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NEW TOWNS - INTOWN AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO SATELLITE TOWNS

by

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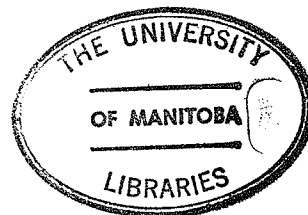
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For my mother and my father,
who bore the brunt, put up
with my presence and absence
alike, and made it all possible.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the need to provide an option to suburban development and to satellite towns. This alternative may be the redevelopment of underutilized land within the central city.

A history of English Garden Cities and their Canadian counterpart, the satellite town, is described. Following this, their general advantages and disadvantages are discussed. In this way, the need for a similar development within the central city will have become apparent. Since all income groups can not afford to live in satellite towns, Canadians should be presented with the option of new towns -intown.

A new town - intown could be built in conjunction with urban renewal and rehabilitation programs. By redeveloping vacant and underutilized land, residents and businesses in the central city need not be displaced. Urban rehabilitation in the surrounding area would ensure that the new town - intown does not take on the appearance of a project.

There are three examples of Canadian new towns - intown. They are LeBreton Flats, Ottawa; False Creek, Vancouver and the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood, Toronto.

The St. Lawrence Neighbourhood is reviewed in detail as an illustration of a new town - intown's advantages and disadvantages. This 44 acre mixed-use community in Toronto's southwest has achieved its objective of providing diverse and affordable housing in an attractive environment.

From the examination of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood, it is apparent that a public Development Corporation is essential for the planning of mixed-use communities in other Canadian cities. These public Development Corporations would have the authorization to override municipal rulings in the planning of new towns-intown.

Once legislation is passed for the provision of public Development Corporations, areas such as Winnipeg's East Yards and the Halifax Harbour may be redeveloped as new towns - intown.

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PREFACE

Interest in this topic of research stems from my concern with attractive, affordable housing for all Canadians.

As a life-long resident of Winnipeg, Manitoba I have witnessed the expansion of our urban boundaries. The high costs of this expansion has partially resulted in the deterioration of the central city.

This suburban exodus has been due to the high costs of land in the downtown as well as to the sad fact that suburbia has been our most viable alternative for raising a family.

An alternative to suburbia and downtown high-rise apartments demands the building of new forms of development. Satellite towns may be considered one such livable community. English new towns have been considered successful in providing attractive environments outside the larger urban boundaries as well as in relieving urban congestion.

Their Canadian counterpart was examined to determine whether they, also, have been successful in redistributing population. This background interest led me to the belief that an alternative to suburbia, other than satellite towns,

should be considered. A community in the central city may be the answer to the high costs of suburbia as well as to the erosion of the tax base in the downtown. New Towns - intown may be one such alternative.

This form of development may prove especially feasible for Winnipeg if its railyard in the north-end is relocated. A new town-intown could be built on this prime 200 acre location to provide a community near the central city.

May 1979

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to accept or refute the hypothesis that new towns-intown are an alternative to satellite towns.

In the literature, numerous terms have been used to designate new towns - intown. They include: new towns in-city, new towns in-town and new towns - intown. This author has chosen to use the original term which Harvey S. Perloff coined in May 1966.¹ New Towns-intown will be used throughout the thesis as well as the abbreviated NTIT, for brevity's sake.

The history of the New Town Movement will be discussed in Chapter I. As well, satellite towns, with emphasis on Canadian towns, will be investigated to determine their general advantages and disadvantages. It may then be determined whether they have fulfilled their original function of providing decent, affordable housing outside urban boundaries.

Chapter II will examine whether there is indeed an urban crisis in Canada and whether steps need be taken to alleviate it. Piecemeal efforts to slow down central city deterioration will then be considered. Urban renewal and

¹ Harvey S. Perloff, "New Towns-Intown", American Institute of Planning Journal, Volume 32, No. 3, (May 1966): 155-161.

rehabilitation have been the most widely-used tactics to date.

New Towns-intown may be able to provide the advantages of a satellite town within urban boundaries. In Chapter III, the concept of new towns-intown will be discussed using St. Lawrence Neighbourhood, Toronto as a case study. As the concept is so new to North America, a brief narrative analysis will be made on this particular development. After examining a NTIT's advantages and disadvantages, the thesis will go on to suggest implementation policies.

Policy guidelines are crucial if other Canadian cities wish to build new towns-intown. Chapter IV will outline these recommendations.

A number of planning terms will be used throughout the thesis. These terms will be defined in the following section.

* * * * *

DEFINITIONSNEW TOWN

a planned development that is built over a predetermined time period (usually 15-20 years) balancing the delivery of goods and services with the needs of a resident population (ranging from 100,000-500,000). They are built for the purpose of equalizing regional disparities in population and services

SATELLITE TOWN

a planned development built on the outskirts of a large urban centre for the purpose of relieving congestion in the existing city and of organizing future urban growth. The community contains from 15,000 - 175,000 residents. Although the town has some economic base it is not self-sustaining

NEW TOWN-INTOWN (NTIT)

a planned redevelopment in an existing city which facilitates central city revitalization. Resident population

which includes all income groups, is 8,000 - 30,000. A NTIT includes mixed use facilities and is not self-contained or self-sustaining. It acts as a "companion" to urban renewal by housing those residents and firms displaced in the renewal process. Unlike urban renewal, a NTIT is built on underutilized or vacant parcels of land. Therefore, there is little or no razing of structures on the site. As well, preservation of historic buildings is not a component of a NTIT

CENTRAL CITY

an area enclosed by the political boundaries of the municipality which is the historic core of the metropolitan area - Central Business District and the area in transition¹

¹ cf. Burgess, E.: "The Growth of the City", Park, R. and Burgess, E., (eds.): The City, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1967.

CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING

housing which is built and/or
purchased by a group of people,
to be jointly owned by those who
will occupy it

NON-PROFIT HOUSING

housing which is built and/or
purchased by organizations in which
no part of the income is payable
or available for the personal benefit
of any resident, member or shareholder

* * * * *

NEW TOWN MOVEMENT

In this chapter, the history of the New Town Movement will be briefly examined with emphasis on satellite towns. Canadian satellite towns will then be discussed in order to determine their general advantages and disadvantages. In assessing their merit in today's urban framework, the need to provide an alternative to satellite towns may be considered.

HISTORY OF NEW TOWNS

The concept of new towns is not new. Philosophers throughout the ages have condemned the living conditions of their time and with reforming zeal have described the society of their dreams-the perfect state, the perfect city, the perfect system of government.

Aristotle and Plato both wrote of the perfect town, self-supporting and controlled in size to provide a cohesive social unit best suited to the needs of the time. While these Utopians were writing of their dreams, other people were building with their hands. Leonardo da Vinci was one of these, and he may be the true originator of the new towns hypothesis. He conceived and saw partly built a regional canal system in northern Italy. That regional system for land development was, in his mind a working foundation to a network of satellite towns.¹

¹ For further information see Mumford, Lewis: The City in History - Its Origins, Its Transformations, and its Prospects, Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., New York, 1961.

The squalor of the nineteenth century industrial cities in Britain brought to a head the need for new towns. At that time, large cities were regarded as being conducive to social, mental and physical pathologies. This point of view is derived from early nineteenth century conceptions of urban and rural life, as expressed in Disraeli's Sybil (1881) and first espoused by the entrepreneurs who founded model industrial cities.

Utopian idealists such as Robert Owens and socially conscious industrialists such as Wedgwood were responsible for a wave of new towns. As well, chocolate and soap manufacturers such as Cadbury, Rowntree, Lever and Price played a major role in the building of towns for their workers. Although these men were philanthropists, they were keenly aware that people living in a healthy environment would also be more efficient workers. The towns they built span the century from Owen's New Lanark (1816) to Cadbury's Bownville (1879) and Lever's Port Sunlight (1886).¹

The modern Garden Cities movement was founded by Ebenezer Howard, author of Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform (later revised as Garden Cities of Tomorrow).² The Garden City idea was developed as a solution to the problem of overcrowded

¹ These projects are further described in Thomas, Ray and Cresswell, Peter: The New Town Idea. Social Sciences - Urban Development (Unit 26), Open University Press, London, 1973.

² Howard, Sir Ebenezer: Garden Cities of Tomorrow, Faber and Faber Ltd., London, 1902. First published in 1898 as Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform, London, Faber and Faber Ltd., 1898.

and deteriorating cities. Howard's idea came from the writings of Thomas Spence, the land reformer, and James Silk Buckingham who had published a plan for a model insitutional town in 1848, as well as from travelling extensively through the United States. However, his most important influence was Edward Bellamy's futuristic novel, "Looking Backward".¹

Howard's proposal was a reaction against the nineteenth century megalopolis. He objected to the growth of the big city at the expense of the countryside, the crowded and noisy slums, the increasingly long journey to and from work, the unearned increment of the landlords and the rootlessness, dislocation and other social problems of the migrants from rural areas.

To reverse this trend, or at least to change its character, he devised a now classic image: three magnets labelled town, country and town-country are grouped around a triangle labelled The People: Where Will They Go? The town and country each contained advantages (the positive pole) and disadvantages (the negative pole). Only the "town-country" was free of all disadvantages, taking the best of the two.

In order for the town-country, or Garden City, to be successful Howard proposed five prerequisites:

¹ Bellamy, Edward: Looking Backward, World Publishing Company, Cleveland, Ohio, 1946.

- 1) land must be under single ownership and the town must be planned by an inter-disciplinary team of experts. This team would be employed by a Public Development Corporation
- 2) the town must grow in a balanced way (i.e. be self-sustaining at every stage) and only up to 1000 acres so that the city would be small enough for residents to walk to work, to shops or to school. It would be large enough to accommodate 32,000 people in houses with space for private gardens.
- 3) 5000 acres of greenbelt should surround both the residential and industrial to act as a buffer between them and to limit growth on the outskirts. This greenbelt could be optimally used for agricultural purposes.
- 4) the balanced community must include industrial, commercial, residential and cultural facilities
- 5) each town would have a thriving centre, including linkages to the larger central city¹

In order to minimize the distance between all points and make it a city for pedestrians, Howard's model for a Garden City was to be circular in shape. At the centre would be a garden surrounded by public buildings such as the town hall, the library and the hospital. Six roads were to radiate from

¹ The last chapter of Garden Cities of Tomorrow details the importance of larger cities as cultural, economic and political centres.

the centre, dividing the town into wards that would be neighbourhoods. The City would be further defined by a series of circular roads surrounding the centre in concentric rings. The commercial area would be clustered around the circular road nearest the town centre. The last circular road, on the outskirts of town, would be part of the industrial zone containing factories, warehouses and coal yards. In this way, industry could be near the railroad lines while the residential section would be completely separated from the smoke, noise and traffic of industry.¹

In 1900, Howard formed the Garden City Association and the first Garden City of Letchworth, England was built three years later. Since it was very difficult to find investors who were willing to take a great risk for limited (5%) return, the second Garden City of Welwyn was not built until 1921. It would never have been completed had not the Public Loans Board, under the Housing Act of 1911, began making loans to "authorized associations" involved in building Garden Cities.

Although both new towns have been considered successful² it was not until after World War II that British attention was focused on new towns.

¹ For more information on the design of Garden Cities, see Howard, E.: Garden Cities of Tomorrow, Faber and Faber Ltd., London, 1902.

² Booth, Shirley: "A Crisis in Maturity", Town and Country Planning, Volume 43, No. 12, December 1975, p.541.

"One of the lessons of the second war was the need for the dispersal of population and industry... At an early stage of the war, development of aerial warfare showed the danger of large concentrations of population, and the danger increased until the atom bomb demonstrated what enormous destruction and loss of life could be caused even by a single bomb. The decision that large centres of population must be broken up followed."

In 1946, the New Towns Act was passed making the building of new towns a national policy. The New Towns gave the government the power to set up government-financed, public Development Corporations. Each Corporation would be responsible for building a single new town and would be given the authority to buy the land it needed, by direct purchase or by condemning it and then buying it. The British Trade Board has jurisdiction over the choice of sites for industrial expansion - a power which it utilized to draw factories to new towns.

Although the early British new towns suffered from a shortage of essential services, facilities and amenities due to financial restrictions, the more recent ventures (Mark II towns) have been successful. Since 1946, 29 new towns have been started.² They house over 1.6 million people. However, the new towns of England and Scotland have absorbed about 10% of population growth that has taken place since World War II.

¹ Purdon, C.B.: The Building of Satellite Towns, J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., London, 1925, p.377-8.

² as of December 1974.

NEW TOWNS ELSEWHERE

By this time other European countries had become aware of the necessity to build new towns to disperse large cities population and to provide an alternative for people not wishing to live in the central city or its suburbs. Sweden, Finland and the Netherlands have been leaders in the field.

The new towns movement travelled to North America in the early 1920s when Clarence Stein returned from visiting Letchworth, impressed with the Garden City Association's work. He experimented with the concept by setting up the City Housing Corporation to offset the high cost and low supply of good housing for workers in New York. Morningside, an experimental housing project, was built to test the new towns idea. Response to the project was so overwhelming that he proceeded to build Radburn, New Jersey as America's first new town.¹ Radburn is an example of an important concept of the ideal Garden City, i.e. the separation of pedestrian from vehicular movement.

By this time Canada had also been active in the New Town movement. In fact one could say that all of Canada's cities are new towns due to their young age and the necessity to settle the hinterland. Canada's first new town is Ottawa, built in 1865. On the advice of her ministers, Queen Victoria

¹ Although the design was successful, the original Radburn was never completed due to the Depression. For a further description of Radburn, see Stein, C.: Toward New Towns for America. University Press of Liverpool, Liverpool, 1950, P.37-69.

chose Ottawa as the capital city of Canada. The most prevalent type of new town in Canada is the single-enterprise town. Examples are Kitimat¹, British Columbia, Canada and Leaf Rapids, Manitoba, Canada.

TYPES OF NEW TOWNS

Countries have constructed new towns for various reasons:

- 1) to ease urban congestion, e.g. Tapiola, Finland; Vallingby, Sweden; Mill Woods, Edmonton, Canada and Cumberland, England
- 2) to improve the quality of the environment, e.g. Meadowvale, Ontario, Canada and Columbia, Maryland, United States
- 3) to exploit natural resources, e.g. Fort McMurray, Alberta, Canada and Los Alamos, Mexico
- 4) to relocate population to the hinterland by building a capital city, e.g. Brasilia, Brazil; Willow, Alaska, United States and Canberra, Australia
- 5) to assist in central city revitalization e.g., St. Lawrence Neighbourhood, Toronto; Welfare Island, New York City and Cedar - Riverside, Minneapolis.

The most frequent type of new town built is the satellite town which falls under types 1 and 2 above. For this reason, and to more fully understand the new town conception, satellite towns will be discussed in some detail.

¹ Partially designed by Clarence Stein of Radburn.

SATELLITE TOWNS

Satellite towns possess a number of features common to most countries involved in organizing future growth. They are:

- 1) that the town is spatially separate from the parent city and is built on land which has been acquired at a lower cost than that of land at the periphery of the built-up area of the city.
- 2) that the town is comprehensively planned by either public or private interests
- 3) that the growth of the town takes place in phases over 15-20 years
- 4) that there is a town centre containing a regional shopping centre and community facilities
- 5) that the town provide some employment for residents within the town

The term satellite town seems to have been first used by G.R. Taylor¹ in describing a number of industrial suburbs built in Chicago, St. Louis and other large American cities. He examined the tendency of these industrialists to establish satellite communities in the surrounding country in the form of manufacturers'towns, built for the employees of particular

¹ Op cit., Purdon, p.22

industries.

In Britain, the term satellite town was used to revitalize an older term, garden city. Of course the idea that towns should be regarded as satellites of larger urban areas was nothing new. The emphasis, however, was upon the idea of the town rather than upon the fact of its being a satellite and the object was to indicate that it was not a suburb.

Webster's Dictionary defines a satellite as a secondary planet revolving around the primary one. Likewise, a satellite town revolves around the larger city. An example is Tapiola which is a satellite of Helsinki, Finland. Although there is a visible separation from the larger city, in all cases the satellite town relies on the larger city for many services and employment. Most satellite towns employ only about 30% of their working population within the town's boundary.

The British experience demonstrates how difficult it is to ensure labour market closure. British authorities have had extraordinary power, since, in the face of housing shortages they made the assigning of housing conditional on local employment and vice versa.

"The British new towns still show about the same number of jobs as workers but, after some years, 7.3 workers enter and leave the town in their daily trip to work for every 10 who live and work in the same new town."¹

Tapiola, Finland has about as many jobs as they have workers but, residents work outside and outsiders commute to work inside. Although all satellite towns have some type of industry, it usually consists of light industries such as electronics factories and computer services or institutional facilities, such as airports.

A fine example of a thriving satellite town is Vällingby, outside Stockholm, which was planned in an effort to concentrate suburban growth. Vällingby is located on a rapid transit line connecting it with central Stockholm and has at its core a subregional shopping centre. Vällingby is clearly not a self-contained new town but provides an attractive environment for 23,000 people.

Population of satellite towns range from 20,000 - 100,000.² The age structure of satellite towns is highly distinctive. The largest population group is young adults (from 20-34 years) and small children. This phenomenon is due to the expanding family. Young families are the most

¹ Alonso, W.: "The Mirage of New Towns", Public Interest, Volume 19, Spring 1970, p.11.

² Golany, G.: New Town Planning: Principles and Practice, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1976, p.101.

common population group.

Like the original Garden Cities of Britain, satellite towns are divided into neighbourhood units or wards,¹ each containing community and recreational facilities as well as intersecting green space.

Satellite towns are not, generally, physically isolated entities. The governments of satellite towns are usually federated with other adjacent satellite towns or with the major urban centre.

"It is part and parcel of a metro region and has social, economic and physical relationships that have to be respected within the region and community as a whole. And, therefore, whether you like it or not, in planning the transportation system you have to recognize that there is, in place, or there is planned, a regional transportation system; roads, commuter rail intermediate capacity transit systems and what have you. Of course, the community design lives as a separate entity. It has its relations with the rest of the region, the area, and we have to respect the plans that are being made and the systems that are in effect."²

Satellite towns are built on the premise of providing innovations in housing and transit. Some of the new towns have been successful in this regard. Public transit systems have made some U.S. satellite towns renowned for their innovative transit. Reston Virginia's Commuter Bus Service and

¹ Keller, S.: The Urban Neighbourhood: A Sociological Perspective, Random House, New York, 1968, p.131

² Freedman, A.: "Thoughts on Transportation and Utilities," Pressman, N. (ed.): New Communities in Canada: Exploring Planned Environments, Contact, Volume 8, Number 3, Waterloo, 1976, p.78.

the Minnesota Experimental City are examples of this innovation.

As of 1979, the growth of satellite towns has slowed down. It had been predicted, in the mid-1960s, that the population of England and Wales would increase to almost 70 million by the year 2000. Such an increase meant that there would have to be a crash programme of house building and areas were sought where there could be major population increases. Satellite towns were one option which was considered because of the ability of the Public Development Corporations to build quickly and well. By the late 1960's a series of sites had been chosen which could help to house the expected population boom. Future growth to the year 2000 is currently based on population projections as much as 15 million lower than those of the mid 1960's.¹ The basic need for the new towns of Central Lancashire, Peterborough, Northampton, Warrington, Telford and Milton Keynes must now be seriously reconsidered. Apart from the lack of growth in the population there is also the clear lack of new mobile industry which might provide employment in new towns.

The major problem affecting U.S. satellite towns, apart from the slowdown in population growth, is the Department of

¹ Booth, S.: "A Crisis in Maturity" in Town and Country Planning, Volume 43, No.12, December, 1975, p.540.

Housing and Urban Development's financial abandonment of seven of their thirteen satellite towns.¹

Unlike the British new towns which are built by public Development Corporations, U.S. towns have been built by private developers. Therefore, financing has been the major obstacle to overcome. Reston, Virginia, considered to be a very successful new town², was financed by Gulf Oil Corporation. The other most successful new town in the U.S. is Columbia, Maryland, developed by James Rouse, "prince of the shopping malls."³ Connecticut General Life Insurance Company was the major financier of Columbia.

Both of these new towns were financed without any federal support.

Since 1950, Canada has been active in the building of satellite towns. The following section examines the growth of satellite towns and its characteristics.

¹ "New Town Blues" in Time Magazine, New York, October 16, 1978, p.69.

² Campbell, C.: New Towns: Another Way to Live, Prentice-Hall Company, Reston, Virginia, 1976, p.36.

³ "James Rouse Interview" on the MacNeil Lehrer Report, Educational Broadcasting Corporation, Washington, D.C., September 1, 1978.

For further information on U.S. and Great Britain New Towns, see Appendix A and B.

CANADIAN SATELLITE TOWNS

The post-Second World War baby boom played a major role in the building of satellite towns in Eastern Canada. From 1951 - 1961 the population of major urban centres increased dramatically.¹ As well, returning veterans from World War II were met by a severe shortage in housing.

As the single family detached dwelling was the most popular type of housing, Canadian cities began to "spread like expanding ink-stains and grease-spots..."²

Due to rising incomes, the increased use of the private automobile and generous federal assistance to home-buyers, suburbs sprang up and urban sprawl became a popular topic at Canadian planning conferences. As open space for city dwellers was dwindling rapidly and suburban residents were becoming disillusioned with their environment,³ the concept of satellite towns began being discussed.

Satellite towns could provide a town in the country.⁴ A balanced community⁵ of residents would have all the conveniences of urban living without the noise and air

¹ Stone, L.,: Urban Development in Canada, DBS, 1961 Census Monograph, 1967.

² Geddes, P.: Cities in Evolution, Williams and Norgate Ltd., London, 1949, P.X. Although Geddes was not referring to Canadian cities specifically, this author believes that the statement applies to the Canadian situation.

³ Popenoe, D.: The Suburban Environment, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1977, p.3.

⁴ Title of the Meadowvale brochure published by Markborough Properties Ltd.

⁵ Gans, H. People and Plans, Basic Books, Inc. New York, 1968, p.166.

pollution, the congestion and other disadvantages. Growth would be limited since the town would be encompassed by a greenbelt. Industry would locate in the town to provide partial self-containment, however, noxious industry would be forbidden. Life would be centred around the elementary school and people could spend their entire life-cycle in the new town.

In 1951, following a period of careful private land assembly and influenced by the British new town example, the first satellite town in Canada was proposed. From 2056 acres of open farmland, Don Mills Developments Ltd., planned their community to include:

- 1) a broadly diversified industrial base, providing both economic stability and a local labour market
- 2) a wide variety of housing, ranging from single-family units to six - storey apartment buildings, meeting all family units needs
- 3) a large, centrally located shopping centre, supplying a comprehensive selection of consumer goods
- 4) a surrounding greenbelt, acting as a buffer to separate the town from the rest of the Township

- 5) a hierarchy of roads separating traffic functions
- 6) open space is the predominant design element

John Sewell discusses the planning and development of Don Mills in Don Mills: E.P. Taylor and Canada's First Corporate Suburb.¹ In his article, Sewell states that

"it is difficult to overestimate the influence of Don Mills on urban development in Canada. Don Mills defined the basic design elements and the business practices now used in contemporary suburban developments."²

In principle, Don Mills provided the model for Canadian satellite towns as well as for the entire concept of suburbia.

"Don Mills is a success - but in a way which had not been anticipated. It is a first-rate dormitory suburb!"³

The high cost of living and the proximity of Don Mills to downtown Toronto are the major reasons for its demise as a satellite town.

Since Don Mills, Ontario, ten other satellite towns have been proposed and/or completed in Canada.⁴ To date, there has been no federal policy on the building of new towns. Therefore, it is difficult to determine whether more satellite

¹ cf. Lorimer, J. and Ross E. (eds.): The Second City Book, James Lorimer and Company, Toronto, 1977, p.18-30.

² Ibid., p.29.

³ "Don Mills, the Planned Industrial Community Near Toronto is a Good Place to Work and Live, But its Workers Don't Live There", Architectural Forum, Volume 114, Number 1, January 1961, p.64.

⁴ For information on each of these towns, see Chart I on p. 19.

towns will be planned in the 1980's. However, increasing financial support, under provisions of the National Housing Act of 1974, suggests that the building of satellite towns is considered to be a priority.

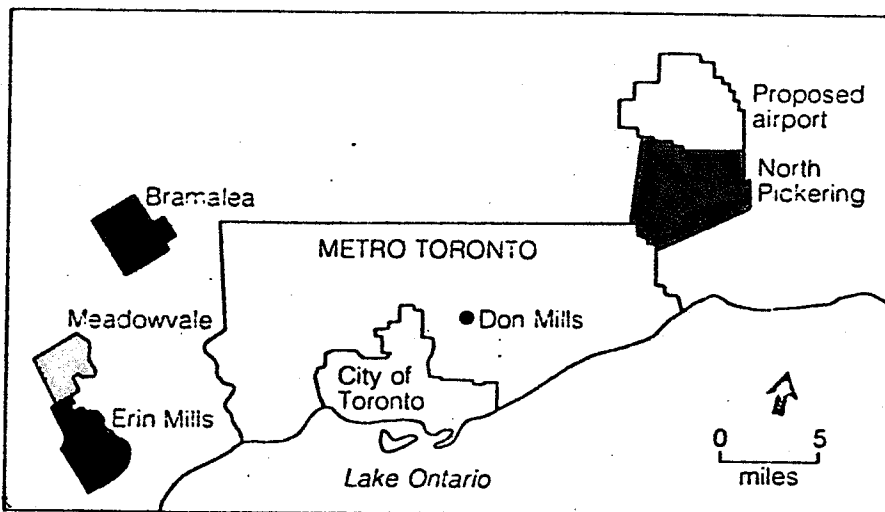
* * * * *

Chart I on page 19, summarizes the characteristics of 10 Canadian satellite towns. This chart will prove useful in discussing the advantages and disadvantages of satellite towns.

* * * * *

19 SATellite TOWN	YEAR BEGUN	SATellite OF GREEN CENTRE	MILES FROM CENTRE	ACREAGE	TYPE OF RESIDENTIAL / INDUSTRIAL	ULTIMATE POPULATION	DEVELOPED BY	% AREA RESIDENTIAL	% AREA INDUSTRIAL AND / OR COMMERCIAL	% AREA PARKS AND OPEN SPACE	% AREA COMMUNITY FACILITIES	% AREA DETACHED DWELLINGS	% AREA 6-15 UNITS PER ACRE	MEDIUM- HIGH RISE UNITS	% WORKING SATellite RESIDENTS
NORTH PICKERING	1972	TORONTO	18	25,200	RESIDENTIAL / INDUSTRIAL	NORTH PICKERING (CROWN 200,000 AGENCY)		40	48	4	4	40	38	22	—
ERIN MILLS	1971	TORONTO	19	7800	RESIDENTIAL / LIGHT INDUSTRIAL	CADILLAC- FAIRVIEW 175,000	60	24	5	11	—	46	26	28	78
MILL WOODS	1968	EDMONTON	7	6500	RESIDENTIAL / LIGHT INDUSTRIAL	CITY OF EDMONTON 120,000	43.7	16	3.9	4.1	4	38	30	32	83
BRAMALEA	1958	TORONTO	23	8000	RESIDENTIAL/ LIGHT INDUSTRIAL	BRAMALEA CONSOLIDATED DEVELOPMENTS 75,000	48	43	3	3	3	—	—	—	—
MEADOWVALE	1969	TORONTO	30	1700	RESIDENTIAL / LIGHT INDUSTRIAL	MARKBOROUGH PROPERTIES LIMITED 70,000	57	23	3	11	6	22	73	5	93
SALT FLEET	1974	HAMILTON	9	1662	RESIDENTIAL / COMMERCIAL	PROVINCE OF ONTARIO 50,000	54	12	16	5	10	—	—	—	—
NUN'S ISLAND	1967	MONTREAL	2.5	750	RESIDENTIAL / COMMERCIAL	METROPOLITAN STRUCTURES INC. (CHICAGO) 50,000	50	28	6	4	4	0	9	91	96
KANATA	1964	OTTAWA	10	3200	RESIDENTIAL / LIGHT INDUSTRIAL	CAMPEAU CORPORATION 65,000	61	24	12	8	6	26	33	41	—
MALVERN	1953	TORONTO	20	700	RESIDENTIAL / LIGHT INDUSTRIAL	ONTARIO HOUSING CORPORATION 50,000	50	22	16	6	6	—	—	—	—
DON MILLS	1953	TORONTO	8	2200	RESIDENTIAL / LIGHT INDUSTRIAL	CANADIAN EQUITY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION 35,000	47	38	9	3	3	61	12	27	72

CHART 1: Summary Characteristics of Canadian Satellite Towns.
Source: Material collected by the author.



Map A: New towns under development within the Toronto metropolitan area.

Five Canadian satellite towns developed within the Toronto Centred Region Plan. The map shows how urban congestion in Metropolitan Toronto may be relieved through satellite towns.

Source: George Nader: Cities of Canada
Volume One: Theoretical, Historical
and Planning Perspectives. Toronto:
 The Macmillan Company of Canada,
 1975, p. 333.

FINANCING OF SATELLITE TOWNS

Land, and its spiralling cost, has necessitated that the federal government to take a long hard look at satellite towns. Up until 1964, the federal government's role in new towns was limited to the cost-sharing agreement of Section 40 of the National Housing Act. This section authorized C.M.H.C. to share 75% - 25% with the province in the costs, profits and losses incurred in the acquisition, planning and servicing of land for housing purposes. The section precipitated the acquisition of over 32,000 acres of unserviced land. It also exposed many municipalities to the principle of a balanced community (re: the enhanced value property gains from proper siting, grading, landscaping and underground service infrastructure).

Between 1964 - 1972, more than 100 projects were authorized under the constantly-revised Section 42 of the N.H.A. By 1972, this section had been broadened to include loans for land acquisition for general housing, besides public housing, as had been the case previously.

The 1973 amendments allowed the acquisition of land for all properly planned urban uses. To encourage long-term public ownership, loans were increased from 15 to 50 years

when disposal is to be leasehold and 25 years in all other circumstances. Similarly the repayment terms were altered to encourage land banking by allowing interest payments only until such time as land is disposed of.

The New Communities-Section 45 has been added to the National Housing Act to complement provincial initiatives in the urban growth process and to respond to one or more of the following objectives:

- 1) to promote means of urban growth other than by the continued expansion of existing major centres
- 2) to provide a mechanism for the establishment of new regional growth centres
- 3) to facilitate the balanced development of resource-based new communities¹

It was decided that an agency or corporation would be established to run the program, that the new community should be decided in contest of a provincial urban growth strategy and that the public receive any economic benefits derived from the disposal of land to the private sector.

To allow all provinces to participate, either the federal-provincial 75% - 25% cost-sharing arrangement or the 90% federal

¹ Cooper, R.: "Land and New Communities", Pressman, N.(ed.): New Communities in Canada: Exploring Planned Environments, Contact, Volume 8, Number 3, Waterloo, 1976, p.115.

loan arrangement with a term up to 25 years was decided. The loan arrangement allows for forgiveness of up to 50% of the initial planning costs including administration expenses and the acquisition costs of lands used for certain recreational or other community social facilities. Under the loan arrangement it was also agreed to allow the term to be extended to 50 years when long term leasehold is intended.

Both the cost-sharing agreement and the loan arrangement provides assistance to facilitate the acquisition of all lands required for the satellite town¹, for linking transportation and servicing corridors, and for park and open space within and around the town. In addition, aids are intended to assist in planning costs and in the design and installation of the necessary underground services within the town.

In 1976, the Federal Government made a commitment of \$100 million a year for the next five years for the public assembly of land and assistance for new towns².

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¹ Under amendments to the land assembly provisions of the N.H.A. (1975).

² Information Division, C.M.H.C.: Living Places, Volume 9, Number 3, 1973. p.41.

The author will briefly examine the economic rationale for building satellite towns by private developers, including aspects not covered by federal and provincial guidelines.

Similar to other land development projects, the basic economic objective of building this type of project is to acquire land at a relatively low price, add basic services and amenities to the land, and then sell it at a price which covers costs and provides a new profit. The size of the profit depends upon the spread between the selling prices and costs of land acquisition and development, costs of financing the development, and costs associated with tying up capital in the project.

Large-scale, i.e. over 3000 acres, developments have three economic advantages over smaller-scale developments. First is the potential for capturing virtually all of the land value increment resulting from the external, or spill-over benefits of major public and private improvements. The construction of new highways, schools, shopping centres, golf-courses and similar projects increases the value of surrounding land.

A second advantage directly related to the first is that

the new community project affords the opportunity to create a superior¹ living and working environment that is more desirable than the environment produced in smaller-scale developments. As a result, the market is attracted to land at a much faster and more substantial rate than would have occurred under normal development.

A third advantage is a capability for more efficient development through economies of scale, improved management, and coordination of different phases of development.

These advantages will be examined in detail in the following section.

¹ Although a large-scale project allows greater opportunity to plan a superior environment, it is debatable whether many developers have taken advantage of this situation.

ADVANTAGES OF SATELLITE TOWNS

For many middle and upper income families, life in a satellite town may be a very pleasant experience. The majority of housing built is single-family detached¹, still the most conducive housing for the raising of children. There is a good housing mix in satellite towns - single - and semi-detached, town-house, duplex, row housing and apartments. Private space for all family groups is the rule rather than the exception with plenty of public green space. However, from examining master plans of Canadian satellite towns, much of this green space is adjacent to single-family detached units rather than near the apartment buildings², an area where green space is needed the most. This is due to the fact that most apartment units lack private space.

Most satellite towns are divided into neighbourhood units or wards which enclose an elementary school³, a few retail establishments and community facilities. Children are able to travel to school without crossing any collector streets, relieving parents of worry.

Satellite towns all have town centres which provide a small selection of the same types of establishments found in larger

¹ 81% according to Chart I on p.19.

² usually located near the town centre

³ Every community in North America appears to be planned around an elementary school

urban centres. Most of these stores and restaurants are franchises of international chains.

The separation of work from residence is an important aspect of satellite towns. The percentage of employable residents who do work within the town is minimal (See Chart I) which adds credence to this fact. For some, the automobile or bus ride from work to home is a time for relaxation, although commuting costs can be high.

Some satellite towns, such as Meadowvale, Ontario, enforce restrictive or protective covenants which check any major or minor alterations that are planned for private property. This presumably enhances the aesthetic quality of the area and ensures that property values do not decrease.

Citizens' groups are an important aspect of satellite towns. Columbia, Maryland is well-known for its active citizens' groups. The Columbia Park and Recreation Association, incorporated in 1965, is a non-stock, non-profit corporation to represent the owners of land and residents in Columbia and to provide the residents with services and amenities over and above those which could be provided by Howard County, the local general purpose government. VOICE in Erin Mills is another example of

a dynamic group. As many of the residents pay high property taxes it is understandable that they wish to play a role in decision making. Since many of these residents are young professionals, their input will often carry much weight. Keeping property values high will also ensure good educational and social service facilities.

Light industrial firms provide some employment in the town as well as guaranteeing tax revenue. Satellite towns such as Tapiola, Finland and Jonathan, Minnesota¹ provide housing incentives to those employees who wish to live in the town where the firm is located. As well, prospective employees who do not live in the satellite towns are given second choice in gaining jobs in these towns.

Besides reducing traffic congestion to and from the towns, these regulations ensure that people who use the town's services also help pay for them.²

For many, satellite towns are towns in the country.³ They receive the amenities of small city living but are separated from the larger urban centres by a few miles and, most likely, plenty of open space and parkway. They also may have prevented the further growth of suburbia.

¹ An 8194 acre tract which will house 18,000 people by 1980. Jonathan is being developed by the Jonathan Development Corporation and is located 20 miles southwest of Minneapolis. Excluding a 1500 acre industrial tract, land use consists of 45% residential, 18% open space, industrial 10%, lakes 8% and commercial 6%.

² A lesson central cities use as their tax base is continually eroded.

³ Taken from a Markborough brochure title.

Innovation is an important aspect of satellite towns, especially in the United States. Examples are pre-paid health care and medical insurance for all residents in Riverton, New York. A linear town centre which will encourage pedestrian movement and the use of an advanced internal transit system will be built in Park Forest South, Illinois. In Jonathan, Minnesota, the development of a wide-spectrum co-axial system, using telephone, CATV, FM, educational programs, computer and other forms of information communication will be utilized. There will also be a completely enclosed town centre.

Erin Mills, Ontario has been designated a special test and research area for Cable T.V. and is the first Canadian community in which two separate T.V. cables are being installed. As part of Erin Mills planning, all Cable Television cables will be placed underground.

Meadowvale, Ontario is the site of the Mississauga Solar Demonstration Project. The Project combines a solar heating system with building materials(masonry) to create an optimum energy-efficient system for a central Canadian dwelling.

These innovative aspects have been important in attracting people to satellite towns.

* * * * *

DISADVANTAGES OF SATELLITE TOWNS

While the original British New Towns were built for the purpose of absorbing spillover population from congested central cities, i.e. London, and of providing more attractive environments for housing workers as well as veterans, Canadian satellite towns were developed for the purpose of offering "a healthier and more humane habitat,"¹ of alleviating congestion in existing cities and of organizing future urban growth. Problems of continued city growth include:

- 1) high cost of land
- 2) noise and air pollution
- 3) physical congestion

All Canadian satellite towns, except for Mill Woods, Edmonton, have been built within thirty miles of Toronto, Montreal or Ottawa. The towns were built as an alternative to urban sprawl, piecemeal development and congestion. However, in terms of providing alternative lifestyles, Canadian satellite towns are often just high-priced suburban communities.

The major disadvantages of satellite towns may be grouped under three headings: They are: 1) Planning

2) Costs

3) Community Services

¹ Pressman, N. "New Towns", Contact, Volume 3, No. 2, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, June 1972, p.5.

PLANNING

The modern new town movement is a British idea and appears to have been successful, on the whole in Britain. Congestion in London has been slowed down, a reasonable number of jobs are to be found in new towns¹ and the income range of new town residents is large.

A review of Canadian literature on satellite towns suggests that success has not always been the case here. This seems strange since the new town idea was taken directly from English master plans. Perhaps the satellite town idea works in Britain rather than in Canada because of their particular economic and political framework. Great Britain has an absolute national land control policy as well as a systematic policy for the building of new towns. Alberta is the only province in Canada which has a New Towns Act and this act is meant for resource-based new towns only.

The development of national policies has proved easier in Britain since the

"British have an innate trust in public authority, (while) the North Americans have a deep-seated mistrust: they would, therefore, much rather have planning in the market-place, than the concentration of planning power² in a monolithic system of public authorities."

¹ However, not even the most successful European new towns are able to provide employment for all working residents.

² Glass, R.: "The Evaluation of Planning: Some Sociological Considerations", International Social Science Journal, Volume XI, No. 3, 1959, p.406

Master plans, while not legally binding, are produced for each British new town. Independent development corporations are set up under the discretion of the London County Council to monitor the growth of these new towns. The development corporation is given the power to acquire land compulsorily at that price which would have existed if the new town did not exist.

In Canada, the opposite holds true. There is a fragmentation of authority and responsibility for public policy - making as well as in the administration of public services. Private interests, which develop a major portion of Canadian new towns, must assemble their land in a piecemeal fashion, often through sneaky methods so that speculation does not take place. As well, the developers are responsible to local councils since the building of a new community may jeopardize the continuation of an old community.

Although 70% of Canadian satellite towns are built by private developers¹, the planning approach is often identical to ones used by public corporations in Britain.

¹ These include: Erin Mills, Bramalea, Meadowvale, Nun's Island, Kanata and Don Mills.

". . . Their acceptance is in part undoubtedly due to the prestige of British planning, but it may also be due to the fact that planners everywhere... search for formulae and therefore tend to be uncritical in copying those which make pretty pictures."

Both Ruth Glass and Patrick Geddes² state, that in considering the planning activities of different countries, their respective ideologies, as well as their culture and history, should be compared.

It is difficult to imagine that Toronto's solution to congestion should be of the magnitude of London, England's. Statistics Canada (1977) projects that Toronto will grow by 1.5% up until 1980 and Canada, in general, by 1.4%.³ Is there really a need to build a new town with all of a city's services to alleviate Toronto's congestion?

It is interesting to note that planners prefer working from a fresh piece of land. Granted, it takes more skill and imagination to re-plan and re-vitalize an already built-up area, but sewers and roads would already be in place and firms as well as city residents would not have to be given incentives to re-locate to new towns. While planning takes place in an urban area, input from residents and firms, who

¹ Op-cit., Glass, R., p.407

² Cities in Evolution, Williams and Norgate Ltd., London, 1949, p.109 - 113.

³ Statistics Canada: CS 91 - 207/ 1977 - Population estimates for Canada and Provinces - June 1, 1978.

are affected, is possible due to the fractured land ownership. It is difficult to have public participation in the planning of new towns when no one lives there yet.

To make matters worse, planners over-plan new towns. There are no loose ends.

"It is the people who are to do the adapting and if there is anything they cannot adapt to, it will just be too bad because there is no provision for changing the plans as time goes on." ¹

A new town is often unable to accommodate future growth and change.

¹ Whyte, W.H.: "The New Towns" in Allen, I.L.(ed.): New Towns and the Suburban Dream, National University Publication, London, 1977, p.192.

COSTS

Costs of building satellite towns in Canada has been prohibitive and often blamed on the lack of a national policy. The most prohibitive cost for private developers is the front-end costs. They include the cost of piecemeal assembling of land, the cost of planning the development and the cost of providing community services to attract residents. The largest cost for the public developer has been the connection of existing urban infrastructure to the new town.

The majority of these costs are front-end as they are costs which are incurred before revenues, if any, are generated by the new community.

"Because of the factors of risk, time preferences and the opportunity costs of money, a dollar earned today is worth more than a dollar earned in the future. Therefore a developer has to discount future earnings at a rate which reflects the risks and the alternative uses of money."¹

Another substantial portion of front-end costs are interest charges and taxes on the assembled land.

"With interest rates of 12% and taxes based on the urban potential rather than on the initial agricultural

¹ Choukroun, J. and Jacob, A. (IBI Group): "Financing New Communities in Canada: Problems and Prospects", Pressman, N. (ed.): New Communities in Canada: Exploring Planned Environments, Waterloo, 1976, p.139.

or speculative use, carrying costs can easily mean that the initial price of the land is doubled every 4 to 5 years."¹

Large scale developments, such as Erin Mills, may take upwards of 20 years to complete and, consequently, the holding cost of the land has to be allocated to each parcel of land sold for development. With land assembly costs ranging from \$2000 per acre in agricultural areas such as North Pickering, Ontario to \$8000 per acre in areas like Meadowvale, the costs of holding the land add considerably to final prices. As a result, there are strong incentives for the developer to generate revenue from the development as early as possible. This fact could contribute to quickly-built, poorly designed, low quality developments.

Since the major goal of any private enterprise is to maximize profits, it is not unusual for developers of satellite towns to cut corners which lessens the possibility of these towns being innovative alternatives to urban living. Due to astronomical costs, a developer may be forced to sell off a section of the property. This was the case in Meadowvale where Markborough Properties Ltd., sold some of their serviced land to other builders. In this case, the developer is also selling off control over the type of housing which is built.²

¹ Ibid, P.143

² It is interesting to note that while Meadowvale residents are legally bound under a code of restrictive covenants, the builder did not have to follow such a procedure. (Markborough Properties Ltd.,: Meadowvale: A New Town in the Country).

Innovative housing then gets interpreted as standard houses with trendy cosmetics such as cedar boards nailed on, hollow, non-functional columns hung from the eaves, and so forth.

Other factors prevent any real innovation in new towns. Single-family detached dwellings are the most common type of housing in satellite towns.¹ largely due to liberal government assistance in buying one's first home. Program such as the Assisted Home Ownership Program and the Registered Home Owners' Savings Plan.

As long as the "peasant motive" of owning one's own piece of land prevails, innovation will not take place. If families are only given the choice of suburbia or high-rise apartments, single-family dwellings will continue to be their only alternative.

"There is no reasonable way that innovation and flexibility can be attained in a new community, if the majority of the housing is detached. Economics of land use and house types and urban form must be emphasized over prejudice and the inability to accept change."²

Innovation is difficult to implement in satellite towns

¹ In Mill Woods, Edmonton 38.2% of the housing stock is single-family detached dwellings, (City of Edmonton: Mill Woods - A Development Concept Report Prepared on Behalf of the Civic Administration by the City Planning Department, March, 1971).

² Clarke, S.J.: "Impediments to the Development of New Communities", Pressman, N. (ed.): New Communities in Canada: Exploring Planned Environments, Contact, Volume 8, Number 3, Waterloo, 1976, p.51.

because in making the large investment in buying a house, people tend to be conservative. They want to make sure they will not end up with a house they cannot sell.

Developers are encouraged to be as innovative as possible in all aspects of planning and implementation, and this in itself is a major justification for federal interest. Unfortunately, too much of the emphasis has been on technological innovation and too little on such things as more effective land-use control or social service delivery systems. The temptation to talk about mass transit for tiny populations is very great and usually boils down to a few buses travelling on perfectly ordinary roads.

Most of the working population of a satellite town commute to the larger urban centre for employment. A survey of 80% of the population of Meadowvale showed that 79% of employed males worked in Metro Toronto or Mississauga (1978 study by Markborough Properties Ltd.). Public transit is rarely used since most people travel by private automobile. The same population sample survey showed that 58% did not use public transportation (ie. Mississauga Transit or the GO Train) at all. Regardless of the number of people who go outside the

town for employment, there is some light industry in every town. From examination of the type of light industry located in these towns, most often they are the ones which use the most modern machinery and the fewest unskilled workers (e.g. computer companies). The job market has acted as a powerful filter through which it is difficult for certain groups to pass. However, Canada is not alone in this regard. The British New Towns also experience this problem.¹ In Meadowvale, where a survey was done on 80% of the population, it was found that 45% of male residents, who were employed, were in a managerial/professional occupation.

Research has shown that skilled people are more willing to move and are generally more mobile than semi-skilled or unskilled people.² Low-income populations are reluctant to take steps that may jeopardize their positions or collapse their economic or social lives. "If leaving the city meant higher rent, more limited access to job possibilities and also separation from people and institutions which give them stability, some inner city residents might choose overcrowding and dilapidation as the less of two evils."³

¹ "New Towns Slammed by MPs for Draining the Inner City," Architects' Journal, October 22, 1975, p.829.

² Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations: Urban and Rural America, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1968, p.14-19.

³ Gans, H. "The Failure of Urban Renewal: A Critique and some Proposals", Gans, H. (ed.): People and Plans, Basic Books, Inc., New York, 1968, p.271.

As well, low-income people are not able to move to satellite towns without housing subsidies because standards and costs here are higher than those of the older central city. Robert E. Simon, developer of the Gulf Oil-financed satellite town, Reston, Virginia stated "land, land development, infrastructure and construction costs make it impossible to build low or even moderate income housing that pays for itself!"¹ Although low-cost mortgages can be obtained, most low-income people still require aid to move.

The result of the type of job and housing market found in Canadian satellite towns has been the formation of an exclusive area where only upper-middle and upper class professionals can afford to live.

¹ Munzer, M.E. and Vogel, J.: New Towns: Building Cities from Scratch, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1974, p.87.

COMMUNITY SERVICES

Although basic community and recreational services exist, the small, average 85,000, population prohibits a large degree of choice in shopping, restaurants, and other commercial facilities. The reason is two-fold: the population is not large enough to provide a sufficient trade for many small businesses and opening a business in a satellite town is risky since the population potential of the town may not be realized for several years. As well, most of the businesses that do locate there cater only to one narrow income range.

The relatively small population is not able to support artistic and cultural facilities. Many residents drive into the larger urban area to enjoy a symphony, ballet or a rock band.

As one resident of Reston, Virginia said "It's pretty to live here but there's nothing to do."¹

Physically, the towns have been planned for young adults (age 20-34) and for children (from 3-8 years). There are few older people and no facilities for the handicapped. Teenagers and recent high school graduants are hard-pressed to find anything to do and mothers with perambulators find the distances between buildings intolerable.

¹ Ibid, p.85

Major human issues, such as these, can only be realistically dealt with when a social development plan is prepared for the new town. Unfortunately, a clearly defined plan has yet to be written on social services for a Canadian satellite town.

As in suburbia, it is difficult to achieve a true feeling of neighbourliness. Houses are detached and children playing together may be the only means of getting to know one's neighbours. A feeling of isolation may result especially for women at home with pre-school children and a husband who works outside of the home.

Because there are few older people living in satellite towns, children receive inadequate role models. Also, children who need to be cared for are often sent to parent-subsidized day care centres.

Women in suburbia and in new towns become the

"captives of the inadequate public transit system, a situation which is aggravated by the low density of the housing and the time and cost of getting from one place to another. Reliance of these women on public transit affects their participation in the labour force. Those women with a double commitment to an outside job plus home and children are very conscious of time and distance. More than men, they have to find jobs closer to home, which



can prove difficult when you live thirty miles from the urban area, near the transit service and with ready access to day care and shopping facilities. For many women this means the location of a job may be just as important as pay and opportunities for advancement."¹

Although the area of a new town is greater than that of suburbia, the overall density is often no less. The people in detached dwellings who live next to the green belts have already been provided with the most open space of their own. The majority of residents live in the centre, in high-rise towers and garden apartments. These are the people who need the open space the most and yet they are the farthest away from it - in some plans, up to two miles away. An odd situation since green open spaces are the asset featured most often in the glossy brochures on new towns.

* * * * *

The growth of a dynamic city cannot just be planned from start to finish. Building an entire town in 15-20 years precludes the possibility of people playing an active role in its development. An unrealistic environment is planned when independent neighbourhood units are built in a pre-determined package; an elementary school within a half-mile walking

¹ Wekerle, G.R. and Carter, N.: "Urban Sprawl - The Price Women Pay", Branching Out, Volume V, No.3, 1978, p.12

distance and a convenience store every five blocks. This arrangement lacks the inter-connected mixed use network that only a "natural"¹ city can provide. Cities are intricate entities which take on unique characteristics due to the people who live in them. The overlap of systems, i.e. mixed use, enhances social interaction among residents.

When Christopher Alexander, in his now famous article A City is not a Tree, drew attention to the fact that all new town plans were essentially based on a hierarchical structure like a tree with its trunk, branches, twigs and leaves but without connections between leaves across the structure, i.e. artificial cities, he made a significant comment. By implication, the semi-autonomous inward-looking neighbourhood is a classical example of such a hierarchical system. Alexander went on to compare the social life of people in a town to a semi-lattice with criss-cross movements and linkages by-passing any important hierarchy.

In the planning of Milton Keynes, England, an important attempt was made to carry Alexander's ideas further and give them physical expression. Instead of neighbourhood centres as in Harlow, or several village centres embedded in the

¹ Christopher Alexander discusses "natural" and "artificial" cities in "A City is not a Tree", Design, 206, p.46-56.

housing as in Washington New Town, in Milton Keynes a series of local activity centres are proposed at the safe pedestrian crossing points of the main roads midway between intersections. These peripheral centres not only link the housing to bus stops on the main roads but connect with the adjoining residential area, thus encouraging social intercourse between residential and commercial areas.

Milton Keynes, a "natural" city, is an example of a successful satellite town.¹ As well, Nun's Island, Montreal has been effective in providing an enriching, albeit high-density living environment.² Few other satellite towns in Canada follow Alexander's principles.

* * * * *

Although satellite towns have provided needed housing for Canadians, they have not provided housing for low-income groups. Middle and upper income groups, especially families, have obtained an aesthetic living environment in satellite towns. Residents are able to enjoy employment opportunities near their homes or else are able to afford commuting costs.

¹ Op. cit., Campbell, p.49.

² "Nun's Island - A New Standard for High-Density Communities", House and Home, December, 1969.

However, it remains to be seen whether housing can be provided for lower income groups who also wish to remain near employment opportunities and yet live in an attractive space.

It is unfortunate that many low income people wishing to live near their jobs must reside in dilapidated and dangerous areas of the central city.

As urban population and, consequently, urban sprawl continue to grow, the central city will become increasingly important for future residential growth.

The following chapter examines population projections and its resulting impact on the central city.

CANADIAN URBAN CRISISNATIONAL POPULATION GROWTH PROJECTIONS

It will be assumed that the need for building more satellite towns in Canada is dependent on population growth, particularly urban population growth. This assumption is based on the idea that satellite towns are built as "an instrument for coping with special urban problems such as the redistribution of population."¹ Therefore, growth projections for urban Canada will be examined.

As of 1976, 80% of Canadians live in urban areas. Between June 1, 1976 and May 31, 1977, the population of Canada's Census Metropolitan Areas rose from 12,799,000 to 12,948,100, a 1.2% increase.² These estimates indicate that, as of June 1, 1977, 55.6% of Canada's population lived in 23 of Canada's largest cities. This increased urbanization has led some experts to forecast future population growth.

Lithwick forecasts that Canada will be 94.1% urban by the year 2001.³ The bulk of this growth will result from the natural increase of the urban population and rural-urban migration may be expected to decline in importance as the national population becomes increasingly urbanized.

¹ Rodwin, L.: "Economic Problems in Developing New Towns and Expanded Towns" in Planning of Metropolitan Areas and New Towns, United Nations Symposium, New York, 1969, p.162.

² Statistics Canada: CS 91-207/1977-Population estimates for Canada and Provinces - June 1, 1978.

³ Lithwick, N.: Urban Canada: Problems and Prospects, A Report Prepared for the Minister of Housing, Ottawa, 1970, p.145.

This increase in urban population does not necessarily imply that national population will increase significantly. A Statistics Canada report released in March 1979 stated that the country's population will grow in the next 20 years at less than half the rate it has since 1950, and by the period 2020 to 2029, the population will start to drop.¹

Unless immigration laws are drastically altered or if there is a late 1980's baby boom it is unlikely that our urban areas will grow substantially. At present, average growth in Canadian cities, excluding Calgary and Edmonton, is 1.4%.²

Although urban populations are increasing slightly, as mentioned above, the same cannot be said of central city populations. A case in point is Toronto. The population of Metropolitan Toronto increased by 1.2% from 1971 -1976.³ However, in this same period the City of Toronto's population growth remained stagnant.⁴

In order to prevent decline, perhaps emphasis should be placed on the revitalization of the built-up areas rather than on further expanding the urban boundaries.

¹ Winnipeg Tribune, "Growth Rate to Slow,"
March 6, 1979, p.49

² Op.cit., Statistics Canada: CS 91-207/1977.

³ Statistics Canada: CS 92-807/1977. Population-Urban and
Rural Distribution, Canada - 1976.

⁴ For more information on the population growth within the
Toronto CMA(1871-1971), see Table 1.

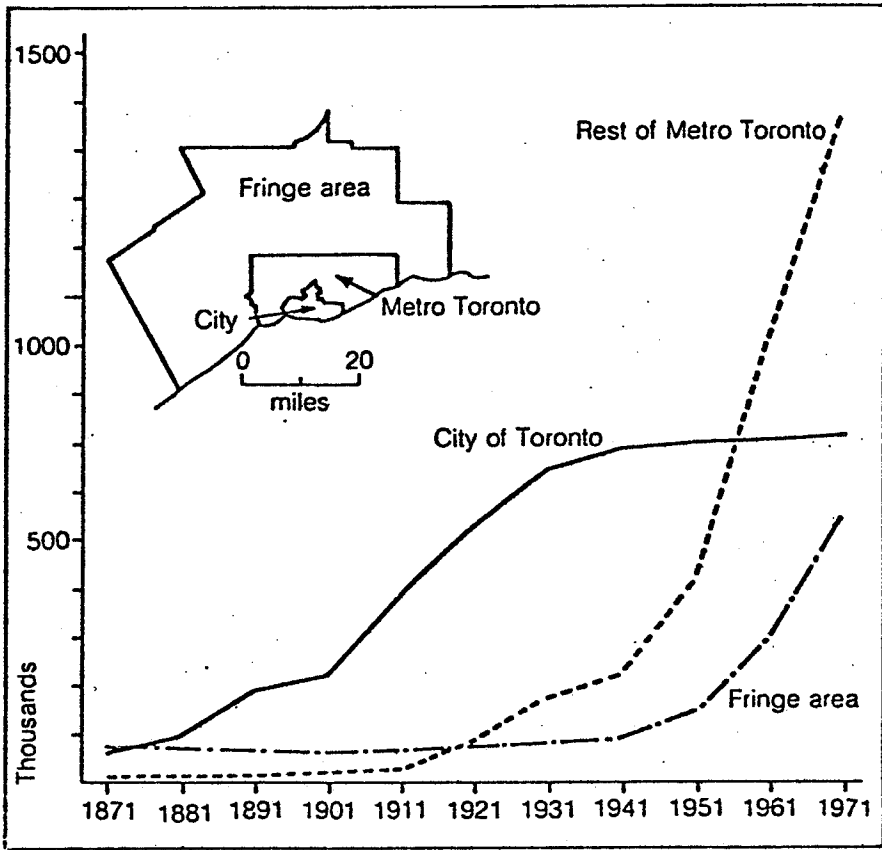


Table 1 Population growth within the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (1971 limits), 1871-1971.

Source: Census of Canada, 1871 to 1971.
 George A. Nader, Cities of Canada-Volume One: Theoretical, Historical and Planning Perspectives, Macmillan and Company, Toronto, 1975, p.230.

The reasons for this lack of growth in the central city will be examined in the following section. As more central city residents and "footloose"¹ firms relocate in the suburbs and in new towns, it is crucial that the problems of the central city be briefly examined.

* * * * *

DETERIORATION OF THE CENTRAL CITY

Historically, the central city had been the hub of activity within a region. Under the staples theory of economic growth, central cities provided the location for major institutions such as the railways and land companies and, later, the financiers and multi-national corporations. Exclusive homes along with industry and commercial establishments were located in the central city. As densities in the central city rose, urban land values increased and land use zones expanded into areas of less intensive use since the amount of land at any location or for particular types of uses is essentially limited. Due to high land costs, single-storey firms were moving out of the central city.

By 1950, the cost of land, the invention of the

¹ Activities which are relatively free to choose locations on the basis of criteria other than transportation costs.

streetcar, restrictive zoning and the economics of replacement had all but limited new construction to the suburban periphery and, later, to new towns.

The major attractions of suburbia are:

- 1) increased open space
- 2) the increased use of the automobile
- 3) the increasing equity of home-ownership due to government support of housing.

"One of the historic missions of cities, those marvelously productive and efficient places, is to finance colonization."²

Central cities in Canada experience a financial crisis when confronted with the rapid growth of expenditures on the one hand and a decrease in revenue due to the exodus of the population to the suburbs on the other. This situation leads to a decrease in the level of services or to increased subsidization of the central city. It is almost impossible to increase taxes in the central city because business firms and middle and high income residents would continue to leave.

Another problem confronting the central city is the weakening of its educational system. At present, central city educational facilities fall behind those found in

¹ Humphrey Carver states in Cities in the Suburbs that "government support for housing is an essential part of the whole welfare apparatus of the modern state." (Op.cit.)(p.10).

² Jacobs, J.: The Death and Life of Great American Cities, Vintage Books, New York, 1961, p.309

suburban systems, and consequently central-city children, who may need good education the most, are receiving the least.

Some middle and high income residents who had previously enjoyed living downtown moved out, not because of the advantages of suburbia, but because of the growing problems of the central city.

Older buildings were demolished and land lay vacant or was used as parking lots. In the decline of the central city, land speculation is inevitable. Land values remain high while carrying charges such as property taxes and interest charges are paid by renting buildings for sub-optimal uses or by using the cleared land for parking lots. The property tax system encourages such speculation, since taxes will generally be lower when a building is allowed to deteriorate structurally or when it is demolished. This holding of land for speculation resulted in entire blocks of the city wasted. Besides the unsightliness, high violent crime rates are reported in these "unmonitored"¹ areas.

"The failure to control land has been a key element in our failure to control our cities."²

¹ Ibid., p.259

² Richardson, B.: The Future of Canadian Cities, New Press, Toronto, 1972, p.89.

The only groups remaining in the central city are:

1) the poor for whom there are more urgent needs than good housing. One need is employment and many of the opportunities for unskilled or semi-skilled work is in the central city.

Declining cities, experiencing the erosion of the tax base, often find the demand for public output to be stubbornly inelastic on the down side

2) people who are attracted by the consumption opportunities of the central city. These are typically young adults who may be motivated by cultural amenities or other non-economic factors, but who generally anticipate improved employment prospects

3) middle and lower middle class families who have brought an older home in the central city with plans of renovating it for future use and profit.¹

Central cities today are a curious juxtaposition. Giant steel and glass office towers and high-rise apartment blocks are surrounded by older homes, buildings and noxious

¹ The popular term for this activity is "white-painting."

industrial plants-the ones suburbia would not take. After 6 P.M. the traffic-congested streets are empty as most everyone rushes back home to the suburbs. Saturday shopping is sparse in the downtown except for the exclusive shops and restaurants since suburban shopping malls have significantly weakened the downtown as a shopping area.

The difficulty with discussing the revitalization of the central city is that "the interdependency of urban activities is so strong and the urban system is accordingly so complex that it is impossible to trace all the repercussions or casual factors which result from the location of any activity".¹

Lithwick² discusses six urban problems to be found in Canadian cities and all are inter-related or interdependent on one another. They are:

- 1) poverty
- 2) housing costs
- 3) transportation congestion
- 4) environmental decay
- 5) social unrest and the
- 6) fiscal squeeze

¹ Nader, G: Cities of Canada-Volume I: Theoretical, Historical and Planning Perspectives, MacMillan Company, Toronto, 1975, p.314.

² Op cit., Lithwick, p.19.

It seems obvious that "we have failed to grasp" Ebenezer's other half": the problem of re-ordering the cities whose populations were thinning out and whose relief had been the ultimate, but forgotten, purpose of Ebenezer Howard's garden city policy. It was taken for granted that lower densities were enough: that cities could virtually re-order themselves. Ebenezer never heard of the ghetto.¹

It would be naive to assume that the central city could be revitalized to the state it was in the early twentieth century. However, it is crucial that we have a diversified central city where all income groups could live if they so desired.

In the next section the two major programs which have attempted to revitalize the central city will be examined.

* * * * *

¹ Ash, M.: "The End of Dispersal?", Town and Country Planning, Volume 43, No.2, February, 1975, p.55.

As financiers and head offices have a vested interest in the future of the central city¹, most redevelopment has been done by private interests. This investment determines the type of development that takes place, i.e. luxury high-rise apartments and office-shopping complexes.

Redevelopment initiated by governmental interests has taken the form of urban renewal and rehabilitation. Both are piecemeal in design and arbitrary in location. An example of this arbitrariness is the lack of an objective definition as to which dwellings need to be renewed or rehabilitated.

"Slum dwellings and the like may be defined as those which are proved to be physically, socially or emotionally harmful to their residents or to the community at large. On the other hand, low-rent dwellings and so forth, provide housing and the necessary facilities which are not harmful, to people who want, or for economic reasons must maintain, low rental payments and are willing to accept lack of modernity, high density, lack of privacy, stair climbing and other inconveniences as alternative costs."²

Briefly the difficulties with both methods will be cited.

¹ Allman, T.: "The Urban Crisis Leaves Town"
Harper's, December, 1978, p.44

² Gans, H.: "The Human Implications of Slum Clearance and Relocation",
Gans, H.(ed.): People and Plans,
Basic Books Inc., New York, 1968,
p.211.

URBAN RENEWAL

Although urban renewal has lost some of its appeal as a means of revitalizing blighted areas, it is still being used in many major North American cities. Its disadvantages include:

- 1) pressures of private investors may force an area to be chosen for urban renewal that is ripe for redevelopment rather than an area which may need assistance the most
- 2) average length of renewal is 12 years¹ so it is difficult to determine whether the tax base is increased over the long-term; as well, firms are often given tax incentives to build in blighted areas which cancels out any gain in tax revenues
- 3) relocation has been secondary to redevelopment
- 4) token compensation and moving expense reimbursement is given to displaced residents and merchants
- 5) landlords lose their income
- 6) more housing units are destroyed than are rebuilt; housing stock in the central city is always declining
- 7) housing built is for affluent people already living in the city to obtain new units with a sizeable public subsidy

¹ Anderson, M.: The Federal Bulldozer,
M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, 1964,
p.73

- 8) small business people are reimbursed for their buildings but not for their businesses¹
- 9) cheap housing is no longer available for those people who do not consider good housing to be a high priority
- 10) urban renewal may destroy the social system of an entire neighbourhood
- 11) the units of low-rent housing that are built is conspicuous public housing of "indefensible"² design built on cheap land near high-traffic areas
- 12) urban renewal projects based on inadequate relocation plans simply push site residents into the next adjacent low-income area and create overcrowding that leads to the formation of new slums
- 13) urban renewal would, along with demolishing blight in the community, also demolish the marginal commercial space which because of its low rentals has been the traditional location of such enterprises.

¹ For a further explanation, see Berry, B.: The Impact of Urban Renewal on Small Business, Centre for Urban Studies, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1968.

² Newman, O.: Defensible Space, MacMillan Publishing Co. Inc., New York, 1972, p.3.

URBAN REHABILITATION

Due to the sunk investment of service infrastructure in older sections of the city, urban rehabilitation must be considered an important element in the revitalization of the central city.

Federal urban rehabilitation programs, most notably the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (N.I.P.), have been more successful than urban renewal. A case in point is North Point Douglas, Winnipeg, Manitoba. The City of Winnipeg's 1969 study on the rehabilitation of North Point Douglas played a major role in formulating the 1973 federal policies concerning urban rehabilitation.

N.I.P. areas are usually located in the central city. These areas are older residential neighbourhoods. N.I.P. areas are chosen on the basis of three criteria. They are

- 1) that there is a higher percentage of owner-occupied dwellings than tenant-occupied ones
- 2) that a certain percentage of houses are considered, under federal guidelines, to be in "good" and "fair" condition
- 3) that there is a sufficient indication of social resources in the area to keep the N.I.P. program operating once federal funding is completed.

The N.I.P. Program was incorporated as a federal policy at the same time as the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (R.R.A.P.). The R.R.A.P. guidelines cover the cost of repairs needed to meet the requirements of the Maintenance and Occupancy By-Law in each urban centre. These include structural repairs as well as improvements to plumbing, electrical and heating systems. All homeowners in a N.I.P. area, whose dwelling falls below Maintenance and Occupancy standards are eligible for R.R.A.P. funding. A loan forgiveness grant is available to homeowners whose adjusted household income is \$11,000.00 or less. Due to these wage restrictions, homeowners in N.I.P. areas in Calgary and Edmonton, Alberta have not utilized R.R.A.P. to its fullest. A R.R.A.P. loan may be as much as \$10,000.00 per unit of which up to \$3,750.00 may be forgiven. A landlord and owner of a rooming house may also receive R.R.A.P. funding. However, if the owner sells his house or apartment before a specified time, portions of the grant may have to be repaid.

Although there is no funding provision for most cosmetic repairs, such as additions and landscaping, homeowners appear to take pride in their newly-renovated homes. Brightly -

painted houses and neat, uncluttered yards are the rule rather than the exception in areas such as North Point Douglas. Innovation in housing, such as infill and solar energy housing will be built in North Point Douglas. Community centres and the restoration of recreational facilities are also funded under N.I.P. An example is a cover and exercise room for the Shouldice Pool in the Bowness - Montgomery N.I.P. area in Calgary, Alberta.

Under agreements with civic tax departments in cities such as Toronto , Vancouver and Winnipeg, rehabilitated dwellings in N.I.P. areas are not assessed at higher tax levels following renovation. However, this is not the case for homeowners outside N.I.P. boundaries who are not eligible for R.R.A.P. Reluctance on the part of these homeowners to repair dwellings may be affected by a potential increase in property taxes.

Under the Federal Government's Bill C-29, incorporated on March 16, 1979, R.R.A.P. is now available to owners outside a N.I.P. area but within specified "target areas". These specified areas are chosen by C.M.H.C. without the bureaucracy of being chosen through an Order-in-Council. They also allow homeowners to utilize R.R.A.P. without being in a N.I.P. area.

N.I.P. and R.R.A.P. have facilitated some revitalization of existing neighbourhoods. However, a mechanism is necessary to work in conjunction with appropriate rehabilitation programs, to provide a community in the central city for middle and lower middle income groups. An alternative to suburbia should be available for those people wishing to live in decent, moderately priced housing in the central city. Although public housing will always be necessary, direct rent subsidies would allow many low-income groups to live in this central city community. In this way, all income groups could afford to live in the central city if they so desired. This community would be situated in vacant areas of the city, or in areas that are being used for sub-optimal purposes.

* * * * *

Perhaps it is old towns that must be the new towns of the future. As future population growth does not warrant the building of more satellite towns, would it be possible to incorporate the advantages of a satellite town into a new town - intown? Most of the physical design ideas proposed for new towns could apply to residential and commercial land uses and could be incorporated into the rebuilding of existing

urban areas. These advantages include:

- 1) open space - intersecting green space in the NTIT would provide for open space needs since it had been found that much of the empty tracts of green space in new towns are under-utilized anyway
- 2) buildings are not demolished - a site would be chosen where existing land uses are sub-optimal, i.e. parking lots, vacant land
- 3) a pleasant town centre-nothing could surpass the central city for diversity
- 4) proximity of employment-central cities includes all types of employment opportunities from unskilled to managerial and professional occupations
- 5) planned growth-as the size of the proposed development would be small, the area must be comprehensively planned out of necessity
- 6) a wide range of housing types-since infrastructure in the area is already provided, small builders could afford to participate in a NTIT and
- 7) diversity of industry, commerce and homes-a community would be planned for all income groups

A new town-intown has other advantages and disadvantages that a new town does not have, and these will be discussed in the following section.

"Men come together in cities to live; they remain there in order to live the good life."

Aristotle

Writers through the ages have bemoaned the pitfalls of small town life. One noted author, Thomas Wolfe in You Can't Go Home Again draws an unflattering picture of life in a small town. Suburban critics, such as Jane Jacobs and William H. Whyte have denounced suburbia as the "middle landscape".¹ In examining this literature one must be wary of accepting the critics' value systems without careful analysis. It is a gross over-simplification to be for new towns and suburbia on the one hand and against central cities on the other or vice-versa.

"If the new town movement could be stripped of its anti-city utopianism, there would not have to be this decentralist approach. Many goals of the new town approach are excellent - the range of housing types, the mixture of industry, commerce and homes; the wearing in of recreation and open space. They are quite applicable to the more built-up areas, indeed, as some have suggested, there is a case to be made that new towns should be in the city, or very close to it."²

¹ Dolce, P., (ed.): "Preface", Suburbia, Anchor Press, New York, 1976, p.7.

² Whyte, W.: "The New Towns" in Allen, I. (ed.): New Towns and the Suburban Dream, National University Publications, New York, 1977, p.206.

Lawrence Haworth¹ in The Good City states that a city is a place where lifestyles and institutions are conducive to self-development, self-realization and self-fulfilment. This actualization of one self may be possible in a dynamic central city.

The deterioration of our central cities have prevented many people from residing there. New towns-intown may be the mechanism to begin the revitalization of our central cities. Perloff(1966)² suggested the use of the new town label precisely because the effort proposed for the inner cities was to bring about - through coordinated, large scale planning and action-new and improved patterns of city living and working. It was in the planned creation of modernized patterns of living and working that the intown program should resemble programs for constructing satellite towns.

Perloff cites two objectives of new towns-intown:³

- 1) modernizing the central city
- 2) assisting the less advantaged

These objectives are mutually reinforcing and should be conceived as naturally going together.

¹ cf. Haworth,L.:The Good City, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1963.

² Perloff,H.: "New Towns-Intown", American Institute of Planning Journal, Volume 32, Number 3, May 1966, p.155-161.

³ Perloff,H.et al: Modernizing the Central City-New Towns Intown and Beyond, Ballinger Publishing Company, Cambridge, 1975, p.27

A new town intown is a large-scale mixed-use land development project in an existing city which:

- 1) can be flexible in the size of the land parcel used, depending upon the density of the project's population. In a high-density situation, the site might be as small as 25 acres
- 2) offers a population large enough to support the range of commercial, recreational and service facilities normally associated with a substantially self-sufficient community, typically no fewer than 10,000 people - the minimum number that can support a high school and a shopping centre
- 3) is developed, in phases, in accordance with a preconceived land use plan
- 4) is controlled by a single development manager
- 5) may involve residential or commercial rehabilitation, clearance and redevelopment, or development utilizing vacant land or air space.

A NTIT differs from an outlying satellite town in the smaller amount of land it occupies, the higher density of its population and the absence of industrial parks.

Most NTIT development occurs on a single contiguous parcel of underutilized land within the central city. The redevelopment structure of San Antonio, Texas; Cedar - Riverside, Minneapolis and St. Lawrence, Toronto illustrate the potential of integrating urban renewal with NTIT development. In this way, residents and firms in the renewal area will be relocated into the ntit development rather than being entirely displaced.

Higher densities than suburbia and new towns are an integral part of NTIT. Higher densities result in increased demands for public facilities and services. Due to limited space and high land costs, medium to high densities are essential. However, high densities does not necessarily mean high-rise.¹

Oscar Newman in Defensible Space pointed out the hazards of high-rise living. As well, C.A. Doxiadis decries the construction of high rise buildings as the gravest of architectural crimes. According to him: "Such buildings work against Nature by spoiling the scale of the landscape. The most successful cities of the past have been the ones where man and his construction were in certain balance with nature, e.g. ancient Athens, Florence."²

¹ Op. cit., Newman, p.216

² Doxiadis, C.: "Architectural Crimes", Delos Symposium, Document B, Number 28, July 12, 1971, p.5.

However, high density in itself is not bad. It is the illusion of density which can be bad. Density, especially in European cities, can provide security, colour, excitement, interaction, privacy - if these are recognized as important and put into design and policy requirements. The expansion of medium and high density living environments in the core is imperative and, if done properly, should provide an unusual living environment.

Due to their limited area, NTITs need particularly good planning. Since the area is underutilized but not completely vacant, sensitively planned development in the central city is crucial.

"No goal can be defined so narrowly that it is only physical or only social. In a goal-oriented approach, then, there can be no social or physical planning. There is only planning: an approach which agrees upon the best goals and then finds the best methods to achieve them."

This new town concept demands an actual commitment to undertake responsible physical development with supporting social service systems based on a long-term plan designed to produce a functioning community which can stand on its own. There is no built-in potential for passivity here, as is

¹ Op.cit., Gans, p.245.

sometimes the case in old style renewal where local planning agencies must wait for a developer to come along to buy the land and develop it in conformance with a plan which may no longer be wholly relevant.

* * * * *

Determining the usefulness of the NTIT framework would be unrealistic without discussing its particular advantages and disadvantages. In this way, NTITs may be compared to old style renewal and to satellite towns. The following sections examine the characteristics of most NTITs as well as briefly describing four North American projects.

ADVANTAGES OF A NEW TOWN INTOWN

- 1) location - central cities "can be fantastically dynamic places";¹ it is here where concert halls, art galleries and interesting small shops are to be found. Due to the NTIT's proximity to the inner city, transportation costs are drastically reduced and residents are within walking distance of many facilities;
- 2) efficient use of space - due to its limited size, density in a NTIT is medium to high and multi-use buildings are a necessity, e.g. a building with stores and a school on the main floor and apartment units on the upper floors. Diversity in the area is also guaranteed through mixed-use facilities. Mixed-use usually includes commercial, office, governmental, service and residential land uses with associated parking facilities.

"When we build, say, a business area in which all, or practically all, are engaged in earning their livings, or a residential area in which everyone is deep in the demands of domesticity, or a shopping area dedicated to the exchange of cash and commodities - in short, where the pattern of human activity contains only one element, it is impossible for the architecture to achieve a convincing variety - convincing of the known facts of variation. The designer may vary colour, texture and form until his drawing instruments buckle under the strain, providing once more that art is, the one medium in which one cannot lie successfully."²

¹ Op.cit., Jacobs, p.14

² Op.cit., Jacobs, p.225

Limited space also demands the duplication of an area for different uses. As an example, a church and an office building are rarely used at the same time. If they are placed next to each other, they share a single parking lot and keep parts of the city from going dead after dark and on Sundays.

- 3) A NTIT is usually built in vacant or underdeveloped areas so that few residents and firms need be displaced. The NTIT development process makes possible the rational use of urban land consistent and current with the changing needs of the community. For example, the developer, through acquisition for the project, can assemble and improve land occupied by marginal, obsolescent, or inefficient commercial or industrial uses which have a blighting influence upon the surrounding area, or land that - because of ecological, geographical or other factors - is undeveloped.
- 4) complete service infrastructure is in place and operating, e.g. police, fire, sewer, water, electricity, telephone, garbage collection
- 5) ambience of the surrounding city - social interaction and a more varied choice of role models is available in the central city

- 6) night-time activity is brought back to the downtown - people are less wary of frequenting the central city at night if lighted activities are taking place
- 7) increases housing stock in the central city - a NTIT could provide a significant amount of new, accessible housing to meet backlogged relocation needs. It could also offer a highly visible opportunity for demonstrating the validity of mixed housing in communities by attempting to achieve economic, social and cultural integration on a strictly voluntary basis
- 8) nearby employment opportunities are available for all groups
- 9) public participation in redevelopment activities is possible since residents and firms living in the surrounding area may be consulted
- 10) higher densities in the central city controls and/or slows down the expansion of urban boundaries
- 11) proximity to different land uses may reduce transportation costs and encourage interaction
- 12) both private and public interests may be involved in a NTIT project

Although some of these advantages may also be found in satellite towns, others are exclusive to the central city.

DISADVANTAGES OF A NEW TOWN INTOWN

- 1) area is very small - since NTITs can be as little as 25 acres it is difficult to envision one of them drastically altering the central city
- 2) fragmented land ownership - as some of the land will be held by private interests, "hold-outs" for compensation of the land's highest and best use will not be uncommon without legislative safeguards
- 3) land use in the central city has become increasingly established over the years:
 "Even when the land was not already encumbered by structures, many features of the older cities already were fixed, substantially influencing how the rest would develop. For one thing, the ossified street grid itself was in place, fixing some of the dimensions of homes and industrial sites. For another the railroad yards, the stockyards, the power plants, and the garbage dumps had established the general character of many half-occupied outlying neighbourhoods."¹
- 4) high rents in the revitalized area warrant subsidization- real estate prices often stabilize at about ten times their levels before renewal began which precludes the possibility of marginally-profitable shops to rent there without subsidization.

¹ Vernon, R.: "The Myth and Reality of our Urban Problems," Chinitz, B. (ed.): City and Suburb: The Economics of Metropolitan Growth, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New Jersey, 1964, p.99

- 5) high risk and investment - A NTIT's major challenge is attracting new ways of financing
- 6) often does not take into account the surrounding context in which they are located, e.g. a residential area near a freeway
- 7) noise and air pollution as well as traffic congestion is present in the central city
- 8) the Development Corporation of a NTIT must deal with a well established city government, including a dozen or more local agencies
- 9) planned technological innovations of NTITs increase the costs of the project, i.e. transportation and housing, e.g. C.M.H.C.'s experimental housing in Le Breton Flats

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In Chapter III, these general advantages and disadvantages will be used as variables to determine the potential success or failure of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood¹, Toronto.

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¹ Conference proceedings of New Communities for Canada recognizes St. Lawrence as a new town - intown. Kozak, V.: "New Communities for Canada: Conference 1975" in Pressman, N.(ed.), Op.cit., p.8.

Experience to date with NTIT development is largely based on the proposals and plans of developers since little NTIT construction has occurred.

Although the term "new town intown" is not used, European cities have been building projects designed to correct the "inordinate spread of administrative and business functions in the city and to create new centres combining residential business and shopping facilities."¹

Two such projects in Paris are the Rond-Point de la Defense and the Maine-Montparnasse project. The large population and limited area demand comprehensive planning of which NTITs play a part. The major differences between European NTITs and North American ones are that the European projects plan for larger populations, 300,000 to 1 million, and the NTIT plan is just one section of the city's larger revitalization plan - the Year 2000 master guide for the Paris region.²

¹ "Planning in the Region of Paris", France: Town and Country Environment Planning, Ambassads de France, Service de Presse et d'Information, New York, December, 1965, p.53.

² Ibid, p.59.

In North America, there are at least a dozen major NTIT projects in advanced stages on the drawing boards, but only a few are in actual execution. A brief summary of four of these projects follows. These NTITs were selected for description since they are comparable in size and have been built to revitalize the downtown area in major North American cities.

CEDAR-RIVERSIDE, MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

Cedar-Riverside is the first NTIT proposal to receive approval under Title VII. Title VII, the U.S. Urban Growth and New Communities Development Act, was enacted in 1970. Through Title VII, the United States federal government will guarantee loans up to 80% of the value of the land before development and up to 90% of the initial land development costs for a NTIT. In return, the developer agrees to establish design review boards and to ensure population mix. Cedar-Riverside is a 100 acre high-density project located on the west side of the Mississippi River, one mile southeast of the Minneapolis central business district. The project is under control of a private Development Corporation which

acquired 70% of the land before receiving support from the local redevelopment agency for remaining land acquisition and public facilities. Plans call for an eventual population of 30,000 housed in 12,500 housing units to be built by 1990. The community's six neighbourhoods will be clustered around an institutional and commercial core. Approximately 10,750 units of the 12,500 total units planned will be subsidized. Major innovations include a central "hydronic" high pressure - high temperature system for heating and cooling buildings and arcades, a climate - controlled elevator plaza and walk-way system, and a "people-mover" internal transportation system to link the East and West Bank Campuses of the University of Minnesota. To date, the extremely high density of the project has been controversial.¹

ROOSEVELT ISLAND (formerly Welfare Island)
New York City

Developed on land leased from New York City, under a long term agreement, Roosevelt Island NTIT has been designed as an automobile - free community housing 20,000 people. Its sponsor, a wholly owned subsidiary of the New York State Urban Develop-

¹ Miels, H.: Federally Assisted New Communities, Urban Land Institute, Washington, D.C., 1973, p.166.

ment Corporation, has planned the community with an emphasis on shared facilities, particularly with respect to the educational and social service system.¹

LE BRETON FLATS, OTTAWA

In 1975, the National Capital Commission and the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation initiated planning for a residential community of 12,000 people in 4000 dwelling units. The site is located within the National Capital core area on the Ottawa River directly west of the Ottawa central business district and the Parliament Hill complex. For some years the area had been largely unused (although some areas served as a snow and landfill dump), and a rezoning agreement between C.M.H.C. and N.C.C. with the City of Ottawa was necessary before any construction could begin.

Le Breton is to be an exemplary medium density community, demonstrating the quality and characteristics of inner-city living.²

¹ Ibid., p.172

² A.J. Diamond Associates, Architects and Planners, Toronto, Ontario: Le Breton Flats-Planning Process, 1975.

Mixed use occurs throughout the 200 acre community with a range of scales of intensity. In general, a ratio of 1.0 vertical building height to 1.5 horizontal space is used to ensure the penetration of natural light, and to prevent the building bulk dominating open space areas.

Le Breton demonstrates the effectiveness of the opposite form distribution-buildings that surround open space - in providing a range of housing types that accommodate from 30 - 60 dwelling units per acre. Building height varies from 2 to 7 storeys. Shops, offices and community facilities will also be built. The use of a much underutilized open space resource, the roof, is encouraged throughout the development. Each household can have individual access to personal roof or terrace space. This mansard roof is consistent with historical Ottawa and Quebec precedent.

Public participation in the project has been a "qualified success".¹ The Le Breton Flats Citizens' Council fought for (and won) keeping the sited land in public ownership, with the option of leasing on a long-term basis.

The first phase of construction of 300 dwelling units

¹ St. Aubin, L.: "Public Participation a Qualified Success" in City Magazine, Volume 3, No.7, September, 1978, p.12.

will begin September 1979. Phase I will offer housing for families with children, for singles, senior citizens and the handicapped. The first phase is being planned as a series of separate parcels. Thus, a co-operative housing group, a non-profit organization, the City of Ottawa, or a private developer can build one or a number of parcels subject to certain restrictions.¹ So far, two co-op groups and the city's non-profit housing association are committed to building in Phase I.

FALSE CREEK, VANCOUVER

This 200 acre project is the largest inner city urban redevelopment project undertaken in Canada.² In 1975, the City of Vancouver initiated redevelopment of formerly industrial land owned by the city into a mixed income residential development in the setting of a public park. Projected population is 30,000.

Marathon Realty is also playing a major role in the project since obtaining a rezoning that permits a mixture of 4000

¹ "LeBreton Flats: A Design for Inner-City Living," Habitat, Volume 21 No.4, 1978, p.12.

² False Creek Development Group: Creating a Livable Inner City Community: Vancouver's Experience, Agency Press, Vancouver, 1976, p.6.

residential dwellings with an overall residential population of 8000 and a maximum commercial area of 1,500,000 square feet with public parks and waterfront walks and activities.

The City of Vancouver has appointed 10 non-profit societies to build and manage various components of the scheme. Densities range from 36 - 60 dwelling units per acre. A qualitative or pattern system of zoning regulations is being implemented. Provision for resident parking is lower than elsewhere in the City, with all resident parking being underground.

Phase I of the redevelopment of City-owned land in False Creek is now essentially complete with 868 residential units, 70,000 square feet of net commercial space, a 350 student elementary school, 28 acres of public open space and two marinas.

* * * * *

As the concept of NTIT is so new, it is difficult to analyse the effect it has had on central city revitalization.

However, in order to determine the concept's strengths and limitations this author will undertake a narrative analysis

of a NTIT project recently under construction in Toronto.

By examining Toronto's experience, general principles for the implementation of a NTIT in other Canadian cities may be extrapolated.

These guidelines would serve as a model for other Canadian cities with underutilized parcels of central city land. Examples include the East Yards in Winnipeg, the North Winnipeg rail relocation proposal and the Harbour Proposal in Halifax.

* * * * *

ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD, TORONTOA CASE STUDYToronto

Unlike major U.S. cities, there are no serious concentrations of residential or non-residential blight in Metropolitan Toronto. However, there is a widespread distribution of a moderate degree of blight in the older sections of the city, including St. Lawrence in the south.¹

Toronto has been faced with a serious shortage of suitable housing for families with low or moderate incomes and, as a result, residential overcrowding has become a major problem in the older sections of Metropolitan Toronto.²

Since 1973, City Council has adopted a far more active role in housing. The objective of this expansion of activities is to ensure the provision of housing for moderate and low income households who cannot afford to compete in the City's housing market.

The St. Lawrence Neighbourhood represents the City's most important attempt at implementing this new housing policy.³

¹ Staff Report for the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board: Metropolitan Toronto: Urban Renewal Study, August, 1966. (Summary) p.1.

² Ibid., p.1.

³ City of Toronto Planning Board: Official Plan Proposals - St. Lawrence, April 1976.

This housing policy's goal, as developed in the Living Room¹ report, is the production of 4000 new units of housing per year in the City for the next ten years and to allocate these new units to appropriate percentages of the income scale and household size.²

This short-term policy recommended, and council endorsed,³ the creation of a Housing Department to develop those parts of the Central City which are presently in non-residential use. Thus new housing is to be encouraged through the construction of low, medium and high rise mixed use buildings in appropriate parts of the Central City. St. Lawrence was to play a major role by increasing the City of Toronto's housing stock with 3500 dwelling units.

The St. Lawrence project emerged not only from City policies on housing but also in order to utilize the new land banking programme created by the Federal Government.⁴

The first goal defined by the City for the utilization of limited land banking funds was laid down as:

"Redistributing the benefits of public action-land banking can be regarded as a tool to help people who might otherwise not have the opportunity to live in

¹ Adopted by City Council in December 1973; Housing Work Group: Living Room - An Approach to Home Banking and Land Banking, City of Toronto, December, 1973.

² Op.cit., City of Toronto Planning Board, p.5.

³ incorporated as an amendment to the Official Plan for Toronto

⁴ through amendments to the National Housing Act;(Section 42-1973). See Financing section of this thesis for further information.

certain areas of the City. Public acquisition of land in those areas where, for example, zoning and official plan changes are being considered, would mean that land costs can be held at a level where more people in the limited income category might be able to afford housing".

Underutilized land afforded an opportunity to fulfill these goals. The Living Room report also laid down criteria with respect to site selection for land banking in order to ensure that a satisfactory residential development would occur. A thorough investigation was carried out in the St. Lawrence area to assess the degree to which these site selection criteria were met.

By December 1975, five major studies were completed by consultants working with the St. Lawrence Project Office. These studies included:

- Existing Buildings Study
- Soils Analysis
- Environmental Report
- Design Guidelines
- Context

The final site plan report was completed and presented to City Council in April 1976. The conclusion was that from an

¹ City of Toronto Planning Board: Central Area Plan Review; adopted by Council in January 1975.

urban design and environmental perspective, the site was suited for residential development.

SITE

The area to be known as the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood is a 30 block, 44 acre area which stretches from Yonge Street on the west to Parliament Street on the east and from Esplanade and Front Street on the north to the railway embankment on the south. (See Map 1).

The St. Lawrence Neighbourhood is considered to be in the CBD - frame of the City of Toronto.¹ The frame covers a relatively extensive area characterized by low and medium rise buildings, and by the more traditional functions of the central city; manufacturing, wholesaling and transportation terminals for passengers and freight. This is approximately the area which Burgess termed the "zone in transition"² because he believed the core functions would in time spread outward into the frame.

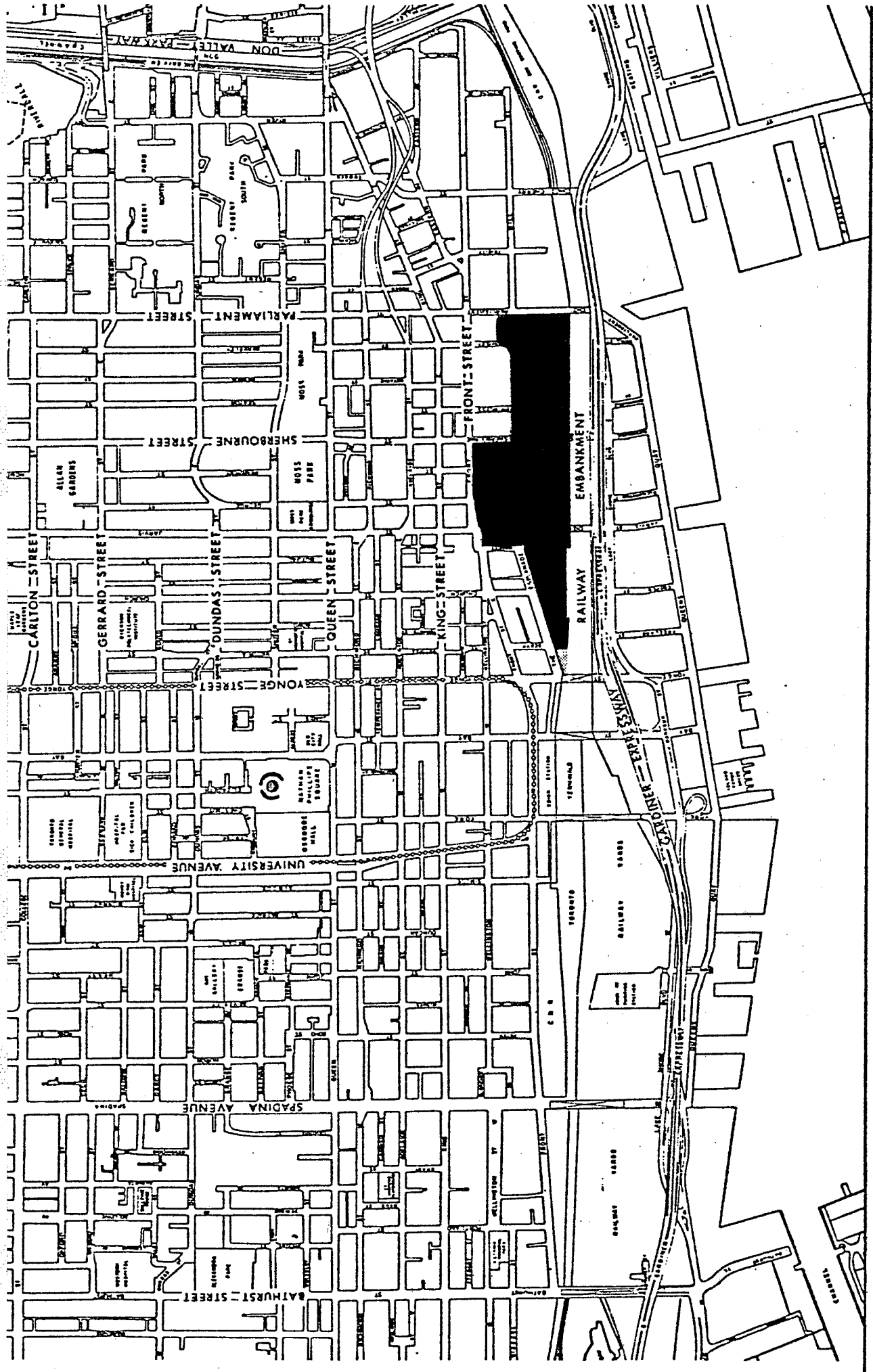
The St. Lawrence area was identified as being suited for development as an urban residential neighbourhood since much of

¹ Op.cit., Nader, p.99

² Burgess, E.: "The Growth of the City" in Park, R. and Burgess, E.(ed.): The City, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1967.

its land was underutilized - either vacant or used for parking or other secondary uses such as warehousing, scrapyards, and truck depots. As well, surrounding industrial land existed for expansion of local industries. Residential construction need not infringe on land set aside for industrial purposes. This would allow residential growth to be compatible with industrial uses. See Map 2 - Existing Land Use.

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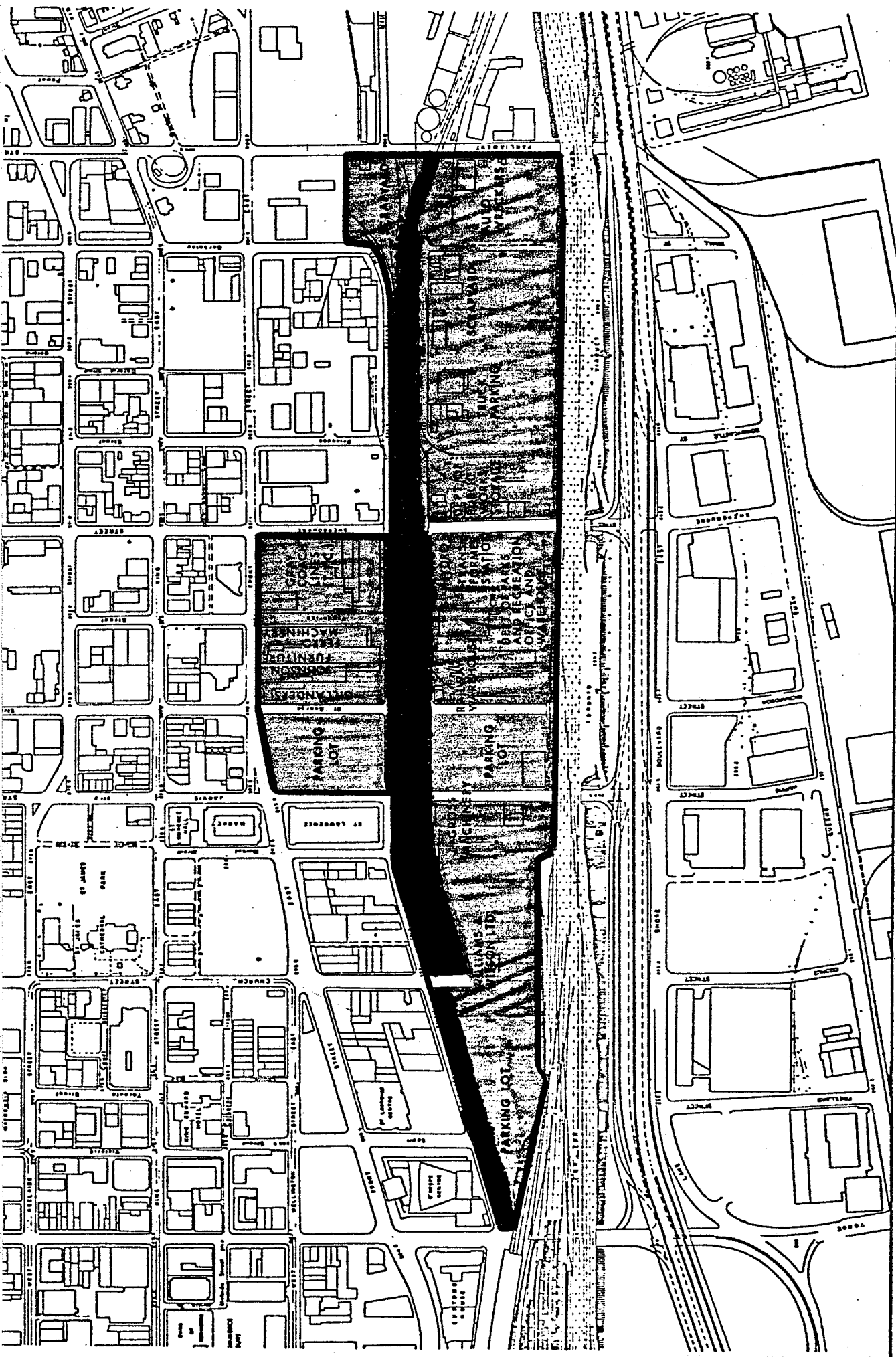


CITY OF TORONTO PLANNING BOARD
COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD PLANNING DIVISION



THE ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD

St. Lawrence



light industrial

EXISTING LAND USE

2 st. lawrence



CITY OF TORONTO PLANNING BOARD

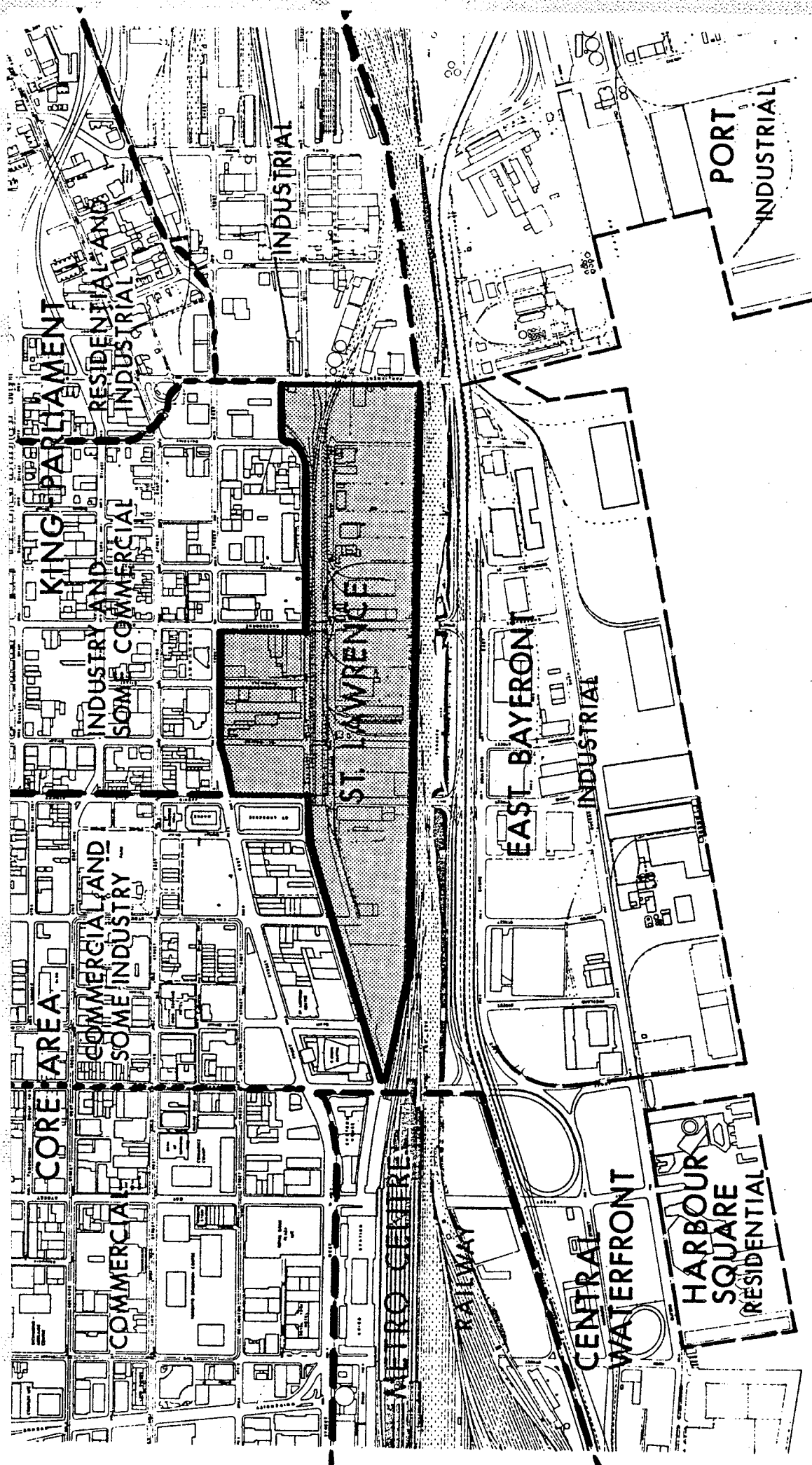


THE SURROUNDING AREA

The St. Lawrence site forms the southern edge of a mixed use area of the City, south of Queen Street East, which stretches from the densely built central business area on the east. The fact that the site is largely underutilized reflects substantial barriers: the railway viaduct, the Gardiner Expressway and Lake Shore Boulevard, which separates this mixed used area from the industrial and port lands along the waterfront.

The western boundary of the St. Lawrence site is Yonge Street, which is the edge of the downtown commercial area, characterized by high rise, relatively new office buildings. The street-related levels in the downtown are occupied mostly by retail and entertainment facilities which serve the entire Metro region.

At the opposite end of St. Lawrence, to the east of Parliament Street, is an older solid industrial area and an older mixed residential-industrial area. The four-block bank of land between St. Lawrence and Queen Street changes from dense commercial in the west to heavy industry in the east through a general mixed use area. See Map. 3.



THE AREA IN CONTEXT 3

ST. LAWRENCE

JOB No. 610/04087

CITY OF TORONTO PLANNING BOARD SCALE: 1"=800'

COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD PLANNING DIVISION JUNE 1975

GOALS OF THE ST. LAWRENCE PROJECT

The first St. Lawrence report¹ identified several basic goals in undertaking the development of St. Lawrence.

- 1) to create more housing in Toronto for all income groups, and in particular, for those of low and moderate incomes
- 2) to provide housing in the Central City
- 3) to ensure that redevelopment occurs in accordance with sound planning goals, rather than ad hoc market forces
- 4) to create a neighbourhood which will benefit from the historic buildings that remain in and around the area, and which will, in turn, revitalize what was once the Town of York
- 5) to avoid creating a public project atmosphere through the creation of a neighbourhood which is socially and physically intergrated with surrounding areas

Underlying a number of these basic goals for St. Lawrence, and the new housing policies for the City, is the concept of mix; that is, a social mix of various household types and income groups, a physical mix of building forms, a mix of old and new buildings, a mix of uses within one building, and a variety of inter-related land uses within and immediately surrounding St. Lawrence.

¹ City of Toronto Planning Board: St. Lawrence, adopted by City of Toronto Council, June 12, 1974.

HISTORY AND PROCESS

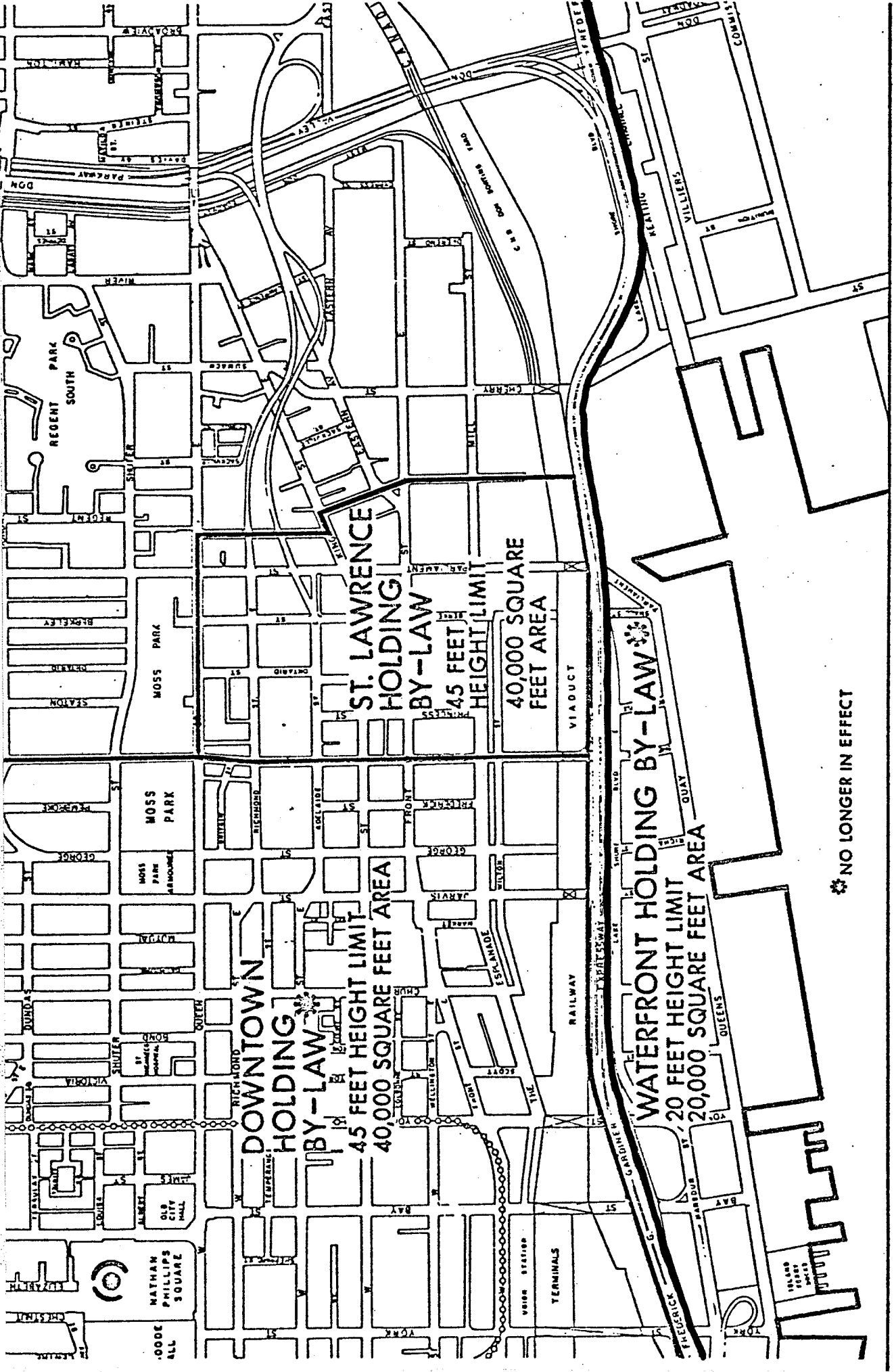
At the same time that St. Lawrence was announced, it was recommended that a Holding By-Law be placed on the area to the north and east of St. Lawrence not covered by the Downtown Holding By-Law. See Map 4. It was felt that the announcement of St. Lawrence might initiate a round of speculation and redevelopment proposals in the surrounding area. Council adopted the St. Lawrence Holding By-Law in June 1974, for a two-year period so that land acquisition could be completed.

Shortly after the announcement of St. Lawrence, at the direction of Council, the Commissioners of Housing and Planning set up a St. Lawrence Project Office consisting of the newly-formed Housing Department, the Planning Board and technical specialists responsible for the planning of the St. Lawrence area. The Office was also assigned to work with the St. Lawrence Working Committee and the St. Lawrence Technical Committee. The Working Committee consists of community and local groups from areas close to the site, groups with housing expertise, e.g. non-profit groups and elected officials and public agencies.

The Technical Committee was intended as a formal means of liaising with various public agencies who were directly or indirectly affected by St. Lawrence. Members included:

Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, City Solicitor, City of Toronto, Ontario Minister of Housing as well as 17 local authorities.¹

¹ City of Toronto Planning Board: Official Plan Proposals - St. Lawrence, April 1976, p.23.



* NO LONGER IN EFFECT

4 St. Lawrence

HOLDING BY-LAWS

PHASING

Three development phases have been identified for the Neighbourhood. See Map 5. The overall unit estimates for St. Lawrence were determined according to these development phases. Phase A, between Jarvis and Sherbourne Streets, will be especially important in that it will set the character of the entire neighbourhood. Construction of this 16.5 acre, self-contained phase will be completed by 1981. As well as 1350 dwelling units - 24 of which are designed for handicapped children - there will be a public and separate school, a health clinic, a day care centre, parking and a variety of stores.

Phase B will consist of 18 acres of land bounded by the Esplanade, Sherbourne and Parliament Streets and the railway line. Construction of 1100 units and community facilities will commence with completion of Phase A.

Unlike the first two phases of St. Lawrence, where most lands will be in public ownership, there is a significant proportion of lands within private ownership, within Phase C of St. Lawrence, west of Jarvis Street. This area forms the link to Yonge Street and high density non-family dwelling units, approximately 1000, will be located here as well as most retail establishments of the project. Phase C consists

of 9.5 acres which will contain up to 1000 housing units and about 50,000 square feet of retail/commercial facilities.

Phase A, built as five sub-projects each containing houses and/or apartments, is being developed by four non-profit co-operative housing projects and one non-profit rental project. Construction of Phase A has been funded under Sections 15.1, for the City, and 34.18, for the Co-ops, which provided 10% capital grants and 50 year mortgages at 8% for the remainder. The provincial government provided a matching 10% grant phased over 15 years. Rent supplements for about 25% of tenants will be available with 50% federal money, 42.5% provincial money and 7.5% Metro Toronto money. Non-profit and co-operative construction will require private financing with government subsidized interest rates. All private developers must arrange their own financing.

Half of the units in Phase A are two and three bedroom ground-oriented family units and the other half is a mixture of bachelor and one bedroom apartments. As part of Phase A, a variety of new commercial uses will be integrated with some of the historic Front Street buildings that are to be retained

and renovated. These include the old Toronto Railway Company (1891) which has been transformed into a theatre and school for young people. The nearby Ferro and Johnson Buildings will be renovated and will contain office, retail and commercial space.

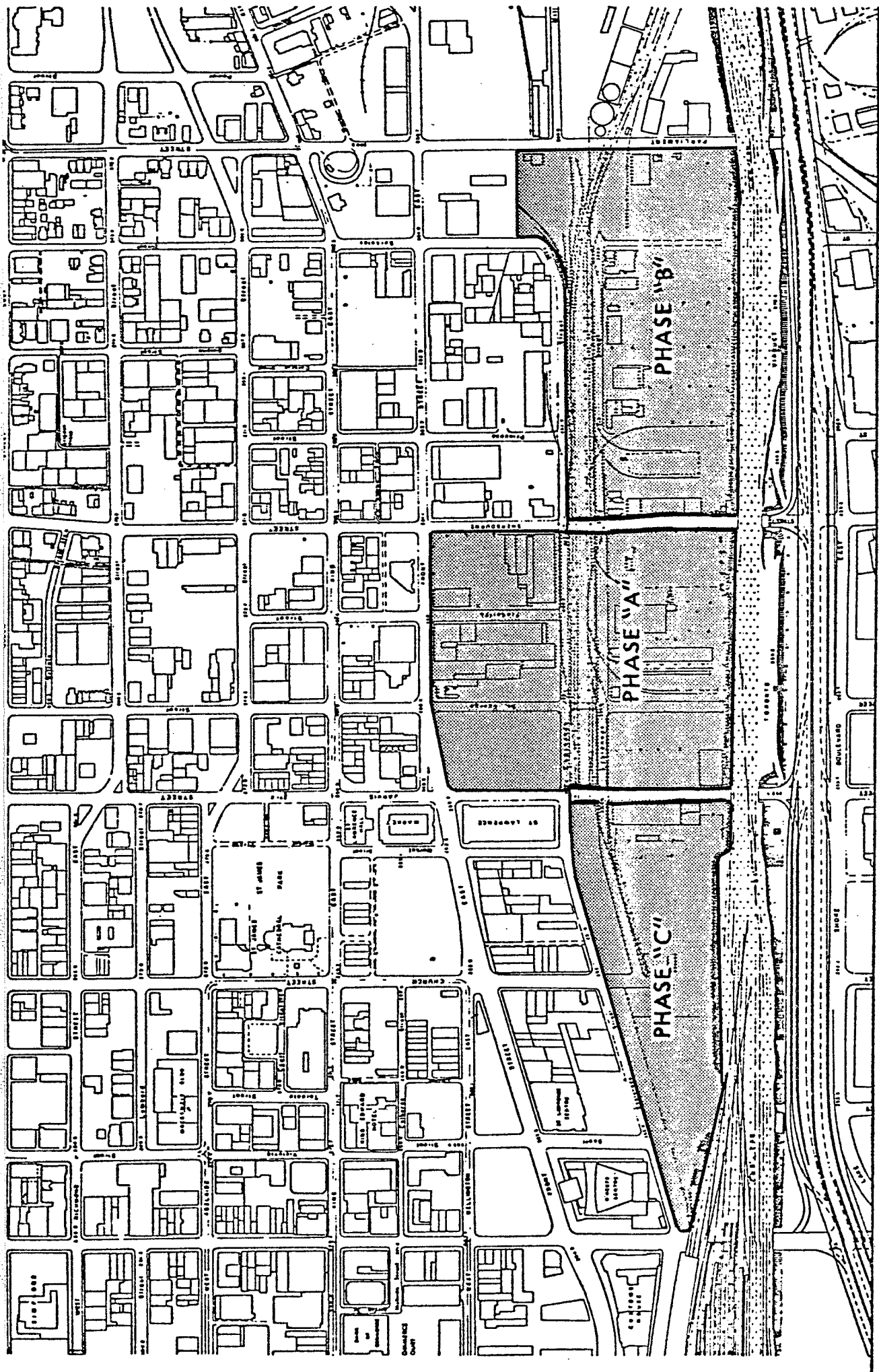
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Although Phase A will not be completed until early 1980¹, an evaluation of the Neighbourhood's concepts will be undertaken to determine its success or failure in "facilitating central city renewal".²

The framework for evaluation is simple. Each of a new town - intown's general advantages and disadvantages (cf. Chapter 2) will be examined in respect to the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. In this way, its potential effect can be predicted.

¹ Coppersmith, P.: "New Community Blends into City's Heart", The Globe and Mail, January 15, 1979, p.7.

² Op.cit., Pressman, p.5.



0 500 FEET



PROPOSED PHASING

5 St. Lawrence

CITY OF TORONTO PLANNING BOARD
COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD PLANNING DIVISION

ADVANTAGES OF THE ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD

St. Lawrence is located on the edge of Toronto's downtown commercial area, an area dominated by high-density office and retail commercial uses, with somewhat lower density east of Victoria Street and north of Queen Street. The area is the employment centre of the City and contains associated service and transportation facilities. Along Jarvis Street, the eastern boundary of the area, are a number of important historical sites, the St. Lawrence Hall and Market, the O'Keefe Centre, the St. Lawrence Centre for the Performing Arts and the Gooderham Building. On the area between Jarvis and Yonge Streets are such landmarks as St. James Cathedral and St. James Park, one of Toronto's few downtown spaces.

This central location will preclude the necessity for as much car parking space as other developments since public transit and the subway is expected to be heavily used.

The area surrounding St. Lawrence contains a variety of uses in close proximity. To the north, there are primarily light industrial, commercial and residential uses; to the east is a range of heavy, medium and light industry, to the west are medium and high density office uses as well as retail and entertainment facilities; to the south there are port-related

industries and commercial activities. Such a mixture of uses is not surprising in a highly developed, inter-related urban complex such as exists in the general area within which St. Lawrence is located. It is reasonable to assume that a wide range of employment opportunities will be available for the nearby St. Lawrence Neighbourhood residents.

The St. Lawrence Official Plan Proposals state that the Neighbourhood should reflect the mixed-use character of the surrounding area and should incorporate a wide range of uses- See Map 3. As well, maximum building height in St. Lawrence will be eight storeys in order to be assimilated into the characteristic scale of the surrounding area.

Cost of service infrastructure in St. Lawrence is minimal as it is already in place and a City of Toronto Engineering Report had determined that the increase in population would not significantly overload service capacities. However, it may be assumed that the cost of police and fire protection will increase due to underutilized and unmonitored areas partly surrounding St. Lawrence.

The grid system of streets and roads will be maintained in St. Lawrence. The grid was chosen as a means of reinforcing

one of the major aims for St. Lawrence: that it seems so logical an extension of the existing city that people would naturally be drawn into and through it.¹

All the city streets now cutting through the site will be retained at their present widths and locations. Within St. Lawrence, they will be lined with buildings similar in function to those on parts of the street outside the site. Where new streets or lanes are required, they are being cut along a north-south or east-west axis, to retain Toronto's traditional grid pattern. Cars and parking will be allowed on all streets.

A number of new streets are proposed which will be dedicated in perpetuity to the City. In this way streets in St. Lawrence will have the same status as streets in other neighbourhoods. This status will also provide a package of municipal services including snow clearance, garbage collection and police protection.

Beside using the grid pattern to capture the characteristic scale of the surrounding areas, other means will be used to "connect" St. Lawrence to the surrounding city. One of the reasons that the bulk of the new retail space is being built

¹ Op.cit., City of Toronto Planning Board, p.1.

in the vicinity of the already heavily commercial areas around St. Lawrence Market - See Map 3-is that this helps the scheme blend with the district's traditional uses.

The St. Lawrence Neighbourhood will increase the housing stock of the central city by 3400 - 3600 dwelling units. A mix of developers, both private and public, should ensure a diversity of units. As well, since service infrastructure costs will not be prohibitive, small builders will be able to play an active role. Housing in St. Lawrence will be provided under various forms of tenure including rental, co-operative, condominium and home ownership provided by both public and private developers. This housing will be distributed throughout St. Lawrence to ensure tenure and income mix. Skeptics will predict families will not be drawn to the area, that the moderately well-off will not live next to the moderately not-so-well-off, the subsidized next to the unsubsidized, and that the whole area will become a ghetto. No doubt 1979's tight housing market and the fact prices at St. Lawrence will be from 10 to 15 per cent below most private developments will enable it to rapidly attract residents. But occupancy in itself will not prove the skeptics wrong.

The City of Toronto Non-Profit Housing Corporation, Cityhome, will be the major developer of housing in St. Lawrence. As well, there are now several private and community - based non-profit development organizations involved in the production and management of rental housing. These non-profit institutions, which do not have to worry about showing an immediate profit, had been encouraged to build low and moderate income housing here; "they can do a more careful job of planning the physical and social details of this approach than speculative private builders",¹ and monotonous public ones.

Although a major goal of St. Lawrence is to ensure that low income groups can find accommodation here, there will not be a concentration of co-operative and rental units in any one area. It is important to note that all dwelling units (except for apartments) will be accessible from the ground floor.

In order to ensure population mix in St. Lawrence, the non-profit and co-operative groups for the Project were selected by the City of Toronto and initiated by the resource groups in the City, i.e. Co-operative Housing Federation and the

¹ Op.cit., Gans, p.270.

Labour Council Development Foundation. C.M.H.C. reviewed the selected groups and gave its approval. Also, the City of Toronto in conjunction with C.M.H.C. has set out Design Guidelines for the area.

Briefly, the author will examine the five developments in Phase A in order to provide a feeling for the completed development in 1983. These include:

- 1) Cityhome which is developing a mixed-use building on the southwest corner of Jarvis and Wilton Streets which will contain 210 residential units and a public and separate school. The two schools and retail establishments will be on the first two floors of the six story building. 170 dwelling units will be non-family with the remainder mostly two and three bedroom family suites. A health club and a gymnasium will also be located in the building.
- 2) The Harmony Co-operative was established by 25 families who want to live downtown. Members have low to middle incomes, and their development consists of 30 units in townhouse and stacked townhouse form. The average unit has 2 - 3 bedrooms with private space in the back and a

balcony or roof terrace. There will also be a community room. This townhouse differs from what is customary in being far more tightly wedged together. Initially, the absolute minimum between the backs of houses was set at 50 feet, somewhat less than is typical in Toronto. But when a number of streets had to be made wider than was originally anticipated, the minimum was reduced to 45 feet. Therefore, these private space areas are only 22.5 feet. There is no explanation as to why the form of the townhouses was not altered after this development was announced.

- 3) Cathedral Court Homes, another non-profit organization, is developing a six story building with 60 units ranging from 1 - 4 bedrooms. It is being built as part of the bufferwall along the railway embankment. Outdoor public and semi-private space as well as a children's play area will be provided.
- 4) The David B. Archer Co-operative, sponsored by the Metropolitan Toronto Labour Council, will contain 190 housing units, 70 townhouses half of which will be stacked and the rest apartments. The apartment building will also contain commercial establishments.

- 5) The Woodsworth Co-operative is being developed by the Toronto Non-Profit Co-operative Housing Federation and will consist of 70 townhouses and 124 apartments. The single-corridor apartment building will have "through" units with a view of the parks to the north and the waterfront to the south.¹

* * * * *

The 615 acre intersecting Esplanade Park runs through most of the length of St. Lawrence and will be completed in Phase A of the project. It is being completed before housing is built so as to give a feeling of "community" to the new area. See Map. 6. 1.5 acres of additional park land will be built around the schools. In total, almost 20% of St. Lawrence is devoted to park space; hopefully, with shared use between residents, schools and community groups. As well, the nearby downtown park, St. James Park, is within walking distance.

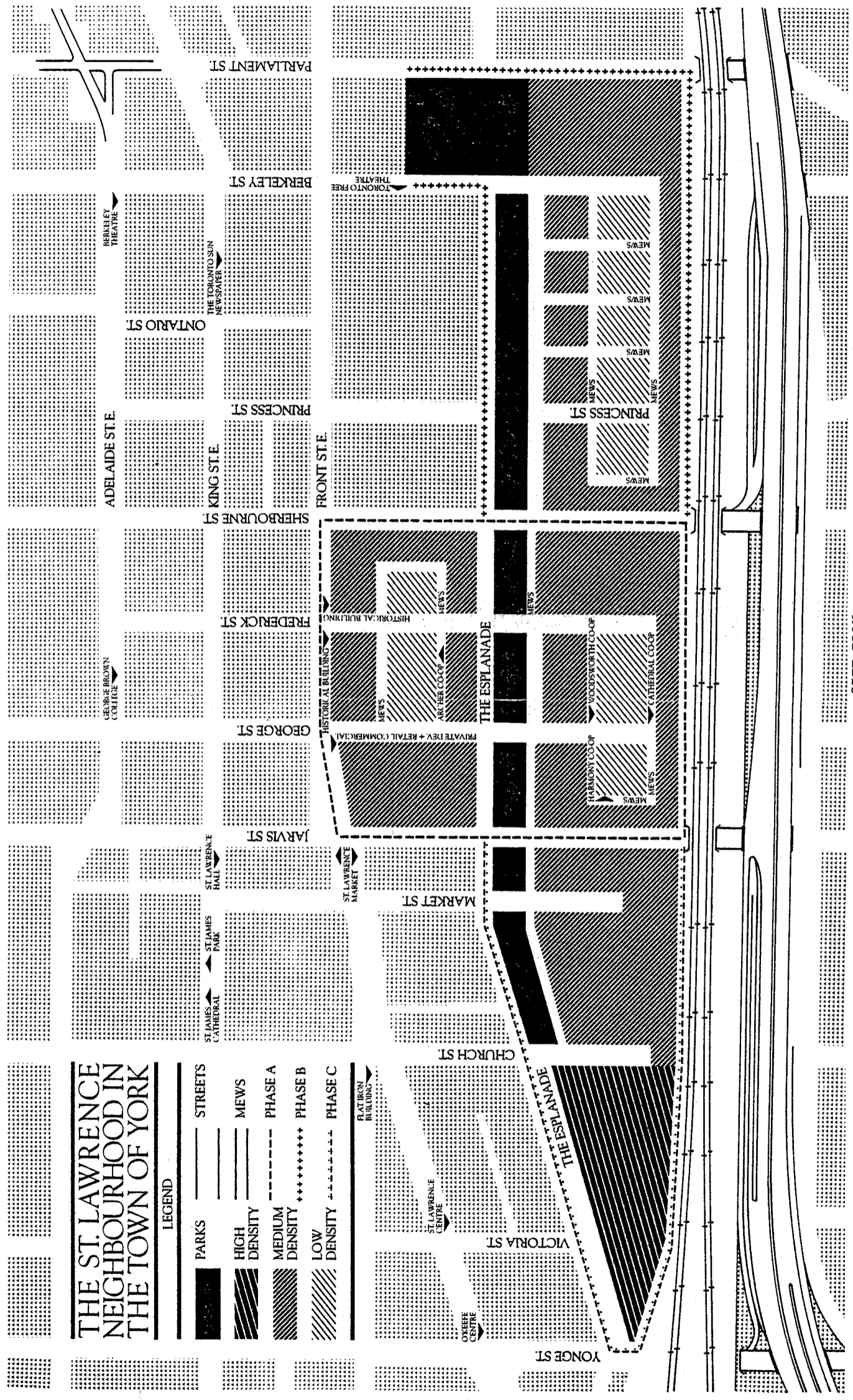
Establishing educational facilities within St. Lawrence has been a complex process of negotiation between the City of Toronto, the Toronto School Board and the Ministry of

¹ For a further description of these five developments, see Map B, on page 107.

THE ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD IN THE TOWN OF YORK

LEGEND

	PARKS		STREETS
	HIGH DENSITY		MEWS
	MEDIUM DENSITY		PHASE A
	LOW DENSITY		PHASE B
			PHASE C



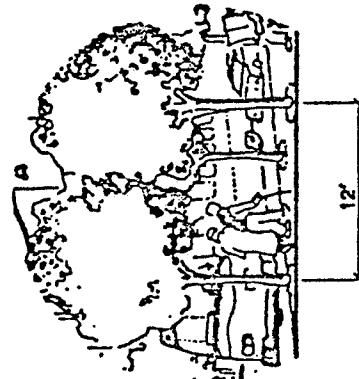
SITE PLAN

The overall plan of the site shows family townhouses clustered around interior loop roads, buffered from adjacent traffic arteries by higher density apartments containing street-level retail arcades.

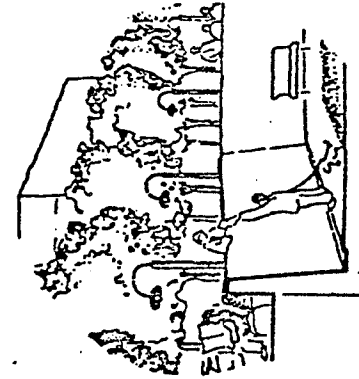
Source: The St. Lawrence Neighbourhood in the Town of York, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

SOURCE: ST. LAWRENCE PRELIMINARY SITE PLAN

LOOKING EAST FROM JARVIS



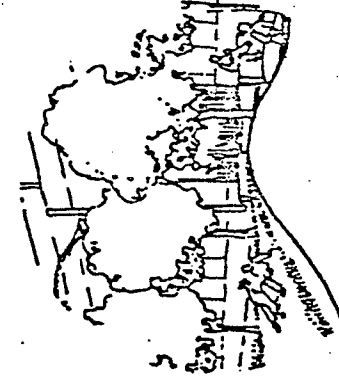
PROMENADE



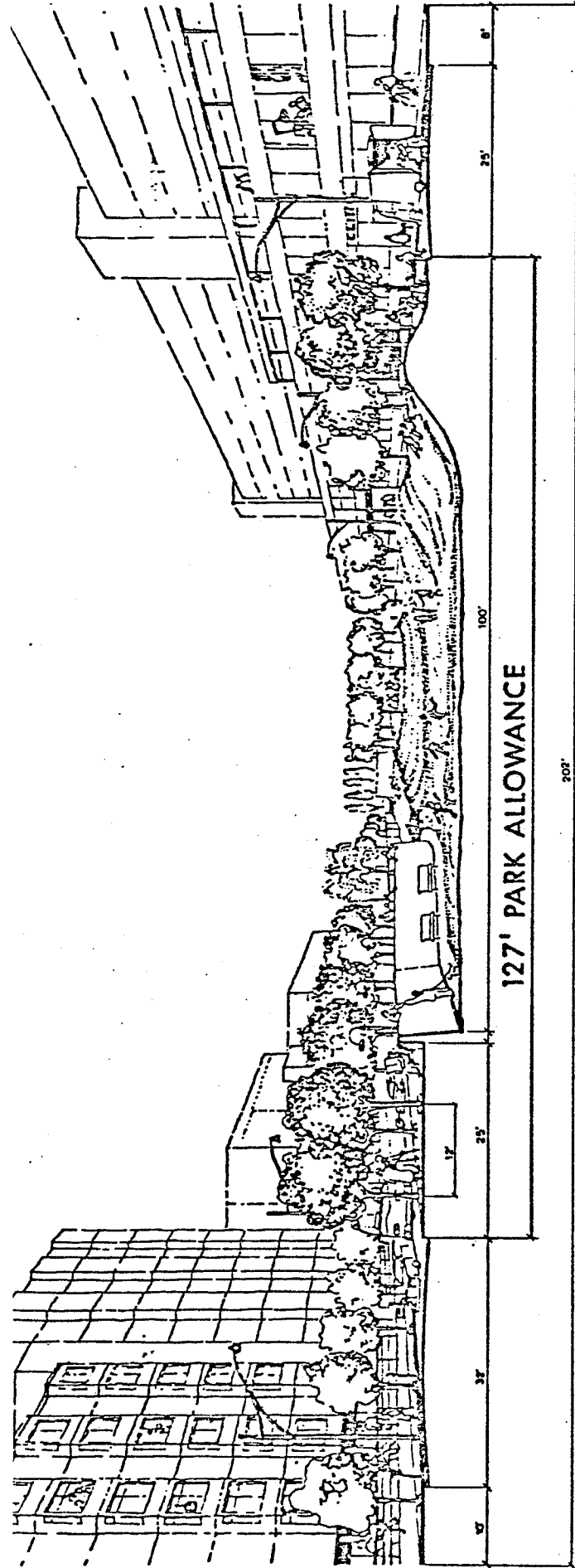
WALL



PLAY SPACE



BERM



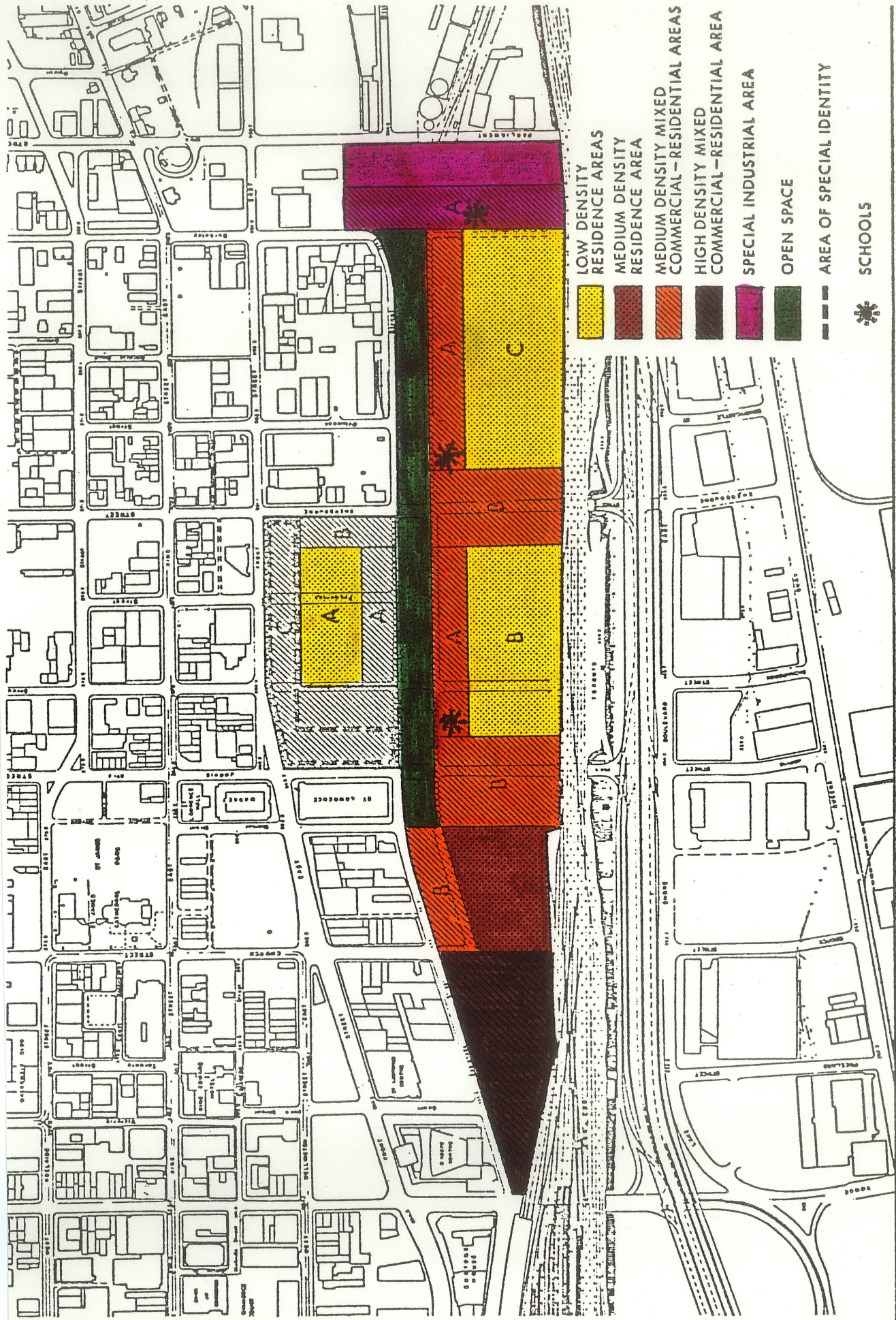
6 st. lawrence

Education. Three schools are being built, two in the first phase by Cityhome, which will serve approximately 600 students. See Map 7. All three schools will be in mixed use buildings which include retail and commercial on the ground floor, schools on the second and third and dwelling units and tenant facilities on the upper floors. Since Phase A residents have not yet moved in, public participation in the first two schools is virtually non-existent.

The major reasons for siting two schools in mixed use buildings in Phase A is so as not to utilize as much space as if they were built in isolation and would therefore allow for more dwelling units. As well, residents in the building would be able to share many school facilities. This sharing may provide for an early feeling of community and will ensure support for a minimal level of retail and other services.

The idea of sharing facilities between students and residents provides linkages between the educational system and the community and may facilitate full use of the resources. This is in keeping with what Jane Jacobs describes as "the interweaving of human patterns".¹ As well, children are given a more realistic view of adult role models in seeing

¹ Op.cit., Jacobs, p.229.



0 500 FEET

CITY OF TORONTO PLANNING BOARD

7 st. lawrence PROPOSED LAND USE DESIGNATIONS

7 st. lawrence

them informally.

In November 1975, a Social Service Report, published by the City of Toronto Planning Board, examined issues such as child care, senior citizens, health services, social welfare, recreation and information services. Although all the goals cited, including full-day care for pre-school children, are commendable, costs and funding of these facilities has not been mentioned to date.

In Phase A, the Cathedral Court Non-Profit Co-operative will provide the only facilities, so far mentioned in St. Lawrence, for the handicapped. A project of the Ceci Heinrichs Foundation(1975) will provide facilities for 24 developmentally handicapped children within Cathedral Court. "The Foundation chose the location because it is close to the Hospital for sick children, and has easy access to public transportation for family visits."¹

The Official Plan Proposals do not mention the provision of modified building forms or public transportation for the handicapped.

* * * * *

¹ Wright, P.: "St. Lawrence Project", Habitat, Volume 21, No.2, 1978, p.15.

Otherwise, St. Lawrence is well served by public transportation - See Map 8. There are currently three north-south bus routes on Church, Sherbourne and Parliament Streets which, together with the Yonge Street subway, provide service to the northern parts of the City and Metro. The King Street streetcar is three blocks from any part of the Neighbourhood and provides a means of east-west transit linking directly to the subway.

Car parking allowances will be fewer in number than other areas of Metro since St. Lawrence is near the downtown and surrounding employment opportunities. Some residential parking, such as that provided by the Harmony Co-operative, will be underground. Experience has also shown that developments of much assisted housing consistently realize lower car ownership ratios than do private housing market developments which will reduce overall parking space.

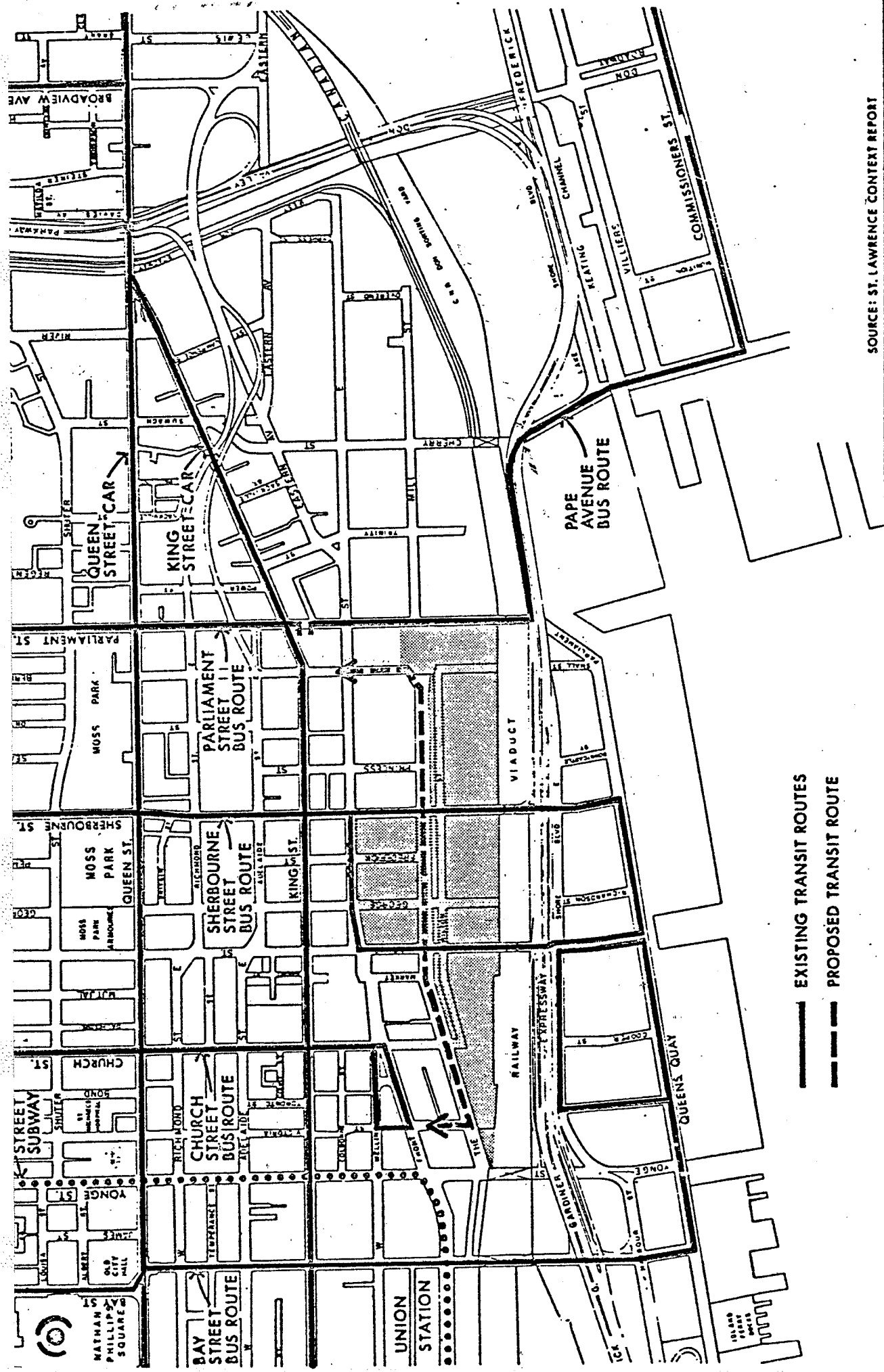
One of the New Town Movement's aims is to separate vehicular from pedestrian traffic. However, the St. Lawrence plan states that it is more important for the neighbourhood to be consistent with the surrounding area. Although the streets within St. Lawrence are seen as the major connectors between private

0 1000 FEET

SOURCE: ST. LAWRENCE CONTEXT REPORT

8 St. Lawrence PUBLIC TRANSIT ROUTES

— EXISTING TRANSIT ROUTES
- - - PROPOSED TRANSIT ROUTE



individual use and the public parts of the City, the sidewalk will be the major path for pedestrians as are the streets for vehicles and public transit within the neighbourhood.

Christopher Alexander succinctly examined the separation of pedestrians from vehicles in A City is not a Tree.¹

"At a very crude level of thought, this is obviously a good idea. It is dangerous to have 60 m.p.h. cars in contact with little children toddling. But it is not always a good idea. There are times when the ecology of a situation actually demands the opposite. Imagine yourself coming out of a Fifth Avenue store: You have been shopping all afternoon, your arms are full of parcels, you need a drink, your wife is limping, Thank God for taxis!

Yet the urban taxi can function only because pedestrians and vehicles are not strictly separated. The prowling taxi needs a fast stream of traffic so that it can cover a large area to be sure of finding a passenger. The pedestrian needs to be able to hail the taxi from any point in the pedestrian world, and to be able to get out to any part of the pedestrian world to which he wants to go. The system which contains the taxicabs needs to overlap both the fast vehicular traffic system and the system of pedestrian circulation."²

* * * * *

¹ cf. Design, 206, 1966, p.46-55

² Ibid., p.52.

While the St. Lawrence site itself presently contains no residents, there are a few property owners whose interest will be retained in St. Lawrence, as well as residents in nearby areas who will be directly affected by the development. In addition, the fact that St. Lawrence is the first attempt to create a new neighbourhood through land banking, called for a wide range of interest groups. For these reasons, Council adopted the joint recommendations of the Commissioners of Housing and Planning in January 1975, that a St. Lawrence Working Committee be set up to advise Council in connection with the planning process. As previously mentioned, three groups make up the Committee:

1) Community and local groups from areas close to the site

Cabbagetown Housing Organization

King-Parliament Industrial Committtee

Ward 6 Community Organization

Market Merchants Association

Regent Park Community Improvement Association

Federation of Don Area Residents Association

Frasmet Holdings Ltd.(representative of private owners
in St. Lawrence)

2) Groups with housing expertise

Bain Apartments Co-op Inc.

Labour Council Development Foundation

Toronto Non-Profit Housing Federation

Interfaith Housing Committee

a representative of the private development industry

3) Elected Officials and Public Agencies

Mayor, City of Toronto

Chairman, Committee on Neighbourhood, Housing,

Fire and Legislation

Alderman, Ward 6

Alderman, Ward 7

Toronto Board of Education

Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board

City of Toronto Planning Board

The St. Lawrence Technical Committee, whose members were mentioned earlier, has also been involved in the development.

One of the problems of developing a residential community on vacant or underutilized land is no actual residents of St.

Lawrence Neighbourhood will participate in the initial planning. Basic elements of Phase A have been planned outside of the area.

Although the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood has many advantages uncommon to most satellite towns, it is not without disadvantages. The following section examines the Neighbourhood's major problems.

DISADVANTAGES OF ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD

One of the major disadvantages of all new towns - intowns is their limited size. Being no exception, the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood is only 44 acres. Larger areas are necessary to revitalize an entire central city rather than just a few acres.

"We should be recapturing and redeveloping urban neighbourhoods in vast parcels by the square mile rather than by the acre. Once a piece a real estate has been acquired which is so large as to insulate it utterly from the moldering neighbourhoods around it - once it is sufficiently large enough to be equipped with its own parks, schools, libraries, stores and social structure - then the possibility of successfully reusing the land for middle-income living increases considerably."¹

Total cost of the development is \$145 million² of which \$20 million has been for land assembly. Funding will have come from private developers - \$45 million and from Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, the Ontario Housing Corporation, Metro and the City of Toronto. The City of Toronto Housing Department is responsible for all land acquisition and co-ordinating building of all facilities, public and private.

C.M.H.C. financing of non-profit and co-operative housing projects includes start-up funds to permit the initial

¹ Vernon, R.: "The Myth and Reality of our Urban Problems", Chinitz, B.(ed.) Op.cit., p.109.

² as of January 15,1979

development studies, and 100% loans with an interest reduction grant resulting in an effective mortgage rate of 8% for 50 years. In addition, 10% of the project cost need not be repaid. The federal, provincial and metropolitan governments share additional on-going subsidies for 25% of the units on a cost-shared basis 50%, 42.5%, 7.5% respectively.¹

Due to recent amendments to the National Housing Act's non-profit section as well as the lengthy time span and bureaucracy involved in setting up non-profit housing corporations, inexperienced groups have had difficulty building housing for its members. Unfortunately, these members may be the ones who need it most. High risk and investment discourages small developers since the concept of building a neighbourhood in the central city is so new to North America. If they do build, to make the effort worthwhile, they will build large developments. This precludes the possibility of diversity in such a limited area.

Due to fragmented land ownership in the area, as mentioned previously, the 1974-1976 Holding By-Law was implemented to hinder speculation in the area. The By-Law had a 45 foot height and 40,000 square feet area limit. See Map 4. However, market

¹ National Housing Act(Section 45) for New Communities.

forces in the redeveloped area will still warrant subsidization of small businesses to allow them to remain in the area; especially in Phase C where most retail establishments will be located. Although the City of Toronto Housing Department and Housing Work Group did consider the problem of escalating rental costs in the St. Lawrence Report - May 1974, no further action was taken.

Another general disadvantage of NTITs, which includes St. Lawrence, is its ossified land use. Streets presently form the basic structure in the rest of the City of Toronto, particularly in the areas surrounding St. Lawrence. Therefore, arterial, collector and local streets and lanes have been the primary determinant of the built form of the Neighbourhood. Although this grid pattern will integrate St. Lawrence with the surrounding areas, it will also preclude the possibility of many imaginative design options, e.g. the Radburn superblocks.

As mentioned previously, overall density guidelines have been determined for each of the three phases which will again limit single building designs from utilizing all possible options. An example of the rigidity of these guidelines is that the Official Plan states: the density of 70 units per acre

will only be awarded to those developers who provide a minimum of 20% of their units under an assisted housing scheme. Developers who wish to develop an entirely private market scheme will be awarded a density of 50 units per acre. Although the intention of income mix is commendable, nowhere are performance standards or qualitative criteria mentioned. Therefore, although much assisted housing will be built, it may just look like another public housing project. Qualitative, or pattern zoning, as in the case of False Creek, Vancouver, should be an alternative.

Another problem with the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood is noise and air pollution. A major cause of the underutilization of this area was the noxious effects of the Gardiner Expressway, the railway, major arterial roads, parking lots and local industries.

However, the Environmental Report¹ determined that the air environment was generally acceptable and comparable to the rest of the downtown area. Recommendations for increasing the aesthetic quality of St. Lawrence were stated in the final chapter of the Report. These included: the reduction of dustfall levels through the removal of existing sources, through tree-planting and vegetation across the neighbourhood and the siting of buildings

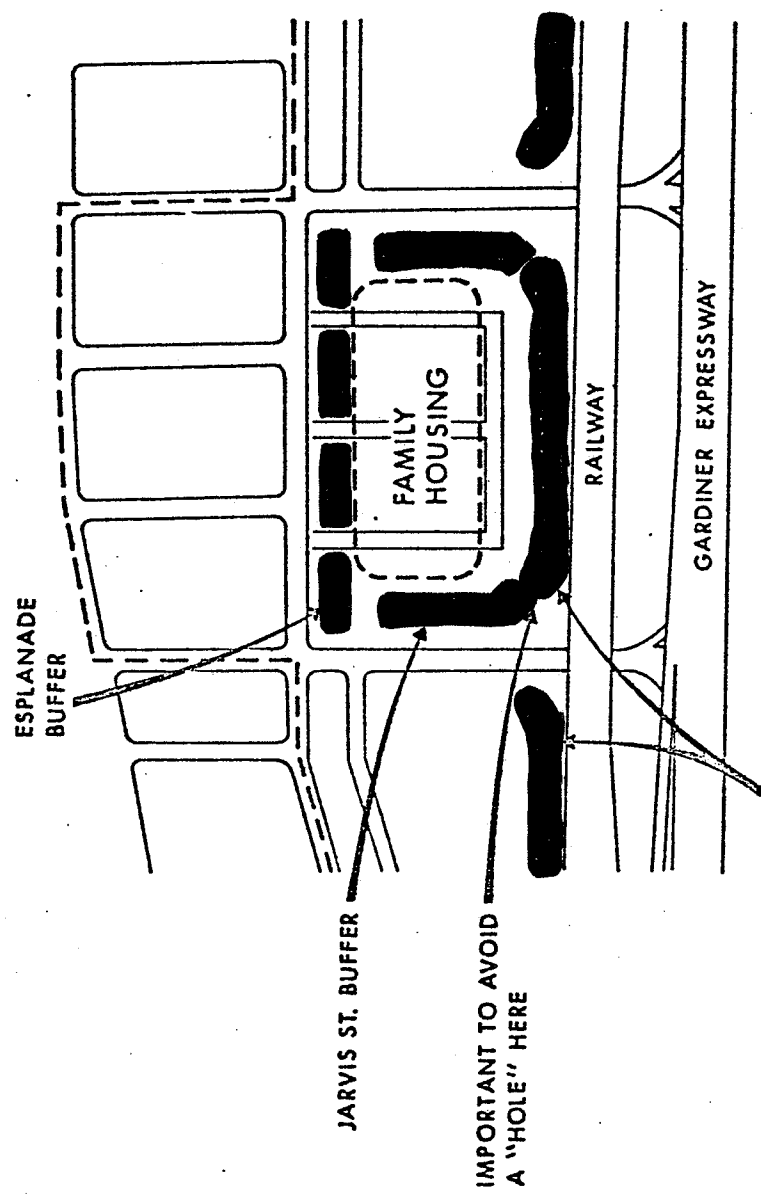
¹ Done by consultants in July, 1975 and available from the City of Toronto Planning Board.

to achieve proper wind ventilation. Also, in order to reduce noise exposure from the railway and the Expressway, lower-scale buildings, as would be suitable for families, will be developed from the railway embankment up to the Esplanade. Similarly, consideration will be given to the development of barriers along the southern boundary for visual, psychological and noise reasons. As well, the development of larger scale, predominantly non-family, non-residential buildings along major arterials will serve as a buffer for family housing areas behind such structures. See Map 9.

In reality, to buffer as much of the site as possible from noise - particularly from the Gardiner Expressway - a series of long, 45 foot high walls have been built along the railway embankment. These walls are, in fact, buildings. One, from Yonge to Jarvis, will be a parking garage, but the remainder are residential. Due to sensitive design features a ghetto effect will not result from these buffers.¹

Concern about local traffic led to the use of a similar strategy elsewhere in the area. All of the higher-density, up to 8 storys, non-family buildings are being placed along St. Lawrence's major streets. As a result, the majority of the

¹ Op. cit., Wright, p.16



open space

buildings

SOURCE: THE SOUTHERN BUFFER STUDY



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9 st. lawrence

THE ACOUSTICAL ENVELOPE

Neighbourhood's population will be living in the walls intended to protect the neighbourhood. Although these factors do not make the area unlivable, perhaps alternatives to the form of these buildings should have been considered more closely.

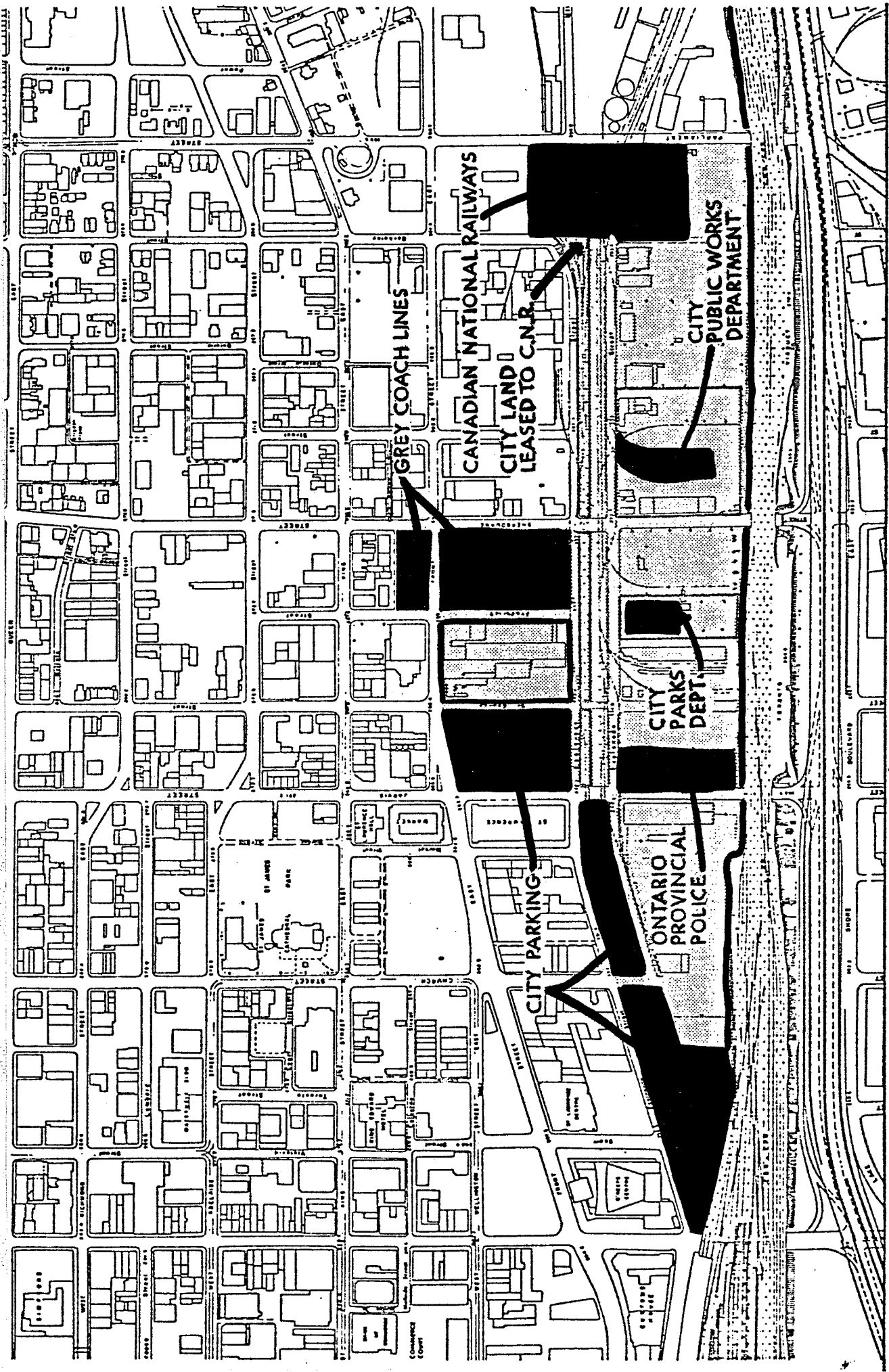
Perhaps, also, planners were more concerned with the cost of land that was to be assembled rather than the quality of the area. By May, 1974, the City of Toronto already owned outright 60% of the land in the St. Lawrence area. This attractive feature may have overshadowed some of the more disagreeable aspects of the site, i.e. the noise and air pollution. See Map 10.

After the City of Ottawa, the City of Toronto has the most well - established city government and planning department in Canada. In Toronto, fifteen in-depth studies over a two year time span were necessary to receive approval of the proposed St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. This lengthy process and lack of an overall redevelopment policy may have resulted in the loss of a more varied group of developers. This is due to the high cost of holding land in the central city as well as the loss in potential opportunity costs of money. Theoretical conclusions of St. Lawrence, shown graphically on the following



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10 st. lawrence

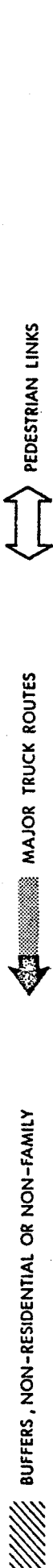
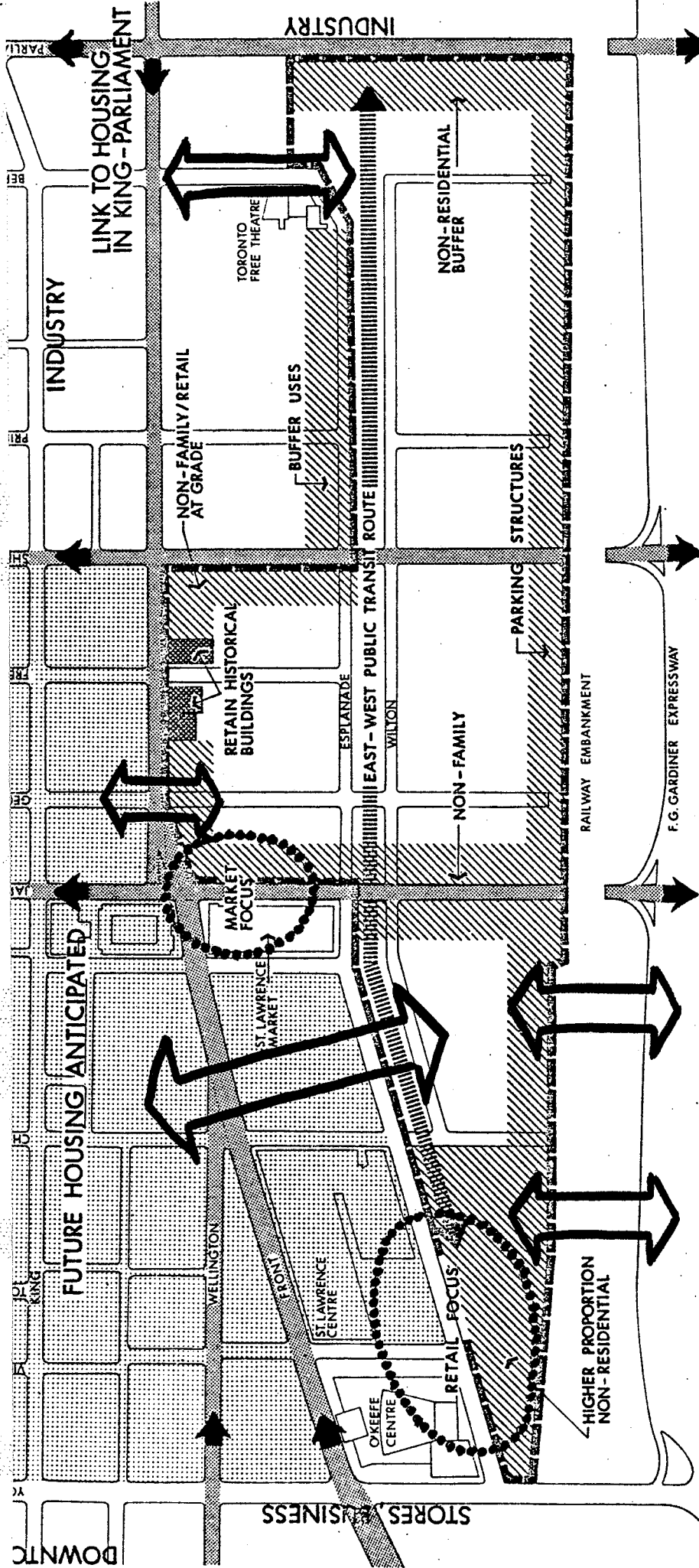
PUBLICLY OWNED LAND, MAY 1974

page, examine its mixed-use objective. These planning objectives determined the type of neighbourhood the City of Toronto is presently building.

* * * * *

Completed examples of new towns-intown are unavailable as references for the Toronto experience. It is evident, though, that the concept has significantly increased housing stock in the central city. Hopefully, this may hinder, or even stop, the expansion of Metropolitan Toronto's boundaries. St. Lawrence has also met its objective of providing affordable housing in the central city.

Policy implications will now be examined for the implementation of the concept in other Canadian cities. If, as an example, railyards were relocated out of the central city, which may take place in Winnipeg's north-end area, vacant land in prime locations would be available as the site for a community. A comprehensive policies statement would be crucial in speeding up the process of this form of redevelopment.



CONCLUSIONS ST. LAWRENCE

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COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD PLANNING DIVISION

JUNE 1973

WATERFRONT: Housing, recreation, employment

II

Key factors have been identified for the success of the NTIT concept in Canadian cities. These elements were determined by examining the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. They include:

- 1) a municipal land banking and assemblage policy in order to build on large, attractive sites and to keep the costs down
- 2) the organization of a Development Corporation to function as planner, developer and manager of the NTIT
- 3) financial and design assistance from the federal government, i.e. Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation
- 4) federal incentives to small builders, such as non-profit and co-operative housing groups, to ensure a diverse housing and income mix
- 5) implementation of a social policy, in conjunction with planning tools, in order to ensure population mix
- 6) municipal design guidelines to ensure high quality design

These factors will be examined more closely in the following section. Although some of these policy proposals may appear naive at the present time, the dilemma of providing affordable shelter in attractive environments for all Canadians is too

crucial to be ignored simply because they may not be politically or economically expedient.

These six factors would be much easier to implement if Canada had a national urban land policy. Since urban land is a limited and consequently, a high-priced resource, it should be imperative that its distribution and use is controlled on a national scale.

Unfortunately, it is unlikely that a national urban land policy will be forthcoming. One reason for pessimism is the termination of the Ministry of Urban Affairs. The result has been that research on Canadian urban problems is not considered a priority at the present time. As well, the May 1979 federal election of a Conservative Government, on the platform of decentralizing government functions to the provincial level, will further hinder discussion of such a policy.

The following Chapter will examine the need for a national urban land policy even though it has been determined by the Federal Government that such a policy will not be forthcoming.

Although a national urban land policy could ensure the successful planning of a NTIT, more realistic means for the

implementation of a NTIT will be discussed. The most important means is the public Development Corporation, which will be examined later in the chapter. The powers of such a Corporation will be delineated so that any Canadian city would have the ability to plan a new town - intown.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The need for a national urban land policy is based on a number of assumptions made throughout this thesis. These include:

- 1) the high cost of building satellite towns by private developers
- 2) urban growth necessitates an increase in housing stock other than low-density, energy-inefficient suburban sprawl
- 3) sections of the central city of all Canadian cities are deteriorating due to the erosion of the tax base
- 4) low-income groups, which make up the majority of the population in the central city, lack affordable, decent housing.

Harvey Lithwick has stated that our ability to solve urban problems has been impeded by the absence of " a clearly stated set of urban objectives that derive from and contribute to the nation's goals."¹

According to Friedmann², there is no single public interest. Contradiction and randomness have been the major elements of urban land policies to date. On the one hand, single-family

¹ Op. cit., Lithwick, p.169

² cf. Friedman, J.: Retracking America - A Theory of Transactive Planning, Anchor Press, New York, 1973.

detached dwellings are given increasing federal assistance,¹ as mentioned previously, due to the traditional desire of controlling one's own small parcel of land and the lack of control over land speculation.

On the other hand is the widespread feeling that future urban growth could be improved through more comprehensive planning and less haphazard decision making.² A good example is building bigger and better highways to reduce auto-induced congestion, a fallacy in every sense of the term.

More comprehensive planning and continued fragmented control over development are mutually exclusive :

"...land-use planning in any comprehensive sense really does not exist in our larger urban areas. What does exist is a complex game of chess among localities, each attempting to palm off the individual applicants for space upon their neighbouring communities. This is warfare, not planning."³

¹ Presently, it is too easy to take possession of a house resulting in high mortgage foreclosure rates. This trend may be augmented by a Conservative Government's mortgage interest deduction plan - a scheme which every writer in the Financial Post has denounced as well as the C.D. Howe Research Institute. As well, a U.S. license holder in Toronto, Victoria Wood Development Corporation, Inc., has been given the exclusive Canadian right to a program which "allows mortgage payments in the first year to be reduced by 17% - 25% giving more people with lower incomes a chance to buy a house: ("New Mortgage Plan a Hit", Winnipeg Tribune, March 12, 1979, p.10).

² What Charles Lindblom called "disjointed incrementalism". cf. Lindblom, C.E.: The Policy - Making Process, Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1968.

³ Op. cit., Vernon, p.101.

Zoning powers which are usually reserved to the city or to the suburban community are simply not enough to ensure that the use of land according to any given land-use pattern on which general agreement had previously been reached. "The pressures upon a zoning board applied by a private investor who is ready and eager to move ahead on some plan of redevelopment are so great as almost to be irresistible." ¹

Lack of information has also prevented residents from voicing their concerns over developments in the city. An examination of the effectiveness of Resident Advisory Groups in Winnipeg is a case in point. Low-income residents, usually the least informed, are often the most affected by redevelopment proposals.

Although it may be idealistic to assume that a national urban land policy will be forthcoming, attempts have been made to come up with recommendations.² Theoretical differences as well as the roles of the three levels of government have been the major areas of debate.

A national urban land policy would be highly interconnected with other national policies. These include

¹ Ibid, p.103

² Special Issue: National Urban Policy", Plan Canada, Volume 12, No. 1, July, 1972.

a national land policy, land banking, a more effective capital gains tax and Foreign Investment Review Tax, a national economic policy, a regional development policy and a transportation policy.

The need for a national urban land policy is self-evident. Presently, two types of cities exist. Large cities, of over 500,000 people, are faced with the problems of congestion, poverty, crime, pollution as well as the lack of open space and an adequate tax base. Smaller cities, which include new towns and bedroom suburbs, contain low density housing, are energy and cost-inefficient, lack freedom of choice and may be very dependent on larger cities.

Both types of cities have many advantages as well. Average family income increases with city size¹ while smaller cities and towns may provide a more conducive environment for the rearing of children.²

However, optimum city size is a problem that has not been adequately dealt with. Perhaps planners should be considering an urban land policy which takes in various-sized cities for varying needs - the large metropolis for

¹ cf. Poduluk, J.: "Incomes of Canadian", Statistics Canada, 1961, Census Monograph, Ottawa, 1968.

² cf. Wellamn, B.: "Neighbourhoods and Participation", Powell, A. (ed): The City: Attacking Modern Myths, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., Toronto, 1972, p.99.

single people, young couples and high-income groups, satellite towns for family groups and new towns - intown for low-income groups and those people wishing to remain in the central city.

Social policies such as minimum income plans and rent supplement programmes will be necessary to ensure that mobility to different living environments is possible for all.

Policies conducive to the planning of both satellite towns and new towns - intown could also be related. Satellite towns could be built near a central city NTIT to form a "paired community".¹ Jonathan, Minnesota and Cedar-Riverside, Minneapolis are examples of the concept. The two communities benefit by developing exchange programmes sharing information and technical knowledge, transportation facilities and developing joint social services.

As well, satellite towns and new towns - intown developed by the public sector would discourage many of the disadvantages common to both developments at present.

"Through public ownership the appreciated value of land which results from its urbanization can be retained by the community; although in principle this development value already belongs to the community, the most practical way of capturing it is by outright ownership of pre-urban land. The profit which is made from the

¹ H. Miels, Jr., in Federally Assisted New Communities. (Urban Land Institute, Washington, D.C., 1973, p.91) defines the concept of "paired communities."

development of (satellite) towns can in turn be used to pay for community services and facilities and even to subsidize the redevelopment of inner city areas."¹

The achievement of a socially, economically and demographically balanced community is also more likely under public rather than private ownership. A balanced community can only be achieved when profit maximization is not the primary goal and where large amounts of capital are invested for a long time before any economic return is made. In a public satellite town, some of the profits from commercial-light industrial development may be used to subsidize assisted housing in the NTIT.

Whether the goal of self-contained employment may be possible is uncertain since even successful new towns such as Stevenage, England have had difficulty in this respect.² However, public authorities may have greater control over the location of work places and its greater financial resources which make long-term planning more feasible. As well, employment incentives for residents have been proposed by some new town authorities.³

A national land policy must be combined with land banking

¹ Op.cit., Nader, p.336.

² Op.cit., Booth, p.542

³ cf., Gideon Golany in New Town Planning: Principles and Practice, (John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1976), p.265-280.

and the redistribution of income tax in order to provide a successful urban land policy. Great Britain and The Netherlands have national development policies which have ensured the success of their new towns as well as precluding the need for discussing land banking.¹

Public acquisition of land yields to the public authorities all incremental land values. Pre-planning can reserve rights-of-way for infrastructure, provide enormous economies of scale with on-site factories for construction of utilities, structure, roadways as well as housing. Innovation can also be attempted.

Its long-term effect is to hinder speculation on a limited natural resource, the land. In effect, land banking would get back on the market reasonably priced land for general housing requirements.²

The planning of both satellite towns and NTITs depends on the implementation of land banking. Both the Spurr Report on Land and Urban Development³ and the Habitat Conference⁴ discuss

¹ Op. cit., Miles, p.89.

² Critics of Saskatoon's land banking policy do not seem to appreciate the fact that benefits can only be realized in the long-term; their condemnation in the short-run has been unwarranted.

³ Spurr, P.: Land and Urban Development. A Preliminary Study, James Lorimer and Company, Toronto, 1976.

⁴ United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, Vancouver, Canada, May 31 - June 11, 1976.

the concept in detail. A city could move in the direction of long-term leasing of land using public ownership to control construction costs, thereby pulling the price of housing down.

Public ownership of land would allow a city to sell off small parcels to small builders to provide a diverse type of housing and tenure. The present approval process would be eliminated so that giant development companies could not hold back lots from small developers. As well, municipalities must have access to the necessary capital to continue their servicing, as in Montreal.

Provisions for building within a set time period as well as strict land use controls would be determined by planners and residents alike.

Co-operative and non-profit housing legislation must be amended to relax some of its severe limitations. Although 1979 amendments to the N.H.A. have curtailed the activities of many groups, an official of C.M.H.C., discussed proposed financial changes in the legislation which would: "lower rents according to tenant participation and stabilize rents at a level reflecting operating costs (once capital costs are paid) even though market rental costs may continue to rise. C.M.H.C., over the next year

will finance up to 4000 co-operative housing units across Canada, double the number the corporation has financed in past years."¹ Funding for these types of small housing projects could be provided by pension funds; a vast amount of money whose investment opportunities appear to be under utilized. The Pension Fund Investment Association of Canada (PIAC), a trade association of Canada's 45 largest pension funds with assets totalling \$14 billion, have been shying away from housing due to legal technicalities.² However, education and publicity are crucial in order to interest the vast amounts of capital which, presently, has not been invested in housing for their members. This lack of education and publicity had been the major cause of the failure of the United States' Model Communities Program and Canada could learn a lesson from their experience. The Labour Council Development Foundation of Toronto was agreeable to the financing in the first phase of St. Lawrence, i.e. 100% loan from C.M.H.C. at 8% interest rate with 10% of capital forgiveness. However, in the second and third phase of the Project, they are not involved.

¹ Winnipeg Tribune: Co-ops Reassured by C.M.H.C.", April 30, 1979, p.6.

² Gherson, G.: "Pension Funds are Going Exploring", The Financial Post, April 28, 1979, p.5.

While federal land banking and growth policies are crucial, decentralization of decision-making is necessary to implement local projects. Failure of centralized policy results mainly from the limited ability of the federal government to influence the actions of local governments and from its tendency to conceive goals in ideal terms.

"... federal programs are ... much freer than local governments to stand publicly for progress and high principle. Not having ordinarily to decide concrete cases, they do not have to make the compromises that such cases require. The farther removed they are from the cases, the more principled they are able to be."¹

The proper federal role of C.M.H.C. in shaping future urban growth is one of structuring effective financial incentives for provincial and municipal governments to assume major policy responsibilities and of financing subsidies necessary for socially and economically balanced new developments. Co-operation is crucial between city and provincial governments with C.M.H.C. The advantage of negotiating policy with C.M.H.C. would be sharing the risk and financing to a greater extent. It would be possible for local officials to make decisions on projects rather than simply participating in federal assistance programmes.

¹ Derthick, M.: New Towns - InTown, The Urban Institute, Washington, D.C., 1972, p.94

With advice from provincial planners, the federal government might consider preparing a model structural plan for satellite towns and NTITs and the enabling legislation to encourage provincial and municipal participation. Master plans, while not legally binding, may be advisable to prevent stagnation and ignorance in the planning process.

* * * * *

PUBLIC DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS

A local co-ordinating mechanism may be the most reasonable planning agency for public sector satellite towns and NTITs. A Development Corporation may be able to relate the various functions and responsibilities of local governments, including redevelopment, rehabilitation, and housing agencies, local citizens, as well as provincial and regional bodies and the federal government itself. At this juncture, it would be hard to identify an existing corporate or governmental entity which could accept all necessary responsibilities, and assume all the variety of functions which seem to be absolutely requisite for a NTIT. Redevelopment and housing authorities simply do not have a wide enough range of powers, nor do they have the essential ability to float bonds and engage in revenue-producing activities. It appears that a public Development Corporation is required.

Powers of Public Development Corporation would include:

- 1) preparing physical, financial, and social plans, both for the short-term and long-term, for the entire site and relate these plans to existing local, regional and province-wide planning objectives

- 2) operate as a developer and in the process buy, sell, or lease land
- 3) acquire property and clear or rehabilitate it; buy, sell or lease underutilized buildings
- 4) operate on a temporary or permanent basis or arrange for the operation of necessary public facilities to serve the land where necessary, operate quasi-public enterprises such as parking structures and garages, transit facilities, and mini-buses within the site
- 5) bank land
- 6) joint venture with other private, non-profit or public agencies or institutions to achieve social and physical objectives of the plan
- 7) the power to issue and float tax-exempt bonds as well as engaging in other revenue-producing activities
- 8) build housing for all income groups by selecting designers sensitive to the area's needs
- 9) if necessary, the power to condemn property
- 10) restore and rehabilitate historic buildings
- 11) the power to override local building and housing codes where necessary in order to demonstrate innovation as well as

ensuring that the NTIT site appears more as an attractive infill project rather than as a separate development

- 12) the power to override all local zoning where appropriate, to achieve the objectives of the plan. As mentioned previously, more qualitative zoning should be encouraged rather than quantitative, negative zoning; also, the power to provide bonusing incentives to developers who concur with the overall plan
- 13) the power to develop aesthetic policies between the local government and residents (e.g. residents could be paid a fixed sum of money for tending a flower garden or planting trees).

Urban beauty is a public good and, as such, is difficult to produce when cities are governed by politicians and market forces. Development Corporations could play a role in producing feasible models of a superior physical environment. At present this lack of models is one of the major causes of urban ugliness.

An important issue concerning a Development Corporation is its membership. Citizen participation is always an issue.

Experience has shown that much of this participation is tokenism. An example of token citizen participation is Winnipeg's

experience with the 1978 Development Plan Review. During the public meetings, 36 of them in all, held the suspicion that the public input may be filed away. The planners, politicians and residents must be open to all information before decisions are made. As well, alternatives to proposals must be scrutinized if one of the groups is dissatisfied. This does not necessarily mean spending countless hours going over the same information - not as long as all groups are kept informed.

A Development Corporation would put land on the market when it is needed instead of holding the supply of land at traditional levels. The major point to be made concerning the desirability of a Development Corporation is that its creation may be the only way of dealing with the problem of amassing sufficient resources as well as providing a politically viable institution. This point is crucial due to the lengthiness of the planning process - at least 10 years.

There are also difficulties with Development Corporations, especially if a land banking policy is not implemented. False Creek, Vancouver decided not to utilize such a body since: "aldermen recognized that such an agency would not necessarily

be responsive to policies established by Council, would dilute Council's power and authority and be a basically unnecessary and possibly self-perpetuating agency."¹

However, their lack of a Development Corporation meant that the development of non-City land depended on the pressure the City was able to exert on private land owners as well as depending on restrictive land use controls. Front-end money had to be raised by more traditional methods rather than through agreements laid out with C.M.H.C.

The planning of effective satellite towns and NTITs deserves a more effective means of implementation than through this arbitrary means. An effective Development Corporation must have a specific frame of reference to prevent conflicts with other municipal bodies.

Public ownership of the site would ensure that rental costs would be reasonable for all residential and commercial purposes. Otherwise, only expensive, high income needs will be served in what was to be a balanced community. Public ownership also allows the Development Corporation to acquire sites where people would wish to live and raise families.

¹ False Creek Development Group: Creating a Livable Inner City Community - Vancouver's Experience, Agency Press Limited, Vancouver, December, 1976, p.15.

This cannot be done where costs are the major factor.

"Non-financial considerations should... be the decisive factor in community planning."¹

The major point to be made concerning the desirability of a Development Corporation is that its creation may be the only way we can deal with the problem of amassing sufficient resources, both in terms of profits and grants and other revenues, to make the NTIT economically feasible.

* * * * *

¹ Kentridge, L. and Oliphant, P.: "High-Rise vs. No Rise: The Municipal Cost-Benefit Equation", Powell, A.(ed.), Op.cit., p.26.

Although national population growth has decreased, urban growth, resulting from the "baby boom" and the relative ease of buying a house, has necessitated an increase in housing stock.

Since 1959, urban boundaries have been expanding due to the proliferation of suburbia. This suburban exodus has resulted in the erosion of the central city's tax base-leaving deterioration in sections of all Canadian cities.

Privately developed satellite towns have relieved some urban congestion although only upper and middle income groups can afford to live there. These low density towns, built within commuting distance from the larger urban area, have added approximately 900,000 dwelling units to the Canadian housing stock as of January, 1979.¹

The concept of new towns-intown was explored in Chapters 2 and 3, using St. Lawrence Neighbourhood as an example. Communities built within the central city may facilitate renewal as well as providing housing for those groups wishing to live in the central city. However, they are extremely limited in size and very expensive to undertake.

¹
cf. Chart 1 on p.19.

From examining the advantages and disadvantages of both satellite towns and NTITs, this author believes that a combination of both concepts, under public ownership, may slow down urban sprawl and provide attractive living environments for all Canadians.

Rather than being an alternative to satellite towns, NTITs would be planned in conjunction with satellite towns. These paired communities may be the Town-Country Magnet that Ebenezer Howard had originally envisioned in 1898.

At this juncture, discussion of a national urban land policy may appear naive, however, as the world becomes increasingly urbanized¹, the control of future urban growth is crucial.

National policies for land, including urban land policies, land banking, etc., could be implemented by public Development Corporations. This public Development Corporation would act as a link between the three levels of government as well as ensuring that Canadians are kept well informed in the planning process.

The greatest challenge that lies ahead for the success of Canadian NTITs is the organization of effective Development Corporations. Without them, the goals of a NTIT may not be realized.

* * * * *

¹ Association of American Geographers: The Spatial Expression of Urban Growth, Resource Paper Number 7, Washington, D.C. 1969, p.14.

CONCLUSION

Satellite towns in Canada have provided attractive living environments for middle and upper income people. Although not self-sufficient, these towns are far enough away from the urban centre to provide a sense of isolation from larger cities.

With the advent of satellite towns and suburbia, more people have been moving out of the downtown. This exodus has resulted in the decline of the central city. While urban renewal and rehabilitation have not appreciably altered the downtown, NTITs may revitalize the central city and provide medium density housing.

In examining the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood, Toronto, it appears that the concept may be successful. This NTIT will provide attractive and diversified housing for all income groups without displacing residents or firms.

Although the concept may appear naive at the present time, land leased by a public Development Corporation could be used to build mixed-use communities in the central city.

In fact, the likelihood of railyard relocation from a prime location in Winnipeg may prove an ideal site for a New Town Intown.

* * * * *

POPULATION AND LAND USE ACRES IN NEW COMMUNITIES
(DECEMBER 1972)

New Town	Popula- tion	Jobs	Residen- tial	%	Indus- trial	%	Com- mer- cial	%	Schools	%	Open Space and recreation	%	Roads	%	Other	%	Total
Flower Mound	64,141	16,454	2,989	(49)	427	(7)	262	(4)	260	(4)	1,456	(23)	345	(6)	417	(7)	6,156
Woodlands	150,000	40,000	6,339	(37)	2000	(12)	466	(3)	—	(3)	4,000	(23)	1,649 ^a	(8)	2,694 ^b	(16)	16,939
Riverton	25,632	11,180	1,046	(49)	400	(19)	170	(8)	75	(3)	434 ^c	(20)	—	—	—	—	2,125
Jonathan	49,996	18,152	2,436	(30)	1989	(24)	230	(3)	292	(4)	1,705	(21)	465	(6)	1,073 ^d	(13)	8,194
Park Forest South	110,000	—	4,871	(60)	1012	(12)	348	(4)	269	(3)	892 ^e	(1)	—	—	771 ^f	(9)	8,163
Cedar-Riverside	31,250	4,609	83	(83)	—	—	17	(17)	— ^g	—	— ^h	—	—	—	—	—	100
Lysander ⁱ	18,355	—	910	(34)	795	(30)	168 ⁱ	(6)	—	—	597	(22)	—	—	200	(7)	2,670
Maumelle ^k	45,000	—	2,044	(38)	1071	(20)	86	(2)	238	(4)	1,700	(31)	184	(3)	—	—	5,319
St. Charles	79,145	14,890	4,320	(62)	402 ^j	(6)	214	(3)	108	(2)	1,516	(21)	330	(5)	—	—	6,980
Harbison ^l	21,343	6,100	732	(42)	196	(11)	85	(5)	64	(4)	224	(12)	201	(11)	235	(14)	1,739
Soul City ^l	44,000	18,000	1,705	(33)	928	(18)	298 ^m	(6)	453	(9)	1,495	(28)	200	(4)	101	(2)	5,180
Gananda	55,808	12,890	2,470	(51)	250	(5)	174	(4)	293	(6)	1,010	(21)	480	(10)	54	(1)	4,733
Welfare Island ^l	17,000	7,500	40	(27)	—	—	— ⁿ	—	— ^o	—	49	(34)	33	(20)	21 ^s	(15)	143
San Antonio Ranch ^l	87,972	17,990	4,249	(46)	1234	(12)	160	(2)	— ^t	(4)	2,203	(24)	642	(7)	500 ^p	(5)	9,318
	800,513	197,689 ^q	33,933	(43)							18,336	(24)					78,558

Source: HUD (revised December 1972).

^a Includes schools, roads, and other infrastructure.

^b Includes an 1,800-acre reserve and 400-acre university.

^c "Community space," which includes open space and roads but not schools.

^d Church uses, plus agriculture and recreation reserves.

^e Residential areas including major open space. Counting 50% of university and schools and residential clusters, total open space is 2,247 or 27%.

^f All but 17 acres are for Governor's State University campus.

^g Schools included in high-rise buildings and not listed separately.

^h Open space is elevated over streets and not computed separately.

ⁱ No project agreement signed. Statistics subject to change.

^j Acreage includes schools and other community facilities.

^k Project agreement covers 12-year development program only. Land-use statistics cover 20-year development period and include 633-acre golf course and 241-acre proposed commercial park, which is owned by an affiliate company and not covered in the project agreement. This land is included in the total plan.

^l Excludes 400 acres for industrial land not now acquired, but committed to acquire. Includes medical and institutional as well as retail uses.

^m Excludes "primary reserve" and 1,113 acres, and "land bank" of 4,026 acres.

ⁿ Includes industrial preserve.

^o Other community facilities and supporting services.

^p Total employment computed by taking those projects for which there were no total employment estimates and applying to them the average ratio of jobs to total population for all projects for which statistics are available.

^q Commercial included in other structures.

^r Hospital.

^s Hospital.

Source: *The Contemporary New Communities Movement in the United States*.

Appendix A: Population and Land Use Acres in New Communities in the United States.

Source: Gideon Golany, *New Town Planning: Principles and Practice*, (New York:

FACTS AND FIGURES OF NEW TOWNS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Great Britain: Date of designation	Area designated (hectares) ¹	Distance from nearest city (kilometres) ²	POPULATION		
			At designation		Ultimate
				31 December 1973 (Estimate)	
Stevage	2,530	50 — London	7,000	74,000	105,000
Crawley	2,450	48 — London	10,000	71,000	79,000
Hemel Hempstead ..	2,420	47 — London	21,000	73,000	80,000
Harlow	2,560	40 — London	4,500	81,000	90,000
Avonliff	1,000	19 — Durham	60	24,000	45,000
East Kilbride	4,140	14.5 — Glasgow	2,500	69,000	100,000
Peterlee	1,080	16 — Durham	200	25,600	30,000
Hatfield	950	32 — London	8,500	25,000	30,000
Welwyn Garden City ..	1,750	35 — London	18,500	40,000	50,000
Glenrothes	2,300	50 — Edinburgh	1,100	31,500	70,000
Basildon	3,120	48 — London	25,000	83,700	140,000
Bracknell	1,900	45 — London	5,000	40,000	55,000
Cwmbran	1,260	29 — Cardiff	12,000	43,200	55,000
Corby	1,770	37 — Leicester	15,700	51,200	83,000
Cumernauld	3,150 ⁴	24 — Glasgow	3,500	36,300	100,000
Skeimersdale	1,670	21 — Edinburgh	10,000	37,700	100,000
Livingston	2,700	24 — Edinburgh	2,100	20,200	80,000
Telford	2,790	48 — Birmingham	70,000	92,500	220,000
Redditch	2,910	22.5 — Birmingham	32,000	45,000	90,000
Runcorn	2,930	9.5 — Liverpool	28,500	44,800	100,000
Washington	2,120	42 — Newcastle	20,000	35,000	80,000
Irvine	5,040	80.5 — Glasgow	40,000	47,600	120,000
Milton Keynes	8,800	133.5 — London	80,500	61,000	250,000
Peterborough	6,400	149 — Cardiff	40,000	94,400	185,000
Newtown	600	106 — London	5,500	6,500	13,000
Northampton	8,000	24 — Manchester	131,000	138,000	230,000
Warrington	7,460	32 — Liverpool	124,000	132,000	230,000
Central Lancashire ..	14,250	12.5 — Glasgow	235,000	240,500	430,000
Stonehouse	2,700		7,900	7,900	70,000
Northern Ireland:					
Craigavon	25,900	48 — Belfast	40,000	74,000	180,000
Antrim	113,680	28 — Belfast	7,000	41,000	50,000
Ballymena		44 — Belfast	21,000	56,000	80,000
Londonderry	34,700	116 — Belfast	72,000	82,000	100,000

¹One hectare = 2.5 acres.

²One kilometre = 0.621 mile.

³Part of Telford was originally designated as Dawley new town in January 1963.

⁴Includes 1,470 hectares in extension area designated in April 1973.

Source: The New Towns of Britain, 1974

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