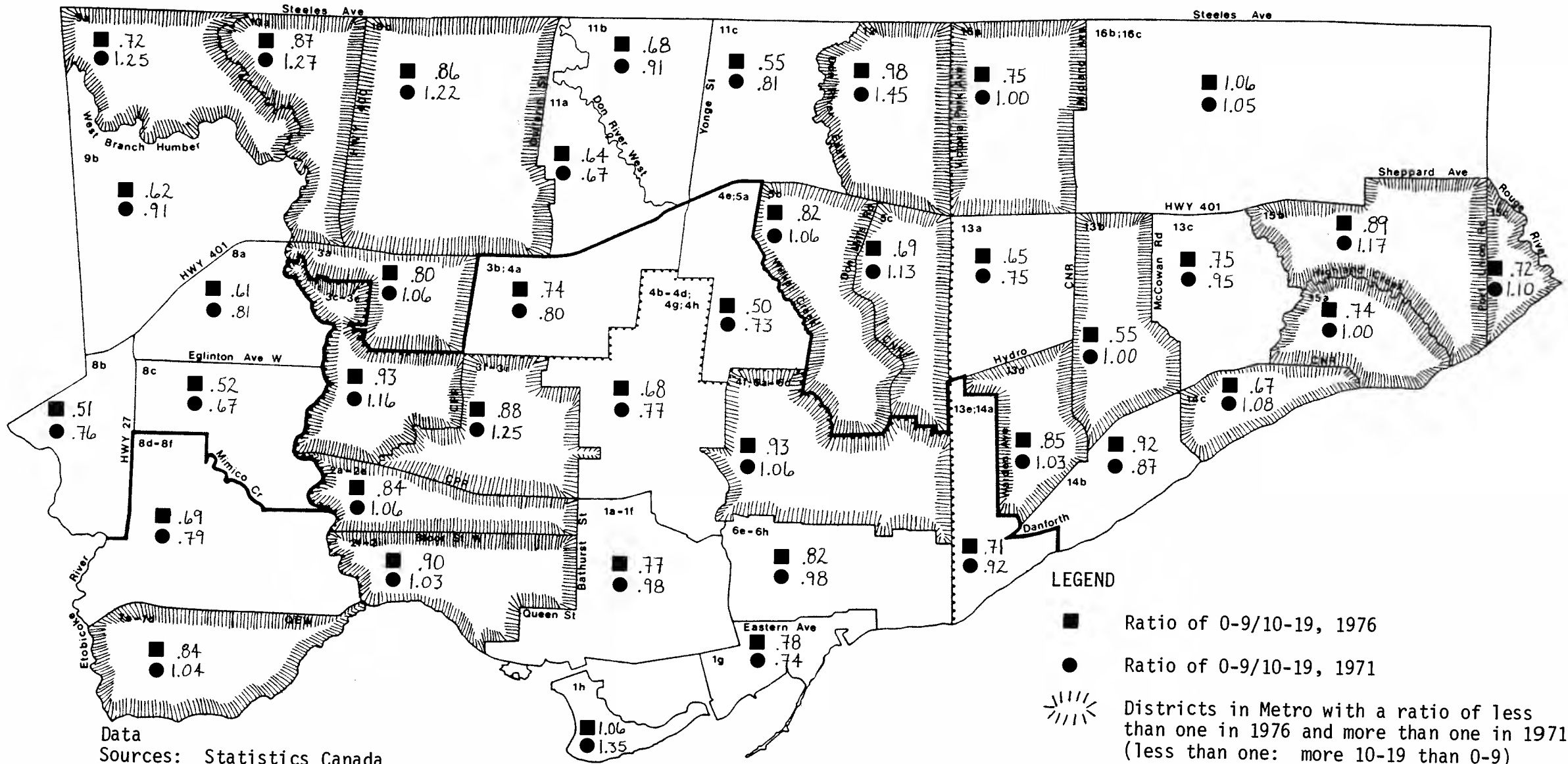


Data Sources: Statistics Canada

Metropolitan Assessment Data

- LEGEND**
- Population 10-19, 1976 (% of district population)
 - Population 10-19, 1971 (% of district population)
 - ☼ Districts in Metro where 10-19 population percentage in 1976 was equal to or more than the Ontario population percentage of 19.4%

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



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

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

Enclosure 21 is another inversion analysis, identifying shifts in the ratios of 0-9/10-19 from 1971 to 1976. In this period 50% of Metro's suburban districts inverted - in 1971 they had higher ratios of 0-9/10-19; in 1976 the 10-19 group

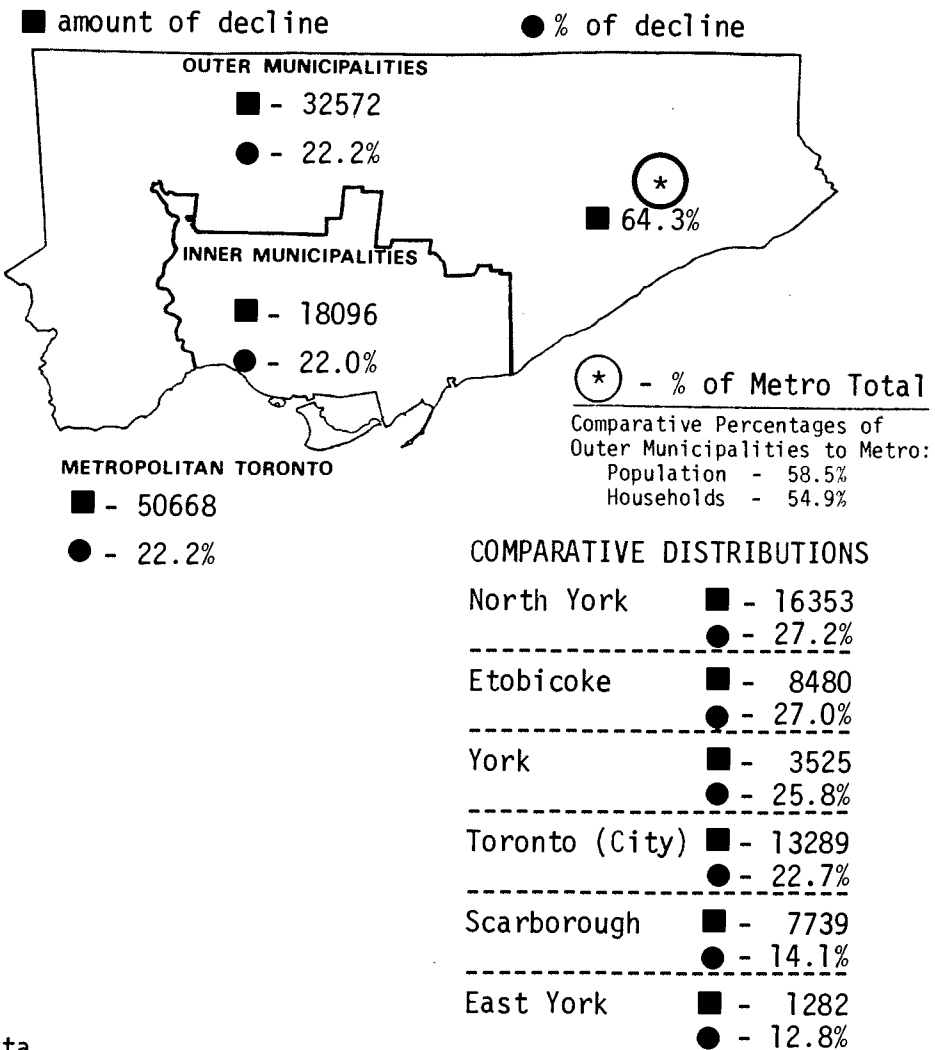
outnumbered the 0-9 group. Similar inversion patterns are evident in western district groupings of the central area, along with East York (M.P.D. 4F, 6A-D). The shift in many of Metro's newer suburbs from younger children to adolescents has taken place in a short period of time (i.e. - five years). There has been a need to adapt somewhat quickly to new conditions.

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

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

Figure: 3

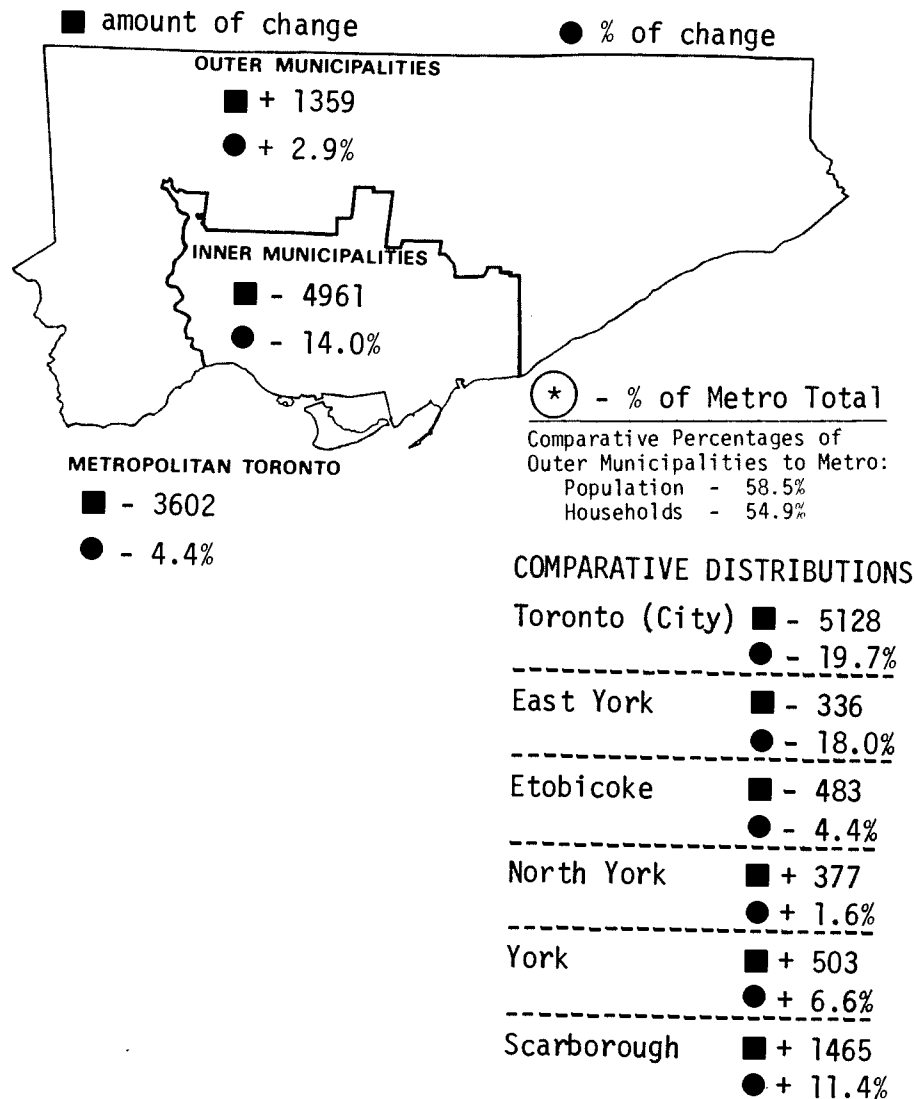
Distributions: Estimated Enrolment Decline Elementary Registration, Public Schools, 1976-1981 (Projection base period: October 1978)



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

Figure: 4

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



Data Source: Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board

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

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

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

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

Table: 5

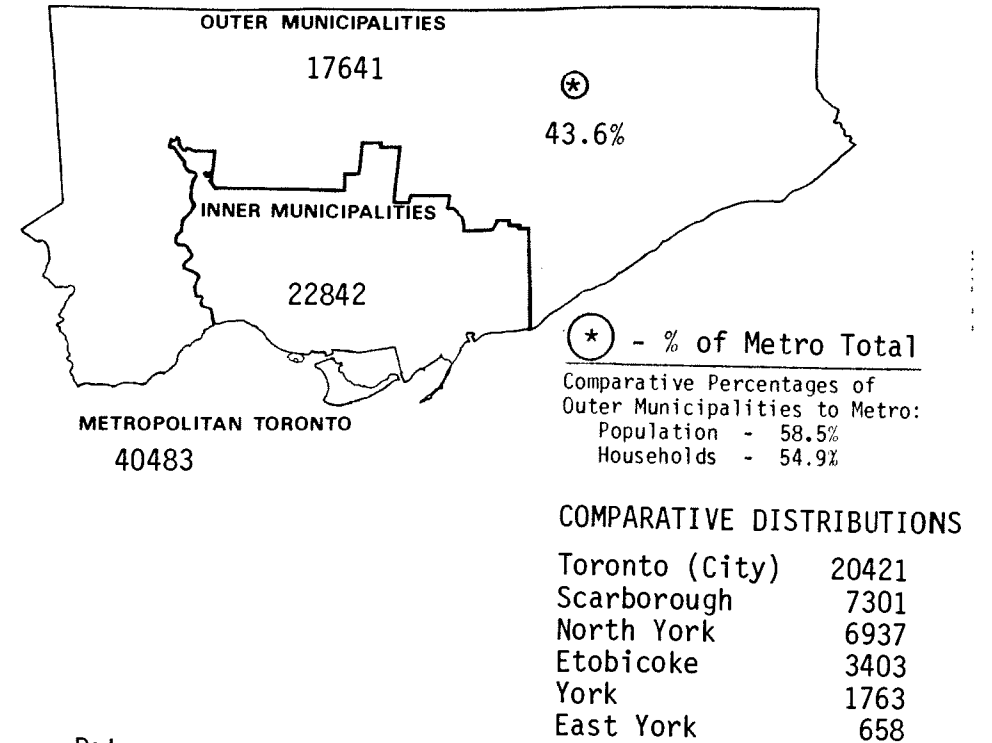
Education Boards Percentage of Total Metro Inner City Enrolment

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

Data Source: Metropolitan Toronto School Board

Figure: 5

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



Data

Source: Metropolitan Toronto School Board

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

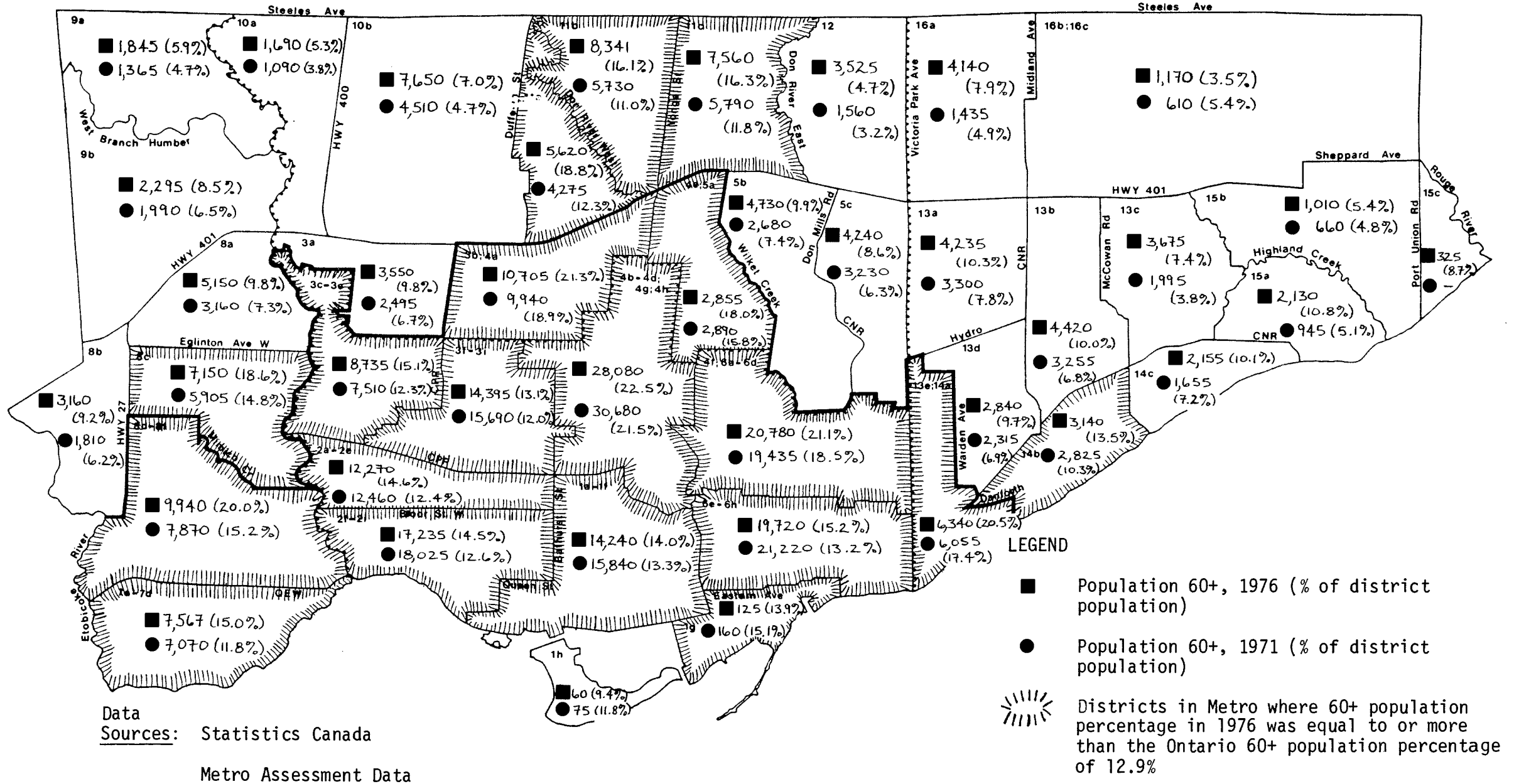
Figure 5 provides another view of the same concern. Metro's suburban schools now contain almost 44% of children from families on social assistance, highest once more in Scarborough. Suburban schools are now facing a range of similar conditions that inner city schools in the city have faced for many years.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

As a result of these conditions there are some neighbourhood schools in more recent areas of rapid suburban growth where serious overcrowding exists, school resources are inadequate to address the learning and development needs of their pupils, teachers feel strained, intimidated, and overwhelmed. Children are tired, undernourished; a climate of disorder and violence prevails. One teacher interviewed during the course of this project stated that she had to quit after a year of teaching in one such school north of Highway 401. The conditions faced as a teacher were similar to those encountered when she taught in a depressed area of Harlem (in New York City) in the late sixties. Her real sense of disbelief

was in associating these conditions with how the physical environment first presented itself. The neighbourhood appeared to be just another higher density suburban area, with apartments, plazas, town houses. It was easy to drive through and be unaware of the social conditions which existed behind a range of ordinary physical structures.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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