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I. INTRODUCTION

From August 20th-23rd, 1978, the 64th Annual Conference of the Governmental Research Association was held in Toronto.

The GRA is an umbrella organization of research agencies that are engaged in governmental research. The purpose is to promote an improvement in government and hopefully a reduction in its cost. The Bureau of Municipal Research, as a member of GRA, acted as host agency for the Toronto conference.

The purpose of holding the conference in Toronto was to share experience between the United States and Canada. Many of the same problems plague each country but little exchange of information takes place. The conference was designed to bring together experts of both countries to deal with the issues felt to be most pressing.

As can be seen by the listing of the topics covered, there was not a concentration on one particular topic area. The purpose instead was to present in effect, status reports in areas where there have been many changes in the last several years. Each area is complex and it was not hoped that problems could be solved by this exchange of information. Instead, some creative solutions were presented and approaches to problems in the future were analyzed. Urban growth management or ethics in government will never have definitive answers. There will only be development of certain techniques in both countries to help deal with these problems.

Obvious differences between Canada and the U.S. were explored. The differences in forms of government between the two countries, for example, have caused divergence in some solutions to problems. These are pinpointed in the session summaries and transferability of some ideas is highlighted.

For the most part, however, the information presented at the conference had a high degree of transferability between the two countries. Both face problems in education, growth management, government efficiency; both have some solutions which appear to work. In fact, the differences within a country are at times greater than the differences between the countries.

The conference, therefore, served the useful function of sharing information across the border. The results follow in the session by session accounts of the salient points discussed. An attempt is made to not only recount the discussions but also to highlight some of the observations that can be drawn from the discussions.

It should be noted that the text presented here is a precis of the sessions. The statements by various individuals should not be taken as quotes.

II. METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT REFORM: A COMPARISON OF CANADIAN AND U.S. EXPERIENCE

Chairman: Professor Marvin Lunenfeld, State University of New York, College at Fredonia, Fredonia, New York

Speakers: The Honourable John Robarts, former Premier of Ontario and Chairman of the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto

Professor Joseph F. Zimmerman, Department of Political Science, State University of New York at Albany, Albany, New York

Prof. Lunenfeld:

What does the panel feel the initial impact of Proposition 13[1] might be?

Prof. Zimmerman:

Several states have set up commissions to deal with the whole question of state mandates and their impacts on local spending decisions. Proposition 13 will certainly play a large role in these deliberations. We will probably see action taken by States to relieve the fiscal pressures on the local governments.

Mr. Robarts:

A referendum such as this could not take place in this country since Canada does not have any provision for plebiscites or referendums that are binding. However, the actions in California are indicative of the ground swell of this period in history where there is a public resentment towards government. Attitudes of the public are very negative and few political figures are believed any more when they make commitments. For this reason, Proposition 13 will have an effect in Canada since it will feed this unrest.

Prof. Lunenfeld:

Do you think politicians can live with lower expectations? Are people willing to live with fewer improvements?

Mr. Robarts:

People do not ask for everything they are given. Politicians offer them things in the competition between different individuals and parties. Nobody has really done a hard-nosed analysis of what people in fact want. If enough pressure is brought by people then the elected officials will recognize and take into account what the people really want.

1. Proposition 13 refers to a referendum approved in California in 1978. It altered the structure of finance at the local level by cutting local property tax revenues by up to two thirds. It also restricted the ability of both the state and local governments to raise other taxes.

Prof. Lunenfeld:

Will there be more metropolitan reform under the banner of cost efficiency? Will there be annexations across the U.S.?

Prof. Zimmerman:

There will probably be little consolidation or annexation in the next few years. The reasons for this do not lie with those forms of governments but with recent Federal laws and Supreme Court decisions. These decisions have taken away many of the positive aspects of annexation by imposing new restrictions in such areas as voting districts, housing and school desegregation. The results are a disincentive for municipalities to annex or consolidate.

Prof. Lunenfeld:

What about intergovernmental agreements as a substitute for consolidation or amalgamation?

Prof. Zimmerman:

There have been a number of agreements in the last few years between various levels of government. They have all dealt, however, with noncontroversial subjects, and many are merely mutual aid pacts. Service agreements may increase in the next few years but will never be a means of dealing with the major problems facing metropolitan areas.

Prof. Lunenfeld:

Could a two tier government such as exists in Toronto be instituted today?

Mr. Robarts:

In Ontario, most of the large consolidations have been completed. The Province is now in a period of "adjustment" and "digestion". Urban reorganization in Canada is not very popular at the moment, however. The Metro Toronto reorganization was done during a period of unprecedented prosperity. Many of the problems were solved by simply applying money to them. That is not the case now. People have become more aware of governments and the costs to solve problems at any level.

Furthermore, implementation is the real problem in metropolitan reform. In 1954, 7 municipalities were destroyed to create Metro Toronto. In 1978, minor boundary changes which were proposed to increase efficiency, were rejected. The success really depends on the political climate.

Major structural changes do not have to be the answer. The same effect can be accomplished in a number of ways. Since the people do not want any more amalgamations, then maybe agreements or some other arrangements could be explored. The politics will dictate what will happen. Unlike the U.S., a secure majority government at the provincial level can impose solutions on any squabbling communities under it.

Prof. Lunenfeld:

Is there any evidence that the two tier form of government is a cost saving form of government?

Mr. Robarts:

That is very hard to determine. The one thing that does result is equal service among municipalities and uniformity between citizens. It has not been proven statistically, however, that there are savings.

Prof. Lunenfeld:

In the U.S., the Federal government has a very small role in municipal affairs. That role, however, seems to be increasing. Is this a beneficial trend?

Prof. Zimmerman:

In the 19th century the state played a major role in reorganization on the local level. This role then decreased and is now increasing again. The Federal government, on the other hand, has been increasing its power in local matters since the 30's. This has come in the form of legislation regulating such things as energy, segregation, and air quality. The result is a trade-off between issues.

Mr. Robarts:

Canada is now in the process of constitutional reform. During this process the municipalities are treated merely as creatures of the various provinces and not as entities in themselves. The control that the federal government exerts over the municipalities is indirect; in the form of money and how it can be obtained. Grants are available but with conditions attached which have the effect of determining policy at the local level. This is done, however, without direct interference by the higher level of government.

Many municipalities prefer to have their principle contacts be with the provinces. The feeling is that the province is closer to the municipal situation and does not impose blanket requirements across Canada with little regional or local differences.

Prof. Lunenfeld:

Does consolidation and the two tier form of government cause the concerns and the demand of minority groups to be diluted?

Prof. Zimmerman:

Yes, that is definitely the case, particularly when you combine the black city with white suburbs. Everyone's voice becomes less powerful.

Mr. Robarts:

Ethnic groups in Canada do not realize their political strength. They have been too busy establishing themselves to start to organize. The process of constitutional reform should change this. The minorities will start to realize that they have more to say then they originally thought.

Questions From the Floor

Question:

How does anyone decide what level of service is adequate?

Mr. Robarts:

Each municipality will have to take a hard look at what is going on with taxes and other revenue and then decide a rational way to assess services. The ultimate question is: Do people really want a service regardless of how much it costs?

Question:

What is the relationship between Metro and the local governments?

Mr. Robarts:

The area wide matters are handled by Metro; the local matters by each of the six municipalities. The Metro Government was started for financial reasons. The City had the money and the suburbs were broke. In order to spread the money around, Metro was given the responsibility of borrowing for the whole Metropolitan area. Thus other areas might not want this form of metropolitan government but may be interested in the idea of finance districts. In these, the only connections between the areas will be the financial responsibilities such as raising revenue and not any operating or administrative responsibilities.

Question:

What are the different types of state mandates?

Prof. Zimmerman:

The first is the "process" mandates. These are the type that apply to the structure of local government and rarely are very controversial. The other type is the one concerned with substantial changes in spending. There has been a recommendation made in these cases that if the mandate has impact only on an individual local area and the state imposes the mandate, then the state should reimburse the local government for additional increases.

Question:

What do you think of neighborhood councils and board level government?

Mr. Robarts:

These groups usually only appear around issues and then disappear again. They rarely have continuity. The only worry with this is that these groups might take over from elected officials, and then disperse.

Prof. Zimmerman:

This system has been used in New York City where they have instituted neighborhood governments. These governments are set up according to districts which deal with service delivery within that area. There has been an effort lately to bring the neighborhood councils back into better contact with City Hall.

OBSERVATIONS

To cope with greater responsibility and complexity of issues, local governments have taken a number of different forms in the last few decades. Whether the changes have been in the form of amalgamations, two tier government or annexation of surrounding areas, these reorganizational techniques seem to be losing ground in trying to cope with municipal problems. The overall conclusion of this session is that there will be few major changes in the next decade.

Municipalities, and for that matter the other levels of government, are realizing that the answers to their problems cannot be found in reorganizations alone. In fact, annexations and two tier government may only cause more problems such as increased demands, more complex intergovernmental relations, greater restriction on operations, and diffusion of minority concerns. Other answers must be found without organizational implications on the scale that has occurred previously. The area of agreements between municipalities must be further explored along with other techniques.

The citizens are also realizing that the problems at the local level must be dealt with within the existing framework. There is a tendency for local government to assume that it knows what the citizen wants; and for the citizen to assume that he knows what the government should provide. This relationship is not one which is necessarily valid any more. Governments must ascertain what people really want and people must ascertain what they are really willing to pay. Until this happens the basis of the relationship cannot be sound.

III. ATTACKING PUBLIC APATHY

Chairman: Gayle Christie, Mayor, Borough of York

Speakers: John Keith, President, Regional Plan Association, New York, New York

Charles K. Bens, Executive Director, Bureau of Municipal Research, Toronto

Gayle Christie

Public apathy can be attacked by ending the idea that government is isolated from the community. Government should be of the people, and the people are willing to respond. What is needed are tools to reach into the cummunity and to tap the "silent majority". History has proven that they will respond if they are given a chance. They should be asked what they want and what they need.

As an elected representative, all contact with the public is usually in the form of complaints. Rarely can one get an idea of the people's perspective on such things as municipal services. A questionnaire was done to try to ascertain this and the response rate was 37%. The spinoff community involvement was even higher.

The conclusion seems to be that there is no apathy if you reach out to the community.

Charles Bens

It is a difficult process to measure the degree to which participation does happen. Using voter turnout and registrations is not a fair way to measure public participation. Simply going to the polls does not ensure that you are well informed. Someone who does not vote may be more informed or even more active than a person who does. In Australia and some European countries they have mandatory voting which makes the situation slightly different. In these countries there is maximum accountability and maximum awareness. The environment says that it is your duty to vote and as a result people take the time to find out about issues and to vote intelligently. The 90 - 95% turnout is meaningful there.

In the Canadian system, two groups are responsible for ensuring that there is accountability in the government - the elected officials and the appointed officials. The appointed officials should be the ones who start new ideas and introduce innovations into the system. Too often, however, they are unwilling to do this because they want to protect their area. The public officials, on the other hand, feel that new techniques will delay their decision making and will cause too much expense for which they will be accountable. The result is no new systems and no substantial changes.

There have been a number of things that have been tried in various municipalities, however, to increase citizen input and public accountability. These ideas are presented to give an example of what can be done to increase input into the system.

First, citizen surveys have proved to be very useful in many locales. Too much time is spent in the office. Surveys and on site inspections, of such things as municipal services and problems in the community, can help gain an understanding of what actions should be taken at the local level.

Second, information that goes to the public already should be further utilized. For instance, why not put a questionnaire on the back of the tax bill? Questions such as the efficiency of services and which services are the most essential could be asked. It was tried in one municipality where the response was 85%, the cost was low, and the responses were useful in determining what future actions should be taken.

Third, the degree to which local government is taught in schools should be increased. This has to start with the teachers having a better understanding of local government and conveying it to the students. This will allow a better awareness of issues and understanding of the system, so input will become easier and more meaningful.

Fourth, in Vienna, the local government has a computer terminal which goes to different parts of the community where problems are identified. The people in the community come forward and the official with the computer solves the problem right there. The technicians who travel around with the equipment have the authority to override certain department decisions in some circumstances.

Fifth, in Vancouver, the planning department puts together a resource book which lists everything that is going on in the community. This is then sent to a hundred different community groups who use it to guide them in solving their problems.

Sixth, in 1972 in Schenectady, New York, a civic circus was held which had displays on government, education and business. The purpose was to disseminate information and a total of 25,000 people attended. It was declared a great success by public officials.

Those are the types of ideas that can be used to help the education of public and politicians and allow them to communicate more about problems.

John Keith

The discussion of citizen input is complicated by the various perceptions of how to define the problem. People in the community do not usually see any stake in the decisions that are made and as a result do not participate in the process. On the other hand, politicians feel that there is too much participation by special interest groups. These groups usually do participate because they perceive themselves as having a real stake in the decisions being made.

The question can then be asked: Why participate?

First, the citizen is the best judge of the value of what is going on in local government. For example, in New York City, 125 people reviewed 5 hour-long television shows which dealt with the various aspects of government. The purpose was to see if there were any problems with the programs. The findings were remarkable. There was objection to such things as the automation in the subway system since this would put many Puerto Ricans and Blacks out of work. What these reviews proved was that when items are left in the hands of technicians, their values are instilled into the product. It is then up to the officials to ensure that the citizens have an opportunity to confirm their perceptions or revise them.

Second, public participation is mandated by Federal legislation. For approvals of various issues there must be some citizen input and a system by which participation is generated.

Third, the media are not doing their role in local government matters. Newspapers are spending more and more time doing such things as feature stories on cooking and wines and most do not even have a section on local government. The information that can be obtained from these sources is therefore very limited.

The Regional Plan Association in New York decided that the way to reach people was with television programs - in fact, it could reach 20 million. The process that was used was to first do a background book on the areas of government which would be tackled. Some ideas were then put on film. A total of 50,000 people were asked for feedback. A questionnaire then followed to get the maximum feedback on the most useful tools. The most effective part of this process was the film. People are so visually oriented these days that neither the background nor verbal material was as effective as the visual. What the experience proved was that there is a need to build coalitions of people to provide input into the process. When the research is done, the results will dictate who will be part of the coalition. By this technique people can be informed of the various sides of the issues and then can provide feedback on what they think.

OBSERVATIONS

Citizen input and fighting "public apathy" seem to be as much an issue now as they were 10 years ago. Although the initial surge of participation is now waning in both the United States and Canada, the idea of participation as a desirable and beneficial part of the governmental process is not.

Instead of restricting citizen input to confrontations and special advisory boards, many areas are attempting to establish better overall communications between citizens and government. Although the process is not necessarily more formal, the techniques suggested in this session are aimed at a larger group of people than one particular interest group. An attempt is being made to realistically assess where input can be usefully obtained and to integrate it into the decision making process. Citizens are being used to help assess the municipalities' priorities and budget cuts, certainly something that is not done in many areas.

These new attempts, however, do not mean that all people now realize that both citizens and government have something to learn by better communications. Many attempts have been futile and more will result in time delays and few results. People are still reluctant to take advantage of the opportunity. This is partially a result of an educational or information gap, and there may be things that can be done here to make the process work more readily.

The trend in participation appears to be that input is not simply being sought from a specific group, such as the poor, but is also being used as a vehicle to involve the citizenry in the day-to-day decisions of government.

IV. ETHICS IN GOVERNMENT

Chairman: Susan B. Stine, Massachusetts Taxpayers Foundation Inc.

Speakers: Bruce Adams, Common Cause, Washington, D.C.

Michael Smither, Editor, Municipal World Magazine, St. Thomas, Ontario

Page Bigelow, National Municipal League, New York City

Bruce Adams

There are four factors which have converged in the last six years to trigger reforms in the areas of both ethics and accountability. These are: political corruption; the media; public interest groups; and insiders.

Political corruption is as old as civilization. It was not until Watergate, however, that the public's mind was attuned to the problem and state after state of mini-Watergates were revealed. The need for some standards of conduct became evident.

The media contributed to this by pursuing the facts and dug up scandals in many states, again emphasizing the need for guidelines of conduct. In the last several years there has also been an increase in public interest groups such as Common Cause. These groups have taken a professional approach to politics and the workings of politics and have contributed to understanding where the problems are and how they can be solved.

The other group that helped the gains of the last few years were the "problem solving public officials". Obviously in any group you have people who are dedicated to change and these people are the indispensable allies of such groups as Common Cause.

These four groups have come together and have caused a set of circumstances to arise that has resulted in all 50 states in the U.S. passing some legislative measures on ethics and accountability.

The reform efforts have been in the areas of campaign financing, lobbying interest groups and secrecy of government meetings. All three of these areas have been demonstrated to have problems in terms of both openness of government and the democratic system. Studies done by Common Cause have shown that incumbents to Congress can attract special purpose money from groups at a rate of two to one compared to non-incumbent candidates. This makes the competition for office biased in favor of incumbents. Common Cause has recommended that there should be full programs of disclosure of financing, limits on contributions and a mixed system of public and private financing. A few states are putting such legislation into effect. These programs will also help problems in the area of conflict of interest - which some have accepted as part of our political system.

The area of lobbying is another that has been tackled in the last few years. Lobbying is a big business in the State legislatures as well as in Congress. Although some lobbying is obviously desirable, there is the fear that the voice of the people may be drowned out by the voice of the special interest groups seeking favourable treatment or masquerading as proponents of the public weal. Common Cause is proposing in these cases full and timely disclosure of all lobbying activities. All States have laws requiring lobbyists to register. Forty-five of the States require the reporting of lobbying expenses.

The final issue of openness is the area of secrecy in government. Secrecy has always been used to keep power out of the hands of the people and has bred a suspicion that private interests are being served behind closed doors. There have been laws passed in all 50 States that call for "open meetings" with only a few exceptions.

All of these pressures for change and the actual changes made have been a creative response to some of the current problems facing government. Public officials and citizens have worked together to apply constant pressure and vigilance to the system. This must continue, however, if the system of government is to remain open, accessible, and accountable.

Page Bigelow

Conflicts of interest for government officials have existed as long as there have been governments run other than by an isolated and cloistered governing class. Having a conflict of interest does not necessarily mean that one is evil or wrong. In fact, conflicts can come in many forms and degrees - ethnic, cultural, emotional, financial or philosophical. Laws are usually concerned with the financial, which set politicians apart from the general public.

In fact, financial disclosure laws would not exist if there were not conflicts of interest. The laws are designed to make available sufficient relevant information to allow the public to judge whether its officials are acting in the public interest or tending to favour personal interests. They also remind politicians to examine their actions in light of their holdings. The disclosure laws, however, are not designed for the public to pry into the intimate affairs of all public officials.

Although conflict of interest should be dealt with at all levels of government and in every position, are financial disclosure laws necessary in every jurisdiction? It seems that they are definitely needed for all elected and appointed officials at the State level, and also at those jurisdictions with large populations. The smaller areas - small towns and counties - may not need them particularly if they have not had a history of corruption. In smaller areas the constituency knows the elected officials so well that there should not usually be a problem.

The idea of financial disclosure laws is a good one, then, in some jurisdictions, but are there any problems with the actual operation of the laws? The answer is yes. Many of the forms that have to be filled out need a lawyer, an accountant and an appraiser to complete them. Compliance should be made as easy and as painless as possible.

Second, the amount of paperwork generated makes it essential that the enforcement agencies receive adequate funding or face the problem of not being able to enforce the laws.

Third, the laws will not deter those individuals who are really determined to rip off the system.

Thus financial disclosure can be a useful tool in dealing with the problem of conflict of interest. It is not a panacea, however, and should not be treated as one.

Michael Smither

We live in a democracy in which we endeavour to have no separation between the governed and the governors, where governors are elected from their peers, where the sentiments of the people come together to form the laws. Is this in fact the case? Are elected officials given the same opportunities that people in the private sector are given? Are they paid the same amount that they would earn in a comparable job? Are they given the same respect? The answers, for the most part, are no. Politicians are condemned, abused, underpaid, and ridiculed.

The problem seems to lie with the system which the people have made themselves. The bureaucracy is created by the governed. Much higher expectations are placed on government than on private individuals. This results in: first, the expectations of the governed towards government being totally unrealistic; second, the systems created are unrealistic; third, the people who operate these systems labour under this burden and therefore many mistakes occur. Ethics is really the sentiment of the people translated into the lowest acceptable behaviour in a particular community and a particular point in time. It is another imposition on the behaviour of the politicians which is not always consistent with that expected of the "masses".

Are the media really doing their role in providing a balanced approach to the problem of how to operate a truly democratic system? In the United States the ten largest newspaper chains control 1/3 of the total readership. In Canada, 92% of the media - not just newspapers - are controlled by chains. The media is not performing its role of providing the greatest possible dissemination of information from diverse and antagonistic sources. But this is just a manifestation of the problem. One of the crucial problems with the present system is with the educational system. Individuals are not taught what governments at all levels do or should do. With this educational system, how can we expect either the governors or the governed to participate or go out and vote intelligently.

When studying ethics, then, it is essential to look at three things. First, the governmental systems in place in the particular area to be studied should be analyzed, since ethics differ from area to area. Second, the minimum amount of restraint that is needed to achieve a particular ethical standard should be established. Public officials should not be asked to do things which private individuals would not tolerate. Third, governments should not be made larger and more cumbersome as a solution to the problem. This only makes the system further away from the people.

OBSERVATIONS

The problems of ethics and conflicts of interest in government have been evident since the beginning of "democratic" forms of government. There has always been a feeling that politicians may be abusing their privileges and in fact there are certainly a plethora of innuendos and facts about "crooked" politicians. The problem or preceived problem had not been adequately tackled in either the United States or Canada until the last five to ten years. In this time, various conflict of interest laws have been passed at all three levels of government. The success of the laws is hard to assess since even the best laws on paper will not prevent some people from taking advantage of the situation. The laws, however, have made the problem more visible in the minds of citizens and politicians and as a result have probably prevented a certain amount of activity that could be questionable from happening.

The conflict of interest legislation has also caused some new problems. Since this is a fairly new area in both countries, the process of declaration and submissions is a very cumbersome one which sometimes has the effect of deterring honest people from the process. The result of much of the paperwork is at times questionable since the information obtained is not useful in effectively regulating activity.

The question of regional variation is also one which must be considered. Is there a need for uniform laws for all jurisdictions or is there a need to assess the particular situations in various locales? This question really comes back to a more basic one of - should there always be a need for conflict of interest legislation?

The demands under the laws must above all be realistic in what they are trying to accomplish. The desired results must be attainable.

V. CONTROLLING URBAN GROWTH

Chairman: Lionel D. Feldman, Municipal Affairs Consultant, Lionel D. Feldman Consulting Ltd., Toronto

Speakers: Alderman Susan Fish, City of Toronto

Deborah L. Brett, Assistant Vice-President, Real Estate Research Corporation, Chicago

Deborah Brett

There are two main concerns which have prompted growth management in the United States. The first is fiscal restraints. Both the high cost of services and the ability to maintain services at the present level have made it essential that future growth be managed. The other pressure is environmental. The destruction of natural habitats, loss of productive farmland, loss of open space and increased air pollution have accentuated the problems surrounding urban growth.

The issue has largely been a suburban one in the States and the suburbs have developed a number of technical tools which attempt to control growth.

Zoning is the oldest growth control technique. A municipality can overzone for non-residential uses. This stimulates industries to develop, but keeps down the residential portions. The result is a smaller population. There has also been a propensity to use zoning to ensure that all development is on large lots and to have prohibitions on apartment dwellings. Another technique used by municipalities is a temporary halt of growth through moratoriums on provision of additional services. For example, inadequate sewage treatment or water supply will certainly delay development in an area until the municipality wants it.

Some areas have restricted the number of building permits issued each year. Other areas have even suggested that they set up maximum populations within their boundaries.

Landbanking of fringe areas has been used in a few instances to obtain even greater control on the development which takes place. With municipal ownership of the land, the rate of growth is controlled by the sale of portions of the property. The area can even be made into permanent open space, if desired, at a later date. Annexation of individual parcels has been used as a way to control servicing to outlying areas. If the area is not annexed, then the services are not provided.

Some municipalities set up boundaries within which they will provide services. Outside of these the individual developers are responsible for providing all the services and facilities needed for any development. In other communities the developer has to pay a share of the cost for such things as schools, roads and facilities based on the population that will be generated by the development.

The most growth management activities took place in the period 1972-1975. At the end of 1973, the Department of Housing and Urban Development had counted 160 communities in Illinois and Ohio alone that had moratoriums on growth. This increase in activity has raised a number of issues, however, which must be considered when the effects of management are analyzed.

Is growth management really a way of keeping the poor out of a particular area? Restrictive zoning is often used as a tool to keep out all but the white high income. Growth control has been given a bad name as a result since discrimination has a number of times hidden behind the growth banner. Builders, construction workers and advocates of the poor have banded together and directed their energies against both good and bad planning practices. The results have often been total no growth periods.

Another contention against growth management is that it raises housing costs. Controls eventually have the effect of reducing vacancies and increasing costs. The blame cannot be totally placed on this, however, since there have also been increases in all other aspects of construction. The fastest growing communities do not always accommodate lower income people anyway and the middle income demand makes the prices rise. Controls, therefore, cannot accept the whole blame for higher costs.

A number of people contend that industries will be reluctant to come to an area where there is growth management. If the industries perceive the community to be anti-residential or anti-industrial, they may decide not to come because there is the fear that they will not be able to attract a continuous supply of good workers. This may be true in a limited number of areas.

The last issue is one which is difficult to refute. Growth controls simply push the problem from one area to another without really solving it. But can the problem be solved? It is very difficult to document what the results of growth management have been. There is no way of determining what the ideal growth or population is or if it fluctuates from area to area. It is also impossible to measure the impact since there are so many other factors. Therefore, it is hard to know whether controls are good or bad. They are certainly an important issue to be considered, however.

<u>Susan Fish</u>

For a more specific example of how growth controls can be used in a particular municipality, it would be useful to look at the Toronto experience in the last few years.

Municipalities in the Province of Ontario are creatures of the Province since they exist through Provincial statute. Authority is delegated very specifically and very precisely through those statutes. Any power which is not specifically named is a power which the municipality does not have. These powers are given and removed over time. As an added complication in planning and zoning for growth control, the implementation of any plan does not come into effect until after review and approval by a quasi-judicial agency - the Ontario Municipal Board.

An official plan adopted by Metropolitan Toronto would also have supremacy over any plans undertaken by the City of Toronto. The Metro Plan, however, has not received the approval of the six municipalities and is therefore not in effect yet.

Within this framework Toronto has undertaken a number of steps to control the growth within its boundaries. The controls are a result of the boom period experienced in the 1950's and 1960's. During this time, business, industrial, commercial and residential development were quite active. The trends of this development, however, were causing some concerns. The development and the extension of the financial district was leading to a situation where there was activity downtown only between 9:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. Residential, commercial and industrial development were all becoming very segregated. Almost all of the residential development was in the form of high rise buildings and adult rental units.

These concerns caused a number of people to run for City Council in 1968 and by 1972 David Crombie was elected mayor with a majority of "reformers" on Council. Their common goals were to preserve neighborhoods, and slow down or control the rate of commercial development and expansion in downtown.

A holding by-law was passed which limited the height of buildings to 45' or 40,000 square feet. The by-law was adopted by Council and went to the OMB for approval where it was struck down. An appeal to the Provincial Cabinet resulted in the by-law being modified slightly and a time limit imposed. A maximum of 2 1/2 years was given the City of Toronto to complete all studies of the Central Area.

The City undertook this extensive analysis which cost about three million dollars to complete. In 1976 the Central Area Plan was adopted.

The costs to the City were more than just for studies, however. There was little construction during this period, unemployment in the construction industry rose to 25% and the hearings at the OMB cost $1 million in legal fees alone.

In the end, the city chose to concentrate its efforts on a number of areas. First, it focused on more than just strictly the downtown core. Second, the official plan and zoning tools were used extensively to decrease allowable commercial densities to about 8 times coverage in the financial core and increasingly less as you move away from the core. These tools were also used to increase the residential uses so the area would be used 24 hours a day.

Third, density bonuses were made available if a developer preserved old buildings in the redevelopment scheme. Fourth, the City obtained special legislation from the Province to levy for parks purposes against not only residential but commercial developments. This is an idea that had never been used before. Fifth, a housing department was developed in 1973 to help offset the trend of reductions in housing units in the downtown areas. Sixth, demolition controls were imposed whereby any individual or group must make a submission to the City to demolish a building. In this demolition application it must be stated why the building is being demolished and what is going to be built. This control extends only to residential properties. The enforcement is in the form of a penalty which can even be extended if the land is not built upon within two years from the demolition.

What has been the result of these controls in Toronto? The end result seems to be ironic. The holding by-law was irrelevant because the economic recession, the increase in the rates of mortgages, and the high unemployment would have stopped construction as well.

All of the measures taken in Toronto only worked, however, because it was a City that was experiencing extensive growth and did not have the middle class moving out and abandoned buildings everywhere.

OBSERVATIONS

The primary difference between the Canadian and U.S. city lies not with its urban form but, in fact, with its social structure. The City of Toronto example was able to achieve a certain degree of control over its destiny since it was experiencing extensive growth and at the same time did not have the middle class moving out, did not have identifiable "slum" areas and did not have an abandoned building problem. In cities where these problems do exist, the same growth controls would certainly not be as applicable.

In the U.S., growth management is basically a suburban problem. In Canada, it is both a suburban and urban problem. The solutions can therefore be broader in terms of demolition permits, height by-laws, or active housing programs to increase densities. It should be noted, however, that Canada is not necessarily in a better position through careful planning as much as through circumstance.

A number of things are common between the two countries, however. There is a need for the co-operation of all levels of government for any progress to be made. The difficulty with achieving this, however, is having these governments arrive at a common definition and solution to "urban growth".

The other common element is that development cannot be "frozen". The rate of growth is what must be determined, not whether a community wants any growth. The growth will take place either outside or inside the controlled area. The region will suffer and will eventually effect the controlling municipality.

VI. MAXIMIZING ACCOUNTABILITY IN EDUCATION

Chairman: Mary Charlesworth, Regional Manager, Region III, Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., Altoona, Pennsylvania

Speakers: Fiona Nelson, Chairman of The Metropolitan Toronto School Board, Free Lance Writer and Broadcaster, Toronto

Menno Vorster, Teacher, President of the Toronto Teachers Federation, Toronto

Mary Charlesworth

The purpose of the luncheon session is to pinpoint issues involved in the whole question of accountability in education and set a framework within which the afternoon workshops can discuss the salient points of the issue. A number of questions should be addressed during this process.

What is accountability? To whom are educators accountable? Are teachers, board members and administrators unanimous in their outlook? Are the demands of the public greater than in previous times?

Fiona Nelson

Accountability falls into two basic categories:

1. Are taxpayers getting their money's worth?

2. Are children being prepared for adult life?

Once the problem is defined in these terms then the next thing to do is to deal with the problem honestly.

There are a number of things which schools should not be doing but have currently assumed. For example, the new curriculum in moral education carefully trains children in the dialectic of morals but does not give them any vehicle to determine the standards by which to live. The schools in these cases have taken on too much of the parenting role and as a result are not properly preparing the children for adult life.

The problem also manifests itself in the way in which solutions to problems within the school system are found. There is a common idea that if we spend enough money and bring in enough experts then we will be able to solve any problem. What this does, is find technological solutions to problems that should have indigenous or human solutions.

Accountability is, therefore, a question of perception. If people do not understand the system then they will raise the question of accountability. If they do understand the schools and what is going on then the question does not arise. For example, in Toronto flyers were sent out to all homes giving projections of enrollment and budgets for each school for the next 5 years. The people were requested to examine the information and start to think of alternative uses for some of the schools. When the time came to close some of the schools, the people in the area knew why and even had some suggestions about what should be done to the vacant building.

Toronto also has a policy of neighborhood schools - that is to keep schools in smaller neighborhoods open as long as possible. When there is a problem with a particular school, then a solution is found that applies to the neighborhood and its needs. An attempt is made not to treat each school or problem the same way in every case. To try to develop a massive plan to fit every situation will only cause more problems and misunderstanding in the community, with students and public at large.

The Toronto system is not perfect, however. There have been a number of labour problems in Metro schools in the last few years. The worse case was a strike in the secondary schools a couple of years ago. This sort of thing should not happen, however. Everyone should be involved in the process enough beforehand so that this sort of communication and misunderstanding does not occur.

The basic problem of accountability is not therefore overspending and improper programming but is a matter of undercommunication and underinvolvement of all people - particularly the people who pay the shots.

<u>Menno Vorster</u>

From a teacher's perspective, the basic accountability of the system lies with teachers who must deliver whatever the system wants them to deliver and whatever the parents want from the system. Neither the teachers nor the system have met the role of accountability in the past. Many of the same problems of education delivery that existed 20 years ago, still exist. The only real progress seems to be improved flexibility in the system.

The solution could lie in less centalization of the system. The individual self-interest must be taken and placed into the sphere of the collective interest. For example, there has been a 5% loss of elementary teachers over the last few years. This decrease effects everyone - the teachers, the students, the community. There have also been drastic program cuts. The reason given is declining enrollment. The real reason behind the decreases, however, is a shift in economic thinking in education. Government and individuals do not want to pay more for education. In Toronto there has been a shift of the tax responsibility from the Province to the local municipalities. The grant rate has dropped from 35% of the budget to 22%. The local taxpayer is then forced to pick up the difference. When the staff and programme cuts were announced the teachers went to each level of government and all levels said that it was someone else's responsibility. They then took the case to the people and in five days, 15,000

Question:

Do the staffing committees receive a certain amount of money to divide between administration and teachers?

M. Vorster:

The number of teachers which each school receives is negotiated by a committee of teachers, administrators and trustees - not the community or parents. The staffing committees decide, however, how those teachers' positions will be used - i.e. whether they want a music teacher or a grade one teacher, etc. The role of the committees is still evolving but the process will eventually work smoothly.

Question:

Are teachers organized in a union?

M. Vorster:

We are unionized but not organized. There are five different teachers' unions: one for Catholic teachers up to grade ten; one for teachers that teach in French at all levels; all secondary teachers; women teachers in grades 1 - 8; and men teachers in grades 1 - 8.

Question:

There is a concern on the part of some people that teachers are going to put more control into the hands of unions and the teachers will have ultimate authority over everything.

Mr. Vorster:

This is a legitimate concern. What is needed is to decentralize the process to get control into the hands of the community. When safeguards are set up against bureaucracy, they must apply to any bureaucracy, whether of teachers, community groups or whatever.

Question:

Is there a minimum test or achievement measure at the Provincial or Metro level?

F. Nelson:

In 1970, the Toronto Board instituted an "every student survey" which was administered to all 110,000 students. The result was that there are no standard tests that fairly give you an inkling where a child is. There are too many language and culture problems. Teachers should know their kids well enough to be able to evaluate them on a more subjective basis.

WORKSHOP REPORTS:

Group One (Reporting: Kathy Kepner and Ken Staggs)

There seem to be rising expectations in the formal education process which have caused some problems. Parents want children to get more than they themselves did from the system.

Education must be a continual learning process beyond what you simply learn in schools. The formal atmosphere is not always the best way to get across ideas. Schools also socialize students to think certain ways and thus contact with outside groups is important.

Group Two (Reporting: Carol Burton-Frip and Mark Goodrich)

The concensus was that a certain level of literacy is the primary goal of the school system. The group agreed that certain core programs are essential and necessary to be able to live and work in an everyday world.

A poll of the members showed that a majority felt that the school system was doing an adequate job of educating children. Where there are problems the system is undergoing a change.

Group Three (Reporting: Glenys McMullen and Neil Lamp)

Who makes the decisions about education? The courts make a great many and these are not appealable or negotiable. The court system is a major factor in the education system of the States.

States in the U.S. also make a number of the decisions. For example, New York State supplies 40% of the money to schools but makes 90% of the education decisions.

Group Four (Reporting: Marjorie Jacobs and David Kline)

Testing for competency in basic skills is a movement which is happening in many parts of the States. Schools are finished experimenting with social and emotional activities and are going "back to the basics". There have been a number of schools which have developed ways of measuring student competency and included many of the ethnic concerns expressed earlier.

Also if the community is to become involved in the process they must be as accountable for the decisions and results as any other factor in the process.

OBSERVATIONS

The results of the session seem to indicate that the question of accountability is obviously a complex one in both the U.S. and Canada. Accountability must cover the areas of cost, actions of teachers and administrators and the impact these have on the children passing through the system. Schooling is basically a communications network within which all the components of the education system must act and participate. The communications must be there to ensure that the areas of accountability are covered in such a way that the optimum amount of people are satisfied and the children still get the best education.

What the speakers emphasized was the idea that many of the problems of education can be overcome if there is a common understanding of the process or procedures - or at least a forum on which to vet concerns. More flexibility can be put into a system where the seemingly conflicting sides have a common information base and way of dealing with problems. The tendency in the past has been to blame one part of the system: either the teachers, the parents or the board. What seems to be the present consensus is that each is equally responsible and must work together to find appropriate solutions.

VII. EUROPEAN CONNECTION

Chairman: Clenys Parry, Executive Director, The Federation of Canadian Municipalities, Ottawa

Speaker: John Garvey, Jr., President, Council for International Urban Liaison, Washington, D.C.

John Garvey

There has been a new emphasis developing lately on information from different areas. What are people doing in other places? How are they solving their problems? What ideas can be shared? It is in this area which the Council for International Urban Liaison has been trying to make gains by becoming an information source and distributor.

Sometimes very different approaches to ideas can in fact be transferable from one locale to another. For example, a physical fitness program for seniors in Grenoble, France has been tried in Rockfield, Maryland. The results have been so successful that Rockfield has hired a full time recreation specialist to handle the programme.

Countries can also develop exchange programs which have positive results. Presently the Council is working on a joint U.S. - Canadian program between the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs and the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The initial result has been a memo of understanding outlining ways they could communicate ideas between the two countries. Organizations such as International City Management Association have had staff exchanges with South American countries such as Brazil.

In Europe, the Council has opened branch offices at the Hague, Netherlands. The Tri-National City Project funded by the German Marshall Fund, brings together policy and implementation mechanisms from the United Kingdom, United States and Germany. The main emphasis here is on intercity problems.

The aim of the Council is to establish good linkages with all national local governmental organizations around the world. The Council tries then to promote contact between these groups and other groups such as the Federation of Canadian Municipalities and National League of Cities. The long range objective is to develop offices in such places as Japan, Australia and Latin America.

Where can the Governmental Research Association and its member associations fit into this? First, they can provide broader input into much of the research which is done. There is always a tendency to limit the material used to the municipal, regional, or, at most, the national scope. International ideas are rarely considered.

Second, groups can hold conferences and bring speakers from other countries to speak to public officials.

Third, they must also develop an informal set of linkages that bring together the ideas of such groups as the F.C.M. and the National League of Cities.

The last idea is for each individual to look at research and the way it is approached. First, the approach to the problem must be ascertained. It is here that new ideas can be included. Second, innovations should be sought from all areas. Even if the idea is not transferrable, the approach to the problem may be. Third, the application of all ideas must work. If they do not, then obviously no one has gained.

VIII. COST SAVING INNOVATIONS IN GOVERNMENT

Chairman: Charles K. Bens, Executive Director, Bureau of Municipal Research, Toronto

Speakers: Harry Hatry, Director, State and Local Government Research Program, Urban Institute, Washington, D.C.

Troy R. Westmeyer, Director, Legislative Commission on Expenditure Review, Albany, New York

Jacques Perrault, City Manager, Quebec City and President of the Canadian Association of Municipal Administrators, Quebec

Charles Bens:

This session will deal with "cost saving innovations" which is an area often difficult to define. The broad interpretation which will be used for this session is any program, policy, innovation or invention, or any technical, hardware, software or management change that keeps the service level at the same standard while stabilizing or decreasing costs. One of the important things to remember, is that it does not have to save money or decrease a budget. An innovation can merely slow down an increase in the operating costs.

Harry Hatry:

Innovations have been declared successes in various areas and in various municipalities. Little evidence has been produced, however, to prove that they are in fact cost savers. Even less evidence has been produced to prove that they do not reduce the level or quality of service provided. This is a fact that must be considered seriously since so many "innovations" are emerging these days.

The credibility problem is a difficult one to solve. One solution might be to have the GRA agencies undertake thorough evaluations of potential innovations to assess their effectiveness. This could be done in a number of ways:

* agencies could encourage local government to do proper evaluations;
* agencies could undertake evaluations of key local government programs themselves;
* agencies could evaluate programs in other areas and tell local governments about their findings; and
* GRA itself could develop intergovernmental information in innovations and relay it to member agencies.

Until better information is collected on the innovations, it is impossible to ascertain which are really effective and which are transferable. Local governments will continue to make cuts in their budgets in the areas which have the least "political clout". These cuts will probably also mean real reductions in the service levels or quality of service. For example, the recent moves to such things as user charges and citizen involvement in crime prevention are really approaches which involve a penalty to the citizen. The result is a decrease in the level or quality of the service, not an increase in government efficiency. This is an important difference.

The innovations which have been undertaken in the last few years have fallen into several categories. They are presented here for information and are not necessarily presented as being either good or effective.

The first category of innovations is that which involve organizational change. Some examples are:

* a one step service which combines health, welfare, public assistance and social services in one agency;
* integrated dispatching services for fire, police and ambulance;
* using part-time firemen as in Scotsdale, Arizona where the people are only paid for the time actually spent; and
* contracting out services such as parks maintenance, and solid waste collection to a private agency. This is often a controversial area since governments have little experience in contracting services and therefore there seems to be a potential for corruption. The Urban Institute found that a switch from either public to private or vice versa led to improvements since the new system eliminates the problems of the old system.

Before any organizational changes should be undertaken, however, problems with current systems can often be solved by a simple method. The local government should give the department involved the choice of "shaping up or getting out of the business". This often works better than an "innovation".

The second category of innovations is technical changes:

* one man trucks, mechanical pickup equipment, modular incinerator units for solid waste disposal;
* two man trucks initially going to the scene of a fire cuts down on time lost to false alarms; installation of 5" hoses rather than 2 1/2";
* some libraries have computerized everything except the shelving of books; and;
* one man police cars as well as compact cars.

The third category is new procedures:

* engineered work standards to measure the performance of workers;
* work scheduling and performance reporting; and
* joint purchases orders between department to get discounts.

The last category is employee incentives and motivation.

* management by objectives; and
* performance appraisals.

All of these innovations have been tried in various areas around North America. Since there is no proper analysis done on most of them, however, it is difficult to say which are really valuable and which are "white elephants". The only time we hear about an innovation is when it is first introduced. The GRA should step in and evaluate and provide information on ideas, effects, costs and service levels.

Dr. Troy Westmeyer:

One area in which innovations have been tried in New York State is in mental illness treatment. The State has been able to improve productivity and cut expenditures by use of tranquilizers in treating patients. With the tranquilizers most people can return to independent life. The reaction of neighbourhoods to this technique is not always favourable since the people being treated do not always conform to social norms and are often victimized as a result. An evaluation of the program has, however, shown that the individuals have improved more rapidly than when institutionalized and costs were cut.

A number of areas have not been successful in increasing productivity, however, due to outside factors. In New York City, a public short-term hospital called Woodhill Medical and Mental Health Centre is being built. The original estimate was $85 million but costs are now in excess of $200 million. The construction has stopped while the City decides what to do with it. Even closed, the City is paying about $18 million per year in debt service and $2 million per year in maintenance and security. The building cost is $300,000 for each of the 600 beds. How can productivity measures ever be introduced to decrease even operating costs when the original design is such that the operation will always be expensive? The City has even tried to give the building away and no one will take it.

In the case of a smaller municipality with few options there is the example of Orangetown, New York. The sewage treatment costs here have increased in ten years from $28,000 to $1 million. In sewage treatment there is very little that can be done to drastically increase productivity, so what options are available? The wisest thing to do might be to try to get more money from the state and federal governments.

Another example of outside factors is the case of Nassau County. The police wanted an increase in salary and the County did not want to pay more. The problem went to arbitration and the decision resulted in an increase of 24 1/2%. The County protested that they did not have the $1 million needed to pay the increases. The response was that the County had to pay or go to court. What kind of controls can be instituted in a case such as this to help the county with cost savings?

Jacques Perrault:

It is time to reevaluate the services supplied by a municipality, their content and their delivery. Each municipality is being forced to ask: Are we giving citizens too much? Are there better and cheaper ways to do this job?

Each City has three main budget categories: 50% goes to salaries and benefits; 25% goes to debt service; and 25% goes to operating costs. The debt service is not flexible and therefore no savings can be made here. The operating can be controlled only marginally, e.g. by shutting off more lights and turning off the heat at night in the winter. The bulk of the savings must come then from the 50% remainder.

Quebec City, for example, has a water filtration plant eight miles from the City. The valves between the plant and the City used to be regulated manually. Now they are motorized and the staff has been reduced by five people. The reservoir downtown used to be regulated by individuals who were located downtown also. Now the man at the filtration plant monitors it electronically. This has resulted in a reduction of another five staff members.

In 1968, there were 530 firemen employed by the City of Quebec. Now there are 428. Fire stations have been relocated to provide more efficient service. Modern equipment has been bought to get to fires more quickly than under the old system. A study was done which showed that 99% of all fires were reported by phone and not by call boxes. The result was that the call boxes were removed and $50,000 per year was saved. Quebec City used to have its municipal buildings guarded by 65 watchmen. The buildings are now installed with smoke detectors and burglar alarms and these are monitored by the fire department; this has cut 65 jobs.

Other techniques have also been used to reduce the need for more employees. For example, the police department proposed a program which would have reduced traffic accidents by about 7%. However, the reduction would have been done by adding 96 more officers. Another proposal was introduced, however, which reduced the accident rate by 7.2% the first year and 8.4% the second year. This involved the use of advertisements to tell people to slow down during light rain - the time when most accidents happen. Cars were even given bumper stickers to reenforce the idea. The results involved no addition of personnel.

How can these ideas be transferred to other municipalities? The first thing that can be done is to informally build contacts between politicians of various cities. Information can then be shared. A number of publications are also useful. The International City Management Association produced a series called Guide to Management Improvement Projects. This is published six times a year and lists innovations in all cities that are members of ICMA. There is also a publication called Public Productivity Review which is very useful.

All of these techniques are informal methods, however. What is needed is a more formalized exchange of information and ideas.

Observations

An increasing number of innovations are being introduced at the municipal level in both the United States and Canada. The changes vary from technical improvements in equipment to improved management techniques and employee relations. The initial results have also varied from extreme success to eventual return to previous methods.

The reasons for success or failure vary with the innovation and the locale. There has been little information collected on the measures to ascertain why a certain innovation will succeed and in what location. The factors for success or failure are very complex. This is complicated further by many municipalities taking the attitude - if it works don't question the reasons for it working.

It is not the existence of innovations, therefore, which is the most crucial aspect for discussion. Information is the missing link at the moment. It is essential that detailed information be collected before the "future" of innovations can be determined. Are they really useful? How can their success be measured? Under what conditions are the ideas transferable? This is a task which the Bureau of Municipal Research has begun to address. There is a need for more agencies and local governments to do this, however.

Many times the problems at the local level can be handled by simple solutions or changes. Other times, they require major steps or innovations. By learning more about existing innovations, their transferability can be assessed for a given locale and hopefully local governments can learn to run more efficiently and effectively.

Charles K. Bens, Executive Director,

Mary Lynch, Senior Research Associate*

* Principal Author

APPENDIX A

SUMMARY OF EVENTS AND ACTIVITIES

SUNDAY, AUGUST 20, 1978

3:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	Registration Desk Open
5:30 p.m.	Buses depart for World Trade Centre
6:00 p.m. - 7:30 p.m.	Reception at World Trade Centre
7:30 p.m.	Buses return to Inn on the Park

MONDAY, AUGUST 21, 1978

8:00 a.m. - Noon	Registration Desk Open
9:15 a.m. - 11:15 a.m.	Plenary Session - Metropolitan Government Reform
11:30 a.m. -	Buses depart for CN Tower
Noon - 2:00 p.m.	Luncheon - CN Tower
2:30 p.m. - 5:30 p.m.	Golf, Tennis, Bus or Boat Tour
6:30 p.m. - 7:30 p.m.	Reception at Inn on the Park
7:30 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Dinner - Inn on the Park
9:30 p.m.	Rap Sessions

TUESDAY, AUGUST 22, 1978

8:00 a.m. - 9:00 a.m.	Breakfast Session - Agency Reports
9:30 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.	Concurrent Session A - Attacking Public Apathy B - Ethics in Government C - Controlling Urban Growth
Noon - 2:00 p.m.	Lunch - Maximizing Accountability in Education
2:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m.	Workshop Sessions
3:30 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.	Plenary Session - Wrap-up Report on Education
5:30 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.	Shuttle bus service to Ontario Science Centre
6:00 p.m. - 7:30 p.m.	Tour and reception at Ontario Science Centre
7:30 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.	Dinner - Ontario Science Centre

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 23, 1978

8:00 a.m. - 9:00 a.m.	Breakfast Session - The European Connection
9:30 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.	Plenary Session - Cost Saving Innovations
11:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.	Check-out
12:30 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.	GRA Business and Awards Luncheon
2:00 p.m.	Buses depart for tour of the Toronto Transit System
5:00 p.m.	Return to hotel

CORPORATE

Allstate Insurance Company of Canada
Bank of Montreal
Bank of Nova Scotia
Bell Canada
Board of Trade, Metro Toronto
Bramalea Consolidated Development
Brascan Limited
Cadillac Fairview Limited
Canada Malting Co. Ltd.
Canada Packers Foundation
Canada Permanent Trust Co.
Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce
Commonwealth Holiday Inns of Canada Limited
Confederation Life
Consumers' Gas Company Ltd.
Costain Limited
Crown Life Insurance Co.
Dofasco Ltd.
Donlee Manufacturing Industries Ltd.
Dominion of Canada General Insurance
Four Seasons Hotel Limited
General Mills Canada Ltd.
Group R
GSW Limited
Guaranty Trust Co. of Canada
Gulf Realty Co. Ltd.
H.U.D.A.C. (Ontario)
I.B.M. Canada
The Imperial Life Assurance Co. of Canada
Independent Order of Foresters
Jackman Foundation
Kodak Canada Ltd.
Koffler Stores Ltd.
John Labatt Ltd.
A. E. LePage Ltd.
Lever Brothers Ltd.
3M Canada Ltd.
Maclean-Hunter Publishing Co. Ltd.
Manufacturers Life Insurance Co.
Maple Leaf Mills Limited
Marathon Realty Company Ltd.
L. J. McGuinness and Co. Ltd.
Metropolitan Trust Co.
The National Life Assurance Company of Canada
Noranda Mines Ltd.
North American Life Assurance Co.
Northern and Central Gas Corp.
Parking Authority of Toronto
The Royal Bank of Canada
Royal Insurance Company
Royal Trust Co.
Sheraton Centre
Robert Simpson Co.
Simpsons Sears Ltd.
Steel Co. of Canada
Sunoco Inc.
The Toronto-Dominion Bank
Toronto Star Ltd.
TransCanada Pipe Lines Ltd.
Turner and Porter Funeral Directors Ltd.
George Weston Ltd.
Wood Gundy Limited
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PROFESSIONAL

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Ernest Annau, Architect
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Arthur Andersen & Company
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Mary Collins Consultants Ltd.
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Ontario Real Estate Association
Osler, Hoskin and Harcourt
Peat, Marwick and Partners
Price Waterhouse & Co.
Proctor and Redfern Group
P. S. Ross & Partners
Smith, Auld & Associates
Stamm Economic Research Associates
Toronto Real Estate Board
Weir and Foulds
Woods, Gordon & Co.

GOVERNMENTAL

Reg. Mun. of Durham
Borough of East York
Edmonton City Parks and Recreation
Borough of Etobicoke
Etobicoke Board of Education
Township of Gloucester
City of Hamilton
Reg. Mun. of Hamilton-Wentworth
City of Kingston
City of London
Metropolitan Toronto
Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board
Ministry of State for Urban Affairs
Ministry of T.E.I.G.A.
City of Mississauga
Township of Nepean
Reg. Mun. of Niagara
Borough of North York
City of Oshawa
City of Ottawa
Reg. Mun. of Ottawa/Carleton
Reg. Mun. of Peel
Town of Richmond Hill
City of St. Catharines
City of Sarnia
City of Sudbury
City of Toronto
Toronto Board of Education
Town of Vaughan
City of Windsor
Borough of York
Reg. Mun. of York

LABOUR

Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto
Ontario Federation of Labour
Sudbury and District Labour Council

200 Personal/Academic Membership, including Libraries