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*The Toronto Region's
Privately Developed
New Communities*

THE TORONTO REGION'S
PRIVATELY DEVELOPED NEW COMMUNITIES

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BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH

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This Bulletin in Brief-

Within the last twenty years there has been a recently accelerating trend towards building privately developed new communities in the Toronto area. Public awareness of the trend comes largely through the marketing campaign and its public relations materials, or through articles in several housing-related journals dealing with particular new communities and their histories. Increasing government interest in formulating a new community policy has accentuated the lack of an overview analysis of the trend.

This *Civic Affairs* will examine the trend and its implications for development in greater Toronto. Since the new communities are such large additions to the development pattern of the area, it is important that all the effects and implications of these projects be taken into account in any investigation of the changing form of the region.

Keeping in mind the potential magnitude of the impact of the privately developed new communities on the area, the Bureau will describe the environments added to the region by the privately developed new communities through a study of their design characteristics; analyze the effects of these new communities on regional growth; and investigate in detail the enormous task of planning and putting into effect the plans for the new communities — the development process. In addition, there will be a discussion of other large comprehensively-planned additions to the area.

The Bureau finds that the type of new community being built by private developers ties in well with regional plans and needs, and recommends that the experience of private developers be taken into consideration in the formulation of provincial new community policy.

The Toronto Region's Privately Developed New Communities

DESIGN CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW TOWNS AND NEW COMMUNITIES

Although towns and settlements have been planned as units for thousands of years, it is only within the last one hundred years that the distinctive planning ideology surrounding new towns has originated. The origins can be found in a tract published in 1898 by Ebenezer Howard – *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, known today by its 1902 re-issue title, *Garden Cities of To-morrow*. Howard's tract provided not only proposals for the size and form of new towns, but also a unified philosophy which pointed to the new town as the only logical dwelling-place in the day of crowded, industrialized cities.

He saw the new town as a unique opportunity to combine advantages of urban and rural living, and based his proposals for the shape of new towns on these tenets: (1) The new town should not only create a balanced urban-rural setting but should create interdependence between the two to make the Garden City a self-sustaining community. Rural land would be farmed for food for the community, and the urban area would offer city cultural amenities as well as consumption-oriented industrial goods. (2) To promote this arrangement, the urban portion would be a circular core of 1,000 acres with an agricultural green belt of 5,000 acres encircling it. In the urban portion, small industry would be separated from the residential area in a ring just inside the rural

area. (3) To avoid congestion on the urban area, density would be kept down to 30 persons per acre, a figure much lower than most city densities of his day. So profound was the eventual impact of Howard's disciplined view that at least 30 new towns founded under Great Britain's 1946 national legislation for New Towns have been found to "essentially conform . . . to Howard's Garden City definition."¹

Each of the 30 English, Scottish, Welsh or Northern Irish new towns planned or built as of 1969 has served one of two main purposes: to relieve congested metropolitan areas by serving as "overspill" sub-centres, or to serve as nodes of industrial development. In fact, the overspill role by far eclipsed the development node function, with 22 new towns for overspill and 8 for development nodes.²

The British new towns originally accommodated about 60,000 persons each; more recently, new towns, such as Milton Keynes with its projected 250,000 population, are planned to accommodate larger populations. Most of them have been built using neighbourhood units of 4,000 – 5,000 persons as the basic unit, around town centres. One new town critic, using Kevin Lynch's terminology, has said the new towns' urban patterns are "coarse grained"³ rather than rigidly grid-based, with only key transport and other elements distinguishable aerially.

¹ Sir Frederic J. Osborn, Foreword to the 1965 edition, Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1966), p.7. See also Lloyd Rodwin, *The British New Towns Policy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956). Rodwin says the New Towns Act "represents Howard's ideas translated into a national policy." (p.57).

² British Information Services, *The New Towns of Britain* (pamphlet), London, January 1969, pp. 2-3.

³ Rodwin, *British New Towns Policy*, p. 52.

The towns have contributed much-needed good quality housing and healthy living environments, though the architecture and layouts have been criticized as unimaginative and the housing has been called expensive.⁴

Despite problems varying in seriousness, the British new towns have been largely successful. Lloyd Rodwin attributes to the programme a "prodigious vitality."⁵ The major criticism levelled at the new towns to date is that although they are commonly regarded as part of a national urban policy, they were conceived of and have been built as overspill towns with very little attention to location factors. There has been no national physical master plan. Availability of land, not regional economics, has been the prime determinant of location.⁶ Added to this general problem has been the specific problem of a lack of administrative coordination between the new town planners and the Board of Trade,⁷ which has been carrying out an industrial decentralization programme. As a result, new towns often found it quite difficult to attract industry.⁸ Ironically, Rodwin points out, one result of the near-sightedness of administrators has been that a programme to encourage population dispersal from London has provided towns for twice as many people (430,000) in the London area as in the combined other areas of Britain (242,000).⁹

The picture is changing, however, and more attention is being paid to regional factors, economic and other. More social facilities and amenities are being built. The new towns have been, if not profit-makers, financially viable for the most part. And they have performed an invaluable service in helping to relieve Britain's real housing needs.

After the British initiative, there has been tremendous government-sponsored new town activity in several Western European countries, most of which have followed

Howard's idea. Almost all projects retain — to varying extents — a large encircling greenbelt; few have agricultural greenbelts. The scale of the greenbelt has been reduced from that in Howard's plan. Many of the new communities, especially the British ones, maintain a self-sustaining economic principle. The Nordic (Swedish and Finnish) new communities, on the other hand, are regarded as dormitory housing for commuters from major metropolitan areas. Yet they rely on rapid transit for commuting and are thereby able to exclude massive transportation land use and to keep the physical appearance of a "Garden City."

In North America, there has been little government attention to new towns until recently, so new towns have been privately developed. From the Twenties to the late Forties, Clarence Stein and Henry Wright, two U.S. architect-planners, were involved in planning a series of new communities (all private except for two government postwar housing "greenbelt" communities). Kitimat was planned by Clarence Stein and built in British Columbia as an industry town. Several huge sprawling new communities accommodating up to 250,000 were built on large Southern California ranches. Columbia and Reston are being built near Washington; these communities embodied more integrated physical and some social planning. Several new communities, including Mount Royal, Ville d'Anjou, Preville, Pointe Claire and Jacques Cartier were built near Montreal. And Don Mills, Bramalea, Erin Mills and Meadowvale have been or are being built in the Toronto area.

There are a number of factors which differentiate the evolution of privately developed new communities from the evolution of government sponsored new communities. The broad aim of both public and privately sponsored communities has been the same — to create pleasing urban-rural environments.

⁴ Housing prices and rents are 2 to 3 times the average cost of housing in England.

⁵ Rodwin, *British New Towns Policy*, p. 55.

⁶ One exception to this is that the London-Birmingham new towns corridor makes economic and transport sense, though the area is congested.

⁷ A national agency which formerly had exclusive control over industrial building licenses and development certificates. It is charged with recruiting industry for lagging Development Areas.

⁸ Most of these criticisms are Rodwin's.

⁹ Lloyd Rodwin, *Nations and Cities: A Comparison of Strategies for Urban Growth* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), p. 124.

But the publicly sponsored new community is free to aim toward other social goals the private new community must neglect because of market considerations, which translate into buttressing the automobile society. The privately developed new community is more closely tied to the status quo;¹⁰ public new communities may experiment and innovate. Over time, the most salient aspect of the status quo in privately developed new communities has proven to be adherence to automobile orientation.

The 1928 U.S. privately developed community of Radburn represented a hallmark in the planning of automobile oriented new towns;¹¹ Radburn planning principles have been evident in all privately developed new communities in North America.

The essence of the Radburn idea is concurrent acceptance of and exclusion of the automobile. The architectural solution to this dilemma was to remove the greenbelt from the outside and to put it inside. Heavy traffic was kept on the perimeters of the new town, slowing to a trickle on 15-20 foot-wide lanes in subdivisions. Subdivisions were planned on superblocks, with large amounts of open green space on the interior of the blocks, in back of the houses and unseen from the road. Safety for children was a primary result of this type of planning. Stein lists the planning principles which contributed to the Radburn idea.

1. The superblock in place of the characteristic narrow, rectangular block.
2. Specialized roads (including extensive use of the cul-de-sac) instead of for all uses ... (thus differentiating between movement, collection service, parking and visiting.)
3. Complete separation of pedestrian and automobile.
4. Houses turned around, with backs facing the road.

¹⁰ Restrictive municipal and provincial or state planning regulations have often contributed to this difference.

¹¹ Clarence S. Stein, *Toward New Towns for America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: the M.I.T. Press, 1967), pp. 37-73.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

¹³ Edward P. Eichler and Marshall Kaplan, *The Community Builders* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9 and p. 160.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20.

5. Park as backbone of the neighbourhood.¹²

Sometimes the principles have yielded fine environments; other times the application has been sloppy, resulting in a breakdown of the unity of the whole community into huge segments of superblocks isolated from each other by arterial traffic. In these cases, the new community — often built near or slightly beyond a suburban area of a metropolis — seems to be an extension of suburbia. Its character lacks cohesion and does not allow for differentiation from the rest of the area.

It is this extended suburbia problem to which critics of government support of private new communities point in their arguments against government sponsorship. Many times, in their view, government is subsidizing an extension of the suburbs through new community legislation, to which ordinary suburb extenders, the subdivision builders, do not have access.

The most persuasive arguments of this type have been advanced by Edward Eichler and Marshall Kaplan in *The Community Builders*.¹³ Widely experienced in the analysis and practice of building, these experts have concluded that new community builders and government have been convinced of the need for new communities by anti-sprawl and the need for "planned whole" arguments, but have sponsored little more than extensions of suburbia.¹⁴ Though their book deals with the U.S. case, much of their analysis applies to the Canadian private building market.

By the Sixties, subdivision builders had vastly increased annual production from prewar years and had created a highly organized and integrated industry which began with land purchase and continued through site improvement, construction and sales.¹⁵ The expressed motive for entry of the new community builder into this highly

organized and competitive market (which Eichler and Kaplan find credible because of lower returns in new community building than in subdivision building), was a desire to arrest the suburban sprawl which had begun to characterize subdivision building. But the ventures had to retain profitability and sometimes a number of external factors made entry into the market quite attractive. This was particularly so in California, where many new community builders held needed land in the form of ranches; where a 1959 state highway programme committed the state to building 12,500 miles of connecting highways; and where a state water programme provided \$2,000,000 to local governments for the creation of special servicing districts.

Eichler and Kaplan, looking at the comprehensively planned product of the community builder, conclude that the main difference between these planned communities and subdivisions is size; a huge subdivision covers 1,000 acres, compared with a small new community of 2,500 acres.¹⁶ Other differences in development style and development period result from the difference in scale. The authors concede that the comprehensive planning of a new community is a difference, but hold that the difference is minor, that suburbs eventually have the same amenities as new communities, and that pragmatic market considerations arising during the development period often supersede initially idealistic goals.

During the development period of fifteen to twenty years, the new community builder is faced with massive needs for finance which the subdivision builder never faces. The new community requires about ten years of development period, including approximately five years before any housing is completed, before a break-even point is

reached; subdivision building is a short-term project, usually involving little more than five years from start to finish.¹⁷ Accumulated interest is high, and added risk may increase it more. Taxes must be paid for a period of up to twenty years, usually five before any revenue is obtained. Cost accounting is imprecise; instead of allowing consultants' costs from expected revenue, it frequently sets projected revenue at consultants' costs and hence fails to keep costs down.¹⁸ Even large subdivision builders build closer in to existing development than new community builders do, and hence avoid high servicing costs. All of these factors constitute a large risk over an extended time period.

Planning in the new community is done by a team of consultants from various disciplines, including architects, planners, engineers, market analysts and ecologists, possibly sociologists. Unfortunately, comparable data was not available on the number of consultants involved and resultant needs for coordination in subdivision development. It is clear, however, that the new town planning consultants do introduce an integrated environment of quality superior to that found in the average subdivision. Eichler and Kaplan contend, however, that coordinating these consultants reduces time available to the developer to monitor quality of housing built; and that costs of servicing and planning are reflected in housing prices, which tend to be quite high.¹⁹

On balance Eichler and Kaplan are opposed to government support of privately developed new communities. The arguments they discuss, with their rebuttals in parentheses, are:

1. New communities will decrease the journey to work. (The evidence is that metropolitan area — new community

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36. Rodwin concurs (*British New Towns Policy*, p. 78). "Unlike the ordinary speculative development, higher capital costs are inherent in the initial stages of any long-term, efficiently planned development."

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 49. These are housing prices relative to other housing prices in the same land market area. Although the authors also say (p. 104) that building high cost housing is partly a conscious policy of builders, the validity of the planning and better environment escalating new community housing price contention is borne out by the fact that in Britain, new town housing prices are two to three times as expensive as national average housing prices. (see Rodwin, *British New Towns Policy*, pp. 68-69, pp. 79-80, p. 53.)

cross commutation is very high.)

2. New communities will save on economies of scale. (But in the U.S. experience the density in the communities has been quite low.) [Also, there is almost no use of systems-building or mass production in new communities.]
3. New communities have more employment, recreational and cultural amenities. (Suburbia generally gets these amenities, but at a later point in time.)
4. New communities reduce utility extensions and transport needs because they develop more rapidly than do areas under fragmented ownership. (There is little evidence that this is true unless government becomes more involved.)

In the Toronto area, a dubious view of the desirability of new towns has been expressed by the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board.²⁰ Metro planners, too, say that there are better, less costly ways of coping with urban crowding and housing problems than starting new towns. However, it should be noted that this Metro report was issued before the Toronto-Centred Region Plan was announced. Several of the Metro reasons for non-support of new towns centred on the assumption that Southern Ontario would continue to grow from Metro outward and have no guidance from a provincial plan. The release of the TCR plan has begun to call some of the assumptions into question.

Some of the reasons Metro planners suggested for not using new towns to relieve housing needs were: (1) the high costs to Metro of servicing and building transport to new towns (the TCR suggests the province will be heavily involved in this role); (2) the lack of a regional plan to guide location (the TCR is a first step toward the development of a provincial plan); (3) the new towns would siphon off Metro industrial and population growth (such siphoning off is an expressed goal of the TCR); (4) adequate vacant land still exists within Metro to accommodate needed housing projects (the

development of all vacant land in Metro would contravene the TCR population allocation figures); and (5) there are more effective ways to provide low and middle income housing; since new towns call for a real housing mix, only a small percentage of needy families would be able to live there, and a relatively small proportion of the problem would be solved by the tremendously expensive new town.

This last reason for opposing new towns — their inability to adequately serve the housing needs of the low income — has not been addressed by the TCR or any other statement of provincial growth policy and continues to be a failing of the privately sponsored new towns. The problem of housing those not able to purchase accommodation on the market that is adequate to their needs and reasonable in cost continues to be a major problem in Southern Ontario that is not limited to the very low income. The usefulness of privately sponsored new communities in meeting housing needs will depend heavily on the existence of a broad provincial housing policy, for which privately sponsored new communities are but one of several vehicles for implementation.

What are some of the characteristics of the Toronto area that make privately sponsored new communities attractive? A look at the Toronto housing market²¹ shows that the demand for all types of housing units is at such a peak that builders must build on a grand scale simply to keep up with demand. This need for concurrent provision of large numbers of new units readily lends itself to successful building and selling of new communities. Aside from a trend of privately developed new communities, the provincial government, through the Ontario Housing Corporation, has planned three ventures into new community building in Southern Ontario: Malvern, Toronto; Saltfleet, Hamilton; and Waterloo. All have been designed to increase the housing stock, especially family housing; relatively less

²⁰ Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, "Report on Satellite Towns as a Solution to the Housing Emergency in Metropolitan Toronto," Toronto, February 16, 1967.

²¹ Focus will be on the Metropolitan Planning Area since data is available for this. None in aggregate form is available for the Hamilton-Toronto-Bowmanville corridor, which might, as Tier One of the Toronto-Centred Region concept, be a more appropriate subject area. Housing demand in the Metro Planning Area constituted roughly 75% of Tier One demand before Vaughan and Markham were excluded from the Planning area.

attention was paid to their potential for stimulating or directing regional development.²²

An indication of the strength of the area growth rate is that the marked deceleration of city core growth seen in many North American cities did not occur in Toronto during the 1960's; core growth might have declined slightly in proportion to suburban growth, but not to the extent that it declined in the States.²³ There has been much industrial suburbanization;²⁴ resultant residential suburbanization has been offset by the fact that Toronto has gradually become the initial catchment area for 75% of the huge annual immigration into Canada; also by a large increase in office employment. The real estate industry is beginning to capture a larger and larger portion of the annual economic production of Toronto. Building huge subdivisions of 400-500 acres in the outer boroughs or in suburban municipalities is quite common.

A detailed study of the housing demand which absorbs this tremendous housing production was done for the Metro Toronto Planning Board in 1969 by Paterson Planning and Research.²⁵ Paterson projected needs for units in the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area, which included, beyond the City and the Boroughs, Vaughan, Markham, Mississauga, Pickering and Toronto Gore.

Paterson concludes that there will be a demand for 397,481 new dwelling units to house 421,428 new shelter units (defined as households of families or individuals) over

the period 1966-1981. He notes that:

In terms of dwelling units, the average requirement is only 26,500 units per year, which may be compared with the average attained over the 5 year period 1964-1968 of about 26,000 per year. The problem will be to provide the right sizes and types of units for the families and individuals they must accommodate, at the prices required to bring shelter costs within incomes.²⁶

Thus, Paterson's study concludes that the *quantity* of units being provided is sufficient, a fact that is surprising in the light of Toronto's low vacancy rates. (It is probable that his projected demand was an underestimate.) Instead, it is the *cost of housing* and *types of units* which need attention to rectify imbalances in the market.

While new communities may afford variety in the type of units built, it is unlikely that they will be able to meet the needs for lower cost housing. Paterson finds that only 39% of all households from 1966 to 1981 will be able to afford adequate housing; 61% will not. But his bottom rent rate for those households which can afford adequate housing is \$175 per month,²⁷ a monthly figure below the rent rate²⁸ found in new communities. The percentage of households able to afford adequate housing in new communities would thus be less than 39%. Purchasing non-subsidized housing in a new community requires a minimum of about \$9,000 yearly, while the Toronto 1970 average income was \$7,022.²⁹

²² Industrial land use averages only 10% of total land use in these new communities. Single-family detached housing accounts for 50% of housing stock in two out of three of them. The H.O.M.E. plan of buying the house and leasing the lot will be used extensively in these projects.

²³ In the U.S., average city share of metropolitan growth dropped from 23.7% in 1960 to 15.7% in 1970. The share of the City of Toronto in relation to Metro held a steady 20% proportion from 1954 to 1963. See A. B. Arif, "The Market for New Housing in Toronto 1963-4," Ontario Region, C.M.H.C. Statistical Supplement, Table 13 (e), and for the U.S. case, see Leo F. Schnore and Vivian Z. Klaff, "Suburbanization in the Sixties: A Preliminary Analysis," *Land Economics*, XLVIII (February 1972), 23-33. This comparison may be somewhat affected by Metro's incorporation in 1953, which at least one analyst, Frank Smallwood, believes stimulated growth of the entire area.

²⁴ Telephone conversation with Mr. Norman Roth of the Data Survey Division of the City of Toronto Planning Board, January 16, 1972.

²⁵ Paterson Planning and Research, *Housing Needs in the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area*, March, 1969.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 84 and p. 85 - 1.

²⁸ The average monthly rent for 2 to 3 bedroom apartments in Bramalea is \$195. If unbuilt Meadowvale apartments were built this year, they would average \$185 to \$190 for 2 bedroom and \$220 to \$225 for 3 bedroom apartments.

²⁹ *Globe and Mail*, June 15, 1972, p. B4.

One thing new communities have done, however, is add more family housing to the housing stock. The Toronto construction industry is presently heavily building apartment units, which tend not to be family oriented, while Paterson's study shows that the "most urgent need"³⁰ is for family housing. New community builders are building family housing almost exclusively, with averages in the new communities of only 8%, 25% and 35% apartment units.³¹ Paterson finds that of the 421,428 new shelter units during the study period, 207,803 will be families of three or more; and 128,822 will be families of four or more, who find it almost impossible to get adequate lodging in apartment buildings.³² Thus a minimum of 128,822, or 35% must be non-apartment housing. Building non-apartment housing for families of three or more would bring the demand to 50%. In 1969 multiple housing starts were at 50% nationwide; by 1980, they will probably be at 40%, with 60% of construction in apartment units.

New communities guarantee a yearly increase in the family housing stock for ten to fifteen years. According to Mr. John Turnbull, the Director of the Land Use Division of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, new communities in the greater Toronto area reflect:

household structures closest to present and future needs of the area. This includes both the types of housing mix and the types of densities needed — 40 persons per acre. They fill area housing mix and density needs far better than conventional densities and subdivisions do.³³

How can this potential for increments to the housing stock be made useful to meet the housing needs of those not able to purchase new community housing? Apart from outright government subsidies,³⁴ new communities can facilitate a "trickle down" mechanism. The trickle down theory rests

on the principle that as people move into new, more expensive, housing they will release used housing which becomes cheaper, available to families with lower income.

A study by W. A. Smith in the Los Angeles area cited by Eichler and Kaplan supports the theory. Smith relied on interviews with builders who told him that by 1964 least-cost housing averaging \$18,000 represented a declining portion of total sales; and that lower-income people chose used housing over minimally-priced new housing.³⁵

The only statistics available on actual new community trickle down in the Toronto area are contained in a survey of the first 100 families of Meadowvale and are therefore inconclusive. What they do show is that 39 of the first 100 families moving into Meadowvale vacated townhousing, singles or semi-detached housing — in other words, vacated some form of *family* housing that then became available to another household, presumably at a *lower* cost. Critical elements of an effective trickle down mechanism — given the need for lower cost family housing — are that the housing vacated be suitable for families and carry a lower price. For the trickle down to work, then, the market for the new community housing must be integrated into the other housing markets (by family type and income) in the area. A healthy, efficient middle income housing market in no way guarantees a healthy, efficient moderate or lower income housing market. If households entering new communities vacate only middle income housing, the trickle down effect is considerably diluted. Given the price of housing in privately sponsored new communities — and the income band thus targeted for service — it may be necessary to have much increased public sector activity in the lower and moderate income housing markets to improve their operation and facilitate a more efficient and effective trickle down process.

³⁰ Paterson, *Housing Needs*, p. 70.

³¹ See Table I.

³² Paterson, *Housing Needs*, Table 25, p. 57.

³³ Telephone conversation, September 18, 1972.

³⁴ In fact, government subsidies have been used to lower the cost of housing in new communities. In Bramalea, at least 2,300 units will be built under the OHC H.O.M.E. plan for sale to those in the \$7,000 to \$9,000 income band.

³⁵ Eichler & Kaplan, *The Community Builders*, pp. 105-107.

NEW COMMUNITY ENVIRONMENTS IN THE TORONTO REGION

Providing additions to the housing stock is not the new community's only role; new communities are also designed to order urban growth. In the Toronto region, ordering is urgently needed. The regional land market is suffering from inflation and instability. Sprawl began to characterize area land use patterns by the early 1950's, and there has been an area population increase of 20,000 people annually for the last ten to fifteen years.

If several new communities are built along a line instead of one or two isolated communities, utility and transportation costs for the entire area can be significantly reduced; and, if they also have a well integrated design, they can increase the ordering of fragmented outlying development. The province has adopted this belief by making new communities a major part of the implementation of its Toronto-Centred Region Plan, the major regional plan.

The following brief exposition of new communities in the Toronto area will compare their characteristics and positive or negative contributions to the ordered development of the area. After this examination has been completed, an analysis will be made in the second major part of the study of how these communities fit into overall regional growth and development patterns.

The focus of this examination will be on the large privately developed new communities in the Toronto area, although other large comprehensively planned development areas, such as Ontario Housing Corporation new communities, large subdivisions and privately proposed comprehensive urban development patterns for townships, will also be mentioned.

For the purpose of this study, a new community covers at least 2,000 acres and houses at least 70,000 people. Using this criterion, there are four privately developed communities in the Toronto area: Don Mills,

Bramalea, Erin Mills and Meadowvale. They will be examined in chronological order of development. The development principles described will generally not be repeated for successive new communities; with a few exceptions, such as Bramalea's heavy emphasis on industrial developments, and Erin Mills' cable t.v. and educational ideas, area new communities have used and added to the development principles of their predecessors. Developers have used each preceding community as a learning experience, and have tried to avoid making the same mistakes.

Don Mills

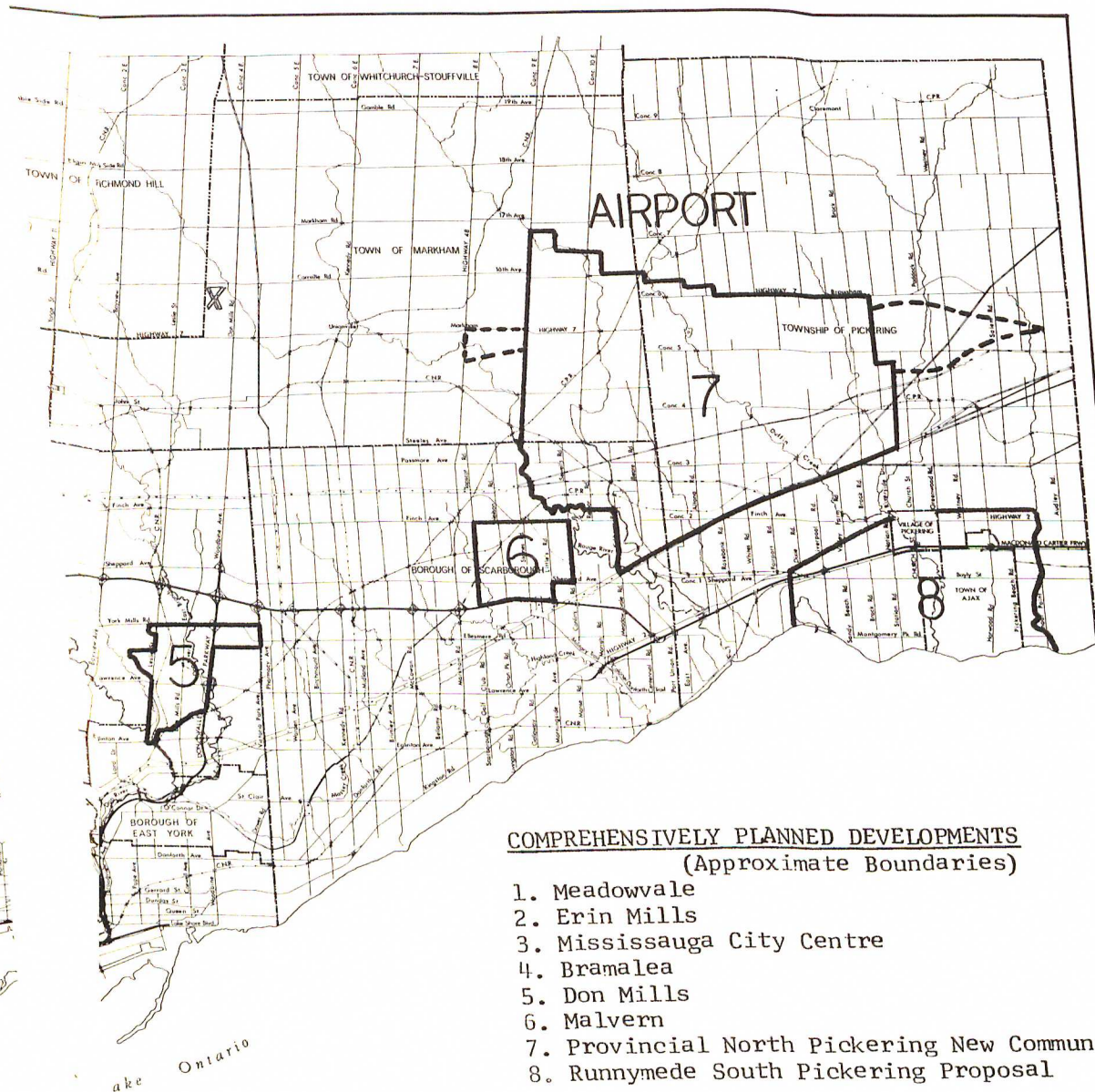
Don Mills is at first glance indistinguishable from the City around it, yet when it was started in the Fifties it was built on farm land several miles away from existing urban development.³⁶ It occupies a 2,063 acre site in North York, bounded roughly by York Mills Road on the north, Eglinton on the South, Woodbine on the East and Leslie Street on the West. As is the case with many privately developed new communities, it was not known what the land would be used for at the time of assembly. The land seemed to be an impossible site for urban development since it was separated from existing urban development on either side by ravines.³⁷

Once the decision was made to use the area for a new community, an unusual amount of planning went into it. Don Mills in many ways is the prototype for more recent new communities in the area; principles used in Don Mills along the lines of the Radburn idea — houses turned around and pedestrian-traffic separation — have been used without exception in subsequent Toronto area new communities. The gradual integration of Don Mills into Metro poses the question of whether or not there will be an eventual blending of other private new communities into the urbanizing area despite extensive planning.

Some of the planning principles adopted by Don Mills and integrated into subsequent new communities are:

³⁶ This type of lack of distinguishability may be a real problem for present and future new community builders, for it makes the community less of an ordered contribution to regional growth. Controlling sprawl between present development and new communities will be a real challenge in regional plan implementation.

³⁷ Jack Oldham, "Don Mills — Today's New Town," *Urban Land*, XIX (January 1960), 4.



COMPREHENSIVELY PLANNED DEVELOPMENTS
(Approximate Boundaries)

1. Meadowvale
2. Erin Mills
3. Mississauga City Centre
4. Bramalea
5. Don Mills
6. Malvern
7. Provincial North Pickering New Community
8. Runnymede South Pickering Proposal

THE MUNICIPALITY OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO AND ENVIRONS
Base Map courtesy of Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board

1. The neighbourhood principle. The development is planned in five neighbourhoods around a central regional shopping centre. The neighbourhoods are internally cohesive in design and site planning. At the centre of each neighbourhood, no more than a half-mile from all neighbourhood residents, is a grouping of churches and elementary schools. Road design facilitates neighbourhood unity through the use of cul-de-sacs, winding roads and T-intersections, which induce slow traffic.
2. Traffic-pedestrian separation. This is encouraged by some pedestrian walkways behind house lots.
3. Controls on design, colour and architectural plans. These controls were applied both to residential and industrial divisions. For residential areas, detached garages and front-yard fencing were prohibited; architect-designed and architect-approved housing was required. The industrial controls code included restrictions on coverage, outdoor storage, and parking in front of factories, front-yard setback requirements of 150 feet, side-yard setback requirements of 50 feet; and performance standards to rule out noise, gas, smoke, odours, wastes, etc.³⁸ All areas had restrictions on types of building materials to be used.
4. There was some interest in topographical and ecological planning. Parklands were designated in optimal spots. Every effort was made to retain trees, and builders were encouraged to build with the land, e.g. with split-level housing.
5. "Quality" housing was built. In 1955, for instance, a joint warranty was issued for each house in a particular neighbourhood by all involved builders. (This has not been repeated in newer communities.)

Since Don Mills was the original user of many of these principles in the Toronto area, it encountered resistance to what were considered overly innovative ideas, such as the neighbourhood principle, the strict controls policy, and even the use of row housing.³⁹ Later users did not find the same

objections forthcoming. The developers also collided with a number of local municipal problems experienced in subsequent new communities. These revolved around the inability of local municipalities to finance improvements and the need to keep industrial assessment high to prevent the developments from becoming a burden on local taxpayers. The currently used ratio for new communities of sixty percent residential, forty percent industrial assessment was worked out in Don Mills, as was low-cost provision of land for schools.

The final development characteristics for Don Mills and for other area privately developed new communities may be seen in Table I.

Bramalea

Land assembly for the second private new community in the Toronto area, Bramalea, began only a few years after the first portions of Don Mills were completed, in 1956.

Bramalea, which is still under development, differed significantly from Don Mills in size and location. Its projected final size, 8,200 acres, is by far the largest of the new communities. Four times the size of Don Mills, Bramalea was designated for development at some distance out from existing urban development; it is 22 miles north west of Toronto, compared with Don Mills' seven or eight miles from downtown. It is in Chinguacousy Township (just outside the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area), near Malton Airport, and its boundaries are Steeles Avenue on the South, No. 10 Side-road on the North, Airport Road on the East and Second Line East on the West.

Its distance from the City necessitated the development of some satellite city features. It has become more heavily industry-oriented than other area new communities – to ensure employment to its residents (though, ironically, only 20% of the work force there as of 1969 was composed of Bramalea residents) – and to add to the financial health of the formerly largely rural township it is located in. It has almost two-thirds as much acreage in the

³⁸ Industrial restrictions taken from "Business Builds a City," *Architectural Forum*, (No author listed), C (June 1954), p.149.

³⁹ Oldham, "Don Mills: Today's New Town," pps. 5 and 7.

industrial category as in the residential, a high proportion for area new communities. (See Table I.)⁴⁰

The planning was more flexible than in Don Mills, where rigidity in planning for ten to fifteen years ahead became a problem. By 1964, a need for less flexibility arose and it was recommended that a master plan be drawn up;⁴¹ this was done by 1966. A major stimulus for flexibility in Bramalea in the *Bramalea Master Plan* was the lack of certainty about the location of several major regional transit and other facilities – Bramalea is much more regionally oriented than Don Mills. These facilities include Highway 407, railroad lines and rapid transit routes. Not the least of these problems has been the official non-acknowledgement of the Chinguacousy Official Plan Amendment Number 30, which contains the master plan, by the province since it was proposed in 1970; it is not certain how it will fit in with the Toronto-Centred Region Plan.

Aside from these region-related site problems, there have been noise lands problems with Toronto International Airport, as a result of which 1,000 acres were designated industrial; and several geology-induced problems, including difficult servicing and the need for blasting shale for construction at one point. Many of these problems indicated a real lack of awareness of potential consequences of becoming involved in that particular site.

Some of Bramalea's distinctive planning principles have been:

1. New community principle of a town centre with surrounding communities, so large, however, that they are further subdivided into neighbourhoods. Both the 10 communities and their 2-4 neighbourhoods apiece have their own centres. Neighbourhoods have arterial and collector roads on the periphery. The town centre serves as a focal point not only for the new community but also for the surrounding rural area.
2. Coordinated planning with surrounding area. There are numerous Official Plan Amendments and planning has been tied in with overall township planning and the South Peel Servicing scheme.
3. Large industrial component. The policy results in a very refined industrial classification system deciding what types of industry are allowed in which geographical areas, using a controls standards classification system. Bramalea allows more diversified industry in its industrial areas than do most new communities, but isolates the heavier industry (though no "Noxious" is allowed) from residential areas.
4. Greater attention to staging growth as a result of size. As an example of this, almost 2,000 acres needed for Bramalea have not yet been purchased but the company holds exclusive rights to their purchase.

Erin Mills/Meadowvale

Since Bramalea was started, two other private new communities have been planned west of Toronto in Mississauga – planned in close conjunction since they are contiguous. These are the new communities of Erin Mills and Meadowvale. They have many features in common as a result of their conjoined planning, but there are some distinctions between them. A difficulty in describing them is that they are largely unbuilt – no hindsight is available to pinpoint problems arising during development or methods adopted to deal with these problems. Together, the two communities in Streetsville, Mississauga and Oakville, 25 miles west of Toronto, form the West Credit Development Area, roughly bounded by Highway Five on the South, the Credit River on the East, Steeles Avenue on the North and Ninth Line on the West for Erin Mills; Fifth Line on the West for Meadowvale. Meadowvale is the northern part of the area, comprising 2,915 acres; Erin Mills is the southern part, covering an area of 6,550 acres.

⁴⁰ Mr. Harry Smith, Chief Engineer at Bramalea, also mentioned the contribution to the high industrial category of the designation of 1,000 acres near the airport as noise-sensitive.

⁴¹ Norman Pearson, "Bramalea: The Building of a New Town, An Interim Report to the Township of Chinguacousy," October 28, 1964.

Although the communities will be built more or less simultaneously, the background of Erin Mills is older, partly since it is being developed by the same company which developed Don Mills. According to A. E. Diamond, President of Canadian Equity,

In 1955, the success of [Don Mills] seemed assured and the company began to assemble the Erin Mills lands in the West Credit River watershed of the towns of Mississauga and Oakville.⁴²

The lands cover a vast area, and much effort has been made to make the development plan compatible with important pre-existing land uses of the immediate area, such as Erindale College. In addition, there has been extensive interdisciplinary planning with more emphasis on social aspects than there has been in previous developments. Members of the consultant team include experts in architecture, transportation, commerce engineering, surveying, landscaping, education, demography, municipal finance and ecology.

At base, however, planning is more physical planning-oriented than in many government-sponsored new communities. This physical orientation may eventually produce a socially apathetic population, but the company maintains that the community will be gradually integrated into the surrounding area, and that it is therefore not responsible for social or political programmes. The problem with this is that there is therefore no social or political unity within the new community itself. The only social or government institutions are those of the surrounding municipality. The new community resident thereby has less community identity than a new town resident would normally have. Not offering the new community resident new community institutions raises a real question about the extent to which "community" has been built into this development.

Some of the development principles undertaken by Don Mills Developments in Erin Mills are:

1. Flexibility. The recognition of future fluctuations not adequately recognized in

Don Mills' development makes this a major principle.

2. Provision of physical means to a social sense of community. The company will not take the direct responsibility of providing a sense of community but will provide many facilities and design them so as to encourage this sense. As an example of their interest; once they have started building a particular community, they will complete construction of it quickly to forestall a sense of social isolation.
3. Use of a campus concept for institutions, including a central complex (commercial-recreational) and an institutional complex (hospital, museum and possible regional government centre). This principle will be especially relied on in education planning. Thus, there will be six educational complexes of community junior and senior elementary schools and secondary schools.
4. Open education and cable t.v. design of schools will facilitate the trend to ungraded classes; the approach to education will be flexible. It will also be open to the community at large, through both accessible physical plant and community-wide cable t.v. Eventually, there will be two-way transmissions to the central commercial cable from various community educational institutions.
5. A major emphasis on landscaping. This includes residential, industrial and transportation. Future Highway 403 will be in a major landscaped transportation corridor, of which the landscaping has been planned in progressive stages to allow for the addition of other major transport uses to the corridor. Three main roads in the new community will be transformed into boulevards with tree-planted median strips.

With the exception of the fourth, these principles have also applied to Meadowvale, the northern half of the West Credit Development Area. Many of the planning features have been similar because of: (1) contiguity of properties and close cooper-

⁴² A. E. Diamond, address to the Annual Meeting of the Urban Land Institute, Toronto, May 25, 1972.

ation necessitated by this joint venture; including several joint presentations to the province for the West Credit Development Area, and (2) historical ties between the two companies back to the 1965 formation of *Markborough* and the origins of its interests in the area.

Meadowvale, however, is smaller than Erin Mills, and fewer consulting disciplines have participated in its development. Meadowvale has made two notable departures in its form from the overall form of the West Credit Development Area: it has a large industrial sector for its size; and its overall density is higher not only than that of Erin Mills, but also than that of any other area new community.

One distinguishing planning principle which Meadowvale has been obliged to adopt is that of joint planning with the municipality of Streetsville, which is almost entirely enclosed in Meadowvale and Erin Mills. Other new communities have affected contiguous municipalities, but this is the first time the developer has agreed to a joint plan for the preservation of the character of the pre-existing populated area. The boundaries of Streetsville have been affected, but Streetsville's character will remain largely the same as it is today. Planners at Meadowvale convinced Streetsville to apply for daycare centre funds; now a centre which services Streetsville and Meadowvale is in operation.

To compare the final forms of all four privately-developed new communities in the area, the following table of design statistics for all four, Table I, was developed. There are a few discrepancies, which have been marked, in the methods used in compiling the statistics. The data is qualified by the fact that three of four communities have not been completed; two are largely unbuilt. The market may seriously affect the final data on items such as housing mix and industrial content. A few modifications have already been made. Information in the Table is from various brochures, master plans. Statistics were verified with the companies.

In addition to the new communities, there have been planned several large, comprehensive additions to the area's urban pattern — OHC new developments, proposed township master plans and at least one large subdivision-new community.

Other Developments

The planned large subdivision-new community in the Toronto area is Glen Abbey, planned by Home Smith Limited for a section of Oakville just north of the Q.E.W. Although it is a large comprehensively planned development, it will have an industrial land component of only 5%; a commercial component of 3%. Its primary aim, too, is the provision of family housing. The housing will be higher-density and within the means of more families than single-family housing. Various townhousing forms, planned to maximize privacy, will comprise 77% of the housing units. The development, which will cover 2,450 acres and house about 40,000, has been lauded by the Social Planning Council for its family housing. Availability of jobs for lower-income category residents is uncertain, however.

Another recent form of the large comprehensively planned addition to the area is the proposed master plan which will radically change the form of an existing rural area to an urban node. There have been two proposals of this nature: Mississauga City and Runnymede's proposal for the development of Pickering township. Both developers hold large parcels of land in a checkerboard pattern, with fragmented ownership between parcels, and would therefore like to plan for the overall area to be able to coordinate their own holdings.

The Mississauga City Centre assembly by S. B. McLaughlin Associates Ltd. covers 4,000 acres in Mississauga east of the Credit River. It is largely commercial in nature; it is very unstructured in general planning, with no presently available long-range plans for the entire assembly; and is not set in a regional framework. The aim of the development will be to channel the urban growth of Mississauga into an area several miles above the present centre in Cooksville; the new core of Mississauga will be at the intersection of Highway Ten and Burnhamthorpe Road. Mississauga's municipal offices have already moved to this new area; the developer hopes that most of Mississauga's urban growth will follow. (This dual core introduces an element of wastefulness.) The City Centre will include a huge shopping complex. Also planned are four residential quadrants — private new community style — around the

TABLE I
SUMMARY OF STATISTICS ON FINAL FORM OF NEW COMMUNITIES:

Development:	Don Mills	Bramalea	Erin Mills	Meadowvale
Final Population . . .	27,980	165,500 ¹	154,000	75,000
Land Holdings	2,063a	8,193.7a	7,000a	2,915a
Gross Density	13.3	21.95	22	26
Housing Units	8,121	31,203	*	21,623
Singles	2,842	{ 9,877		{ 2,668
Semis & Court	778	{		{
Town	190	{ 13,204		{ 4,155
Terraced	1,092	{		{ 14,800
Apartment	3,219	8,122		
Acreage	2,063.00	8,193.7	7,000	2,429 ²
Residential	793.50	3,447.6	*	940 ²
Industrial	309.96	2,147.3	850	371
Commercial	61.06	225.9	350	80 ²
Parks, Op. Sp.	376.67	1,089.3	735	375
Res/Ind-Com Ratio . . .	2.1/1	1.45/1	*	2.1/1 ²
Employment	*	29,784 ³	40,000	21,000
		work force at 40% =	wf at 40%	wf at 40%
		63,568	60,000	28,000
		emp. 50% of wk. f.	66% wf emp.	75% wf emp.
Schools	*	60	52	31
jr. elem.		44		17
sr. elem.				4
secondary		5		3
separate		11		7
Parks	*	1,089.3a	*	17 pks.
Neighbourhood				13
Community		749.6a		2
Town Centre		339.7a	100	2
Prices, June '72				
Singles	Not applicable	Cumberland Manor	Cadillac	Derrydown
		\$31,100 —	\$35,495 —	\$35,951 —
		\$33,450	\$38,995	\$37,954
			Costain	C.B.C.
			\$37,750 —	\$33,900 —
			\$38,975	\$35,300
Semis		Portland Estates	Cadillac	C.B.C.
		\$26,500 —	\$30,995 —	\$27,600 —
		\$27,750	\$33,495	\$29,900
			Costain	
			\$29,990 —	
			\$31,990	
Townhouse		California	Cadillac	Victoria Woods
		\$22,500	\$27,395 —	\$24,795 —
			\$28,495	\$26,595
Low-Income Housing (Government subsidy of Units)	Offered townh. units to CMHC at \$75/mo. for 2-3 bedrm. units; CMHC offered only \$67.50, so offer was not picked up.	at least 2,300 H.O.M.E. plan units for \$7,000-9,000 income. Use increased density. Formerly even a wider market.	*	Offered 5% land to O.H.C.; offer not picked up since H.O.M.E. leased lot plan does not work well if lot cost is over \$10,000.

*Statistics not available

- (1) Qualifications for Bramalea: Final population officially lowered by the TCR to 125,000. Housing mix has been changed.
- (2) Only Mississauga lands, not Streetsville lands, included. Some local road acreage is included in the residential category; therefore, the industrial-commercial component is in reality a higher part of the total acreage, and the residential/industrial-commercial ratio is lower. (Only land use breakdown available is for 2,429 acres, not 2,915 acres.)
- (3) Bramalea employment figure is for industrial only, neglects commercial.

Centre, and industrial development farther north in noise-sensitive zones.

The Pickering proposal is more sophisticated and has been tied in with more regional development factors. It was done by a consulting engineering firm, FENCO, and is advanced by the Runnymede Corporation, which holds 3,960 acres of land in South Pickering. It is a proposal for the Toronto-Centred Region Plan's sub-regional settlement of Ajax. Problems in the transformation of the rural area into an urban node are analyzed; the framework of analysis is much larger than the immediate sub-region centre, covering 20,000 of Pickering's 72,000 acres. The 1970 report, "Pickering Township Concept for Development," calls for a total node population of 175,000 by 1986, with a provision of 19,200 jobs. To this end, Runnymede proposes the establishment of a provincial development agency to oversee development in the area. The agency would:

1. Create detailed plans, construction schedules and capital budget.

2. Facilitate approval of construction and servicing schemes.
3. Build components of the urban area otherwise unavailable at the rate needed.
4. Encourage community organization.
5. Bridge present statutes and future regional government.⁴³

In addition to the above-mentioned forms of comprehensively-planned additions to the area, there has been one other form: that of the province-initiated new community in North Pickering. Since the primary aim of this community is to contribute to the implementation of the Toronto-Centred Region Plan, it will be discussed in the following section on new communities and regional development.

Each of the new communities discussed above has contributed toward the provision of new community environments and the addition of new housing to the existing stock. As will be seen in the next section, they also affect and contribute to regional growth.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO REGIONAL GROWTH

The analytical framework through which the contributions of various area new communities to regional development will be viewed is that of the Toronto-Centred Region, a provincial statement on southern Ontario's growth. The TCR⁴⁴ is a provincial urban policy that links regional development and local government reorganization.⁴⁵ Its main concern is the orderly distribution and deconcentration of population from the already crowded yet rapidly growing Toronto area.⁴⁶ Implementing the Plan may have the effect of stimulating some

economic development, but this is not its primary aim. This ordering of priorities reflects the fact that the Toronto-Centred Region is economically booming and that the immediate Toronto area is straining at its seams. The problem of this strain and congestion is far more immediate than that of economically stimulating a few lagging areas. The areas have not been forgotten, but their needs are subsumed.

Throughout the *Design for Development* Report, the province's intentions towards specific places in the province are expressed

⁴³ Brief appended by Runnymede to the 1970 Proposal, p. 2.

⁴⁴ The TCR is a Concept in the process of being refined into a Plan. It will be referred to as a Plan.

⁴⁵ See also Bureau of Municipal Research, *Reorganizing Local Government - A Brief Look at Four Provinces*, Civic Affairs, No. 1, 1972.

⁴⁶ The main purposes of the TCR as stated in Government of Ontario's *Design for Development: The Toronto-Centred Region*, coordinated by the Regional Development Branch of the Department of Treasury and Economics (Toronto: The Queen's Printer and Publisher, May 1970), are: to i.) shape the growth of the Region's metropolitan core into a two-tiered urbanized area, ii.) encourage growth in selected communities beyond easy commuting range of Metropolitan Toronto, and thus help to decentralize the Region and to prevent a swollen growth within and near Metropolitan Toronto, and iii.) set basic guidelines for regional land use.

in terms of population allocations. Policies for implementing these allocations are only now beginning to emerge, while work began on the Concept in 1966. It is clear that the main effort has been devoted to structuring the tremendous population growth already occurring rather than to initiating new growth.⁴⁷

Part of the stated policy of the Toronto-Centred Region Plan is directing growth from the west to the largely undeveloped north (i.e. north of the bottom tip of Lake Simcoe) and east; that this policy is secondary is shown in that it was not adequately thought through initially. There are likely to be real problems in stimulating growth north of the bottom tip of Lake Simcoe while keeping the land between the bottom of Simcoe and Toronto for agricultural purposes. The lack of effective linkages between Toronto and the inconvenient area north of lower Simcoe will be a serious barrier to this aspect of the plan. Analysts at the province say they are now studying possible industrial location incentives, but this is officially unformulated.

This evidence indicates that the Toronto-Centred Region Plan can be viewed primarily as a framework for population allocation; new developments in the area can be analyzed primarily through comparing timing and location of population with allocations and timing in the Plan. Subsidiary goals and aims of the Plan will also be taken into account, including the secondary aim of channelling growth to the north and to the east.

The Plan envisions the ideal structure of southwest Ontario as in three levels ranked lineally around Lake Ontario, with Toronto at the centre. The first tier will be a firmly structured megalopolitan corridor from Hamilton to Bowmanville; the second will be an agricultural belt from Guelph to Port Perry, north to the bottom tip of Lake

Simcoe; the third level will be a "peripheral" arc from Grimsby to Kitchener-Waterloo to Midland to Peterborough to Port Hope-Cobourg. The third corridor will be useful for future urban development to decelerate Toronto's growth; the north and east in particular in this tier are target areas, with growth continuing in Kitchener-Waterloo at a pace which will allow for the solution of organizational problems. Every effort will be made to preserve land for recreational use in the second tier along Georgian Bay, the Kawartha Lakes, and along the Niagara Escarpment; the Plan sees recreation as an increasingly important part of everyday life. Transportation will help to implement this structuring process.

The first tier along the Lake is itself in two tiers to help contain growth and to ensure that Lakeshore residents will have access to open space in the form of a parkway greenbelt which will divide the lower from the upper tier. The parkway greenbelt will also serve as a utility-transportation corridor. The Plan projects the arrangement of distinct population centres within these tiers to prevent urban sprawl; the sixteen centres would be compact and separated from each other by open space.

To attain these distinct centres, existing centres will be expanded and new ones will be started in North Burlington, North Oakville, Ajax, Whitby, North Pickering, Audley, Bowmanville, and Columbus. The province has made it clear recently that it intends to stimulate the development of new communities.⁴⁸ Its first step in this direction was the announcement of a future Government of Ontario new community adjacent to the federally planned new airport in North Pickering. The province would begin land assembly as soon as possible after the March, 1972 announcement, and would work out details about the

⁴⁷ A recent speech by Darcy McKeough, former Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, would seem to support this analysis that the Plan is an emergency approach. The *Toronto Star* of May 20, 1972, article, "Urban Plan was skimpy-McKeough" states that "the province drew up the original design for the Toronto-Centred regional plan without sufficient information, Darcy McKeough . . . said yesterday."

⁴⁸ The position of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Staff, stated in a Report to the Planning Board, *Report on Satellite Towns as a Solution to the Housing Emergency in Metropolitan Toronto* (Planning Board, Feb. 16, 1967), is that there is adequate land in Toronto to answer the problem and that building close to existing development reduces servicing costs.

development process while assembly was going on. Since then, there have been announcements and hints at various meetings that this new community was to be the first in a series of government sponsored new communities, all of which would contribute to the implementation of the Toronto-Centred Region Plan.⁴⁹

In so doing, the province would be stimulating or perhaps also building new communities to implement an urban settlement policy, according to the foregoing analysis' evaluation of the Toronto-Centred Region Plan. There has been much literature on the topic of implementing an urban development policy through new communities recently, most of it inspired by the United States *Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970*, which called for the formulation of a national urban development policy and its implementation through new communities or new towns-in-towns.⁵⁰ Many of these sources are skeptical about the ability of new communities to implement an urban policy, due to new communities' addition of many costs to the regular costs of development. Often, too, they point out that existing tendencies to suburbanization are the result of a powerful implicit settlement policy embodied in other national legislation for highways and mass-production agriculture.

Extra costs⁵¹ incurred in imposing new communities on previously unsettled areas are: land assembly costs, development (or servicing) costs, transport costs, costs of housing everyone in completely new housing, (including planning and engineering costs) and costs involved in local municipalities' hostility to development plans and badly organized municipal jurisdictions. All of these would be incurred in Ontario. But

there are a number of factors which offset some of these additional costs. One is the addition of pleasing and comprehensive urban environments which emphasize aesthetics and natural surroundings. New communities emphasize unity of environment and contain more open space than subdivisions do. A second, in the case of large-scale development of new communities (that is, the concurrent building of several new communities), is the addition of massive numbers of housing units to the market. A third factor, which offsets the servicing costs factor (in that by virtue of it, servicing costs are no longer additional) is the already expressed intention of the Ontario Government, prior to any announcement of a new community policy, to service large amounts of land for urban development. The first such scheme, under the Ontario Water Resources Commission, is the South Peel Scheme, which was announced in 1969. It is expected that a second such scheme will service an area reaching northwest from Lake Ontario in Pickering Township to the Central York region.

Costs not offset by these factors, then, are land assembly costs, transport costs and local government costs. It is certain that increasing investment in transportation would have been made in any event in the rapidly growing region. The Toronto-Centred Region reports state that the intended linear transport patterns along the Lake are the most efficient and least costly patterns. Additional costs come in the length of the corridor from Hamilton to Bowmanville, but these transport linkages would be developed ultimately in any case, according to the Plan reports, for they are natural lakeshore transport patterns.

The land assembly and local government

⁴⁹ See Terrence Belford, "Ontario to assemble more land, and let business build housing," *Globe and Mail*, May 31, 1972, p. B2. (Report of a speech at the Urban Development Institute by D. W. Stevenson, Assistant Deputy Minister in the Treasury, Economics, and Intergovernmental Affairs Ministry.)

⁵⁰ See, for instance, Anthony Downs, "Alternative Forms of Future Urban Growth in the United States," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, XXXVI (January 1970), 3-11. Also Lowdon Wingo, "Issues in a National Urban Development Strategy for the United States," *Urban Studies*, IX (February 1972), 3-27; Harry W. Richardson, "Optimality in City Size, Systems of Cities and Urban Policy: A Skeptic's View," same issue, 29-48. Several sources mentioned regional analyst William Alonso's skeptical view of new communities urban policy in several papers. Also, see Alan L. Otten, "The New Town is Vastly Overrated," *Nation's Cities*, Vol. 8 (December 1970), p.15 and p.26, and Representative Thomas Ashley, "A New Urban Growth Strategy for the United States," *The Urban and Social Change Review*, IV (Spring 1971), 50-52.

⁵¹ For a source on costs and advantages of building closer in to previous development, see Bruce Ricks, "New Towns Development and the Theory of Location," *Land Economics*, XLVI (February 1970), 5-11.

costs are the main extra costs that will be borne in the area under a new community policy. The province obviously considers that these extra costs are worth paying in the effort to create a more orderly urban settlement pattern, for it has announced its intention to move ahead with programmes for both land assembly and rationalization of municipal governments.

As has been explained, the Toronto-Centred Region Plan (especially in Tier One) is primarily an urban settlement policy; analyzing new communities within the framework of the Plan, then, becomes a matter of comparing population allocations in the Concept and in the new communities, and of examining whether or not the new communities fit in with the general urban structure of the Toronto-Centred Region, especially the urban structure in the Tier One megalopolitan corridor. This method of analysis will be used in this monograph, with secondary TCR goals also given attention. A subsidiary framework of analysis is that of the configuration of major provincial servicing schemes, which are expected to be part of the Plan's implementation, according to the August 1971 Toronto-Centred Region Status Report.⁵² These schemes provide for the construction of large water and sewer facilities which the municipalities would not be able to afford by themselves; they eliminate the need for coordination of small, sometimes mutually incompatible projects which municipalities would build. Since these schemes open up large tracts of land for development and since they will constitute an important part of the Toronto-Centred Region Plan, one such scheme will now be described.

The South Peel Scheme agreement, signed in 1968 between the Ontario Water Resources Commission and the municipalities of Port Credit, Mississauga, Streetsville, Brampton and Chinguacousy, provided for the establishment of a \$130,000,000 project to service lands extending 20 miles inland from Lake Ontario with major water

and sewage facilities. It has two main branches, with water and sewage lines generally running parallel to each other; these extend from a major lakeside water purification plant near Port Credit up to Brampton and Chinguacousy on one branch, and up through Clarkson to Erindale and Streetsville on the other. Municipalities will repay part of the costs through water and sewer levies. The province will support 15% of all construction costs, and C.M.H.C. will bear 25% of the costs of the sewage facilities. Most of the costs, including operating costs, will be recaptured through user charges.⁵³

The advantages of such a comprehensively planned scheme to the new community developer are quite apparent; indeed, all three of the area's new communities outside Metro will be serviced by it, and it has been said that without it, it is possible that Erin Mills and Meadowvale might not have been built. Hence, the advantages of these schemes to the province in directing large-scale growth can also be seen; fastest growth will take place wherever these schemes are installed.

REGIONAL GROWTH CONTRIBUTIONS OF TORONTO AREA LARGE DEVELOPMENTS

The order of examination of large developments in light of the Toronto-Centred Region Plan will be this: first, new communities planned but not permitted under the Plan will be mentioned; secondly the compatibility of previously described large-scale developments other than new communities with the Plan will be examined; thirdly, an examination of the compatibility of the privately developed new communities with the Plan will be made; and lastly, the compatibility of the Ontario-initiated new community in North Pickering with the Plan will be investigated.

Three private new communities planned for the Tier Two area were ruled out by the Toronto-Centred Region Plan. The Plan

⁵² Population allocations in the August 1971 Status Report were given by Servicing scheme: 925-960,000 in the South Peel Scheme's four communities, 369-428,000 in the Central York's seven communities.

⁵³ Most of the information on the South Peel Scheme was taken from a three-part series of articles in *Civic Administration* by Harry McDougall. See Harry McDougall, "OWRC's Largest Single Program," Volume 24 (April 1972), p.38; "The South Peel Project," Volume 24 (May 1972), pp. 30-31; and "An Example of Municipal and Regional Cooperation," Volume 24 (August 1972), pp. 31-32.

reports concluded that not only were the Tier Two lands best suited for agricultural and recreational uses, but also that servicing these lands for urban development and providing transportation infrastructure would be difficult and costly.

The new communities were Castlemore, near Kleinburg; Centennial City, planned by Milani and Milani for a 40,000–60,000 population also near Kleinburg; and Century City, planned by Revenue Properties for a population of 32,000 in Southwest Uxbridge. The Castlemore scheme was a municipal proposal by Toronto Gore for future urbanization in its area and was not a proposal of any single large developer. Currently, Milani and Milani is constructing housing on a 1,500 acre portion of its 4,000 acre assembly near Kleinburg. Revenue Properties has been in some financial trouble since the TCR was announced and its financial backers pulled out; half of the mortgage values for its projected 3,200 acre new community near Stouffville and all of its local taxes were left unpaid. After the March 1972 announcement of the new airport in Pickering, it has received expropriation notices for 1,600 acres; 80% of the 1,600 acre remainder will be in restricted noise lands.

The compatibility of other proposals for large, comprehensive developments and urban nodes – previously discussed – with the Toronto Centred Region Plan can also be reviewed. The Glen Abbey Community in Oakville may be seen as a sub-centre in Oakville, not as a separate urban centre. It is in agreement with the planned expansion of Oakville allowed by the TCR.

Of the two proposed urban nodes, Mississauga City Centre is the less planned since final boundary configurations are not certain. It is in general conformity with the TCR's designation of an urban centre in Mississauga; however, the target population figures for Mississauga given in the City Centre public relations material are at considerable odds with the TCR's status report figures. The former indicates an eventual Mississauga population of 1,000,000; the latter indicates a Mississauga

population of 685,000 (including Streetsville) at most. Also, the centre of Mississauga has been moved north from the Lakeshore, its TCR-designated location.

The second urban node proposal – the Runnymede proposal in South Pickering – seems to be more closely aligned with the Toronto-Centred Region Plan's goals. It calls for the establishment of an urban node of 175,000 near Ajax. This agrees with the Plan's goal of urban nodes to the east, although the population figure is well in excess of the Status Report's designation of 110,000 to 115,000 in Southwest Pickering. The proposal's approach is closely tied to the Plan's proposed regional transportation network and other elements of regional growth. The site of the centre is closely aligned with the province's designated site, originally for Ajax, now for Southwest Pickering. It is the first lower-level subregion centre in the East.

Bramalea, Erin Mills and Meadowvale (Don Mills is a fait accompli and within Metro Toronto) conform in general terms with both the Plan's final view and with its implementation priorities.

The original TCR called for the creation of a number of discrete urban centres in two parallel lines stretching east and west from Toronto to Hamilton and Bowmanville. To this picture the Status Report of August 1971 added statements about the procedure for implementing this grand scheme:

We proceeded initially in our population allocation studies in the area immediately adjacent to Metropolitan Toronto.⁵⁴ (due to the fact that the O.W.R.C. was involved in major servicing schemes for the area.)

Not all of the area in Zone 1 is suited to immediate large-scale growth.⁵⁵

In general we will assist and encourage growth in a compact form, properly staged by the economies of servicing.⁵⁵

The provision of trunk services, whether sewers, water, transit or communications is expensive and must be rationalized.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Government of Ontario, *Design for Development: A Status Report on the Toronto-Centred Region* (Toronto: Queen's Printer and Publisher, August, 1971), p. 11.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* All statements on p. 6.

Although the report attributes the province's early concern with the area adjacent to Toronto to the fact that the O.W.R.C. is making active investigations into servicing the area adjacent to Toronto, it also indicates that focus on the immediate area and expansion of Metro outward, because of high costs of servicing, will be its policy. That is, implementation of Zone 1 will largely occur from Metro outward — future urban centres designated closest to Metro will be built first, with the second closest next and so forth — to implement growth in a "compact form". The location of an airport in the area immediate to Metro would seem to have been in conformity with this expansion outward policy to keep servicing costs down.

As an expansion outward policy, this implementation procedure is essentially conservative. It has little chance of influencing growth eastward, but keeps it initially concentrated on Metro. The main difference between this growth and urban sprawl is that the additions of the new community urban centres are internally planned and restricted in area.

Expansion outward may have an eventual impact on the new communities, in the possible form of making them less distinguishable from suburban development than they could be, well-planned though they are. As now planned, privately developed new communities make additions to Tier One much in keeping with the TCR's goals. The Plan calls for the creation of well-defined urban centres to implement decentralization of Metro. These are to fulfill an area low-density housing need, but to have high-density cores with commercial centres which should be placed near the parkway belt. All three of the new communities come close to filling these goals.⁵⁶ In addition, all three have heavily emphasized the goals of enhancing recreation and open space, contributing 10–12% of land to these uses, as compared with the usual municipal 5%.⁵⁷ The recreation need receives much emphasis in the

Toronto-Centred Region Plan. Also, the communities comply with the enhancement of natural resource goals of the Plan in that they set performance standards for industry to limit pollution.

The closeness of the configurations of these new communities and those of the urban centres called for in the Toronto-Centred Region Plan is surprising in that planning began on these private new communities a long time in advance of the announcement of the Plan. It is probable that they were taken into account during the work on the Plan, less enthusiastically in the case of Bramalea than in the case of the other two.

Bramalea's planned population is 165,000, somewhat higher than the Plan's designation of 125,000. The real population discrepancy in the area, however, is not from Bramalea. The Chinguacousy Township Official Plan Amendment #31 designates an overall Township population of 560,000; the Status Report designation is a population of 265,000 to 275,000. Bramalea is somewhat out of line with the general principle of linearity — hence functional efficiency — espoused in the TCR. Problems arising from this non-linearity have been identified from the outset and centre primarily on servicing and transport. It was precisely these servicing problems — and fear that Metro facilities would end up being overburdened by this new neighbour on Metro's fringe — that led Metro planners to oppose strongly the Bramalea development. Some of the transport problems are mitigated by proximity to the Malton airport, which in itself has required vast investments in transport links to Toronto. Highway 401 is a short distance southwest of Bramalea; but more connecting roads to it will be needed. Part of the servicing problem for the area has been solved by the South Peel Water and Sewer Scheme. It is unclear what ultimate population the scheme will be able to serve. The TCR Status Report indicates the Scheme is planning to service 265-275,000 people in the area; the Chinguacousy Official Plan

⁵⁶ Except that Bramalea's city centre is in the middle of the development rather than at the southern boundary near the future parkway belt.

⁵⁷ For detailed research on needs for open space, supply in Toronto, and use of open space, see Bureau of Municipal Research, Civic Affairs, *Urban Open Space: Luxury or Necessity?*, Spring 1971, and *Urban Open Space: Parks, People and Planning*, Summer 1971.

Amendment #31 indicates that the original South Peel Agreement signed with the municipalities covered a servicing area of 13,760 acres and serviced a population of 560,000.

Bramalea is making a sizeable industrial contribution to regional development. It has a strong economic base of large amounts of small, secondary industry and is in an excellent location to feed into the Toronto area, probably even more advantageous for transportation than a location within Toronto. It is also a stepping stone to places farther west in the province — Guelph and, via Highway 401, Kitchener-Waterloo.

The final population for the West Credit Development Area⁵⁸ has been planned at 229,000 (Erin Mills and Meadowvale), with an additional minimum 6,000 persons in Streetsville; the TCR report designated a population of 200-210,000 for the area.

The West Credit Development Area is the second of four upper-level Tier One urban centres moving westward from Toronto. It is in the direct path of urban development which first greatly increased population in Etobicoke and is now moving into Mississauga.

The most notable difference between the Area's plans and those of the Plan's Tier One is the lack of a wide parkway belt. At the approximate location for the parkway belt in Erin Mills, there is a 580-600 foot wide landscaped transportation corridor designated for Highway 403. However, the area is near the Credit River Valley, and the Parkway Belt should become considerably wider in river valleys than in other locations, according to the Status Report. The 580-600 foot width compares with a parkway belt width above Burlington, near the Escarpment, of 2,000 feet.

A final category of new communities added to the Toronto area is that of Government-initiated new communities. These, unlike the O.H.C. communities noted in the first section, have as their primary aim the implementation of regional settlement plans rather than the provision of housing.

There has only been one such community announced in the Toronto area — the new

community of North Pickering. Disclosure of plans for the new community came at a joint federal-provincial press conference at the beginning of March 1972, at which federal plans for a new airport in the Toronto area and provincial plans for a new community to be built adjacent to the airport were announced. Since this complex will be east of Toronto in North Pickering, the province considers it a major step in the implementation of the Toronto-Centred Region Plan.

18,000 acres will be assembled by the federal government for the airport in an area bounded roughly by Stouffville on the Northwest, Claremont on the East; and stretching down to Brougham on the South. 25,000 acres will be assembled by the province for the new community and for a parkway service-recreation-transport belt in an area bounded on the North by the new airport, on the East by Brougham, on the West by Markham and by the Rouge River, and on the South by a line five to ten miles south of the C.P.R. rail line paralleling the Lakeshore. The assembly will include lands in Scarborough.

It is expected that the new community will be built on 15,000 acres of the 25,000 acre provincial assembly, and will house from 150,000 to 200,000 people who will have a variety of lifestyles and income levels. The development period will last twenty years, so many decisions about the final form of the community and about the development process have not yet been made. During this initial period, most of the efforts are devoted to the alignment of major regional transportation lines and services. One of the decisions which has not been made is the division of roles in the development process between the province, which will have assembled the land, and private developers, who are expected to make a major contribution to the development process.

Although many decisions about this new government-initiated new community have not yet been made, it is possible to make some preliminary observations about it within the framework of the Toronto-

⁵⁸ For purposes of this discussion, Erin Mills and Meadowvale will be jointly discussed as the West Credit Development Area.

Centred Region Plan.

North Pickering will include the Toronto-Centred Region Plan urban centres of both Cedarwood and Brock. Its area covers both of these areas, and the Cedarwood population designation in the Status Report was 40,000 to 75,000 while the North Pickering centre will house 150,000 to 200,000.

Although North Pickering has a parkway belt — 10,000 of 25,000 acres have been allocated for it — it is not located between the new community and the airport. Instead, the belt is south of the new community, between it and existing development. This will provide for a highly visible separation of the North Pickering Project from the surrounding area, but also for possible harmful effects from the airport into the new community despite intentions to use industry as a buffer. North Pickering is the first urban centre in the second level of the eastern portion of Tier One of the Toronto-Centred Region. Since it overlaps Metro and is so close to Metro, it is doubtful that this location will provide the major stimulus for eastward growth. The projected additional transportation lines, however, could stimulate major growth to the east if they extended farther east than the main com-

plex. The main lines will be the present Highway 401; the proposed Highway 407, which will cut through an upper portion of the new community in the project area on a continuing line from just above Toronto and just south of Markham; and a proposed third major highway which will move northward from the Lake or Highway 401 up through the new community to the airport. A rapid transit line will move from Malvern in northeast Scarborough up through the North Pickering community and then due east; another will connect Malton with the new airport.

In summary then, the privately developed new communities in greater Toronto discussed in this study do appear to be in very close conformance with both the TCR's view of desirable urban development patterns and its adopted implementation approach of expansion outward. Whether the conformance was initiated in the planning of the communities or in the drawing up of the Plan is another issue. What is certainly the case is that, as the Toronto-Centred Region Plan goes through various stages of approaching its final refinement, it will likely set out a more active role for the province in creating the desired pattern of urban centres.

THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

In previous sections we have examined final form characteristics of privately developed new communities and their roles in regional growth patterns. Neither of these sections have approached the dynamics of the new community's development process. It must be understood that the development process itself affects final development form, for the final plan is modified many times during the course of the development process as a result of market studies, topographical factors, and others; and also affects regional growth patterns, for the involvement of government at various stages of the development process may affect regional impact of the new communities. Altogether, actions and changes at varying stages of

development have a far greater effect on the new community than any other factor, a far greater effect than may be commonly realized.

The development process of a new community is closely connected with government policy — in the lack of clearly defined government policy, it constitutes government policy. The development process is a compendium of private and public actions; if there is a lack of government action or direction, the policy initiative is taken by the private developer.⁵⁹

Until now, the lack of major government initiative in the new community development process in the Toronto area has meant

⁵⁹ The idea was expressed by Kathleen M. Connell, in *Regional New Towns and Intergovernmental Relations* (Detroit: Metropolitan Fund, Inc., February 1972), p.8.

that private actions are shaping policy. Major governmental contact is at the local level, with compatibility with local interests the main government concern. To place the present Toronto area development process in perspective, comparisons should be made with the development process in other systems. In this case, the other system will be the U.S. policy, which is least governmentally restrictive but involves major government inputs; the British public new town experience; the Alberta new towns-process, which is modelled after the British process; and the development process in a method for development proposed by Professor Leonard Gertler for Ontario.⁶⁰

Each of these systems is quite different from the present Toronto one in administrative structure and initiative. The United States system is least different from present Canadian experience, except in funding; it offers major government monies with the least government involvement in administrative structure. The exception to this is the application of the U.S. comprehensive legislation,⁶¹ which has generally applied to private new community development, to new community development by state land development agencies, such as the New York State Urban Development Corporation.

In the New York State Urban Development Corporation case, the new community would be State-initiated and the land assembled with federal financing. Land development and building might be privately done, but the master plan would be drawn up by the State, with innovative land use reflecting the U.D.C.'s ability to override local zoning.⁶² The primary points of state control would be original location initiative and master plan; private industry would do the servicing and construction.

The British legislation⁶³ provides for the most radically different development process from that currently experienced in Canada by virtue of the degree of government

control and involvement provided for. All decisions, except private industrial and commercial decisions to locate in the community, are made by various levels of government. Since the new towns are part of a national urban policy (though the policy does not provide precise national land use planning), the original decision to develop a site as a new town is made by the national Ministry of Housing and Local Government. (The trend recently is to accept local county council recommendations for initiating new towns, because of local jurisdiction-development corporation conflicts experienced in previous new towns.) Financing costs are borne by the national Treasury until the project is self-sustaining. The entire planning, development and execution of the new town is the responsibility of an ad hoc development corporation appointed by the Ministry. Servicing responsibility rests primarily with the local authorities, but the development corporation may assist if local financial resources are not adequate. The initial plans may be drawn up by private consultants, but they are refined by the development corporation.

The Alberta New Towns Act⁶⁴ provides for the formation of an autonomous ad hoc development corporation, the "board of administrators", for the express purpose of planning and executing the development of a specific new community. The Board is dissolved when the new community becomes legally incorporated. There is no provincial initiative in location or master plan development, although considerable provincial influence is possible in the development process:

1. The original application for new town formation must be made to the Provincial Planning Board. The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, on the Board's recommendation, announces the new town formation.
2. The Board of Administrators may include

⁶⁰ Leonard O. Gertler, *The Process of New City Planning and Building* (Waterloo: School of Urban and Regional Planning, March 8, 1971).

⁶¹ *U.S. Urban Growth and New Communities Development Act of 1970*, 84 Stat. 1770, Title VII, Secs. 701-735, Public Law 91-609 (1970).

⁶² To date, the New York U.D.C. new communities are still in the planning stages.

⁶³ *New Towns Act*, Great Britain Public General Acts, Chapter 59 (1965) [revised from 1946].

⁶⁴ *New Towns Act*, Alberta Code 81, sections 1-23, Chapter 258 (1969) [revised from 1956].

provincial government employees, and the Minister of Municipal Affairs appoints the Board's chairman.

3. The general master plan submitted by the Board may be prepared by provincial planners or by a regional planning commission.

The Gertler⁶⁵ scheme for Ontario involves a considerable mix of government levels and agencies in the development process. The development process is seen as leading to the rational structuring of urban-centred regions, with actions in each government level directed to this end. The province, after doing background studies through its hypothetical office of New City Planning and Development, would take the initiative in recommending the formation of a new town of a specified population in a particular region. It would also play a major advisory role. Land assembly, planning and development would be largely in the hands of a New City Administration, a branch of a regional government administration. Private enterprise would lease land, develop lots and erect housing, with land sale price and sale timing having been agreed upon previously with the New City Administration.

The development approaches will be compared to the process in the greater Toronto area by separately assessing the various phases of development. The phases are: finance, land assembly, land development or servicing, master plan and refined plan. Within each of these phases cost and time requirements, steps to be taken, government interactions, and government interactions under alternative systems will be examined.⁶⁶

FINANCE

The first major development stage is finance. This includes finance in both senses of constructing a financial stage programme and accompanying budgets; and of recruiting loans for capital to develop. Although in all of the Toronto area privately developed communities except perhaps in Erin Mills, land assembly chronologically preceded finance, finance is the first stage of development in that it is the stage of real commitment to building a new community. It may be possible to assemble new community land as part of general estate activities, but it is necessary to set up a specific financial programme for the actual new community project.

Finance is the most critical stage, for the financial programme and availability of capital determine the life or death of the project. New community development involves heavy initial capital outlay, with a greatly retarded break-even point (usually about seven to ten years after development starts). Required monies reach astronomical sums — up to \$200 million, excluding house construction costs.⁶⁷ It will be noted that major costs of new community development, excluding house construction costs, with major installation at five year intervals, are in servicing, which absorbs 50% to 76% of the costs (see Table II). Initial investigations usually indicate a need for active recruitment of finance rather than finance through general corporate funds.

Requirements

A financial model for a U.S. new community of unspecified size done by Ted

⁶⁵ Founder and former Director of the School of Environmental Studies at Waterloo. A major consultant in the formulation of two provincial policies, i.e. consultant on MTARTS study and author of Niagara Escarpment study. Involved in the 1956 formulation of Alberta New Towns Act as Director of Edmonton District Planning Commission. Presently at the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs.

⁶⁶ Information on the Toronto-area development processes, which will receive major attention, was obtained in interviews during the last two weeks of June 1972 with Mr. Arthur Armstrong, President of Bramalea Consolidated; Mr. H. Peter Langer, Executive Vice-President of Markborough Properties (for Meadowvale); and Mr. Angus McClaskey, past President of Don Mills Developments (for Don Mills). These three executives are the primary source for much of the information in this section. It was not possible to obtain an interview from the present Don Mills Development Company for Erin Mills.

⁶⁷ The cost table, Table II, omits any categories of construction costs (residential, industrial or commercial). These costs were not obtainable, for the most part, yet in fact they constitute one of the largest cost components in new communities; they have a major effect on the house pricing system, hence a major effect on the consumer.

TABLE II
TORONTO AREA NEW COMMUNITY COSTS
 (as given by the developers)

Component listed	Don Mills	% Total C.	Bramalea	% Total C.	Meadowvale	% Total C.
Land	\$ 1,100/acre	9.6%	\$ 325/lot ³	4.65%	\$ 8,000/acre ⁴	24.3%
Holding Costs . . .			\$ 325/lot	4.65%		
Municipal Levies ¹			\$1,900/lot	27.1%		
Servicing	\$ 8,400/acre	73%	\$3,500/lot	50%	\$22,500/acre ⁵	68.2%
Planning & Engineering					\$ 2,500/acre	7.5%
Advertising & Overhead	\$ 2,000/acre	17.4%	\$ 950/lot	13.6%		
TOTAL	\$11,500/acre	100%	\$7,000/lot times 4 = \$28,000/a.	100%	\$33,000/acre	100%
Times total acres	x 2,100 acres		x 8,200 acres		x 3,000 acres	
Total costs	\$24,150,000 ²		\$249,600,000		\$99,000,000	

- (1) Lot charges by municipalities on undeveloped land slated for urban development.
- (2) This compares with Don Mills total capital cost figures given in various periodicals at \$150,000,000. Obviously, some component must have been underestimated or neglected.
- (3) Costs given in example form, for lots, with four lots to the acre.
- (4) Range was \$3,500 to \$15,000. Average selected by researcher was \$8,000.
- (5) Range was \$19,500 to \$32,500. Most of the acreage fell in the \$22,500 category.

Dienstfrey in the Eichler and Kaplan study shows year-by-year financial requirements over a 15 year period. Outlays are highest at the first, fifth and tenth years averaging \$20 million in those years. Interim year costs with financing average \$3 million; without finance they average \$500,000. (Eichler and Kaplan emphasize that it is next to impossible to build a new community without outside finance because of the magnitude of the needed sums.) Break-even point in an unfinanced new community, i.e. a new community sponsored by the corporation's own funds, is at the thirteenth year, with a total 15 year capital outlay of \$77,000,000. Break-even point in a financed new community with interest rates of 6% is in

the ninth year, with a total fifteen year outlay of \$143,000,000, the difference from the unfinanced community sum made up mainly in interest charges. The financed new community is less susceptible to housing demand fluctuations than is the unfinanced one, and has a better chance to make profits.⁶⁸ This model has been cited since it was the only available model on yearly costs, though not broken down into component cost categories. Next, cost data for various Toronto-area communities will be examined. Although these figures neglect many cost categories, as evidenced in footnote #1 of the Table, they do make available proportionate costs in various categories.

⁶⁸ Eichler and Kaplan, *The Community Builders*, pp. 151-154, Tables 1A, 1B and 2.

The final total costs in this table are substantially underestimated, as can be seen in the footnote #2 example. The proportions of total costs are the most useful pieces of information. Interesting points in the table are the low land cost component (less than 10% for earlier developments; 24% now) and high servicing cost component (50% to 68% to 76%). These costs may be compared with British new town costs of £40,000,000 average.⁶⁹

Main steps in the present system involve making loans and approaching various private interest sources, such as insurance companies and pension funds, for purchase of debentures, or bond-type notes issued by the development companies. No major interaction with government is necessary under the present system. There is no comprehensive new community legislation and hence no application is made specifically for the new community. Some C.M.H.C. loans for housing are applied for, but not specifically as new community housing loans. Canadian housing policy also allows some federal mortgage insurance, which was at only 14% of total mortgages held by non-bank financial institutions in 1968.⁷⁰ Ottawa has recently announced a proposed \$1 billion central mortgage bank, but the details for this have not yet been worked out. Some developers have long-standing financiers willing to back them on many projects, but the new community is a riskier project than most. Major government negotiations at the chronological time of financial planning have been with local government and have been unrelated to finance.

Under the United States legislation, applying for new community development funds involves an 18-month application approval process. Funding negotiations are with the central H.U.D. office, though regional H.U.D. New Community offices have been set up. 90% of private debt obligations or 100% of state land agency obligations, in amounts up to \$50,000,000 per project, are backed under this legislation. Loans to cover full interest charges are

forwarded. Up to two-thirds of the costs of planning are covered. Various other costs are met in other federal departments. The condition of forwarding costs is the drawing up of a viable financial programme before development starts.

In Great Britain, the central government is responsible for all finance until the new town becomes self-sustaining. It forwards funds in the form of grants covering 50% of expenses for the first year of operation, 25% for the second year; provides 60-year loans for major capital works; supervises all budgets and proposals; and provides usual housing and other subsidies.

In Alberta, the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council is authorized to support new communities financially by loan, grant or debenture purchase for current and capital expenditures. In addition to applying to the Lt. Governor-in-Council for funds, the Board of Administrators must get approval for yearly financial programmes from the Local Authorities Board.

Under the Gertler scheme,⁷¹ major finance for the new community would be obtained from a proposed federal urban development bank, which would receive contributions from the federal and provincial governments and private capital. Financial planning would be done initially by the province, then the bulk of the financial planning by the region's New City Administration.

LAND ASSEMBLY

Land assembly, whether for new community development or for subdivision development, is becoming a major concern in urban areas as it is realized that land is a scarce commodity, limited in supply and quickly used up in the process of urbanization. As the awareness of shortness of supply increases, so does the tendency to speculative investment in land, resulting in skyrocketing prices. It becomes difficult to manage major land assemblies for any pur-

⁶⁹ Rodwin, *British New Towns Policy*, p.61.

⁷⁰ Lawrence B. Smith, *Housing in Canada: Market Structure and Policy Performance*, Research Monograph Number 2 in *Urban Canada: Problems and Prospects*, ed. by N. Harvey Lithwick (Ottawa: Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, January 1971), p.71.

⁷¹ Similar in initial financial procedures to the U.S. state land agency's financial procedure.

pose.⁷² This transition to an inflated land market can be seen in the Toronto area, in which the portion of new community costs attributed to land were 5-10% in the Fifties and early Sixties, and 24% in the late Sixties. It can also be seen in the attention given to land assembly phases of the new government North Pickering project.

Evidence for the instability of the land market is taken from two sources: the Gertler *New City* report and the Urban Development Institute Region of York committee's report on *Brief on Design for Development*.⁷³ Gertler's report includes a section on land costs in North Oakville. Land prices in Ward One in North Oakville increased by five and one-half times between 1964 and 1969, from an average of \$484 per acre to \$2,599 per acre.⁷⁴ By 1969, 61% of the land in the Ward was held in the "investment" category.⁷⁵ All of this land was in the rural undeveloped state, presumably unable to be developed with present area servicing capacity. The U.D.I. Region of York brief refers to an area-wide increase in price of land by four times from 1961 to 1969,⁷⁶ and attributes much of this increase to the decrease in supply of serviced land from 40,000 acres in 1963 to 24,000 acres in 1968.⁷⁷ It also attributes to this shortage, through rising land costs, the increase in average price of new housing in the Toronto area from \$18,000 in 1964 to \$28,000 in 1969.⁷⁸

The combination of the factor mentioned in the U.D.I. Brief of the shortage of serviced land and the fact mentioned by Gertler that large percentages of rural land, which are rapidly multiplying in price with no possibility of development in sight, are held in the "investment," or speculative category, points out the possibility that

speculators may be holding land in waiting for large government service schemes; that they intend to sell at inflated prices in the event of servicing; and that they would stop the speculative process only in the event of servicing and development of the entire Toronto area. Therefore, stabilization of the land market probably would not be achieved by servicing the land alone. Some type of government controls would probably be required in the event of a government decision to attempt to stabilize the land market.

This will have implications for any modifications to provincial overall urban development policy, including new community policy. This does not very much affect any past or presently developing Toronto new community, but would affect any future new community venture.

Requirements

A large land assembly averaging 2,000 to 5,000 acres is required for a new community development. Eichler and Kaplan estimate this cost at \$12 to \$14 million;⁷⁹ the Don Mills cost was \$2,310,000; the Bramalea cost was \$10,660,000; and the Meadowvale cost was \$24,000,000. The assembly period is usually 5 years or less; it was 2 years for Don Mills, 5 years for Bramalea, and 5 years interspersed over a long period of time for Meadowvale. Only Erin Mills was assembled with the intention of building a new community; all of the developers reacted to market trends in their decisions to use the assemblies for new communities.

Steps

Since it is necessary to acquire so much land, a location with as few land owners as

⁷² For a more detailed analysis of the problem of land market instability in the Toronto area, and for a suggestion of a solution, see a forthcoming Bureau of Municipal Research *Civic Affairs* on government land banking.

⁷³ Urban Development Institute Region of York Committee, *Brief on Design for Development* to the Regional Municipality of York Prepared by Foundation of Canada Engineering Company, Toronto, February 14, 1972.

⁷⁴ Gertler, *New City*, p. 33, Table IV.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁷⁶ U.D.I. *Brief*, p. 15.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Figure 6.

⁷⁹ Eichler and Kaplan, *The Community Builders*, p. 46.

possible is chosen. Land is acquired in large chunks or parcels; the purpose of the assembly is kept secret.

Government Interactions

For assembly, no government actions or approvals are needed. Eventually, it may become necessary to get local government approval for the future urbanization of large land assemblies. An example of such an approval is the Mississauga Planning Amendment 114, which gave approval to ultimate urbanization of Erin Mills, Meadowvale and Mississauga City Centre lands, with the stipulation added by the Minister of Municipal Affairs that large-scale servicing and transport schemes would have to be planned before urbanization. In the view of some analysts, local government support of urbanization may be enthusiastic, since urbanization will increase its tax base; in the view of others, local government may be hostile to the idea of large-scale change in its area.

Alternative Systems

In the U.S. comprehensive new community legislation, the federal government may supply financial backing used to purchase land, but does not exercise any initiative with respect to location. Only if a state land agency is developing does any government level initiate the development process.

In the British system, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government makes initial location decisions to tie in with national goals of population dispersal and decentralization. Original initiative, however, may come from local councils; this method is gaining increasing favour. Responsibility for land acquisition, servicing and disposal lies with the ad hoc development corporation, which has virtually unlimited powers with respect to land. (In recent years, opposition to this all-powerful role by local groups has tended to limit geographical size of new towns and to permit greater consideration of local needs and viewpoints.) The land in the new towns is rarely sold; "Generally the corporations prefer to offer sites on 99-year leases for firms wishing to do their own building."⁸⁰

In Alberta, the provincial Planning Board judges whether a new community is needed in an area for which it is requested: if it is, the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council forms a Board of Administrators. Using provincial money, the Board of Administrators assembles the land, by expropriation if necessary. It sells the land to developers, but through subdivisions agreements, controls sale price of land and timing of sale.

In the Gertler scheme the provincial office of New Community Planning and Development makes the initial decision for the development of a new community in a given region; the entire land assembly, management and development is done by the region's New City Administration agency, using possible federal Urban Development Bank funds. In addition to these proposals, Gertler has proposed provincial legislation to stabilize the shaky land market in the area, consisting of these steps:

1. The province passes legislation defining a land policy administered by a semi-autonomous Ontario Land Board.
2. The Board establishes a ceiling price on all undeveloped land at maximum value of Ontario rural land. This price applies to all sales.
3. The ceiling price is adjusted annually.
4. The Board also establishes a market value, equal to full development value to 1970, to be readjusted at five-year intervals.
5. For twenty years after the establishment of these two prices, development value is guaranteed to the seller, with the Board paying the difference between ceiling price and market price.
6. At the end of twenty years, the market development value is dropped.⁸¹

The underlying philosophy of this approach, Gertler says, is that it is a long-term approach geared to trading off public and private needs. It is possible that increased trading during the twenty-year interim period and profits on poor quality

⁸⁰ Rodwin, *British New Towns Policy*, p. 53.

⁸¹ From a speech by L. O. Gertler, "The Need for A Land Policy," presented at the Hamilton Association for the Advancement of Literature, Science and Art at McMaster University, November 13, 1971. June 12, 1972 copy, pp. 12-13.

rural land could be unexpected results of the policy, but it is a consistent, well-thought out contribution to the debate over arresting the run-away land market.

SERVICING

There are two types of costs which may be included under the servicing stage. Those borne by the developer are those of installing major infrastructure such as roads, storm drainage, water and sewage facilities (presently onsite but in Don Mills and Bramalea, including some trunk lines), electricity, and gas lines, which prepare the land for construction. Those of installing various amenities and facilities such as recreation facilities, health centres and transit may be borne either by the developer or by government. Directly or indirectly, the developer pays for recreation and commercial facilities; government pays for transit, social services, hospital, libraries and police and fire department.

The cost of installing major services absorbs the greatest portion of money spent by the developer — from 50% to 75%, as can be seen in Table II. Servicing is therefore an area of major concern to the developer.

Costs

Cost figures were given for Don Mills, Meadowvale and Bramalea. Costs to the first at \$8,400/acre with 2,100 acres mounted to \$17,640,000; costs for the second at \$14,000/acre with 8,200 acres mounted to \$114,800,000; and costs for the third at \$22,500/acre with 3,000 acres mounted to \$67,500,000. (All three will recover these costs; profit margins are not known.) Both Bramalea and Meadowvale/Erin Mills carried heavy capital costs in various water and sewage projects: Bramalea built a huge sewage treatment plant for a total of \$2,898,228; and Meadowvale joined Erin Mills in building a major creek diversion at a total cost to the two of \$4,000,000. Bramalea was largely built before the South Peel Scheme came into effect, and therefore faced some heavy capital investment in water and sewage unknown to companies developing new communities after the South Peel Scheme went into effect. (It is useful to note that the Bramalea development created pollution problems that partly led to the creation of the South Peel Scheme.) The South Peel water and sewage scheme capital

cost will be \$130,000,000.

Steps

Construction of these various facilities is not done at one time, but progressively, in major stages, over the fifteen to twenty year development period. Major costs may be carried periodically, at the first, fifth and tenth years.

There is usually an attempt to involve one level or another of government in servicing land, since costs are so high. Formerly, the involved level was the local municipality, but since costs of servicing are rising so rapidly, the province is now the level from which help is solicited. Often, municipalities cannot bear heavy capital costs. With Don Mills, all government-borne costs were incurred by the municipality of North York; the developer was obliged to purchase a large number of municipal debentures to enable this. In Bramalea, the company alone bore many costs, including the cost not ordinarily borne by developers of building the first eight schools which had a total of 160 classrooms. In Meadowvale and Erin Mills, all schools are built by the County, major servicing to the boundaries of the community is done by the province, and on-site servicing is done by Meadowvale and Erin Mills. In general, the county is responsible for building schools, the developer for on-site servicing.

Extensive negotiations may be held with various provincial or regional agencies, such as Conservation Authorities, Water Resources Commission and Highway Department to determine broad constraints for development before any work begins.

In the United States, if the new community is built by a state land agency, grants are provided for the first three-year period for construction of local services such as schools. Supplementary grants up to 20% of other federally aided facilities, such as highways and water and pollution plants, are also available.

In Britain, local authorities are responsible for servicing unless costs prove to be too high for the local area; in this case, the development corporation takes the responsibility for servicing. The development corporation takes all responsibilities for social or recreational amenities.

In Alberta the Board of Administrators does some local improvements, but much of the servicing is done by private developers, who have first entered into an agreement with the Board on subdivisions, development costs, final sale price of the land and timing of land sales.

In the Gertler scheme, the New City Administration does the major servicing.

OFFICIAL PLAN⁸²

For the municipality, the master plan and its Official Plan Amendment are refinements of the existing Official Plan; which contrasts with the usual view that a new community is a new venture. The municipality thus has considerable authority over the development of a new community; negotiations with the local municipality in the present system are the most prolonged and involved of any developer-government level negotiations. The consultant planners and engineers draw up the new community master plan, but this plan must be in basic conformance with the municipality's intention for the land area.

Requirements

Costs for planning and engineering, the major inputs into drawing up a master land use plan, were given for one development — Meadowvale. At \$1,000/acre for planning and \$1,500/acre for engineering, the cost is \$3,000,000. (This probably includes planning and engineering for stages other than the master plan, however.)

The time required for drawing up the Meadowvale master plan was almost one year — May 1969 through March 1970. During this time activities undertaken included surveying, soil testing, marketing analyses, background studies, the formation of a development concept and preliminary layouts for industrial and residential areas. Following these steps was dialogue with affected agencies, including municipalities, school boards, church boards, Erin Mills, and some provincial agencies. In the light of these talks the master plan was reworked. It can be remarked that the process was not an initial finalized decision about land use but involved tentative plans, feedback and reworking. The process is far from simple;

consultant planners for Meadowvale drew up an activity analysis from beginning to construction consisting of twenty major phases, each composed of five to twenty sub-steps. It can also be remarked that many activities over and above land use planning per se were included. Consultation with many agencies, for the purposes of (1) getting approvals and (2) coordinating major elements of the plan with others' plans — from transit to church building — was also a major, time-consuming part of this stage.

Many types of negotiations with local government are necessary stages in arriving at a master plan which will be incorporated into the municipality's Official Plan by Official Plan Amendment. These range from acceptance of the development philosophy by the municipality to concrete agreements on local tax base and schools. The municipality's stance becomes more pragmatic and bargain-oriented as negotiations proceed.

In the Meadowvale case, the sequence of planning negotiations included:

1. The Mississauga Planning Amendment #114 in 1961, in which the Town approved the ultimate urbanization of large land assemblies in its boundaries, and the Minister of Municipal Affairs approved the urbanization, subject to the introduction of large servicing and other infrastructure schemes.
2. A development agreement (product of bargaining) was signed on October 22, 1968 between Meadowvale and Mississauga. Its stated purpose was to prevent Meadowvale from becoming a tax burden on local residents.

This specified:

a) that development would be released in parcels of 520 acres, of which 120 were to be for industry and 400 of which were to be residential; and that the first 100 residential and 120 industrial acres were to be serviced at the same time.

b) that subdivision agreements were to be signed, including

- 1) the sale of lands for schools at \$12,500 per acre

⁸² The legal term for the municipally-adopted comprehensive land use plan for the new community known to the planners as the master plan.

- 2) cash shortfall resulting from lower assessment on industrial than on residential property was to be paid to the municipality
 - 3) parks were to be dedicated at 2.5 acres per 1,000 people
 - 4) the developer was to install all services from the boundaries of Meadowvale to all lots
 - 5) necessary social/recreational amenities were to be installed, such as arenas, swimming pools and libraries
 - 6) the developer was to pay no additional levies.
- c) the developer was to offer 5% of his lands, subdivision by subdivision, for public housing.
3. The Mississauga Official Plan Amendment #218, the Meadowvale Master Plan, was approved in August 1970.
 4. At each subdivision stage, subdivision agreements are signed in keeping with the Development Agreement's provisions.

In the U.S. case the developer or state land agency prepares the master plan, with federal money subsidizing up to two-thirds the cost of planning under Section 701 Comprehensive Planning legislation.

In Britain, the Ministry comments on and approves the master plan, which is the responsibility of the development corporation. This, in turn, may be a refinement of a master plan received from a commissioned private consultant.

In Alberta, the Board of Administrators is responsible for the plan, which may be drawn up by a private consultant, a regional planning commission or the provincial Planning Board staff. The provincial Planning Board must approve the plan.

In the Gertler scheme, the New City Administration draws up the plan and the "urban design," for which it gets provincial approval. Prior to the decision to build the

new community, the province's Office of New City Planning and Development would have prepared background studies.

DRAFT PLAN⁸³ 84

This is the stage of detailed planning and concrete agreement by various government levels that development may commence. Approvals processes are the most time-consuming part of this phase and are often inefficient. For instance, circulation of plans to various government agencies for comment customarily done exclusively by the Minister of Municipal Affairs has begun to be duplicated by some municipalities. Streamlining the approvals process in the case of new communities would be an improvement welcome to the developers of new communities. It would also be in the public interest.

During this stage, the developer tries to maximize flexibility of timing and location with some success, and of zoning, with less success. Developers have expressed interest in zoning flexibility analogous to the planned unit development system⁸⁵ in New York; this, too, would seem to be a system in the public interest, for it tends to lower prices, increase density and add flexibility while maintaining high planning standards.

The detailed plan of subdivisions incorporates precise surveying, topographical and engineering measurements. The Director of Planning in the Meadowvale site office characterizes this planning as a "bag of water" activity; if an element is removed from one part of the subdivision, it must be squeezed into another, with a finite amount of total space. Coordination of planning must be made among all government levels; for instance, to plan the road system, federal and provincial highways, county arterials, local major and minor collectors and locals must be coordinated.

In addition, comprehensive subdivision agreements may be attached to the subdivision plans. Depending on whether or not

⁸³ For much help in the previous section and especially in this section, the researcher is indebted to Mr. Owen Rose, Director of Planning at the Meadowvale Field Office. Interviews were held on June 2 and June 15, 1972.

⁸⁴ This plan is the detailed surveyed final site plan refined down to the scale of one inch equal to one hundred feet.

⁸⁵ A zoning system which overrides local street width, lot size, setback and other zoning and planning regulations to substitute a high quality of flexible planning in land unit sizes above a certain minimum acreage.

there is a development agreement, the negotiation of the subdivision agreement may involve much time and a substantial exchange of money. In Bramalea, for instance, where there was no development agreement, the municipality "recaptured" \$11,000,000 from the developer in the Phase Six subdivision agreement.

A list of steps in subdivision planning has been compiled. These do not include engineering or subdivision agreements and assume that no approvals are refused. They are:

1. Preparation of draft text and maps of subdivision.
2. Approval by municipal planning staff and revisions.
3. Submission for review to municipal and provincial agencies, through the Minister of Municipal Affairs. (These include, for the province: the Department of Municipal Affairs, Highways, and Energy Resources Commission, Ontario Water Resources Commission, Ontario Hydro and Ontario Housing Corporation; for the County: the County Roads Department, Board of Education and Separate School Board, the Metro Toronto Planning Board; for the municipalities: Planning Board(s), Town Council(s), Engineering Department(s), Parks and Recreation Department(s), Hydro and Water Commission(s) and Committee(s) of Adjustment; for the region: the Conservation Authority; and for the federal government: C.M.H.C.)
4. Presentation of drafts to Planning Board and Council.
5. Revisions in the light of comments returned through D.M.A.
6. Preparation of preliminary draft plan of subdivision.
7. Public display, receipt of objections and public comment channelled through the municipal planning staff.
8. Revisions in the light of these and final draft preparation.
9. Revised final drafts channelled through the municipal planning staff for review to the municipal Planning Board, which in turn forwards the drafts for review to the municipal Council; all comments are considered, some incorporated.
10. The draft plan is incorporated into municipal law by municipal by-law or amendment. This amendment is reviewed by D.M.A. and the Ontario Municipal Board; the Minister may return the amendment to the municipal council for revision.
11. The Minister approves the law fully or subject to modifications, in accordance with the Planning Act.
12. The documents with the Minister's signature are registered in the municipal offices.

The process is lengthy and cumbersome. Most of the interactions with government in this stage are at the local level, but the province may become involved at several points.

In most alternative systems (perhaps not in the U.S. case), there is some attempt to expedite this process. Since the mandate for the new community formation frequently comes from above initially, and since the administrative structure itself is provincially appointed, there is direct developer-provincial negotiation in this phase.

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

No major criticisms can be made of area privately developed new communities in the context of goals set by the developers and constraints present to them. One exception to this generalization may be the original decision to develop a new community in a

given location; adjustments to circumstances may be made, but often, not enough attention is given to potential problems.⁸⁶ Aside from this, developers have made many advances towards extremely efficient methods of servicing land, in timing land

⁸⁶ This may be increasingly untrue since recent new communities face a substantial investment in the land stage, and hence an early necessity to take all potential problems into consideration.

development and building, in overall planning and in local government relations.

Within a broader view than that of the developers, however, certain problems may be noted. There is not enough awareness or study by the developer of how his community will tie in with or affect regional growth patterns. The greenbelt planned by the developers is mostly internal and does not guarantee that the new community will be distinguishable from general urbanization in the long run. A lively interest in the potential for developing a true community spirit among the new community residents is lacking among private new community developers, since this active interest in sparking community identity by forming residents' groups and so forth, is not seen as profitable. The position taken is that this is a local government function and that the new community will eventually be incorporated into the municipality. Lastly, private new community developers do not calculate overall costs in the form of various urban amenities of the community to local, county or provincial governments. This is not a major criticism, but should be part of a broadening of awareness of over-all impact of the new community.

The provincial government has announced its intention to formalize a new community policy as part of the implementation of the Toronto-Centred Region Plan. Given this intention, several points may be made about the structuring of this policy.

The province should use the experience and expertise of the private new community developers. Although the experience of other countries and other systems should also be used, the unique experience of the private developer in the Canadian — even in the Ontario — social, political, economic and financial climates should provide a major input into the analysis and structuring of a policy. Methods which worked best in the past, with the smallest number of negative effects, must be part of a future system. Also, as pointed out, the province would be well advised to use the types of densities and housing mixes used in privately developed new communities. From initial reports, the province's North Pickering community will have densities lower than might be advisable.

The province may want to use the oppor-

tunity of a new community policy or of the overall Toronto-Centred Region Plan to stabilize the shaky land market in Ontario. It has been suggested that concurrent development of a large number of new communities would have a land market stabilization effect.

The province could become involved in any of a number of development stages and still achieve its direction-of-growth-pattern goals. Involvement in some stages may be more effective than involvement in others. The following alternatives are displayed with the assumption that private developers will continue to be involved in some stages of the development process, in contrast with the possibility that all stages could be government-implemented. In any event, major servicing inside new communities is best done by private developers.

The most effective stage for government involvement, with the right type of agreements and controls, is finance. This stage is inappropriate for provincial involvement, appropriate for federal involvement, because of the vast amounts of capital needed. It probably would not be an active component of provincial policy.

The stage of land assembly offers the greatest potential for heavy provincial involvement in influencing regional growth patterns. Furthermore, stabilization of the land market could be encouraged by provincial purchase of even a few large land tracts. Location and type of development would be absolutely insured by provincial involvement at this stage. Involvement could come through contract with private developers to purchase and build certain types of development in particular areas, with development costs and value added specified in the contract; or through direct government purchase and development of land. Although this stage is the most effective, it may not be politically feasible, at least until the very complex mechanics of such involvement, which would insure an equitable solution for all involved parties, are worked out.

Provincial involvement in the development process by the construction of major service facilities, such as in the South Peel Scheme, is uniformly favoured by developers. To date, it is the only provincial capital investment in implementing the

Toronto-Centred Region Plan. This stage does offer major influence over the location and timing of development, but offers no guarantees that the type of development will be a desired type (such as new communities), or even that it will not be sprawl development. It can be a very effective tool in preventing growth in certain areas. Ironically, the provincial South Peel Scheme and the projected Central York Scheme mentioned in the regional growth section, seem to be encouraging growth too close to Toronto and hence subtracting from long-term efforts to decentralize from Toronto.

The master plan is another highly effective stage for government involvement, depending on the degree to which government may be interested in pursuing social and other lifestyle goals.

Government involvement in the framing of subdivision plan stage, except as a refinement of the master plan, would probably

not have a significant effect on final development.

Thus, the most effective stages for provincial government involvement are the land assembly and master plan phases. Involvement in either of them may be politically sensitive. Degree of real provincial commitment to the Toronto-Centred Region Plan would probably determine whether or not and how often the province would become involved in these stages.

In the meantime, in light of the good environments, densities and housing mixes added by the privately developed communities, the province should (1) investigate possible methods to close the gap between the \$7,000–\$9,000 housing need category and housing prices in new communities; and (2) investigate possibilities of re-ordering the cumbersome governmental negotiations in the development process, and of instituting methods to make zoning more flexible.



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