Civil Society as Shadowland:

Mediations Among Structure, Agency and Space

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Toronto

Faculty of Social Work

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ABSTRACT

Simmel claimed that boundaries are the pre-condition of existence (as cited in Tester, 1992). This research creates new conceptual boundaries and then inquires into the nature of the human activity and life practice thus revealed, suggesting that these activities only become distinct and analyzable through the creation of these new boundaries.

The dissertation has two primary goals, the first of which is a reconceptualization of our social structure which moves beyond the false dualisms of the concepts of public and private which are inadequate to describe our social structure and the range of human activity which occurs within it. A third 'social' realm corrects for this problem and creates a conceptual 'boundary' in which we can see the activities and life practices related to civil society.

Thus, follows the second research goal - the study of the period of urban reform in Toronto from 1968 to 1974 - to inquire at two levels, first about the juxtaposition of and mediation between the spheres of state, marketplace and civil society and to examine the life practices which were threatened, proposed and ultimately preserved by this period of reform. This inquiry occurs while also acknowledging the urban form - the spaces of the city - not just as backdrop but as 'shaping context', providing "a spatial mirror of the structures of society" (Bourne, 1982) and also in turn impacting on those structures. The study explores the complex interrelationship between the built form - our urban environment - and human life practices, the relationship between structure and agency, in the context of urban space.

In addition to the substantive issues which this study addresses, it also establishes a methodological process which seeks to expose life practices - social knowledge - lost to view through our social constructions and the limits to inquiry suggested thereby. As Simmel indicated, the creation of a conceptual boundary enables purposeful examination which can in turn legitimate previously ignored life practices.
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INTRODUCTION

On a recent visit to Chile, I stood in line at a large downtown branch of an American bank, indistinguishable from its sister branches in the United States and around the world. The hum of conversation around me focused on things yet to be done that day, on the length and speed of the queue. On the street outside the window, police were ticketing a parked Jeep Cherokee with its flashers on and a businessman chatted on his cell phone while waiting for the light to change. The scene seemed unremarkable until I noticed a woman wearing a rough wool poncho gently shepherding a number of small children similarly attired. The presence of these figures on a busy Santiago street was the only reminder that there was once not long ago a different culture - with different personal, social and economic traditions. Evidence of these other traditions occurs so rarely that we often no longer even note their loss. Similarly, I recall on a first visit to Turkey many years ago being surprised by the custom of drinking tea and engaging in a little ‘social civility’ before negotiating even a small purchase. Returning some years later, I noted that this tradition too had passed, economic exchanges were conducted quickly and ‘efficiently’. I note these experiences to point to the much-discussed phenomenon of globalization. It, of course, takes many forms - but when we refer so simply to globalization, we really refer to the global dominance of a capitalist economic ideology and the personal, social, economic and political behaviours that derive from it. This thesis explores the interrelationships between and among the economic marketplace, the political state and personal and social human relationships and activity. A large and perhaps overly optimistic goal of this research is that through social inquiries of this type, we might better understand and hence protect certain kinds of human interaction and behaviour, certain social structures and institutions, from these overwhelming global economic influences.

This thesis seeks to further our understanding of how human needs are met. The inquiry begins with an exploration of the common conception that needs are met through interactions
in the primary spheres of the marketplace and the state. Human needs are also met within the family although the activities of this sphere are of a different order that will be further discussed. Through this research, I intend to demonstrate and describe a range of human behaviours and activities (or what I will subsequently refer to as 'life practices') which, while critical to meeting human needs, are not represented by the dominant two-part world view in which the acknowledged spheres are the marketplace and the state.

Economic globalization creates strong pressures for a shift from communal and social forms of interchange in favour of goods and services purchased in the marketplace. Economic ‘exchange’ is validated and promoted while personal and social ‘interchange,’ which previously met many of the same needs, is unacknowledged and given no legitimacy. This inquiry seeks to make sense of how we account for and acknowledge a range of non-economic interchanges which, in spite of global forces, remain important in meeting human needs, or why we do not account for them and acknowledge them. These interchanges include: the affective and instrumental supports provided within the social networks of family and friends, the informal collectivities which are formed to meet individual and/or collective needs, the almost endless range of goods and services produced by a formalized voluntary or ‘third’ sector and the improvements in our social and economic lives achieved through the power of social movements. These are the human activities that I suggest constitute ‘civil society’ which, while of continuing importance to our social functioning, remain conceptually and structurally unacknowledged. The interchanges within the family are, with those that I wish to consider, also non-monetised. They are not of primary interest to this work but distinctions among and between these types of interchange will be further delineated.

In general terms, the goal of the proposed research is to provide a better and fuller description of what might be described as the interchanges which occur in the ‘social’, ‘civil’, or ‘communal’ realm, and the part they play in sustaining modern urban life. To ‘see’ these interchanges requires new definitional boundaries. I suggest that our dominant conceptual map - or our current ‘boundaries’ - obscure ‘non-monetised’ interchanges. And, to return to the issue of globalization with which I introduced this work, this trend to
globalization increases the pressure on these more marginal ‘interchanges’ and the life practices to which they relate. Even a partial countering of the increasing dominance of the relations of the marketplace requires an explicit and reflexive valuing of those ‘life practices’ that are not ‘of’ the marketplace, so that they might be protected and preserved.

The thesis that follows creates some new conceptual categories and then inquires into the nature of the human activity that occurs within them. Certain human behaviours and activities only become distinct and subject to analysis through the creation of new conceptual boundaries. That our conceptual categorizations are important derives from a constructivist belief that our world view makes transparent certain kinds of social inquiry and obscures other questions. Thus, new conceptualizations enable ‘new’ inquiries into previously hidden or suppressed human activity. To clarify, the point at issue is at the level of our subtle understandings of human behaviour and their meanings - not that we cannot ‘see’ the behaviour but rather the meaning that we ascribe to it, the context in which we place it and the extent to which we value it are culturally, socially and ideologically determined. We ‘read’ the world around us through a set of socially constructed categories or boundaries by which we classify and code human behaviour and activity. It is my intention to propose and describe a new set of these conceptual boundaries with the hope that these altered boundaries may permit an improved understanding of the interrelationships between societal values, institutions and structures and human activity.

My argument, the argument to be explicated and analyzed in the proposed dissertation, proceeds as follows: our view of society is socially constructed and the current construction - a dichotomous public/private world view, causes an overvaluing of private economic exchanges or what I describe as ‘monetised exchange’. I question how these monetised exchanges juxtapose with important but less acknowledged non-monetised interchanges that remain significant in meeting human needs and sustaining social functioning. It is my contention that non-monetised interchange represents an important realm of human activity - both in terms of the social ‘work’ done within the sphere and the relationship and influence of the sphere on other spheres of activity. The accurate depiction of these categories and
boundaries enables a more complete understanding of the social functioning of people in the urban, western industrialized world. I suggest an alternate conceptualization through which this obscured set of ‘life practices’ might be brought to light.

The relations of a society play out in all of its spaces - both conceptual and physical. Thus, the range of relations that I wish to explore - non-monetised interchanges in the sphere in which I have suggested that they are aggregated - civil society - are ‘expressed’ in every social phenomena. I will examine them in one aspect - as they are expressed and as they relate to, the urban environment. What is their relevance in this expression rather than, for example, in employment or any other ‘place’? For my purposes, the expression or the relation of these ‘non-monetised’ interchanges to urban life follows a long sociological history of examining what has previously been described as the impact of ‘mass society’ and urbanization and industrialization on human ‘community’.

Human ‘community’ - an element of my larger civil society - has over the life of this discourse been "lost", "found" and "liberated". Over time, the discourse has also been modified to acknowledge the interrelationship between human relations and social structures, which Wolch and Dear express this way: "The formation of territorial outcomes is contingent upon the essentially unpredictable interactions of the spatial with the economic and the political and social/cultural spheres" (1989:4). It is these relationships that this research will explore, specifically the importance of non-monetised interchanges - those occurring in the sphere of civil society - and their contribution to the shaping of a ‘territorial outcome’ as a result of interactions with those in the economic and political spheres.

My interest in these issues is conceptual, and almost immediately, any conceptual inquiry requires ‘grounding’ in order to have meaning. If one assumes a social constructivist position, can we see that we have conceptual maps and boundaries that emphasize certain relations and life practices over others? This question is almost devoid of meaning without a further inquiry into the implications of this ‘set’ of conceptual maps, what I have described as our ‘two-part world view’. Thus, the inquiry must move to a more grounded and less
The value of new conceptual boundaries derive from the fact that it is: boundaries which give direction to existence and which locate that existence are the precondition of their own transcendence. Without boundaries, social and cultural activity would have no form; it would be nothing more than amorphous content. As such, Simmel argues that boundaries create forms and the forms are the basis of meaning and interpretation (Tester, 1993:8).

The creation of new conceptual boundaries enables the analysis of "practices in and of the world" (Tester, 1993:3) to occur in a new light. Thus, the second and 'grounded' goal of the proposed research is to examine some of the 'practices' of human interchange which will bring these new conceptual boundaries into sharper focus.

The proposed re-conceptualization will provide a new 'lens' through which we will look at the activities of the Toronto urban reform movement from 1969 to 1974. Why focus on a reform movement in Toronto? The claims made by this movement were many but included, and were perhaps energized by, the desire to protect a built environment threatened by the interests of the economic marketplace. The urban reform movement in Toronto and social movements generally, are widely acknowledged to represent civil society. Thus, an inquiry into this period of urban reform enables an examination of civil society and the non-monetised interchanges which constitute it. In Toronto, these non-monetised expressions of citizens were directed explicitly at constraining the powers of the marketplace and the state. This case study provides an opportunity to look at the interrelationship between all of these notional spheres of human activity or 'life practice'. Finally, the spaces of the city, which were contested and ultimately preserved, were (and are) representative of certain life practices, which thus affords an opportunity to look at the relationship between the spheres of life practice and the territories which encompass them.

The importance of the relationship between human behaviour and the environment in which it occurs is a foundation on which social work and social work education have been built. In a social work context, 'environment' is the personal or social environment - the familial relationships, economic status, housing conditions, level of education and general welfare
of those whose behaviour is receiving attention. The relationship/interrelationship between person and environment has been well established. Of significant importance in other disciplines is the interrelationship between human behaviour and the built environment. The layout of towns and cities, the streetscapes, building forms, routings of pedestrian and automobile traffic, both shape human activity and behaviour and are shaped by it. The urban reform movement that took shape so intensely in Toronto demanded a certain kind of built environment. This inquiry examines the built environment preserved by the urban reform movement in Toronto with a very particular view. Was the built form that was preserved more likely to sustain certain kinds of human activity or life practices - those would serve social, relational and associational interests rather than those of the marketplace.

This inquiry derives from a belief, to be substantiated here, that the built environment in its modern industrial urban form has been almost singularly directed by 'monetised exchange' and that this impacts on the creation of the 'spaces' that sustain 'community'. However, I suggest that the case study will demonstrate that the built environment has not 'determined' the nature of human interchange but that the built environment exists as one force among many others in shaping human interchange and behaviour and in turn is one of the forces to which human actors must direct their efforts in shaping the social structure. This in summary form is the argument to be substantiated by the thesis research.

The research divides into two parts. Part I explores the conceptual issues; Part II, the more 'grounded' examination, explores how these new conceptual boundaries might add to our understanding of the role of civil society in Canada, most particularly in the case of the Toronto urban reform movement.

Chapters One and Two establish the kinds of human interaction that constitute civil society and argue for their importance in spite of their diminishing status in the face of the global economic forces that threaten to supersede them. This is more than a discussion about angels
on the head of a pin; the way we frame and understand issues conceptually has implications for how we order and value human society. I further suggest some of the problems that derive from this limited two-part world view.

In Chapters Three and Four, I will describe the nature of our dominant conceptualizations and argue for a new conceptual ‘picture’ that involves a reconceptualization of our social structure. It is a common tenet of modern capitalist life that the marketplace (private sphere) is the engine of economic life and the dominant sphere of society. Political life (public sphere) exists in symbiosis with the economic, and these are the elements of our two-part model of society, continually reaffirmed as the central realms of human activity.

An alternate conceptualization allows us to locate non-monetised human interchange amidst these other more dominant spheres of human activity. This ‘locating’ and categorizing of this sphere of activity is a prerequisite to analyzing the nature and scope of non-monetised interchange and the relationship between these activities and the other spheres of society. To these ends, I propose the addition of a third, ‘social,’ realm, which for the purposes articulated here, corrects the state/marketplace conception that derives from the concepts of public and private. The explication of these concepts, and the argument for a third, ‘social,’ realm, form a major part of the proposed research. I propose a reconceptualization that includes the ‘public’ (politics and the state) and the ‘private’ sphere (the family) and the addition of a ‘social’ realm as the locator of economic and non-economic activity (monetised and non-monetised interchange) that meet human needs outside of the state and family. This ‘social’ realm is described below.

I argue that a conceptualization that enables an accurate description of human interchange (meeting needs) must situate monetised and non-monetised interchange together as the two constituent parts of the ‘social’ realm. This conceptual move is important both analytically and ideologically. The reification of the marketplace obscures its real function as an extension and formalization of natural non-monetised systems of barter and exchange.
Distinct conceptual boundaries enable the comparison and juxtaposition of these two forms of interchange and their respective roles, functions and relationships together, and with the family and the state.

Ideologically, they must together be subsumed in an "imagined"3 ‘social’ sphere to reassert the value of the marketplace as just one form of interchange4. Analytically this ‘social’ realm can be juxtaposed and assessed relative to a ‘public’ (politics and the state) and a ‘private’ sphere (the family). The constitutive elements of the ‘social’ sphere, civil society and the economic marketplace can be similarly juxtaposed and analyzed.

Further conceptual precision is obtained by describing the ‘other’ activity contained in the ‘social’ sphere with economic activity. ‘Civil society’ as a subset of the social sphere ‘contains’ non-monetised human interchange and again, the creation of a conceptual boundary is essential to understanding and validating the activity occurring within it. The development of this broad reconceptualization including a social sphere and the conceptual development of civil society as one of its constitutive elements and the demonstration of its importance is the first goal of this research.

Chapter Five might be considered a transition chapter, in that it considers all of these varied ‘life practices’ and attempts to relate them to both ‘space’ and ‘place’. At a broad level, this chapter considers the interrelationship between the practices of human life, which I have conceptualized as being ‘attached’ to the public, private and social spheres, and the built environment, particularly in its urban form, in which these practices are lived out.

Part II, and the second research goal of the dissertation, is an inquiry into the activities occurring within the social sphere, within the conceptual boundary of civil society and an analysis of the relationships between and among these reconceptualized spheres of activity. Understanding the proposed social sphere, with its dual expressions of monetised and non-monetised interchange and their tensions and similarities, enables further inquiry about how these respective forms of interchange meet human needs. Better definition and categorizing
of 'civil society' enables an inquiry into how it looks 'on the ground'; how civil society and particularly non-monetised interchange affect the lives of people. This inquiry will be formulated as a case study and will be described in greater detail.

Relatedly, I also claim that the form and nature of the modern urban environment is reflective of the dominance and legitimation of economic exchange. The structures of both the social and physical environment reflect the reification of economic interchange such that the primary orientation of the built environment in modern industrial society is the support of monetised human exchange rather than 'social' life as I have argued we should conceive of it. In acknowledging the myriad ways in which our society reinforces and validates monetised exchange, I do not wish to imply that non-monetised interchange has ceased to exist or to be relevant. On the contrary, non-monetised interchange continues to be a significant force in individual human lives and in modifying our societal experience. The urban environment affords an opportunity to see the activities constitutive of civil society and assess how monetised and non-monetised interchange impact on each other and on the household and the state.

Part II will begin with the establishment of two important issues that provide critical background to the case study. The methodology and rationale for the case study will be specified in Chapter Six. The two purposes that I believe the research serves will be outlined. These include the opportunity, through a reflection back to the reconceptualization, to appraise the accuracy and utility of the new conceptualization offered. Secondly, the 'story' supports the argument made herein about the way in which knowledge is constructed - that new conceptual maps or boundaries, new ways of thinking about the world, in turn create new questions and streams of inquiry. Thus, although the urban reform movement has been previously analyzed, it is my hope that through a new lens it will be possible to add a new layer of understanding about the period and its goals and impacts. The research will also make a modest contribution to exposing the significant and continuing contribution of non-
monetised interchange and in its aggregate, civil society, in meeting human needs, both directly and through the modification of the other spheres of our social structure to better reflect human needs.

Chapter Seven describes, using interview, archival and secondary source data, the nature of the urban spaces that were threatened and the changes proposed for the Toronto built form during and prior to the period of inquiry. Thus, this is the first chapter of the case study.

Chapter Eight forms the detailed 'on the ground' inquiry into how the reconceptualization developed in Part I applies to our understanding of "practices in and of the world" (Tester, 1993:3). The issues and claims of the reform movement will be brought to the surface, made visible, and through that process, the forms and expressions of non-monetised interchange that supported the coalescing of a 'movement' will be established and explicated. The 'process' of the aggregating of the needs, issues and ultimately demands will be specified, as will the processes by which these demands were presented. Throughout, these 'life practices' will be related to the built environment in which they were carried out, and the issues that they expressed about the built form and its social meanings will be explored.

Chapter Nine analyzes the urban reform movement specific to the three-part reconceptualization which I have proposed.

A final comment directly relates the relevance of this work to contemporary social work practice. In fulfilling its professional obligations to individual clients and its broader social obligations, social work must take cognizance of an environment in the process of fundamental change. The role and importance of the federal state is in decline and with it industrial capitalism, at least as we have known it. As governments face economic crises, their responsibilities are being devolved to lower levels of government and something called 'community'. Since the first article by Robert Park in 1916, urban sociologists have engaged in unresolved debate about the resources available from modern 'community'. The role of Solidarity in Poland focused the attention of the world on a citizen's movement helping to
topple an all-powerful state. This decade has already produced a burgeoning literature on civil society, claiming alternately that it is powerless or the ultimate restorer of social equity. As social workers, policy makers and practitioners we must develop the conceptual tools to understand a changing environment. We have come to rely so heavily on the state that we are now perhaps not fully aware of the extent to which a debate, which has been central to social work, that of ‘public’ versus ‘private’ social services, has been pre-empted by a more fundamental debate about individual and family responsibility. As advocates concerned broadly with issues of social welfare and social equity, social workers require new conceptual and theoretical tools to understand the changing relationships between and among the ‘private’, ‘public’ and ‘social’ realms. Without them, we can not plan, analyze, strategize, organize or even counsel. A social welfare or social equity agenda, which I suggest remains an agenda to which social work should subscribe, can only be re-established if we understand accurately the current forces re-creating the state and the marketplace and the role and potential of civil society.

If we are to rely increasingly on ‘community’, we must, perhaps as never before, understand the forces which support it and those which sever, or worse, make irrelevant, the bonds of kinship, friendship and citizenship. The nature of the debate has shifted - it no longer focuses on whether human social relationships exist - but rather what sustains them, how we might legitimate them and what power they might have as a liberating alternative to the economic and social globalization that appears to be sweeping the world.
Introduction, Endnotes

1. The term 'marketplace' is used throughout this research to broadly describe the realm of economic activity. In western capitalist countries, all of the human interactions and exchanges in which goods or services are freely exchanged for cash, credit or goods in kind are activities of the 'marketplace'.

2. For a discussion of these terms, see Wellman, (1979).

3. Keith Tester, (1992:4-27) uses this term to describe what we do when we create a construction or conceptualization that helps us to place or locate the elements of the social world. We create an "imagining".


5. The word 'social' has been used here not in its contemporary reduction, now almost meaning 'recreational' but as an inclusive way of trying to capture 'societal' activity.

6. These notional 'spheres' or 'realms' will be used throughout this thesis. Although much more detailed descriptions will follow, a brief definition is provided here. The public is the realm of government and the state, while the private is typically seen as the realm of the individual acting in his private capacities and hence, includes the family or household as well as marketplace activity, or 'work' given that a fundamental tenet of capitalism is that these activities are based on free and private exchanges. I will demonstrate a number of problems that arise from this two-part public/private conception. I introduce a social realm which I suggest resolves a number of issues including providing a conceptual 'space' for a range of inadequately acknowledged activity.

7. This was a previously held thesis, that community had been lost. For an overview of this debate, see Wellman, (1979).
CHAPTER ONE
ILLUSTRATIONS OF MEETING HUMAN NEEDS

The Story

The foot of Bathurst Street in the City of Toronto is appropriately revealing about the story that I wish to tell. Bathurst Quay, as the area is now called, was in the not too distant past, like most of Toronto’s waterfront, the site of industry and unused land. So, it tells the story too of the changing uses of land and, as well, the changing nature of capitalism. It also reveals the connections between human activity and the urban landscape. That story, while a part of what this thesis will examine, is a subset of a broad inquiry into how people meet their needs: how the roles and functions of the state, the marketplace, the family and civil society expand, contract and intertwine.

To return to Bathurst Quay, amid the remaining industry the site now houses over 1,500 people in four housing co-operatives and two apartment buildings operated by CityHome, the municipal non-profit housing corporation. A sign on a construction site across from a large park advertises the building of a school. Adjacent to the park at the foot of the quay, there is a small parking lot and dockage for the ferry that runs the short distance to the Island airport. A trailer serves as a community centre and there are two yacht clubs at the western edge of the quay.

Bathurst Quay is reclaimed land, the site of a former military barracks that lay derelict from 1954 until 1979 when the Harbourfront Corporation established a playground on the site. The playground remained until housing development began in the mid ‘80s. I will take a moment to discuss some of the most salient features of the highly controversial Harbourfront story. A federal crown corporation, Harbourfront was established on the eve of the 1972 federal election as a sort of gift to the City of Toronto. The federal government assembled 92 acres
of land - disused industrial sites and harbour lands. Harbourfront was to manage the development of the land and provide a range of cultural, social and recreational opportunities on the waterfront to city residents. The development was to be 'mixed use' and provide housing for a range of incomes. Harbourfront proceeded to the task of development with perhaps immoderate enthusiasm, building luxury condominiums until the city and the province put a freeze on waterfront development. Bathurst Quay was the last area to be developed so that most of the mixed income housing that Harbourfront was to provide, in the end, had to be met on one site. Harbourfront's involvement in the development of Bathurst Quay thus explains why there is so much on the site of interest to us. The private sector developers who had eagerly built the rest of Harbourfront were less eager players when mixed-income housing was the object.

I want to shift focus slightly to talk about the people who live at and visit the Quay, about how and where they live and what they do. My purpose in doing this is to explain and describe human 'sociation'. Although somewhat awkward in everyday usage, this term has its roots in the early sociology of Weber, Tonnies and Simmel. It refers precisely to human interaction but it also is of sufficient breadth to encompass interactions ranging from a dialogue between two people, an association among many, or an economic exchange such as customer to shopkeeper. It is this breadth that makes it a valuable term for my purposes: it acknowledges a multiplicity of kinds of sociations and distinguishing among these types of sociation is an important element of this work. The neighbourhood at the foot of Bathurst is not unique in regard to the forms of sociation which occur there but it handily permits a rather full description all at one location.

There is a large park on this piece of land that juts out into Lake Ontario and on a sunny day in July it's busy. Two old men sit chatting (in a foreign language, thus limiting my ability to eavesdrop). Children are playing, some on the climbing equipment, others rollerblading, some with a ball, others just running around. A group of mothers, some with toddlers and babies in strollers, others 'belonging' to the older, more active kids, sit on benches talking. The talk, in the hour or so of my eavesdropping (or more scientistically, research) is about
kids' schools, cheap places to shop for groceries, teenagers who can be trusted to babysit and their rates, and the extent to which their male partners help with domestic life. There is another group at the park, three teenage girls sitting in a tight circle on the grass. Their conversation alternates between giggles and fierce whispers. When I move near, the whispers become more hushed but soon enough they forget about me. Their conversation is an intense exchange about love, sex, birth control, and parental control.

Soon, a small boy on rollerblades is in tears at the group of mothers. From what I can observe he can’t ‘blade’ as well as his friends who teased him and continue to perform manoeuvres in which he can’t participate. One mother pleads and exhorts the kids to be nice to him. They ignore her. Another mother more forcefully collars a boy, who I assume to be her own son, among the oldest of the group. She takes him over to the boy in tears and after a short conversation, the older leaves with the smaller boy in tow. For the next 40 minutes, a rollerblading lesson ensues. Both boys appear to gain self-confidence and pride from the interaction. The older kid demonstrates his best moves, the younger defers trying the trickier ones but basks in the attention and showers the older kid with appropriate approbation. And he tries and watches and when the impromptu lesson ends he’s better and a little less wobbly. The two boys go together to join the others. While all that was going on, the mothers kept talking.

Why am I telling this story? In sociological terms these are illustrations of human sociation, of the myriad ways in which individuals interact with each other to provide instruction, information, support, conviviality and fun. I will return to this illustration to demonstrate why these small snatches of human life are both important and noteworthy, but first there’s more to the story of Bathurst Quay. In addition to this individual sociation just described and the millions of other forms of individual and non-familial interchange that occur every day, there are other forms of sociation of importance.

Let’s discuss the yacht clubs. The National and the Alexandra are confederations of sail boat owners primarily who came together to buy, build and manage small pieces of land for
mooring their boats. They are "clubs," in this case formal associations of individuals who have come together for a specific collective purpose. Their common goal was access to the downtown moorage on Lake Ontario necessary to their essentially individual/familial enjoyment of their boats. While the clubs maintain clubhouses, some common equipment and provide navigation training to their members, they were not established for collective socializing - they served an individual, instrumental need which was met by a formal collective activity. These yacht clubs are illustrations of a particular and common form of collective sociation.

And there is also the issue of housing on the Quay. Access to affordable housing has become an increasing issue in Toronto. Accompanying the city's 'world-class' status have been declining vacancy rates and increasing costs for rental accommodation and home ownership. A group particularly disadvantaged in the search for affordable housing are those who are physically handicapped so as to require special, barrier-free housing. A non-profit group concerned with just these issues was formed to express its interests in the design of an integrated community, based on the notion that all planning and development should enable accessibility, without the barriers that deny the full participation of those who have impaired physical mobility. These views were expressed to Harbourfront while it was considering the future of Bathurst Quay. In what was a long story, (Cooper and Rodman, 1992), this group, Intecity (another example of formal collective sociation) joined with the Canadian Paraplegic Association (yet another example) to develop a co-operative housing project that would provide affordable housing to disabled and able-bodied people under the principles of co-operative housing. Participants in these organizations joined with others in legally establishing an association, in this case a co-operative, with an elected board of directors to build and manage housing for themselves. The Windward Co-op was developed out of these shared personal interests, built as a result of their collective goals and mutual non-remunerative interests. Co-op members have made an ongoing commitment to participate in maintaining both a co-operative organization and an eight-storey apartment building.
As mentioned, four housing co-ops were built on the Bathurst Quay site and for each there is a story not unlike that of the Windward Co-op. As in the yacht club example, people acted together because of individual needs or interests which they shared with others. In the case of the co-ops, individual housing needs and the desire to meet them in a particular way forged an ongoing association with others. Beyond housing, this co-operative association professes social goals of neighbourliness and community.

Similarly, the formation of Intecity or the Co-operative Housing Federation, which supports and assists the development of co-op housing, are yet other examples of human sociation, of people acting together. In these latter cases, they work with others not because of their personal needs but rather out of their shared vision of what people can do and achieve together.

I noted earlier that a school is under construction on Bathurst Quay. The timing of such construction is important to note, especially in relation to the fact that over 1,500 people live on the Quay. The housing was completed almost 10 years ago and a significant number of the units were designed and built to accommodate families. Surely someone would have thought about a school before now? But Bathurst Quay was built and designed largely without regard for the community amenities that most people in downtown Toronto take for granted. There were no schools, restaurants, churches or even stores on the Quay. The Harbourfront community, of which the Quay was a part, ended up busing their children to 35 different schools. A concern for community planning or the lack thereof was instrumental in the development of residents’ associations at Bathurst Quay. These associations represented the interests and needs of the community to others, especially such powerful institutions such as Harbourfront, the developers, and the municipality. Thus, these associations did not develop to directly and independently meet their members needs, but rather to represent those needs to other sectors of society. These residents’ associations represent yet another form of collective sociation - social movements.
Non-monetised Interchange - A Way to Think About the Story

What features do each of these examples share? In each case, from the girls exchanging whispered information about sex, the mothers sharing grocery prices or information about babysitter reliability, the older boy teaching the younger one to rollerblade, the boat owners forming a club to meet their boating needs, Intecity organizing to talk about integrated design, the Windward co-op establishing itself to build and manage a housing co-opertive for its own members, to the formation of residents’ associations to ‘fight city hall’, each is an example of people coming together outside of their family to meet their needs. These interactions also occur outside of the state or governmental sphere although they may focus their efforts on making a demand on some level of government. These interactions do not occur within the marketplace or formal economic system and nor are they first and foremost about money. They are what I will describe as non-monetised human interchange. This is not to say that some of the examples don’t involve money. Members of the Windward co-op pay a monthly ‘housing charge’ not unlike rent, members pay to join the yacht club and share jointly the associated expenses. But there are important differences between these interchanges and the buying of goods and services in the formal economic system. The sums that change hands might be described as interchanges rather than the more common term, exchange. A boat owner is not paying a fee to exchange his right to moor his boat with someone else who owns a piece of waterfront. In this latter case, that is all there is to the exchange, it is a purely economic transaction rather than an interaction. The importance of these distinctions will emerge as the discussion progresses.

With capitalism has come what some have described as the commodification of human life. Almost one hundred years ago, Georg Simmel referred to the ability of money to enable pure economic exchange, thus transforming our social relationships. Simmels’ Philosophy of Money, in a sense, translated Marx’s economic analyses into the language of sociology and psychology. Simmel’s view was prophetic, suggesting that a monetised economy would generate a "reified objective culture and a reified world of monetary relationships [within which] each individual’s opportunity for creativity and development becomes increasingly
restricted" (Frisby, 1984:108). As we will further discuss, Simmel sees 'exchange' as a central form of human interaction. It is not a product of a money economy but it is in such an economy that exchange begins to supersede other important forms of interaction. It also has an alienating value:

We experience in the nature of money itself something of the essence of prostitution. The indifference as to its use, the lack of attachment to any individual because it is unrelated to any of them, the objectivity inherent in money as a mere means which excludes any emotional relationship - all this produces an ominous analogy between money and prostitution (Simmel, 1978:377).

Thus, Simmel suggests that the existence of a money economy results in relationships that are easily objectified; the nature of human interaction is changed by a culture based on 'money.'

Even as recently as two generations ago, most human needs were met by people acting for and with each other, out of shared interests, interdependence, religious and moral obligation, love and personal affiliation, or just neighbourliness. This meeting of human needs, whether it extended to grieving and burying a friend, helping a neighbour put up storm windows, baking a pie, building a barn or harvesting a crop, was not done for money. In fact, the marketplace alternatives to these interchanges often didn’t exist. Not every town would have a bakery or a general contractor.

A significant force in supporting and organizing non-monetised interchange was the church. Most people had church affiliation, which was in a sense, a prerequisite to full participation as a member of the community and community relations were then further structured according to the very strong church based admonitions and values which effectively controlled behaviour. The church assumed many of the roles currently the purview of governments. However, because of the importance of denomination and church affiliation, these church brokered roles were very different from publicly provided services. The activities organized by the church extended beyond organizing schools, nurseries and hospitals - undertakings we now associate with state provision. The church was also a
powerful force in organizing the social life of the community. Through church teas and socials, neighbour and community relationships were fostered (and monitored). Teenagers met and socialized with members of the opposite sex (this being the only option) under the chaste but cautiously encouraging eyes of the church. Family life, although it remained largely private was subject to at least occasional and limited review by the church. The church also filled important social service or charity functions. It provided food and limited cash handouts to the indigent, it variably provided work and shelter to transients and it organized the support of other parishioners when 'one of its own' was struck down. This latter may have included organizing the barn raising, orchestrating care for someone ill and a host of other activities. The significance of the church, prior to the emergence of a welfare state and marketplace options for the purchase of such services must be emphasized. The church was an institution and likely the dominant institution of civil society. While its non-monetised and associational nature place it in this civil realm, it is different in some important respects. Most significantly, as an institution it was a powerful force, organizing associational activity but not in the 'free' sense in which we see these activities in contemporary civil society. While technically, church membership and participation in church sponsored non-monetised activities was voluntary, the censure for non compliance could be significant. While it helped build communal relationships the church was also a major source of divisiveness in communities. Thus, the church was an institution which was situated in civil society but it performed roles which have come to be assumed by the state and marketplace.

As the capitalist economy has expanded its quest for new markets, many of the things that people just 'did' for and with each other can now be purchased. Families with small children often shared in care-giving with other families. If a mother had important business or was called away on a family emergency (almost the only reason a mother could go away), there were often no other options for the care of the children but for them to be sent to a neighbour or family friend. Now, the Toronto yellow pages lists over 30 agencies and services (not including the hundreds of daycare centres) that will provide a monetised
exchange of emergency childcare for money, a 'fee for service'. Thus, we now have the option of using the marketplace to purchase or 'exchange' money for a wide range of services that people used to provide for each other.

A description of these changes could go on for pages. Important to note are the increased opportunities to buy almost anything, including social and emotional support from counsellors, social workers, feminist therapists, psychologists and so on. While some of these services have become 'technical', professing to offer something more sophisticated than generic 'support,' many therapists readily acknowledge that they provide affective and associational support that was previously provided only by friends and family. Thus, this most personal part of human sociation has also become commodified, part of the economic marketplace.

Many theorists have noted this increased commodification and associated it with the loss of human community. A frequent claim was made that the ways in which members of a community engaged with each other which was an important feature of non-urban and likely pre-industrial life disappeared with urbanization. For some, these changes have been most manifest in how we interact or fail to interact with our neighbours. This allegedly rich affiliational and associational interchange is often associated with small town life. Because of this strong association, the search for 'community, defined for my purposes as demonstrations of human interchange, centred on looking for the same patterns of 'sociation' seen in the village. Thus, urban sociologists focused their study on urban neighbourhoods and reported a diminished community, many claimed that community had been "lost". These ideas will be discussed in more detail later. However, briefly, social researchers such as Wellman (1979, 1987) claimed that community had not disappeared, but had changed. In village life, there was only one accessible community, one's fellow villagers. In contemporary urban life - we have the opportunity to interact with many communities, perhaps including our neighbourhood, but more likely communities based on shared interests and identities. This confirms our own experience that tells us that community has not disappeared. We can all identify others with whom we associate, to jointly plan an event,
to protest something, to help friends paint their apartment, to provide childcare, console or support someone, or just have fun. The brief observations of the activities and institutions of Bathurst Quay also support our anecdotal experience. And lastly, these observations are supported by current social research that also finds that community is still with us.

How then are we to understand and make sense of these seeming competing notions. Human community, sociation or non-monetised interchange remains strong, and the economic marketplace has expanded to offer a range of goods and services that formerly were the exclusive domain of the interchange between family and friends? Perhaps at this stage, I might make a tentative and general claim that ‘community,’ including a broad spectrum of non-monetised interchanges, has not gone away but has been pushed aside or de-legitimated by the pressures of the marketplace.

Another factor has also contributed to eliminating the visibility and social acknowledgement of non-monetised interchange. Alongside the marketplace, governments too have played an expanded role in doing those things that people used to do in concert with others. The care of the sick has essentially been taken from families, neighbours and friends to become an institutional service provided by the marketplace (doctors) and the state (hospitals). The role of the church has also changed, for the church represented a significant form of collective sociation. Whatever the religious affiliation, these were associations established for social purposes as well as spiritual needs. Churches hosted social events, provided shelter and aid for the poor, often provided schooling for children and established moral guidelines and rules for the community. The roles of the church can be seen to have been assumed by the state in the forms of hostels and shelters for the homeless, social security in all of its various forms, public education and to some extent, even by the police. As with the expansion of the marketplace, there are significant examples of the provision of services by the state that were previously met through various forms of non-monetised interchange or ‘sociation’.

I promised a further description of the role of the family as a realm still acknowledged in meeting human needs that I continue to defer. At this juncture, it is important to note that
although the family remains acknowledged as meeting particular human needs, its scope has been and continues to be diminished.

Although it is possible to trace changes in how human needs are met in all ‘spheres’ of activity, this research will focus primarily on the non-monetised interchanges of civil society demonstrating their continued importance in spite of the substantive erosion of their scale and legitimacy. While the increasing dominance economic life has contributed to a decreased legitimation of this sphere of life practice, the activities which constitute it continue to express people’s needs and interests. It has not lost its power to act as a force in shaping ‘space and place’.

**Valuing Non-monetised Interchange**

One must anticipate the possibility of a ‘so what?’ response to the discussion so far. Do non-monetised interchanges really have the reality shaping force I’ve just suggested? And, if they do, does it matter then that the sphere is unacknowledged? First I must argue that such non-monetised sociation is of value, something that is important to maintain and expand. It is through these ‘non-monetised interchanges’ that people remain actors in their own lives. Social work education is littered with references, plans and exhortations about ‘empowerment’. In an increasingly technical and technologically sophisticated world, more people are deprived of input into the decisions which affect their lives. The ability of people to join together to meet their own needs remains outside of technical and bureaucratic life. Such *non-professionally facilitated, independent, action* that results in meeting real needs gives people a genuine (rather than simulated) sense that they have power and control over their lives. As the word ‘empowerment’ has entered the technical and professional literature, we increasingly expect to replicate its effects through technical, professional and rationally constructed processes. We create ‘images’ and models of empowerment while we cease to value and acknowledge non-monetised interchanges that have the possibility of more authentic empowerment. It is for these reasons that I shall argue the importance of these forms of sociation: they have a unique value and make a particular contribution to social life.
While these non-monetised interchanges continue to be significant in people's lives, the impact of an expanding and transforming marketplace is unknown. We are witnessing nation states withdrawing before its threats and an unprecedented escalation in commodified images, messages and cultural artifacts. Although I suggest that the non-monetised activities of associating, mediating and joining with others for a variety of purposes are essential elements of people 'in society', this sphere of activity is vulnerable to further incursions by the marketplace without some legitimation or increased social sanction.

We have touched on the growth of the marketplace, the ever-expanding opportunity to meet most (all?) human needs by means of economic exchange. This has not been a subject of broad public debate. As a society, we have not established whether this all-encompassing marketplace is simply a proposition of neutral value or whether it threatens social structures and practices which on more reflective consideration 'we' might consider important to retain. It also must be established whether this is a matter that remains within our control as a citizenry. Debates of this nature will fail to even enter the public arena if we do not develop models and explanations of the relationships between the state, the marketplace and these human interchanges that I will henceforth describe in their aggregate form as 'civil society'. The transparency of these spheres and the interactions among them must be improved. If this were achieved, we might better understand how these spheres 'act upon' each other. We might also understand how the relative power and influence of each sphere changes vis-à-vis the relative power and influence of the competing spheres.

I will describe conceptual boundaries that I believe afford this improved transparency and will use these to examine the urban reform movement in Toronto, which will illustrate the relations between and among the spheres. In this particular case, the impact of civil society on both the state (in its local, municipal form) and the development industry (as an element of the economic marketplace) was affected through the concerted but often disparate and individual efforts of people acting together informally and formally to meet their own needs. Although that work will form the major grounded 'research' of this thesis, our brief observations of Bathurst Quay enable a similar illustration. The lack of an accessible school
caused significant disruption to the life of the community, in addition to the cost, time and disruption of busing. A neighbourhood school often serves as a point around which a community can coalesce. It is a source of friendship and provides social relationships for both children and parents that often extends to life outside of school hours. Residents of Bathurst Quay were denied these opportunities and when these disruptions and deprivations had been acknowledged, residents' associations were established to represent their concerns and interests to the municipality and the school board. The diminishing resources of government made their task more difficult but in the end, a school is being built. Their appeal and demand for services resulted in their needs being met. It is my belief that this small example is illustrative of an important dimension of contemporary life that should be acknowledged and fostered. Interchanges or 'sociations' such as this are essential to civilized life, to the maintenance of a democratic public life beyond the marketplace and to fostering and supporting human ‘agency’. That people have ‘agency’ refers to their being self directed in identifying and resolving issues in their lives and in the life of their community, ‘actors’.

The growth of the state and the marketplace represent respectively, the bureaucratization and commodification of everyday life, the overshadowing of life practices ‘situated’ in these other spheres of human activity. The non-monetised interchanges that occur between members of our society in either individual or collective form create alternative and perhaps even liberating structures. The possibilities of these interchanges and their importance will be further discussed and substantiated in subsequent sections of this research.

To continue the discussion of why any of this matters, such interchange does exist, and by not validating and acknowledging the importance of such sociation in meeting human needs, we join in supporting an increasingly common world view that only the marketplace matters. We see this view play itself out every day with increasing impact. Governments have shifted their focus from representing a broader ‘public’ to being more narrowly concerned with reducing the state in accordance with neo-liberal economic ideology. In 1996, the Ontario provincial government moved quickly to dismantle some of the structures by which the state supports the meeting of human needs. The general thrust of these proposals was that
individual human needs were to be met by the marketplace. Should the market not meet these needs, eliminating government as a barrier to business is espoused as the ‘ticket’ to generating new market interests. One such government ‘barrier’ which is being considered for removal by the Ontario government is direct funding for daycare, now generally provided by municipalities or non-profit organizations such as parent co-operatives. A ‘free market’ alternative might replace the highly structured and licensed facilities. Low-income parents could be provided with vouchers so that they can select their own free-market provider. This small example illustrates how in this case, highly effective and formalized interchanges (non-profit daycare) may be undermined by explicit support for a reduced state and an expanded marketplace. Whether there is any unique value in these non-market, non-state interchanges that provide child care is not even part of the debate. The debate focuses exclusively on constraining government so that the efficiency of the market may prevail. This supports my argument that the lack of acknowledgement for these interchanges, having them remain outside of our conscious world view, enables their further erosion without debate about their social utility.

The Roles of Women

In commenting on the ‘so what’ of individual and collective non-monetised interchange, of civil society, one cannot proceed without a word or two about the roles and status of women. For most of human life, men and women worked together as members of an extended family in providing the essentials of subsistence life. I don’t want to minimize the struggles of a subsistence life, but with its frequent peril, women were participants with men in the economic life of the family. The shift to industrial capitalism changed these roles. While I will discuss the relationship between non-monetised interchange and gender in detail at a later stage, two points are relevant to the argument that we must look clearly at the forces that are de-legitimizing these forms of human sociation. First, the continued growth and hegemony of the marketplace shapes our social roles. For some women, this has enabled some degree of economic liberation but we must recognize that overwhelmingly, economic power continues to be held by men. It is perhaps overstatement when Illich advises that with
capitalism, women have been reduced from being "mistress of the household that provided sustenance for the family [to] the guardian of a place where the children stayed before they went to work" (Illich, 1981:112). But the notion that women lost economic equality remains important, especially in so-called ‘developing’ countries where the family’s level of economic well-being does not necessarily translate equally to the well-being of women in the family (Sen, 1984). In a North American context it also remains true that while women have entered the marketplace this is most often in addition to their ongoing role in organizing and maintaining the ‘compulsory consumption’ by which the majority of North American families live.

The second point I wish to raise is that non-monetised interchanges have also remained the work of women. As they organize the family’s consumption, so too are they often the organizer’s of the family’s social and community life. Women most often do the brokering with neighbours, are the borrowers and lenders of goods and services, organize clubs and car pools to meet the needs of their children, arrange for friends to visit and organize the celebrations that mark special events. At a collective level, it is often women who organize voluntary organizations, participate in associations and organize and attend community activities. The lists of board members of arts and cultural associations demonstrates the support of women. Women are more likely to be the volunteers on which so much of our society relies (Quarter, 1992). All of this effort is not significantly acknowledged. The work of women, in the household and in civil society, is, to use Illich’s term, "shadow work". The life-sustaining activities and interchanges of civil society, in which women play a central role, occupy the shadowlands outside the marketplace. Appropriate valuing of the work of women is thus also related to correctly situating, understanding and acknowledging the importance of non-monetised interchange.

I have referenced throughout this chapter the idea of there being spheres of human activity. I have referred as well to ‘public’ and briefly to ‘civil society’. In the next chapter, I will ratchet our discussion up one conceptual notch in order that we might specifically and explicitly understand how the human activities thus far described are represented in the
conceptual world view that is dominant in our society. I will then further describe some of the specific implications of this world view that are only touched on here. Specifically, Chapter Two will focus on how these matters relate to social work and social welfare.
Endnotes, Chapter One

1. For a discussion of Harbourfront, see Frampton (1984), Cooper and Rodman (1992).

2. For further discussion, see Frisby (1984), and for a related discussion focused on a particular type of sociation relevant to this paper, see Hetherington, (1994).

3. See, for example, Park (1925), Wirth(1938), Kornhauser, (1968).

4. Social is used here in its broadest sense: the family’s engagement with society, both in personal, relational terms and with social institutions and structures.
CHAPTER TWO
PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH A TWO-PART WORLD VIEW

This chapter focuses on the implications of our two-part world view. In the following chapter, I will review available data and trends to tease out in some specific areas what may be at issue as a result of our two-part world view, which consists of the state and the marketplace. It is necessary to emphasize that this review occurs at a time when the constraints on the marketplace appear to be increasingly diminished. Current globalizing pressures move any such inquiry about the power of the marketplace from the abstract to the concrete.

The Marketplace

The discussion has thus far focused on the 'real' activities of people. These real activities can be grouped and categorized and, whether consciously or not, we continually engage in a kind of conceptual sorting process. Digging a ditch or delivering a baby will likely be categorized by most people as belonging in the realm of 'paid work'. So too, would shingling a roof or swabbing the decks of a freighter. Why do we characterize these activities this way? For each example, other categorizations are possible. Digging a ditch or shingling a roof could easily be activities of self-sufficiency or even neighbourliness. The activity of delivering a baby similarly might evoke quite different thoughts in the minds of a person from another time or another culture, an emotional, familial or social experience. In a North American context, we assume the activity to be done by a medical professional as part of their day's work. So, two ideas emerge: Because of the dominance of the marketplace in our society, we correspondingly associate many human activities with it. As well, our very processes of categorizing are, of course, temporally and culturally bound and socially constructed. While these statements may seem somewhat obvious, I would like to
explore their implications for our view of the world and for the non-monetised interchanges we have thus far been considering.

Most of North American life is organized around work. To repeat a comment from Illich, the woman is "the guardian of a place where the children stayed before they went to work" (1981:112). While childhood is more than waiting to go to work, a brief reflection on some of the changes occurring with respect to education may give support to Illich’s view. My own experience suggests that education was at least in part about learning, the very notion of a liberal arts degree was about stimulating intellectual curiosity and producing well-rounded and well-educated people. Note that the word ‘work’ has not yet entered the discussion. Compare this view to the fact that admissions to community colleges now account for about 40% (increasing by almost 60% over a 10-year period) of all postsecondary school enrolment. Of those enrolling in community colleges, the majority are in career and technical programs (Statistics Canada, 1992, 1995). These more highly specialized, technical programs are offered at community colleges and enrolments are high because they are specifically and precisely oriented to ‘work’. Our children’s future work is a factor in how we organize their lives from an early age. Although further reflection on the desirability of this and more a more detailed consideration of its consequences might be warranted, there is no significant social discourse on the issue. At a broader level, the reflection proposed takes the form of an inquiry about how we conceive of our society and our opportunity to shape it. Far from such a discourse, there is instead an apparent acceptance of the marketplace, or global capital, as the most important society-shaping force, which in turn means a valuing of work (and its polar opposite, leisure-from-work⁴) over myriad other human activities. I will discuss this further.

The State

In the days of a growing welfare state, there was another significant view of society. In the immediate post-war years until the early ‘70s, society was replete with possibilities for social justice, individual opportunity and human growth. Poverty was to be eradicated, medicine
promised endless cures to physical maladies and the state promised the same for social ills.
Alongside a marketplace that promised a reduction in drudgery, ‘labour saving devices’ and
the joys of a car in every garage, the state promised, especially in a Canadian context, a
broad level of social welfare and well-being and a significant range of social stimulants and
amusements. The creation of the National Arts Centre, the Ontario Science Centre, the Art
Gallery of Ontario, Ontario Place, new provincial and national parks, are a few examples
among many that demonstrate the strong presence of the state. The state responded to the
health and educational needs of the population with a massive development program creating
new universities, hospitals, and schools. Until the decline began in the ‘80s, the dominant
spheres of society were the marketplace and the state. And, part of the consequence of a
growing state with money to spend was significant largesse with respect to supporting
(financially and otherwise) the growth of civil society. Arts and cultural organizations, ethno-
cultural organizations and charitable societies all flourished with high levels of state support.
Even advocacy and consumer groups received funding from the state in the interests of
building a pluralist society.

So, although the contributions made through the activities and interchanges of civil society
may not have been formally legitimated and acknowledged, a growing economy and an
expanding state created sufficient space and opportunity for an expansion of this realm,
particularly at the more formalized end of the continuum of non-monetised interchange, the
voluntary or aptly named ‘third sector’.

The Family

One of the central claims that I wish to make is that we are effectively a society that
acknowledges two significant spheres in which human activity is congregated and by which
human needs are assumed to be met. In this context, the family is acknowledged as a
primary source for meeting the affective and emotional needs of its members and in some
constructions may represent a third sphere. However, some theorists (Lasch, 1977; Illich,
1981; Habermas, 1989) suggest that the family is accorded precise and limited roles that are
subservient to the needs of the marketplace. Arendt (1958) and others view the family as having a reproductive role and as being responsible for the behavioral and social conditioning of society's children. Illich describes the family as supporting the male householder in wage labour and consuming sufficient market goods so that marketplace employment remains steady. These are the socially ascribed roles of the family. This analysis suggests that the family's role is limited and is largely determined by the other more dominant spheres. The family is not a 'definer' of our social structure - it is acted on more than it acts upon the other spheres.

The family as an entity or sphere is acknowledged, but not seen as a primary element in the balance of power and influence between spheres. Contrary to Arendt's view, Habermas (1962) suggests that the family has effectively lost its power as an agent of 'reproduction' of social life. These important social reproduction roles have been increasingly assumed by other institutions and social structures and this, in combination with the dismantling of paternal authority, leaves the family "increasingly disengaged from its direct connections with the reproduction of society" (p.156). The diminishing role of the family is exacerbated by the increasing assumption by the marketplace of activities previously within the family's domain. The exchanges between family members are increasingly oriented to making exchanges in the marketplace. The personal activities that sustain life continued to be the exclusive purview of the family even after the male householder entered wage labour. Provisioning, cooking, cleaning, gardening, home maintenance, child care, entertaining, and for most, the education and training of the children in values, literacy, music, sport and, at the very least, domestic life were the activities that absorbed the domestic sphere. In each of these areas one can cite marketplace alternatives and anecdotal experience that suggests the widespread use of marketplace 'purchases' to meet these personal needs. A recent newspaper story espoused the benefits of 'manners classes' for children. The 'rent-a wife' best embodies the changes underway: In early capitalism, as per Illich's descriptions, women did the "shadow work". With late capitalism (or postmodernism)³, the "shadow work" itself has become commodified. The emergence of marketplace alternatives to meet the most
personal of human needs, including the socialization and training of children, is evidence of the expansion of the realm into areas of human interaction previously dominated by other realms.

As the workplace demands on family adults increase - the need to employ nannies, tutors, cleaning ‘ladies’, laundries, restaurants, caterers, and a bevy of others - causes one to wonder whether it may come to pass that all we will know how to do is work. All of the elements of domestic life could come to be achieved through economic exchange. Even the search for a domestic partner has been commodified. Introduction services will, for the right price, identify the right partner, probably quite adequately given the amount of time and limited range of activities in which families engage together. And, even more dramatically genetic engineering already makes possible the commodification of reproduction. A recent ad in a University of Toronto student newspaper (The Varsity, Sept.3, 1996) sought a white female to donate eggs in consideration of ‘financial compensation’.

In addition to the commodification of the roles of the family, the structure of the family has changed. It was formerly an easily definable, singular entity. It referred to a male father, female mother and the children of those parents. The modern family is as likely to contain at least one previously married partner, the children of two or more such unions. It may not have been sanctified by church or state and may be comprised of adults of the same gender (Statistics Canada; 1995).

These changes contribute to the erosion of the roles ascribed to the family for social reproduction. There are several issues that are emerging and may continue to challenge the roles - the life practices - that have historically been assigned to the family sphere. First, social and reproductive roles are not so likely to be entrusted to families if they are to encompass such divergent values. The Republican party in the United States has called for "a return to family values", by which the Republicans mean the values of white, middle-class, two-partner, heterosexual families that are formally married. This ‘family’ played a
reliable role, in aggregate, its functions fit with and supported the activities of the other spheres. The ‘new’ family is clearly a less reliable ‘reproducer’ of the values to which the Republican’s wish us to return.

A second issue impacting on the weight accorded to the ‘sphere of the family’ is that the ‘new’ families provide a space - made most notable by the more recent presence of gay and lesbian families - for personal autonomy and freedom. This too raises questions about the role of the family in the reproduction of social life.

**The Roles of Women**

Others suggest that the family is largely unacknowledged and ignored by neoclassical economics, which is similar to the claim I am making for civil society. "The family is a remarkable institution. And a complex one. Indeed, so complex that much of economic theory proceeds as if no such thing exists" (Sen, 1984:369). Sen argues, as do others (Strassman, 1993), that the family is a demonstration of values that counter those claimed to be ‘inherent’ to man. The activities of interdependence, mutual obligation and solidarity conflict with neoclassical economic theory.

The way gender has been socially organized has much to do with which parts of human experience have been left out of neoclassical models. Contributions typically made by women are often rendered invisible by the theory; men’s advantages and power are often rendered invisible as well. (England, 1993:38)

Throughout this work, I will primarily comment on the family in the context of discussing the concepts of public and private (the latter being the sphere in which family is ‘located’). The extent to which the realm of the family relates to and influences the balance of power among other dominant spheres is important and its ‘rendering as invisible’ may derive from some of the same forces that I am trying to uncover with respect to non-monetised interchange as I have conceived of it in ‘civil society’. In both realms, women’s contributions to the fabrication of the social order are largely ignored. While I will not focus
specifically on the roles of women within families, their roles in civil society and the impact of their contributions will be a theme running throughout this work.

Non-monetised Interchange

This research struggles with understanding the possibilities and contributions of non-monetised interchange. The reasons for the lack of acknowledgement of these solidary, relational and associational activities have already been suggested. To continue this examination, there are other important questions that can be asked. To what extent, through deconstructing the consequences of the dominance of our economic model and exposing its effects, can we promote both a new view and an improved legitimacy for non-monetised interchange? Does non-monetised interchange and the structures created by it create meaningful alternatives to life in the dominant spheres of human activity? What are the possibilities that civil society can significantly impact on the relative balance of power between the dominant spheres? We must also ask, whether civil society, perhaps like the ‘family’, is a subservient realm that exists to meet particular needs of the marketplace and the state.

The creation of liberating personal and social ‘space’ is a claim often made for the value of civil society and that echoes the claim referenced earlier by Sen (1984) and Strassman (1993) about the ‘family’. It is not clear from this limited review, perhaps not clear at this stage in history, whether the family is a sphere in transition with new possibilities or whether, as the Republican Party demands, it will return to a traditional role, with those in non-compliance being cast out. In either case, the roles of the family are being further ‘shadowed’ by the marketplace.

The state, which I have so far only described in its ascendant phase can no longer be described in those terms. Instead, globalization, and particularly the globalization of capital, are erasing the cultural, economic, political, and social bases for the nation state. The ascendant phase for most welfare states was often accompanied by deficit spending and a
mounting debt, although as McQuaig (1995) points out, while these facts are often associated, the high level of Canadian debt has more to do with interest rate policies than with social spending. In spite of McQuaig’s effective and well-supported argument, the association between these events is claimed by the political right as a reason for reducing welfare state spending. These events are occurring at the same time that globalization and technology have forged massive economic re-structuring accompanied by reduced economic growth. This, in turn, has been accompanied by strong corporate resistance to paying the taxes and high labour costs associated with a developed social infrastructure. This corporate resistance can now be measured directly and painfully by outsourcing or the complete relocation of industry. These very real threats to the nation state have the desired impact of ‘rationalizing’ (as it has come to be called) the social and welfare standards and programs that any state may offer. The implications of the decline in the power of the state are significant - the influences of global capitalism are already present, modifying and re-making such remaining structures, social institutions and human interchanges that continue outside of the economic sphere. While in Canada we have not yet seen the full impacts of these measures, we clearly stand on the brink, looking at the possibility of a very different social order.

I have reviewed some of the impacts of globalization and the increasing hegemony of the marketplace. In every realm of human activity and interaction, marketplace exchanges have replaced other non-monetised ways of meeting human needs. At least according to Habermas, the family’s roles have been, and are continuing to be, usurped by others, and the state is of declining importance. The assessment of the possibilities of civil society, viewed in this context, become even more important. If, as a result of inquiries like this, we can better understand those interchanges that occur outside the marketplace and are significant in meeting human needs, we can better argue for their acknowledgement and representation in our world view.

In the following three chapters that will conclude Part I of this work, I will review the structural forces that have led us to a dominant market economy. I will suggest an alternative
to our current two-part conceptual construction. This alternative construction addresses the issues that have been thus far been discussed and offers the possibility of a clearer view of the relations between the sectors or spheres of society as we have discussed them. The non-monetised interchanges of civil society are detailed. The final chapter in Part I relates the spheres of human activity and behaviour, life practices, to the built environment where the complexities of the production and reproduction of our social structure play out in our urban spaces. It is my hope that the improved visibility offered by a new reconceptualization of our spheres of life practice may in turn may provide new perspectives on the relative power and influence of non-monetised exchange. To this end, Part II of the thesis 'grounds' this inquiry in examining the Toronto Urban Reform Movement through the prism of this alternate conceptual construction.
Endnotes, Chapter Two

1. Real leisure -- the total absence of work -- is enjoyed by very few outside of those who are of independent means. Even those who are able economically to survive report stress from not having employment and a lack of being socially valued, ie: being 'unemployed.' The intense and to-be-intensely enjoyed vacation is work's polar opposite. In two weeks of vacation, it is increasingly the expectation that rest, recreation and rejuvenation will combine with exercise, renewed and strengthened family ties, and the release of the stress resulting from 50-hour work weeks.

2. And even in these areas, there have been strong incursions by the marketplace, as will be subsequently described.

3. I shall use these terms interchangeably to describe a wide range of phenomena associated with our changing patterns of production and reproduction.
CHAPTER 3
THE TWO PART CONCEPTUALIZATION OF SOCIETY:
ORIGINS AND CRITIQUE

Introduction

Doxa are "systems of classification which reproduce by their own specific logic, the objective classes, that is, the divisions by sex, age or position in the relations of production of the power relations of which they are the product, by securing ... misrecognition". Doxa, therefore, is a realm of ideas which society takes for granted. Since it is not questioned, it legitimizes and reproduces the particular classification system it serves. It is a concept similar to Gramsci's social hegemony or "general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group." "Heterodoxy", also a concept introduced by Bourdieu, is a system of classifications that challenges the current doxa, by implying awareness and recognition of different or antagonistic beliefs (Golombek, S. 1993:xiii)

This thesis proposes such a heterodoxy. The philosopher, Hans Gadamer, argues that most empirical examinations never move outside of the dominant values or preconditions of the inquiry's context. The very nature and order of empirical inquiry grounds the questions and hypotheses in the dominant social values. Michel Foucault argues that the best way to expose the conflicts and contradictions, the hegemony of science (and modern capitalism), is to explore the epistemic foundations of our dominant institutions, "to uncover the flaws and fallacies in our understandings" and definitions and to engage in a discourse which will begin to refine and re-define how we understand particular social structures. Such discourses are, in the words of philosopher and feminist, Lorraine Code, the way in which we "uncover the exclusions and suppressions that are consequent on a concurrence with (its) dominant ideology"(1990:150). That is the task modestly undertaken herein, as this section of the thesis reviews the evolution of our present conception of our social structure.

...views of the past and present confuse our views of what we think is emerging. Similarly our view of the informal economy is blurry because our understanding of the formal economy is inadequate. The theoretical approach to formal economics is so abstracted that it pays almost no attention to human interaction, social associations or institutional life (Miller, S.M., 1987:27).
This is the general claim that this work supports. I also hope to make less blurry the realm of human interaction and social association, which Miller confirms as being inadequately attended to. In describing the origins of what I have suggested is our two-part world view (which is represented in Figure 1), I intend to demonstrate its self-reinforcing nature and set the stage for understanding the effect of marketplace dominance on other forms of human interchange.

The Two Part Model: The Ordering of Human Society

Our social structure has its roots in the transition from a feudal and subsistence economy to that of modern capitalism. It is often claimed\(^1\) that liberal democracy is somehow "inherent" in 'man's"\(^2\) nature and so too is the self-maximizing basis of capitalism. We must understand the claim that inherent or "fundamental human values"\(^3\), in combination with other factors, shape and modify the social structure. The outcome of this exploration is a theoretical explanation of how diverse factors and their interrelationships contribute to our social structure and its institutions. Relatedly, we must understand what causes, creates and contributes to change in the structure of society. Our social structure is not static but reproduces itself, in a cycle both self-reinforcing and changing, describing a pattern of ever shifting circles, each largely overlapping but each new circle enclosing a sliver of new, previously eclipsed ground\(^4\). We must understand the relationship between the values that are, in a sense, 'produced' by the social order and the creation of a social order consistent with 'inherent' human values.

A social structure produces a citizenry for whom it is fundamental to value their own society most highly; this in turn reproduces and reinforces the values of that society\(^5\). This is not, however, to suggest that social structure cannot change, rather to suggest some of what restricts the speed by which such evolution can occur.

A given social order or social structure is interrelated with the models of and orientations to the world held by its citizenry. These are least generally congruent with, and possibly
derivative of, the social order or structure. Simply, the society in which we live shapes our values. The process is not linear and unidimensional, the citizenry also ‘acts’ on the social structure. Importantly, however, these models, orientations, or constructs become ‘normative’ - that which we assume to be an accurate reflection of the social order. ‘Normative’ constructions or concepts have a significant impact on how we see the world and how we value or devalue individuals, collectivities and human activity. The following section of the paper will examine what shapes our social order and in turn, explores how our social order creates certain ‘normative’ concepts, which, by their very nature, remain unexplored. This creates the preconditions for the exclusion of whole realms of social inquiry.

Figure 1 illustrates what I suggest are the dominant normative conceptions of the social structure in western society. Although I earlier acknowledged the significant roles and power of the church its significance has faded. Its decline parallels the rise of both the state and even more the marketplace as the dominant sphere of society. For this reason I do not suggest the church as a sphere as it is no longer significant in how we might conceptually order the life practices of our society.

**The Formation of Social Structure**

Every social structure is a precarious equilibrium (which has to be constantly recreated by ever-renewed effort) between a multiplicity of hierarchies incorporated in a total phenomenon ... of which it provides only an approximate representation. It is an equilibrium between the specific hierarchies of the various levels of social life, of the manifestations of sociability, of social regulation, of different social times, of mental orientations, of the modes of division of labour and accumulation, and in some circumstances of functional groups, and of social classes and their organizations. This equilibrium is reinforced and consolidated by the models, signs, symbols, habitual social roles values and ideas - in short by the works of civilization - which are proper to each social structure (Gurvitch as cited in Lipset, 1975:161)

I will not explore here the full complexity of the social structure and the forces that shape it, which the above describes rather fully. Although there are competing analyses of what
WHAT WE ACKNOWLEDGE:
A TWO PART MODEL OF HUMAN ACTIVITY

THE PRIVATE SPHERE

THE PUBLIC SPHERE

THE THIRD SECTOR

(VISIBLE ONLY TO SOME)

ECONOMIC MARKET PLACE

HOUSEHOLD AND THE FAMILY

GOVERNMENT AND BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURES OF THE STATE

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT
INCLUDING BUILT ENVIRONMENT
‘determines’ the social structure, a broad review of the literature suggests two major theme areas that are widely supported as determinative factors. These include inherent human values or characteristics, seen in some cases as deterministic as well as more probabilistic; the latter meaning that "in the right circumstances, the fact that this is what people are like will likely generate this type of world". Determinations of "fundamental" or "inherent" human values represent attempts to describe the critical or salient elements of being human and translate these into behavioral descriptions. Western society, or more specifically, western democratic, capitalist society is assumed to be based on two competing and primary human values. These, in combination with historical processes (change over time), including the development of technological thought, are viewed as giving rise to an evolving western European derived social structure. These themes are briefly reviewed to historically reconstruct the structure we have, and the forces which shape it.

**Inherent Human Values**

The explication of “inherent” human values is concurrent with and interrelated to the development of contemporary philosophy and political theory. The inquiry is grounded in the most basic philosophical questions about the nature of man and the values of virtue and vice, equality and justice. Its full reproduction here would be neither possible nor practicable. The briefest summary is offered, analyzing the place of these “inherent human values” in the creation of a capitalist marketplace and the state.

The development of liberal thought, built on the work of Kant and Hegel, referenced and reintroduced some Aristotelian ideas about the state, was driven by the British utilitarians, refined by thinkers of the Scottish enlightenment, and epitomized by Adam Smith. At some point, the work left the realm of philosophic exploration to become a new paradigm for the development of society. Smith describes the “self-regulating market as an invisible hand linking self-interest and public welfare” (as cited in Cohen and Arato, 1992:98). ‘Man’s’ desire for individual freedom is seen to lead inexorably to the rise of the capitalism. This is the realm of ‘self-maximizing man’, whose rational self interest leads him onward to more and greater efficiencies of production (and consumption). For the worker, the sweat and toil
of wage labour, and for the capitalist, the search for global markets and technological efficiencies, can both be seen as manifestations of man's self-maximizing nature.

This same rational self-interest leads to the development of the liberal state. The state becomes necessary as an expression of the agreements (or contracts\(^6\)) forged between individuals. These "contracts" give to the polity\(^7\) or the state those specific powers that the contracting individuals determine, in their self-interest, to have managed collectively. State powers are therefore minimal and residual. This state has neither rights nor responsibilities beyond those specifically conferred on it by its constituting members.

By contrast, a liberal-democratic state begins with a similar initial presumption of individual liberty, "but equality of a sort" (Pinkard, 1987:106) also plays a central role. According to the early contract theorists\(^6\), 'men' were born free and equal (subject to further definition about who, in any given society, falls into this category), therefore, it was in their power to agree consensually to contracts. These contracts extended from this basic and somewhat limited view of equality and came to include the contracting by 'citizens' about the nature of the state. Democracy or 'rule by many' (but not by all) derives from the rational self-interest presumed to be inherent in 'man'. This construction leads ultimately to the creation of the capitalist marketplace and an emergent state. MacPherson states that "liberal-democratic theory thus came as an uneasy compound of the classical liberal theory and the democratic principle of the equal entitlement of every man to a voice in choosing government" (1973:172). He points out the uneasy nature of this 'compound' given the self-maximizing basis of capitalism; the individual's unlimited opportunity for acquisition of property. The giving of votes to the poor, the creation of a democratic state, has the potential to endanger this fundamental of self-maximizing man. The reconciliation of this conflict at least to a superficial extent is, and has continued to be, the central problem of liberal-democratic thought.

I must add a final note on the development of the liberal state. The point at which we moved from liberal theory to that which has come to be called neo-classical theory requires a brief
mention. The problems associated with how social goods were to be distributed between social classes are problems that have stood the test of time, grappled with even by Adam Smith. The theory of marginal utility or neo-classical theory suggested that utility was maximized as the market gave *everyone* (capitalist and labourer) the real value of his contribution. “The system tended to an equilibrium at which every factor of production ... got a reward equal to the marginal productivity of its contribution... After Keynes... the theory had to be modified to admit the necessity of continual government action in order to keep the system up to the mark...” (C.B. MacPherson, 1973:176). This modified free-enterprise theory remains the justification for the liberal-democratic state. This history is significant for the consideration later in this work of the role of the state. Given the historical context and the continued strength of the liberal tradition, the emergence of a state (even at the local level) with aspirations and roles other than those prescribed by liberal theory will occur only with difficulty. That such possibility might exist is to consider other forces that might be significant in the evolution of our social structure.

**Historical Processes**

A view of social structure as a dynamic is provided in the work of Mannheim, (1952), Bottomore (1967), and Dear and Wolch, (1989) who suggest that historical shifts effect change in the social structure in a number of ways. One such way is through the succession of generations, each destructuring and restructuring, and relatedly, acting out their differing interpretations of social roles.

A major historical process that significantly altered our social structure is the division of labour, the effect of which has been detailed most importantly by Marx, Weber and Durkheim.

In their view, the division of labour, specialization, ‘differentiation’ - all aspects of the general rationalization of production and administration - had reached their highest development in the modern city, eroding traditional sources of authority and substituting ‘formal control mechanisms’ for organic ‘bonds of solidarity’. Co-operation gave way to competition, kinship to individualism, ‘control based on mores’ to control ‘based on positive law’ (Lasch, 1977:34).
Georg Simmel marks the division of labour as a turning point in much of the nature of our social structure, describing it as that "which collects the energies of a whole complex of personalities into a single product, without considering whether individuals will be able to use it for their own development, or whether it will satisfy only extrinsic and peripheral needs" (1968:45). For Simmel, capitalist economic production marks a profound change in the nature of human interchange, in essence, the commodification of human relationships. Simmel notes the profound difference between the production of goods by the artisan who understands and appreciates the utility of what he creates and goods produced en masse. The former are goods having mutual value, 'subjects' of human interchange. This he compares to the "adornment and overloading of our lives with a thousand superfluous items, from which, however, we cannot liberate ourselves"(1968:46). He charges that goods of capitalist production have a logic of their own, no longer tied to their "cultural assimilation by subjects". For Simmel, although not expressed as a narrow causal link, the division of labour is related to the objectification of human relations.

Durkheim shares with Simmel a view of the division of labour as a powerful marker in the construction of our social order. Like Simmel, Durkheim also recognized 'society' as something larger than the sum of its parts. Large complex society is unified by what Durkheim described as an 'organic solidarity' that is characterized not just by the division of productive labour, but also by the 'social division of labour' or perhaps, the division of social labour. He described such an organic solidarity as one in which the 'activities of society' are specialized into a complex structure characterized by its diversity. The activities of individuals in this society would be different and these differences would shape their experience and in turn their perspectives. What is the significance of Durkheim's thesis in this context? He argues for a particular conception of the individual, for a self reflective individuality. This individuality "can only come with a change in the basis of social solidarity, that is, with the emergence of the interdependence that comes in the complex, organically integrated, social system. The variety of lives, activities and experiences which
are possible within such a society implies a diversity of possibilities within such a setting so that each person will indeed differ in many important respects from the next. . . . There is less close, and intense, monitoring of individual behaviour and some lack of uniformity of conduct is tolerated, even valued, rather than condemned." (Hughes et al, 1995:174). It is extremely important to note, at least in the reading of Durkheim offered by Hughes et al., that his position is in direct opposition to that of Spencer and the notion that modern society is only that deriving from the 'contracting' of its members. While the making of "contractual relationships is a very prominent and vital feature of modern society, the idea that society is a product of contractual relations among its members is untenable because the making of contractual relationships is something that can only take place within an already established society" (Hughes, 1995:176). A 'contract' is in fact a socially constructed institution and it is consequently a tautology to attempt to explain that society derives from these contractual relations. Hughes suggests that

the cumulative force of The Division of Labour in Society is to argue that far from society being explained in terms of the nature and decisions of individuals, the opposite is the case. Indeed the nature of the individual and his or her capacity to make individual decisions has to be understood as a product of society. The very individualism of modern society is a result of its social structure.... Durkheim does not seek to assert society over the individual but only to reject a false opposition between 'individual' and 'society' (Hughes, 1995:175-6).

Durkheim's views beg an introduction of Fischer's thesis of urban subcultures, which to only touch on here, acknowledges the individual diversity possible in an organic solidarity - the modern urban form - and suggests that the tolerance for diversity that Durkheim references above, is expanded and consequently diverse subcultures are sustained by the diversity, tolerance and mass of the city. I will return to discuss the significance of Fischer's views later in more detail.

To return to Durkheim, three things are precisely significant: he reasserts the social or societal as a level of analysis, he points to the possibilities of 'human agency' that derives from persons as self-reflective individuals, and echoing a forthcoming discussion of the
problems with the dichotomized view of public and private, Durkheim points to the problematic of these bi-polar opposites in defining modern society. The dichotomized 'individual-society' are falsely established as opposites in the somewhat narrower context of this discussion of the shaping of our social structure, Durkheim asserts that historical processes - in this case 'contracts' - shape but do not determine our social structure.

Historical processes also figured in Marx's view, eventually altering the economic basis of society and correspondingly transforming the nature of 'man'. For Marx, self-centred and hostile man is the result rather than the cause of capitalism and these traits will be superseded by new forms of behaviour and motivation. "The capitalist nature of man will be transformed into a genuinely benevolent and spontaneously co-operative disposition" (Marx as cited in Campbell, 1981:121). We continue to await the historical processes that Marx envisioned and the creation of post-capitalist, co-operative man. And while his belief in the absolute determinism of the social structure is excessive, his belief in the power of such processes is more realistic.

Other historical processes include the effects of knowledge, a contemporary example of which is Daniel Bell's claim that the growing importance of theoretical knowledge is contributing to the development of a "post-industrial society" (1973). Replacing the production of goods, an information economy threatens the very structures of industrialization that enabled its creation.

The importance of scientific and technological thought in the shaping of our social structure must be specifically noted. These are illustrations of historical processes. The importance of science and "scientism" and the paradigmatic shift, which propelled scientific inquiry to the forefront as a way of 'knowing', are evidence of the transformative power of historical processes. So too is the transformative power of technology which, more than any other single feature, is associated with the shift (if indeed we understand it correctly) from an industrial to a post-industrial or 'postmodern society. As I described in the introduction to
this work, technology has transformed economic, cultural and social processes within the past two decades into those of a global order.

Thus, historical processes and the values assumed to be inherent in ‘man’ are at the root of our two-sphere construction. These elements have led to the development of a world view premised in classical liberalism: a two-sphere construction that includes the marketplace and the state and that is the dominant conception of western society. The rise and triumph of liberalism and its consequent economic hegemony has resulted in a particular and singular view of human beings and their relationships with each other. These dominant conceptions shape the way we view and value social relation’s and thus transmit inaccurate and prejudicial views of how human beings meet their needs.

The Critique of the Two-Part Model

The Concepts of Public and Private
Of the concepts public and private, Fraser says “these terms are, after all, not straightforward designations of societal spheres; they are cultural classifications and rhetorical labels. In political discourse, they are powerful terms that are frequently deployed to de-legitimate some interests, views and topics and to valorize others" (1990:73). They are concepts and hence are shaped by the social system in which they are used and are shaped by those with the power to shape that system. The following discussion is intended to evidence this point that the ‘public’ and ‘private’ are socially constructed terms whose meaning changes over time according to the values, issues and interests of those using the terms.

Arendt’s critique of modern social structure begins with an historical examination of the concepts of ‘public’ and ‘private’. The public sphere began life as Aristotle’s polis, the sphere of freedom, contrasted with the household, or private sphere, which was the sphere of necessity. “It was a matter of course that the mastering of the necessities of life in the
household was the condition for freedom in the polis" (Arendt, 1958:30-31). The necessities of life referred to the maintenance, sustenance and reproduction of life. These were the activities of the household, a private sphere where the master ruled over the household and its members, without reference to equality. This sphere contrasted sharply with the 'polis' or public sphere in which equality was the singular referent and 'freedom' included freedom from the necessities of life and from the inequality present in rulership. The 'polis', or public sphere, represented the liberation from the household. "Privacy" has its etymological root in privation or deprivation, meaning literally a state of being deprived of man's highest and most human capacities. "A man who lived only a private life, ... was not fully human" (Arendt, 1958:38).

Arendt traces the development of these terms and the spheres they represent. The medieval concept of the 'common good' was far from recognizing a political realm. It simply recognized that private individuals have material and spiritual interests in common and they can only attend to their private interests "if one of them looks out for this common interest"(1958:35). This notion of a common interest is a remarkable parallel to the much later contract theorists. For those engaged in 'social contracting', the state was the private contractual expression of the public or common interests of private individuals, limited to those matters that were in their common interest to manage collectively.

Hansen points out that while the concepts of public and private have remained in use, the meanings have actually been inverted over time from their original Aristotelian use. In contemporary American culture, it is the private that is the realm of freedom (a man's home is his castle) while "laws and constraints dominate the public realm" (Hansen, 1987:107). Making a similar argument about the evolving and changeable nature of their usage, Fraser (1990) points to the 'the public sphere' and its delineation by feminists as anything outside of the domestic or familial sphere. This usage, she points out, conflates the public sphere with three analytically distinct realms: the marketplace of paid employment, public discourse and the state.
Our contemporary usage of the concepts of 'public' and 'private' derives from the way in which they came to be understood by the contract theorists and are thus embedded in a model of society that holds that the dominant spheres are the marketplace and the state. The concepts are also embedded in, or represent the dualisms of, modernity. Derrida describes this as the formulation of representations of totality. The modernist world is filled with binary opposites that are an attempt to synthesize a 'whole'. The desire to bring things into unity generates a logic of hierarchical opposition. Definitions and categories create inside/outside distinctions. The history of western thought is filled with attempts to create these totalizing unities with vast numbers of mutually exclusive oppositions: subject/object, mind/body, male/female and so on. Public/private are such terms in the face of a “social reality [which] does not admit totalities” (Schatzki, 1993:42). In fact, they are highly admissible - but they are inadequate in describing social reality - to the extent that such description can be complete. By the imposition of these dichotomous and totalizing oppositions, we lose complexity, and subtlety; disagreement or opposition is forced instead of similarity and agreement being built upon. “The claim to totality asserted by this metaphysics is incoherent, because... the process of totalizing itself expels some aspects of the entities” (Young, 1990:304). In this way, these categorizations falsely dichotomize western society in ways that are prejudicial to certain life practices - some aspects of the "entities" or the "spaces" between and around the public/private divide are lost. As I have tried to indicate, these realms are notional, clearly human activity is not so easily pigeon-holed. Yet the dichotomy of public/private ignores or falsely situates human activity which is outside this duality. And because of the self-reinforcing nature of the social structure, reproducing itself as I have just described, getting beyond these dichotomous concepts is difficult. In the first instance, this difficulty arises because we can’t see the limitations imposed by the concepts and secondly, even with a reflective awareness of how they constrain our world view, it is difficult to deconstruct the massive nature of their impact.

A Diminishing Public Realm and its Impacts
Early sociologists theorized that the greatest threat posed by modern urban life would be the destruction of human relations or sociation. While human sociation has not been destroyed
by modern urban life, this concern is likely related to at least a reduction in the evidence of an active, 'public' and/or 'social' sphere. Stemming from a critique that has some similarity to that of Habermas, Arendt (1958) claims that in contemporary life it is through "labouring" that man seeks to demonstrate his uniqueness and ability. The results of such efforts are now private. This contrasts with Aristotle's (and Arendt's) view that the public sphere was the most highly regarded sphere in which 'man' might demonstrate his excellence. The social or societal benefit of such a formulation is immediately apparent, nonetheless, it has effectively disappeared. The public expressions of private wealth evident in the great philanthropic endowments of a century ago are perhaps manifestations of a period when 'man' retained both a public and a private image - the fruits of his labouring, of his private self, could be and were used to enhance his public being. The contributions - galleries and libraries, art, statuary, gardens and monuments - these were demonstrations of 'man's' private achievements made 'public'. Evidence of the same culture of the-individual-acting-in-public is more difficult to come by, it occurs less frequently. While the nature of the change is elusive, with a reduced public realm, there appears less obligation, responsibility and, importantly, affirmation in making a public contribution, whether societal or political. Resources that were once made public are now used, not to raise up the eyes of the working man (Arendt, 1958), not to establish enduring records of 'man's' excellence, but as private pleasures.

Habermas (1989) argues that the public and private spheres are relationally defined. The liberal public sphere was the realm, or 'space', for "rationalizing public authority under the institutionalized influence of informed discussion and reasoned agreement" (Introduction, 1989:xii). The importance of this 'public' role was a central tenet of democratic theory. Democracy was, as previously indicated, to be government by all the people (Arendt, 1958); understood in this way, the public sphere was the sphere in which the 'social contracts' were continuously renewed - the state and its functions confirmed. We have ceased to have a viable public - understood this way. We also face a reduced public realm in terms of private people acting publicly or acting together as a 'public' in either the political realm or in
respect to contributing to a "public" discourse on culture or society. Habermas suggests that in each case,

the public has been relieved of these tasks by other institutions: on the one hand by associations in which collectively organized private interests directly attempted to take on the form of political agency; on the other hand by parties which, fused with the organs of public authority, established themselves, as it were, above the public whose instruments they once were. The process of the politically relevant exercise and equilibration of power now takes place directly between the private bureaucracies, special-interest associations, parties, and public administration. The public as such is only included sporadically in this circuit of power (1989: 176).

The private realm experiences a similar transformation (Habermas, 1989: 141-159). There is a falsification of representation in both public and private realms. In each there are intrusions by bureaucratic apparatus, institutions and structures that assume roles and functions previously assumed within the public and private realms. For Habermas, the public is transformed by its conflation with 'society', by the substitution of bureaucracy for governance, by the decline of a public discourse, by the marketplace which entices 'man' to consume culture rather than contribute to it, and the private is transformed by the transformation of its relational public realm, as well as by economic life that is masked so as to be indistinguishable from public/societal life (and that, over time, will increasingly resemble the mask itself as the transformation of the public and societal extend ever further).

Even a retreat into private life can no longer be private. Again, Habermas recounts attempts to privatize life, but even this disappears as the family transforms from an intimate sphere and as distinctions between work life and private life become minimized. I will describe this latter point more fully as I add to this already iterative description the added dimension of how all of these issues play out in 'space' in a later section of this research.

The realm of the 'polity' or public, has been reduced, now largely relegated to the bureaucracy of the state. 'Social' life has been reduced to one's plans for the weekend or, at most, a concern of a few residual academics and government bureaucrats. Social life is, in a sense, affiliative or associational life in which 'man' relates with others outside of the marketplace. The term is related to 'society' - in the sense of life-in-society, which may
describe cultural life, the public sphere as Habermas describes it, and more familiarly, life-in-community. With industrialization and urbanization, community life, as it had been conceived, changed.

As our public forms and expressions have changed, so too have our communal forms. One might theorize that people will have less regard for their community and for others as those others become more diverse in culture, language, race and ethnicity. As members of our community become less readily identifiable as such, there is less identification with community. To this issue, I will also return in examining, in this context, the importance of place and space.

As I previously mentioned, the reproduction of our social structure in turn reproduces normative behaviours, rules and customs. Included in theories of the reproduction of social structure is the notion that in order for a given social structure to be sustaining and self reinforcing, we learn to value others like ourselves, thus producing ethnocentrism, eurocentrism, androcentrism etc.\(^\text{16}\)

The valuing of community is dependent upon a legitimacy and social validation that it is presently without. This becomes of increased importance as communities diversify, and as wealth and those who possess it are less bound by the constraints of the nation state. If we consider the contract theorists and their limited support for a public realm to manage that which is in their mutual interest to manage collectively, we might extrapolate that these collective interests will likely shrink as they perceive their fellow citizens as less and less like themselves.

On the other hand, there is a growing awareness of the many human activities that do not occur within either the market economy or the state, and by some, a belief that there is a flourishing but unacknowledged social sphere. The literature (See Cohen and Arato, 1992; Hansen, 1987) exploring this sphere also challenges the hegemony of the economic marketplace as the only powerful sustenance for modern life.
‘Natural’ Values: What’s Left Out

The consequences of economic dominance such as were described in the first two chapters are the focus of my concern with a two-sphere social construction that doesn’t adequately represent how human needs are met. I must note the importance of feminist theory in supporting the conscious effort to move our inquiry about how human needs are met outside of the dominant social values, “thereby uncovering the flaws and fallacies in our [present] understandings...”. The traditional construction of a model of society, which is variously described but includes the state and the formal economic system, derives, as we have discussed, from certain ideological presuppositions. As this discussion demonstrated, classic liberalism assumes the economic system to rest on values that are claimed to be ‘inherent’ in human beings. This view contrasts sharply with that of Marx, for whom the nature of ‘man’ is forged by his social relationships that are products of his class and the economic structure of his society. Marx’s rather extreme view of the absolute social determination of individual behaviour explicitly countered this prevailing classical economic view of man as possessing these inherent characteristics, which were seen to shape the social order in an equally deterministic manner.

Mannheim and Weber distinguish the ‘functional rationality’17 referring to a sort of instrumental rationality, which Weber describes as "the ethic of absolute ends" (as cited in Lipset, 1975:191). This value contrasts sharply with a “substantive rationality" or for Weber, "the ethics of responsibility" in which the importance of the means used is acknowledged as shaping the ends which are achieved.

Modern capitalism emphasizes the values of efficiency or productivity which however contravene some of the most distinctive values of western civilization, such as those which emphasize the importance of individual creativity or autonomy of action ... In this sense western capitalism can be said to be founded on an intrinsic antinomy between formal [functional] and substantive rationality which ... cannot be resolved (Weber as cited in Lipset, 1975:191).

The ‘natural values’ that are assumed to have ‘determined’ a capitalist economic system are described as follows.
It is an attitude of technical efficiency, the practical search for the best means to a preconceived end. Applied to human affairs and action, it disposes us to see and treat each other as objects, means to our own private ends.... This outlook tends to be reductionist, and to destroy meaning, symbolic significance and human relationships, leaving our lives hollow (Arendt as cited in Pitkin, 1981:XX).

Capitalism has called for and produced a rationality (productivity and efficiency) that has profoundly and negatively affected other ‘fundamental’ human values.

**The Roles of Women**

So what are the values inherent in ‘man’? Feminists argue that this question is at the heart of our problem. Pateman’s view of what she describes as “fraternal contract theory” (Pateman, 1988) is that although it was an expression of the liberation of feudal man, it continued to deny the liberation of women. In Illich’s view, women in many instances fared better in subsistence society in spite of the denial of ‘democratic’ rights or the fundamentals of liberty and equality. In spite of the absolute authority of the ‘head’ of the household, they were equal producers of the family’s sustenance and therefore were economic partners. Pateman suggests that:

[modern] political theorists argue about the individual, and take it for granted that their subject matter concerns the public world without investigating the way in which the ‘individual’, ‘civil society’ and ‘the public’ have been constituted at patriarchal categories in opposition to womanly nature and the ‘private’ sphere. The civil body politic created through the fraternal social contract is fashioned after only one of the two bodies of humankind. (Pateman, in Keane ed. 1993:102).

Although described as a fraternal social contract, Pateman argues the relative lack of attention paid to “fraternity", which she describes as the bond between the individual and the community.

From its inception, modern liberal theory was most concerned with the creation of a state oriented to sustaining the interests and imperatives of *individual man*. Thus, we have the ideological preconditions for the devaluing of communal society. The more specific impact
of this devaluing on women will be described subsequently in greater detail. The intention here is to point again at the power of our social constructions. The roles of women and their ascribed dispositions were not relevant to the development of classic liberal political theory based on the interests of 'rational man'.

The 'private' realm, or the family, as it is being described here, was, for Aristotle, the household and human necessity. For Illich, it was the site of subsistence production, and for Lasch, "the emotional fortress [of the family]" (Lasch, 1977:168). It has also remained the domain of women. I suggest that this has remained the case even though in western societies women have also joined the labour force in large numbers. In spite of labour force participation most research indicates that women have retained primary responsibility for domestic life. An understanding of this realm requires an analysis of the role of women, an understanding, to repeat Code's words, that exposes "the exclusions and suppressions which are consequent on a concurrence with its dominant ideology" (1991:158). Pateman provides a compelling history of the exclusion and suppression of women. As evidence that women's work and social contributions have never been valued, she cites the shift from feudalism to modernity. "Political theorists argue about the individual and take it for granted that their subject matter concerns the entire public world" (1993:102). For some of the fundamental epistemic reasons which we touched on in an earlier section of this paper, there is no exploration of the way in which the concepts of 'individual', 'public' and 'civil society' have been constituted. It is Pateman's claim that they are patriarchal categories that deny the roles of women and, as a result of this denial, leave women without the social validation of these roles, in spite of their importance.

The sons form a conspiracy to overthrow the despot, and in the end substitute a social contract with equal rights for all... Liberty means equality among the brothers (sons)... Locke suggests that the fraternity is formed not by birth but by election, by contract... Rousseau would say it is based on will (Brown, as cited in Pateman, 1993:101).

And so is described, rather richly, the transition from feudalism to the modern liberal state. This transition occurred without pause regarding the roles of women and in the self-reinforcing fashion of the social order, has ensured the continued patriarchal suppression of
women and their work. As I previously noted, women have moved into the economic sphere. This has occurred in a significant way only over the last 30 or so years and in the early period of this transition, women’s work was not valued in its own right but rather was seen as contributing to the family. And, while some barriers to women’s labour force participation have been removed, the economic sphere remains, in terms of power, in the hands of men. As well, much of the work of women has remained situated in the family and community. In joining the labour force, most women found that work associated with their roles as wife, mother and friend was not reallocated. While I have discussed how some of this work is increasingly done through purchases in the marketplace, women have remained more involved in a variety of life practices which are based on non-monetised interchange.

Lasch describes the transition to formal economic life as follows: “The democratic revolutions freed property from feudal restrictions, they also removed the obstacles to its accumulation”. And thus, “the same forces which gave rise to the new privacy began to erode it. The nineteenth-century cult of the home, where the woman ministered to her exhausted husband, repaired the spiritual damage inflicted by the market and sheltered her children from its corrupting influence, expressed the hope that private satisfactions could make up for the collapse of communal traditions and civic order” (Lasch 1977:168). Another slightly different critique, also feminist, is that the rigid division between the private and the public ignores interconnectedness and promotes discontinuity. This point is related to Illich’s analysis in which he claims that women’s work in the household is critical to men being sustained in wage labour. To determine women’s suitable and ideal adaptation to the household, to the private sphere, her biological role in reproduction is conflated with the entire domestic sphere. As a result of nine months of pregnancy, women are assigned forever to the support roles of cleaning, washing, cooking, and nurturing. Thus, the needs and ‘beings’ of women were deemed suitable and appropriate to the domestic sphere, coincident with the demands of industrialization and the needs of its male workforce. Women’s roles in this new economy are described by Lasch as “consumer-in-chief” (1977:11) and, by Illich, as "the private-domestic" (1981:109). Even as women have entered the labour force they have largely retained these other roles. (Hence the contemporary and demeaning joke about
women being "born to shop".) This shift in private life is important as prior to industrial capitalism, community life had included men and women as the work lives of most people were focused in the home.

Industrialization destroyed natural linkages between the family (private sphere) and social and economic life. Once acknowledged and legitimated, social and communal activity became residual as women became (and largely remain) the unacknowledged, behind-the-scenes coordinators of their families' social and community lives, their "private domestics". These roles have been pushed even further from view as few women beyond the very rich and the very poor are without the demands associated with some form of labour force attachment. Monetised economic relationships and "labouring" have significantly reduced community life in the social sphere. While many women (and some men) take on community projects and responsibilities beyond the family or private realm, these activities are in addition to a multiplicity of other roles.

The breadth and importance of the activities that occur outside of the formal marketplace and the 'polis', or modern 'public' sphere, are inadequately acknowledged and that fact impacts directly on women's perceived contribution to the social order. Feminist scholars find most of women's work within the private sphere - or an extended private sphere that, as Fraser (1990) indicated, may be poorly conceptually defined so that we might understand it as a 'private-not public sphere'. This is troubling because there is no conceptual space to properly understand the breadth of these roles that are truly communal or societal rather than either public or private. Evidence which supports the importance of women in these broader roles is offered by Yanagasako:

Inquiries into women's relationships with people outside their own domestic group refute the notion that it is invariably men who link the mother-child units to larger institutional structures in society. Women's involvement in exchange transactions, in informal women's communities and in urban kin networks are now interpreted as having significance for extra-domestic arrangements, rather than as mere extensions women's domestic orientation. (as cited in Hansen, 1987:116)
Recognizing the unacknowledged and unlegitimated nature of most women's work caused many early feminists to decry the private and extended-private roles of women and to demand their equality in the workplace. A great deal was achieved related to these efforts. However, some feminists have reappraised this earlier feminist argument that women's work must move from the private to the economic realm to attain its deserved status. They instead demand status for the realm of the 'social' or 'civil society' where much of the work of women continues to take place.

There are other elements of this 'extended private' realm in which we readily recognize the roles of women. Hoyman analyzes women's roles in the irregular economy and cites Pahl who describes men as the "chief earners" and women as the "chief workers", as so much of the work women do is not formally remunerated in cash. Other authors too point to linkages between the private, or personal, networks and the informal economy. We have earlier suggested that personal needs tend to be met outside of the formal economy. Personal networks are a rich source of non-market, or non-formal, resources, both irregular "off the books" work, and communal or social support. The lack of a conceptual construct or framework in which to 'locate' this work - the contributions of "one of the two bodies of humankind" (Pateman, 1988:102) – is, of course, part of what drives this paper and what a new conceptual construction might enable.

I have previously argued that, in addition to more fully understanding how people meet their needs, and in that process situating and acknowledging the roles and contributions of women, a broader goal of this research is to examine the "suppressions that are consequent on a concurrence with the dominant ideology" (Code, 1990:158) in order to demonstrate that our epistemic understandings, and the nature of social and scientific understanding, are grounded in our social structure. This dissertation serves at a minor level to 'deconstruct' how and why we conceive the world as we do.

It is important to note that gender-based distinctions between the private and the public were seen to be 'natural':

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Women for example have had historically little or no public aspect. Until the twentieth century not only were most women barred from voting, but as Susan B. Anthony discovered earlier, it was often thought improper for women to even speak on public affairs. They were to that extent restricted to the domestic realm - the sphere of private particular interests. Indeed, to the extent that families have not been organic wholes, but rather aggregations dominated by a particular will - which was Rousseau's paradigm of a private group - women have been deprived of even a domestic private life. In a significant sense then, women have been private persons (Benn and Gaus as cited in Hansen, 1987:112).

These suppositions about women and the realms in which they were to remain do not even adequately acknowledge history, which provides ample evidence, androcentric though it is, of women's struggle to become "public" in wanting the vote, in temperance struggles and in their contribution to war efforts, among others. They too do not acknowledge as either public or private the roles of women in community service.

To reiterate, we require a conception that correctly situates market and non-market means for the exchange and provision of the resources that people need. From a more particularly feminist perspective, essentialist and universalist categories and the limits they place on the imagining of other possibilities must be subverted. "Emancipation is only possible if we boldly go where no man has gone before, searching among the silenced for new languages of resistance, naming the unnamed, renaming the misnamed, and, above all, challenging the structures of signification which disable certain forms of action." (Rose, G; 1990:406)

**Ignoring the Social**

Boulding (1967) offers as partial explanation for the attention to the economic and the ignoring of the 'social' that "economists study that segment of the social system that is dominated by exchange, and a system of exchange introduces the possibility of a "measuring rod" - money or any other convenient commodity - by which heterogenous aggregates of goods may be reduced to a common measure" (1967:5). This postulate is often cited as a reason for the lack of attention to the 'social', to the non-market transfer of goods and services. Community and individual (non-market) resource provision is difficult to quantify.
and, in the absence of a commonly accepted measuring rod, one cannot account for this source of goods and services. Thus, we are provided a simple, technical explanation for the exclusion of the 'social' sphere. Non-ideological and conceptual, arising not from the mysteries of epistemological primacy but from the simple deficit of a measuring rod. The explanation is inadequate but its simplicity and very economic nature makes it readily accepted.

The Marxists have a different starting point, industrial capitalism having created a structural change that separated life into two realms, the 'public' and the 'private'. These two sectors have become the almost exclusive focus of economic analysis; the "legitimate and monetised activities" (Lowenthal, 1981:92) occurring within these spheres. Lowenthal points out that Marx at one stage of his work had a much broader conception of the economy. He described the "economic structure as the total ensemble of social relations entered into in the social production of existence" (1981:94). From this broad starting point, however, the Marxist concern shifts to a narrower conception of economics; the study and critique of the capitalist market and the effect on social relations or class. And even this latter analysis never moved more broadly into an inquiry about the nature of human community.

Mishra analyzes the values that premise liberal thought and underpin our economic and social system. Consistent with these views is a particular understanding of the 'social'. He makes a point of critical importance to our developing understanding of why the social realm is unacknowledged: "focused on atomised individuals, it has no notion of the nation-state as a community" (Mishra, 1984:61). He also suggests that "the inadequacy of unbridled individualism in coming to terms with the problem of social solidarity was the principle critique levelled by Durkheim against Spencerian anti-collectivism" (1984:61). As I have previously noted, Durkheim argued that the self-reflective individual was a constitutive force of 'society'. For the utilitarians, there was no value - or more correctly - 'identifiable properties' in what the sociologist conceptualizes as the solidary, in collectivity or 'society'. These were only constructions in which individuals acted on the basis of straightforward and self-interested calculations including those in which they freely 'contract'
to form a ‘state’. Durkheim claimed that the issue was not that persons never acted this way but rather they did not *always* act this way and that such non-rational action was not ‘irrational’ and was/is important to understanding how society works. It is this behaviour and these values that are of course omitted from the discussion of inherent human values and the realm created by them that is expelled from the public/private. Having made a case that ‘society’ or the ‘social’ or certain types of interchange is non-valued, or unacknowledged, I perhaps must answer the next obvious question of why it matters.

I have tried to demonstrate that what has occurred has been the shift of the instrumental elements of human exchange from the ‘private’ realm to an essentially economic realm. This shift was concurrent with industrialization and urbanization. Capitalist production had a profound effect on the household, transforming it from the centre of subsistence production to an economic unit supporting the husband as wage labourer. Illich (1981) and Lasch (1977) trace this evolution through the rise of capitalism and industrialization, from a human scale subsistence economy equally involving of men and women to that of the present day. The basic thesis is that as men assumed primary wage labour roles, the role of women in the household or private life changed too. The household became the formal support to the capitalist economy, both as consumer of goods and supporter of the wage labourer (usually the man)20. The man thus leaves the private realm, taking with him, and commodifying, many of the exchanges on which the family’s sustenance had been based.

Illich argues that men, in order to sustain themselves in wage labour, found it necessary to collude with capital to substitute investment in capital goods for ‘subsistence’ (Illich argues that before industrial capital, it was ‘subsistence’ rather than the investment in capital goods that guided human work.) “Working men became the wardens of their domestic women”. Concurrent with the creation of ‘shadow work’21 was the scientific discovery of its appropriateness to women’s disposition (Illich, 1981:99-110). Illich claims “in shadow work much more intensely than in wage labour, women are discriminated against” (1981:115).
Arendt describes the shift from subsistence to economic production as elevating and aggregating households to a level equal to that of society or the 'social'. Households, as the bastions of private life, were then assumed to have one collective interest that was economic; supporting the manifestation of "self-maximizing man". In this transformation, 'labouring', as the expression of self-maximization, becomes reified. The pursuit of the economic becomes the common expression of our social interest, and 'labouring' the evidence of this pursuit. Intimacy or the relationships centred within the household are now externally oriented as the survival of the family becomes dependent on complex factors far beyond, in an 'economic' realm. And the transformation of the private to the social or societal and then to the economic becomes complete. Where before, the sphere for the demonstration of man's excellence - his distinctness, his expression of difference from other forms of life - was manifested in his actions in the public sphere, they are now expressed through excellence in labouring. This has replaced excellence in social or public affairs. This change in the relationships of the household is part of a larger devaluing of non-monetised human interchange and the increasing validation of economic life as the single important form of human exchange.

Arendt extends her analysis of the effect of this reification of 'labouring' and explains the lack of constraints on its growth by claiming that in a subsistence economy, labouring was directly connected to the life process. Its banishment to the private realm kept it in check, or in sync with the basic needs of the household. "The admission of labour to public stature... liberated this process from its circular monotonous recurrence and transformed it into a swiftly progressing development whose results have in a few centuries changed the whole inhabited world" (Illich,1981:47). It is against what Arendt describes as this "unnatural growth" that the spheres of the polity and family have proved incapable of defending themselves.

The public realm is diminished, now a residual function given over to administration. The 'polis' serves as the bureaucratic expression of the medieval 'common good' or the contract theorists' management of collective interests, leaving individual man free to pursue his self-
maximizing interest in the economic realm. It is not in this ‘public’ realm in which ‘man’ seeks to demonstrate “his excellence”; the marketplace or economic realm serves that purpose. The ‘public’ realm includes that spectre of activities ‘contracted’ to be in the interest of individuals to handle collectively, which Lasch (1977) delineates as the state and everything it regulates. These are not, however, the activities to which ‘man’ aspires.

As my earlier citations from Simmel demonstrated, the development of the capitalist marketplace led to profound changes in the nature of human interchange. In Simmel’s words, it became commodified, with market exchanges becoming reified as the most important and significant of all forms of human interchange. As Arendt, Illich, Lasch and others have demonstrated, these changes have had profound impacts on how we see and acknowledge the conceptual realms of the ‘public’ and ‘private’. Interesting threads can be drawn between the expressions and ideas of liberal thought and their effect on how we think of these concepts. The effect has been the individualization of ‘man’. In a sense Durkheim’s argument against Spencer, the argument for an acknowledging of the ‘societal’ failed. We have been left, conceptually and frequently, but not exclusively, in practice, with the reification of labouring as the expression of human excellence. Interest in a public realm (the Aristotelian polis) became secondary and limited to the functionally necessary administration of those matters which are determined to be in the collective interest. The collective interest, as defined by the contract theorists, are the collective interests of only some, a group of ‘contractors’ who - at very least excluding women - determine their mutual interest. There is no expression of a “common good” in the sense of broad communal or social participation in deciding what should be the affairs of state. The Aristotelian ‘polis’, or a public realm, as the forum for the expression of ‘man’s’ best has been replaced by a public realm narrowly concerned with the management of the apparatus of the state. I must emphasize that these are conclusions drawn from the analysis of what one might regard as the ‘state of democratic theory’, or the ‘theoretical implications of our social structure’.

This critique forms the basis for my proposition of an alternate conception, which presupposes that persons have other than rational values, which seeks from a moral and
ideological position to value the contributions of women and to value certain life practices and the structures and institutions that support them, which counters the hegemonic practices of the capitalist marketplace, and generally which seeks from the modernist/postmodernist context of the present to establish a 'social view' or set of conceptual boundaries which, in this context, are more permissive and relational rather than oppositionary and totalizing.

The following chapter proposes an alternate conception that offers the possibility of correction or a conceptual readjustment that "better" situates the marketplace and situates and acknowledges non-monetised interchange. This better situating is premised on a belief that non-monetised, affiliative and associational life practices are significant and important in sustaining human life including sustaining 'man’s' life in the economic realm. The range of life practices "expelled" by the public/private conception includes structures and processes which themselves shape the social order. While not directly 'correcting' or altering the public realm, it might be argued that the impact of these other amendments would be to create the possibility of a renewed public realm.
Endnotes, Chapter Three


2. 'Man' is used advisedly throughout this paper when I am referring to historic claims in which the word used (and according to feminists, the thought expressed) was man. Tester (1992:24) states that "it would be a mistake to imply that the use of the word 'man' was a simple oversight of habit ... to talk in gender-neutral terms would be to invoke or at least imply a false homogeneity of human beings". I subscribe to this view and suggest that the subject of discussion was indeed 'man' and not 'mankind', therefore the use now of gender-neutral terms is a form of historical revisionism that dangerously makes women appear to have been considered if not complicit.

3. This is the phrase used by many of the theorists of classic liberalism in their description of why it is "natural" that man's rational self interest should lead inevitably to a market economy — such a development is congruent with the values "fundamental" to being human. See, for example, the discussion contained in Peter Blau, (1975, p 3-16).

4. This view differs from many which see social structure as "fixed, stable and persisting" (Bottomore, 1975:159). The view expressed here is supported by French sociologist Georges Gurvitch (among others) who viewed social structure as a "permanent process", a "perpetual movement of destructuration and restructuration" Bottomore,(1975:160).


7. The term 'polity' is used in this paper to represent the Aristotelian concept of public governance, a realm that encompassed more than just governing, for it included fundamental discourse about such governance. It is used contemporarily to include government and the state. For an expanded discussion of the concept, see Hannah Arendt, The Human Condition, (1958) and Karen Hansen, "Feminist Conceptions of Public and Private: A Critical Analysis", (1987:105).

8. There is no one social contract theorist. For an excellent feminist analysis of the distinctions among them, see Pateman, (1988).
9. Bottomore, (1975:162) points out the relatedness between Mannheim’s views and Kuhn’s theory (The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, 1962) that paradigm changes are in part related to the disappearance of an older generation of scientists committed to an established paradigm.

10. Hughes et al suggest that in fact Durkheim’s position is overstated in his desire to distinguish the individual and individuality, which he sees arising only in organic solidarity (Hughes et al, 1995:174).

11. A more general discussion of the use of these exclusive oppositions that dominate western thought follows in the next section of this chapter, in the context of a critique of ‘public-private’.

12. For a more extensive discussion, see Bottomore (1975), Bell (1973) and Illich (1981).

13. For a description of this term, see Popper, (1964).

14. Ross Perot provides a contemporary example, perhaps that which proves the rule.

15. The state has assumed many of the roles once assumed by private philanthropy and this is an obvious additional explanation of the above. However, one might argue that private philanthropy could find appropriate new social expressions, and that the absence of such expressions has meaning for the present discussion.

16. See, for example, Ellsworth Faris’ (1971) discussion of ethnocentrism in "The Nature of Human Nature".


18. For a further discussion of this issue, see Rose, G. (1990). She suggests "that the distinction between the public and the private is a male imaginary, not a female one, and that attempts to reinforce it were (and are) patriarchal" (p.396); and Pateman, C, (1983).

19. The ‘solidary’ refers to the social ‘glues’ which tie a community or society together. It refers to the relationships which exist between people simply as a result of their being members of the same society and is therefore related to issues of both social differentiation and consensus. In Durkheim’s view the former was necessary in order to constitute an organic solidarity and these solidarities were more than just aggregates of individuals.

20. This is not to deny the enormous contributions women continued to make to the family’s economic well-being. The work of women and children in some of the most brutal early industrial settings was, however, likely in addition to the roles postulated by Illich and Lasch.
21. This term is Illich's descriptor of the work done primarily by women to support their mates in capitalist production. The work occurs in the shadow of the wage labourer but is nonetheless critical to (usually) his labour force participation. This work is non-monetised and increasingly devalued compared to the same activities in a subsistence economy, Illich, (1981:100).

22. Better, according to the interests expressed in this research.
CHAPTER FOUR
A THREE PART CONCEPTUALIZATION OF SOCIETY: IMAGINING A SOCIAL REALM AND ACKNOWLEDGING CIVIL SOCIETY

The ‘Social’ Sphere

Our task is to formulate, as Mishra suggests, a conception of the social structure as a 'whole' which accurately locates market and non-market interchange and accounts for how people obtain *all* of the resources they need, rather than the current construction which acknowledges and locates primarily monetised exchange. Mishra’s identification of the importance of understanding the role and relation of social institutions fits, too, with Foucault’s belief that the best way to understand the way a society functions is to examine its institutions, which at a micro-level, mirror all of the values and complexities of the broader social structure. Having completed our review of the consequence and outcome of our current conceptual constructs, the task before us in the following section is to identify a construction encompassing the whole sphere of human activity.

Much as Durkheim claimed against Spencer, we need to better focus our attention at the societal level, to sharpen our understanding of other types of sociation - especially those which are non-monetised. This broader examination of ‘sociation’ is a way of expanding our understanding of how *all* people meet *all* of their needs. For example, in capitalist societies, instrumental needs are most often assumed to be met through the marketplace while more associational or personal needs are met by family or friends. An understanding at this level does not acknowledge a large social realm which is critical to a more complete understanding of how individual and collective needs are identified and met at the social or ‘societal’ level.

Hannah Arendt introduces a third concept of the ‘social’ into the bipolar public/private debate. Arendt’s 'public' realm is similar to the Aristotelian ‘polis’ but also includes the
bureaucratic structures of government. The 'private' is the household in which work is done by its members for themselves. The proposed 'social' sphere includes economic production and is the realm "where private interests assume public significance" (as cited in Hansen, 1987:118). Unfortunately, Arendt's conception of the 'social' has a strong negative connotation; 'society' -- almost 'high society' is synonymous with 'social' in her conception. The effect of the 'social' realm, therefore, for Arendt, was that it corrupted and demanded conformity. Arendt's conception of a 'social' sphere does not achieve the goals articulated in this paper, which is to develop a way of validating and legitimating non-monetised exchange.

In a move of conceptual importance, Hansen (1987) adjusts Arendt's conception of the 'social' to eliminate the negative and pejorative. The 'social' dimension comes to include "interactions within a community - the audience by whom one is observed, to whom one is accountable and with whom one interacts. The combined activities constitute society. .. social interaction in a broader sense, encompassing life lived among other people" (1987:119). "The social is a distinct realm with its own regularities, processes and rules of behaviour" (1987:123). And,

finally the social allows us to reorient our perspective, and to see women's social activities as 'work' weaving together the fabric of society... We can expand our understanding of the social work of women beyond kin networks and look at the neighbourhood and village. Women's role within the 'social' sphere consists of mediating the various forces of society - tying the church to the household, neighbour to neighbour, the individual to the collectivity" (Arendt as cited in Hansen, 1987:123).

The 'social' subsumes the 'economic' and offers a coherent realm which accurately accounts for all of the goods, services and supports people require; those from the economic marketplace are no longer artificially separated from those brokered between neighbours. A similar argument that economic production remain situated in the 'social' was raised by Simmel. The phenomena of value, exchange and production "which economics views from one standpoint, are here viewed from another". He argues against the justification for considering them unidimensionally and discipline-specific:

that two people exchange their products is by no means simply an economic fact.
Such a fact - that is, one whose content would be exhausted in the image that economics presents of it - does not exist...It becomes the object of philosophical study, which examines its preconditions in non-economic concepts and facts and its consequences for non-economic values and relationships (Simmel, 1990:54).

For Simmel, the economic has overshadowed the human or social aspects of exchange. Like Hansen and Arendt he argues for placing the economic within the social. "Exchange is a sociological phenomenon sui generis, an original form and function of social life" (1990:100). Simmel’s conception of exchange was as a primary and ideal form of sociation as a feature of every social interaction. The increasing domination of money exchange was explained by Simmel as the reification of economic relations.

As Hansen effectively argues, there is a large, inadequately conceptualized realm within the 'social' in which women play (and have always played) significant roles. The 'social' is, in a certain sense, the sphere where the private and the public conjoin and it is often women who broker and mediate between these realms. In asserting the need for an acknowledged social realm, Hansen cites the feminist argument to which I referred earlier, which demands the validation and legitimation of women's non-market roles. The argument made is that we must account for the activities that occur in the 'social' sphere. In spite of the dominance of the economic realm, much of human life occurs outside its boundaries. Women acting in the social sphere play critical roles in supporting individual human sustenance and in maintaining the linkages between the economic marketplace, the public and the family.

While Hansen's concern is the inclusion of the work of women, it is not only the work of women that is excluded by the neoclassical economic determination of what counts as a human transaction or exchange. A magnitude of other human endeavour fits neither into the activities of the state, the private realm of the household, or the economic marketplace. These undertakings, including the activities of the voluntary sector, social networks, social movements and others, play important roles in shaping our society, consistently perform necessary social functions, broker between government and the marketplace and sustain human beings. For these reasons an attempt to situate them conceptually is important. The
previous chapter attempted to reconstruct the origins of our current social structure which I believe makes more understandable why we attend so minimally to certain types of social function. While it is obviously not so simple that the creation of the conceptual category leads to the acknowledgement, without the conceptual space or "boundaries" in Tester's terms, we can not make distinct and analyzable those life practices being referenced.

Hansen suggests conceptions of the 'public' (polity), 'private' (individual and household) and the 'social' as an inclusive way to account for all of human interaction and which challenge the reification of economic relations and the hegemony of neoclassical economics. Her conceptualization argues for a way of accounting for human exchange which does two things. First, in countering economic hegemony or reification, it reasserts the importance of the social; it situates exchange as a dominant and primary form of sociation, as a feature of every social interaction. Money exchange forms just one part of how humans meet their needs and obtain resources. Even a superficial review of the extensiveness and complexity of the elements of civil society supports this perspective. Secondly, and more specifically, this conception of the 'public', 'private' and 'social' supports the goal set out early in this paper, a conceptual schema that counters the inaccurate and prejudicial way by which we understand how people meet their needs. As well, we might understand more fully the nature of human sociation.

The illustration in Figure 2 helps to locate and connect these conceptually diverse terms and their relevance to understanding the role of community in contemporary life. What I will more fully describe as 'civil society' sits alongside 'formal economic society' within the social sphere.

Our denial of a social sphere creates a myriad of other conceptual and ultimately political divisions as well, including the continued relegation of women to the private, and the social to the frivolous. Collective or communal society in the absence of conceptual legitimation or validation, exists in a slightly spurious or dubious state. It's alright to help a neighbour, but helping occurs in a context of admonitions that suggest we limit such action and which
WHAT WE SHOULD ACKNOWLEDGE:
A THREE PART MODEL OF HUMAN ACTIVITY

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT
INCLUDING
BUILT ENVIRONMENT

THE HOUSEHOLD
AND
THE FAMILY

THE SOCIAL SPHERE

ECONOMIC MARKET PLACE

CIVIL SOCIETY

GOVERNMENT AND BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURES OF THE STATE

THE PRIVATE SPHERE

THE PUBLIC SPHERE

(These relationships reflect a complex interplay of the environment creating certain preconditions continually modified by the dominant sphere)
prescribe a 'private' life. "Neither a borrower nor a lender be"; "good fences make good neighbours" are but two expressions of our non-communal state. These expressions exist at the other end of the continuum from stories we've all heard or even told, that value various aspects of communal or societal life.

Young posits that the "ideal community is an understandable dream, expressing a desire for selves that are transparent to one another, relationships of mutual identification, social closeness and comfort" (1990:300). She proceeds to argue with the dream - this ideal community is a political problematic that will require the suppression of difference. As with the previously discussed public sphere, Young posits that these notions of 'community' are likely to give preference to the values and expression of some groups over others. Those with whom we (whoever the 'we' group should turn out to be) can't identify, and don't want relational transparency - will be excluded. The dominant critique of Habermas' public sphere is that it is exclusionary - a bourgeois public sphere. Consequently, the nature of the public discourse will be so determined. In each of these cases a definitional process is at work that acts to predetermine who will have access in whatever realm, to shaping the 'public' discourse. Even the touted Aristotelian polis, by the predetermining of who should be a citizen controlled the public discourse. Young's critique of the 'ideal' of community is the same point - she cautions against a new and well-intended sphere that still ensures that some voices are heard and others silenced. I continue to believe that the current project has merit, but proceed mindful of the need for conceptual structures that enable the expression of difference.

Arendt argued that through a process of reifying economic relations, work came to have an overstated social value. Somewhat indirectly her claim amounted to an expression that in this realm rather than worthier others, 'man' expressed his best. Further consequences of the dominance of our economic realm have also been explicated. These impacts continue to be significant including the relegation of non-monetised human interchange to a marginal realm. Economic pressures are disempowering the state - through reductions in what is considered tolerable in terms of legislative governance and through taxation and reduced spending that
curtails other state structures and programs. As Habermas (1989) and Negt and Kluge (1993) note the public sphere has effectively transformed so that it no longer serves as the site of public discourse even given the limitations noted above. All of this results in a circumstance in which we are without a conceptual challenge to the states' role in serving the interests of the economic (capital) rather than broader societal interests which may, and often do conflict with the interests of the marketplace.

An explicit goal of many social movements involves the strong representation of 'social' or societal interests, and rather than the 'ideal community' which Young critiques, these movements are multiple and diverse. Interests that may not otherwise be acknowledged are often the basis for organizing within the realm of civil society. While we may have increasing experience of the efficacy of such social movements and the growth of the sector may create the preconditions for its legitimation, it seems unlikely that growth of the sector will change our conception of our social structure. The argument made here is that we must be explicit about requiring new conceptual boundaries. While such boundaries do not by themselves, create social change, I believe that they may be a necessary albeit insufficient condition for such change. New boundaries validate and legitimate life practices that may themselves be transformative. The legitimation of these transformative practices in turn reinforces the importance of the new construction. This is not quite the tautology that it might seem if we remember that historical processes also influence the shape of this self reinforcing eclipse by which I previously described the evolution of our social structure. But, I am moving too far ahead. I will return to reconsider these issues after more fundamental ground is covered.

The Conceptual Development of Civil Society

The concept of civil society is important to the argument made in this paper, as it provides a conceptual connector for certain kinds of social relations and certain kinds of 'community'. For some theorists, civil society is an equally synthetic and abstract but critical, conceptual construction at the same level as the 'public' and 'private' spheres. This is how Cohen and Arato (1992) place 'civil society' and their argument for its conceptual importance is similar
to that made here. Cohen and Arato regard it as critical that "only a reconstruction involving a three part model distinguishing civil society from both state and economy has a chance to underwrite the dramatic oppositional role of this concept under authoritarian regimes and to renew its critical potential under liberal democracies" (1992:i). Accordingly, the three part model they propose is the state, the formal economic system and civil society, which includes associational life and the family.

Although my disagreement with Cohen and Arato is not fundamental, I am proposing a different conceptualization which is important for another purpose. Alongside the importance of legitimating this other societal realm which perhaps can be more tolerant of diversity, I believe that it is also critical to challenge and change the way we think about economic relations. This is the conceptual move argued by Hansen and Simmel: the formal economic system should be subsumed under the social realm; it is but one form of human interchange. By combining civil society and the marketplace within the same set of conceptual borders one makes an ideological and analytic point - these are both important means of interchange, this is the realm of societal relations - as distinct from those in the intimate (and private) sphere of the family and distinct from the state (to whatever extent it still expresses a fully 'public' discourse). Thus, this societal or social realm has two major conceptually and analytically distinct components - the marketplace and civil society.

Cohen and Arato's placement of the family in the same sphere as civil society seems related to the possibilities of the family as transformative space, which I have previously discussed. I remain unconvinced that this will be significant but, more importantly, I am convinced by Habermas' argument that the reproductive role of the family has, and continues to be, reduced. As well, the incursions of the marketplace into private life or familial life further reduce the scope of the sphere. However, as I indicated in the previous discussion of the role of the family there is much that remains unclear. Having said this, I propose the family as a separate private sphere. I believe that this distinction is helpful in further analysing its scope and changing roles by not muddying its distinctiveness by combining it with other forms of associational life.
In the conceptual construction for which I argue (represented in Figure 2), civil society sits alongside the formal economic system within a social sphere; at the same conceptual level is the private sphere comprised of the family; and the public sphere of the state and public politics (Arendt’s ‘polis’ to the extent that it continues to exist). Although Cohen and Arato do not build the same conceptual construction they acknowledge the same interest: "the concept of civil society indicates a terrain in the west that is endangered by the logic of administrative and economic mechanisms" (1992:viii). Hegel too, speaks of the corporation as "planted in civil society" (as cited in Cohen and Arato, 1992:95). I have, in briefest terms, noted the roles of the philosophers of the Scottish Enlightenment, particularly Adam Smith’s, in promoting a new economic form of social life. Ferguson, Hume, Smith and others came to understand:

"the essential feature of civil or "civilised" society, not in its political organization but in the organization of material civilization. Here a new identification (or reduction) was already being prepared: that of civil and economic society, reversing the old Aristotelian exclusion of the economic from the politike koinonia" (Cohen and Arato, 1992:90).

This paper argues for conceptual constructions that reverse the conflation of ‘society’ and ‘state’ and the reduction as cited here, of ‘civil society’ into ‘economic’ society. Cohen and Arato argue that an acceptable conceptual model of civil society must differentiate it from both the state and the economy and must enable the analysis of the "mediations among them" (1992:464). The creation of a social realm subsuming both formal economic society and civil society, contrasted with a political realm including political society and the state, and the private realm of the individual and the household meets the standard set by Cohen and Arato. It also accomplishes the other goal set out in this paper, the reclamation and revaluing of non-monetised human interchange, the cause of which, at least in part, I suggest results from capitalist economic hegemony. The construction that I propose is not so naively offered that I believe a change in how we conceive of the world is likely to threaten these dominant economic relations, rather it is a significant part of the deconstructivist enterprise to at least fully understand why we differentially value market and non-market interchange. Thus, their
placement at the same level in the same sphere serves as a reminder that once these two types of interchange were not so widely separated - in either their status and dominance or their frequency and importance.

The Historical Development of Civil Society

Civil society is a conceptual abstraction which has its roots with Aristotle and the ancient Greeks, was conceptually important for the moralists of the Scottish Enlightenment, for Hegel and Kant in establishing the foundations of modern analytic philosophy. After a dormancy of 100 years, civil society has once again commanded attention as a way, to quote Tester, "to make society intelligible through the imaginative (non-natural, epistemologically synthetic) construction of categories which are used as if they were directly derived from something called reality" (1992:14). Civil society is seen, according to Marx, as an emergent condition and defined simply, includes all social relationships that "involve voluntary association and individuals acting in their private capacities ... it can be said to equal the milieu of private contractual relationships" (Tester, 1992:8). While this latter definition is a useful one, it requires clarification in light of its apparent similarity to the view held by the contract theorists, of the state as the body created through the private contracting of individuals for the management of matters determined to be in their collective interest. In civil society, such contracted interchanges or exchanges remain the responsibility of the contracting individuals. It is this distinction that is important; civil society is the realm in which human 'interchange' (to use and accept Simmel’s distinction between this term and 'exchange') remains subjective and personal. It is not contracted out- to either the marketplace or the state as a 'third party'.

For many philosophers and social thinkers of the 18th century, civil society was invoked as a conceptual and methodological aid to make the world as it ought to be: "to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of vertu and publick civility" (Milton, as cited by Tester 1992:10). The creation of 'civility' was, in a sense, the creation of a society, the awareness of which implies a high degree of self-consciousness and self-dependence. "To talk of civil
society has conventionally meant to distinguish the milieu of free humanity from the milieu of reification produced either by nature or the state." (Tester, 1992:11). These conventions - or meanings ascribed to civil society differed across Europe and in America. The English tradition called upon 'societies' or the personal circles which made up British society to be active in public life. The tradition in the German state differed with civil society conceived of as a 'social order' or level of social status. This too, differed from the Hegelian construction, which has remained important. Hegel saw civil society as "the equilibrium of relativities of liberty, safety, and subsistence between the subject and the social" (T. Miller, 1993:8). The promise afforded by Hegel's description is a truly daunting one and one which, as the 'civility' element began to be strongly incorporated in the contemporary meaning of civil society, Foucault described as "the great fantasy ... of a social body constituted by a universality of wills". Foucault's scathing scepticism might usefully be kept in mind as we progress through this work - for much has been promised in the name of 'civil society'. Toby Miller continues however, to suggest that this 'fantasy' has been credited with "producing a sea change in the constitution of politics across central and eastern Europe... For American radicals, however, the term equates with social movements of community that are opposed to formal machines of democracy or the market" (1993:8).

To comment further on the role of civil society reconstituting eastern European politics, Robert Miller describes the strategy of the Solidarity movement. "Civil society was envisaged as a realm of free social and cultural space to be carved out of the all-encompassing matrix of the totalitarian Communist party state" (1992:6). The earliest thought was that this was to be done in a non-political way which would not directly challenge the power of the state; the goal was the creation of a sphere of autonomous social activity. Miller suggests that in actual practice, this realm could not be created without challenge to the state. He cites some other eastern European examples of the co-existence of cultural and social spheres within a totalitarian state but in each case points to their limited and highly tenuous position. Miller, in assessing the role of civil society in communist systems, suggests that it was an expectation that civil society would aid in "actively reconstituting a new post-communist order"(1992:2). Miller argues that the
emergence of what he describes as a Habermasian idea of civil society has been able to grow in Europe, Asia and Latin America because the Marxist Leninist ideology has been so thoroughly discredited. The Habermasian sphere of civil society can be said to support a constitutional democratic state and a humane and more equitable market economy. The activities of civil society too must be restrained so that "once political society has been pointed in the right direction" (R. Miller, 1992:8) it must be left by civil society to its own independent activity. Thus, civil society has a different face depending on the social structure in which it flourishes. Its presence in Italy, for example, has long been documented as an important part of Italian society acknowledged and legitimated by the state. Some claim that this status enables the sphere of civil society to be more directly oriented to serving the interests of capital. In the Italian context civil society serves as an acknowledged buffer with formal economic activity. The role of "Solidarity" in forcing the democratization of Poland is a powerful illustration of a communal social movement and its effect on the social structure and another example of the varying roles and interrelationships between civil society, the state and marketplace. The conceptualization of 'civil society' enables the demonstration of the importance of non-state human activity and association outside the formal economic system and also permits its juxtaposition with the formal economy, the state and the family.

Robert Miller (1992) claims that a simplistic portrayal of civil society as a unilinear process is inadequate. This is evidenced by examining the maturation of this sector or sphere in Latin America, eastern Europe and the capitalist countries of the west. Different cultural, ethnic and material conditions have differential impacts on the nature and roles of the emergent civil society. To recall the contributions of Adam Ferguson, his concern was not the role of activities within this sphere in creating or transforming the state or social structure, but its importance less directly in modifying and tempering the deleterious effect on the state of the pursuit of private gain (among other consequences he lamented as attributable to the rapid political and economic changes affecting 18th century Europe). Questions of the relation of civil society to the state have endured alongside the continued questioning of the structures and functions of the liberal democratic state.
That our understanding of our social realm is inextricably linked to the public realm is a point of central importance. While this thesis is not primarily concerned with the 'private' interchanges between people in their 'private lives', I suggest that all of these interchanges outside of the marketplace and the state including those of civil society which are of primary interest here, have a great deal to do with the ordering and conduct of our society. It is a further manifestation of the hegemony of the economic marketplace that the relations between each of the social/political/economic are analyzed separately. MacPherson, in commenting on theories of liberal-democracy, suggests "political values have become more, not less, in need of central attention in political science, and economic assumptions more, not less, important in political theory" (1973:171). Thus, the social (societal) and political meaning and possibility represented by these interchanges is important beyond the specific utility of the interchanges themselves. The effect of the 'sphere' of civil society extends beyond its social realm, so that also required is an understanding of how the concept relates to societal production and reproduction. "Civil society is about this fundamental experiential and relational connection between individuals going about their own lives and members of society doing what they are told" (Tester, 1992:5). The notion of members of a society 'doing what they are told' requires further elaboration. It was this notion of the control of people by the state that was invoked in Toby Miller's comment cited earlier that social movements "are opposed to formal machines of democracy or the market" (1993:8). These formal machines are the bureaucratic apparatus of the state and the corporation which some theorists claim, proceeds ever further and without restriction into the private lives of those within its control (Offe, 1985) and hence the plea or claim for the sphere of civil society to act as a counter to this deepening of state intrusion. As Touraine comments, following from Foucault and others, "a whole set of reflections... has achieved widespread influence in the social sciences by claiming that contemporary society is subjecting itself to ever stricter control and surveillance in such a way that social life is nothing more than the system of the signs of an unrelenting domination" (1988:71). The impact of this enlargement of state control will be discussed further in the following section of this chapter on social movements.

Tester cites Marx who, characteristically, saw the underlying meanings and importance
behind the notion of 'civil society'. His goal was not descriptive or definitional; he aspired to understand what the idea of a 'civil society' meant for the "possibility, meanings, and demands of society itself" (Tester 1992:4). Marx understood that by examining the idea of civil society and its presumed role we might have a point of entry into understanding how and why we live in societies shaped the way they are, and how we understand the interrelationships between external sources of authority and our own private interests. Civil society exists at two very different levels. The first is what Tester describes as an "imagining", an idea or construct that, as Marx saw it, enabled a broader, less circumscribed, conception or viewing of social relations; the possibilities for human society. As the Simmel metaphor of the web of sociation reveals, in separating the strands from the web, one is engaging in a highly conceptual enterprise. And yet such conceptual construction is necessary in order to see the relational nature of things. At a conceptual level, this enables two lines of inquiry. As Cohen and Arato suggest, we must be able to differentiate civil society from both the state and the economy and analyze the "mediations among them"(1992:464)4. This permits an analysis of the relational and functional nature of the state (public), the family or household (private)5, the formal economic system (marketplace) and the activities of civil society6. Inquiry or analysis at this level helps build political and social theory (or at least our understanding of it). The second inquiry enabled by the conceptual creation of civil society is an exploration of theories of human interchange, the delicate dissection of particular kinds of human sociation. This second level of inquiry is directly related to the use of this conceptual model to analyze the relations, interchanges and goals of the urban reform movement in Toronto.

Part of the consequence of a theory of civil society is self-consciousness and the consequent reflexivity in which the subject of the inquiry is seen as an inherent part of the object of inquiry. It involves a "profound and deep undermining of any assumptions" that the order of things could be taken for granted. The goal of this paper is to at least approach such a "profound and deep undermining" of the assumptions which underlie ever expanding economic relations perhaps at the expense of the other kinds of interchanges, and relations. The conceptualization of a 'social' realm in which is situated another conceptual

Theories of Civil Society: Meeting Human Needs

This research argues for a framework which adequately accounts for how human needs are met, for the nature of human sociation/society that will enable us to account for all human activity. At a narrower conceptual level, this discussion involves reexamining the nature of human society. What societal relations are inadequately regarded and accounted for, given our current social, conceptual constructs and how might an inclusive framework change our understanding of human sociation and activity?

'Sociation' derives from many other features of our social functioning (for example, our economic structure) which, in turn, shape our social and institutional structures. Consequently, trying to dissect human interchange and categorize it, is to repeat Simmel's phrase, akin to extracting the delicate and individual strands of the web, from the web itself, in order to study, respectively, individual sociation and sociation as a whole. This review involves understanding human 'sociation' at these different conceptual levels. To discern the delicate and almost invisible threads of interaction between individuals is conceptually simpler than trying to understand the complex interplay between 'sociation' and the structural features of modern life. And 'modern' life varies enormously according to current political and economic values and structures, and historic and cultural traditions.

Thus, cultural and historical traditions shape the very nature of the discourse about human 'sociation'. The nature of our interest in human relationships and the forms and functions of these relations shifts over time. At the turn of the century and during the dominant years of the Chicago school, the focus was on urbanization (and industrialization) and the loss of community, which was consequent on these processes. This debate has continued and will be summarized here. Another similar debate preceded the interest in civil society or at least
the usage of that particular term. The informal economy includes most of the human activity that comprises civil society, although these are two parallel literatures with minimal cross reference. Thus, although the term 'civil society' is once again in vogue, there has been a consistent and continuing discourse and debate about the forms and functions of human sociation. I will attempt to integrate the strands of this discourse here, so that, although I will use the term 'civil society' which is the contemporary favourite, I wish to ensure that we understand what is at issue as broadly as possible.

A comment must be made too, about civil society as a contemporary favourite. While I might wish to be in the vanguard of such inquiry, this research instead, is research which can be readily situated in historical and temporal space. It is of its time rather than ahead of its time. "The State and Civil Society", "Power and Movement", the "Reconceptualization of the Public Sphere", "The Fall of Public Man", "The Return of the Actor", "Beyond Self-Interest" and "Beyond Economic Man" are all publications of the last several years and each of these and many others explore topics related to this, from a philosophical or 'deconstructionist' perspective. Thus, these current inquiries take a significantly different form from the 'relationship counting' inquiries about community of even a decade ago. Whether this interest and its changed form is, as some claim, evidence of the shift from an industrial to a post-industrial or late-industrial state, or whether (and perhaps not independent of the former) this interest comes from the liberation of a post-modern inquiry, cannot yet (if ever) be known. The point here is to acknowledge that the interest is new or perhaps newly intense.

**Mediating Structures**

Civil society is, in a sense, the inclusive ground of 'community' or sociation, revealing not only individual social relations but also collective relations of two kinds, those ordered to meeting individual and communal needs and those oriented to social change. A feature of the growing literature that focuses on the concept of civil society concerns the extent to which we are exploring a new and growing phenomena, a new "product" of a post industrial age, or whether, at least in part, its increased visibility results from a feminist and post modern
deconstruction that enables us to see beyond the hegemony of capitalist economic production. While this review of the literature demonstrates the use of the term over several hundred years, it remains possible that the term is being applied to a sector or realm that is new or at such a scale to warrant that it be seen as a new feature of the modern social order. Whether it is or is not a 'new' phenomena, 'civil society' provides a context and defining parameters for the study of "relationships which go beyond the purely familial and yet are not of the state" (Tester 1992:8) which I would suggest might be simply described as the relations of 'community'. My belief is that these relations are not 'private', although they are as Tester suggests, about 'private man acting freely', but their impact or consequence extends beyond the private, they are, what Berger and Neuhaus (1996) refer to as "mediating structures". These impacts are of two types: an action may seek to directly impact on the state or marketplace. Examples come readily to mind, most often in the form of social movements, to stop a building or obtain a public good or service, perhaps a labour strike or public protest. These are actions originating in civil society that seek to influence or achieve some end, the enfranchising of a right, or a permission or agreement from the other spheres. The second type of impact is less obviously beyond the scope of the private. We must consider what happens when people meet their needs outside of the state and the marketplace, experience both the defining of a need, collectivizing it with attendant modifications and compromise, and through some collective process meet the expressed need or solve the identified problem. These processes validate and reinforce human competence and capacity, reinforce the value and possibility of associational life. Through these experiences, people are reinforced as 'actors', as having the power of agency. Berger and Neuhaus refer to this as empowerment, which they describe as an antidote to "a feeling of powerlessness in the face of institutions controlled by those whom we don't know, and whose values we often don't share.... The mediating structures under discussion here are the principal expressions of the real values and real needs of people in our society. They are, for the most part, the people-sized institutions" (1996:164). Boyte, (1980) describes these as the "embryo of an alternative future ... found in the stirrings of citizen action: a demand that power and resources be transferred to human communities coupled with a vision of government as civic meeting ground" (pg.190). Touraine (1988) suggests that these
mediating structures have two possibilities: "They can close themselves off in a form of marginality or, on the contrary, find themselves propelled to violent confrontation with the dominant order" (p.138). While this citation requires a more detailed context, I offer it here briefly to inquire as to its accuracy. If these mediating structures do not directly confront the dominant order, are they therefore only marginal? Or, is it possible that through these mediating structures, empowering processes and alternative spaces are created which set in place processes for broader social change?

Hegel, Kant, Gramsci and Marx were critical in naming the Aristotelian concept of civil society as relevant to the study of the structures of modernity. I have relied on the work of Tester, Seligman, and Cohen and Arato which has helped to situate the concept historically and to raise to view, issues of its importance vis-a-vis our current political and social structure. The works of Hannah Arendt, Hansen, Illich, Lasch, Pateman, and Foucault have all contributed to our clarity on the contemporary utility of the conceptual realm of civil society. Even more specifically, I now wish to consider the work of Gaughan and Ferman, Hoyman, Quarter, Van Til, Wolch, and Weiss who all argue the very real and growing presence of the sphere of civil society. The discussion thus moves from a quite abstract consideration of civil society to one which is more focused and specific. What are the activities which occur in the sphere, what are their unifying themes, and how do they relate to the state and the marketplace? How extensive or important is this sphere of activity, what ‘social’ work does it do? I have established the conceptual importance of a ‘social’ realm by arguing an arena of human endeavour not accounted for by the private/public or state/marketplace explanations of our social order - the non-monetised interchanges of civil society. I have further argued, building on the work of Simmel, Arendt (1958), and Hansen (1987) that the formal economic system should be subsumed under this social sphere. Somewhat artificially, the private realm, which includes the family or household, has been separated from these broader social interchanges of the social realm. The public sphere is also assumed to be analytically distinct. In actuality, these interactions occur along a continuum with some life practices forming a middle and not easily categorized ‘ground’ between and among the spheres. As Habermas argues with respect to the public/private, all
of these life practices are relational, as are the notional spheres that they occupy. Each is shaped by its relations and the interrelations and activities of the other. In this next section I will identify and discuss a number of these important interrelationships.

The Relations of Civil Society to the Other Spheres
The relations of 'civil society', not surprisingly can be seen to relate very closely to some forms of interchange usually associated with the economic marketplace. There is a significant literature on the informal economy, which includes some of the same relationships, or kinds of 'sociation' that I (and others) include in civil society. Like the distinction between the relations of the household and those of civil society the informal economy requires a similar artificial dissecting of what is a continuum of relations. A useful distinction between civil society and the marketplace is whether the interchanges involve an expectation of reciprocity.

The most common descriptions of the informal economy identify four components: the irregular, the household, the illegal and the communal or social economy (Hoyman, 1987). These activities occupy a grey area that conceptually straddles both civil society and the formal economic system and their inclusion within one sphere or the other is dependent on the specific type of activity, the way it is remunerated and it relation to, or role vis-a-vis the formal economic system. A better understanding of the role of these activities is required and this too is enabled by the creation of appropriate and distinct constructions which enable their juxtaposition and the analysis of their interrelationships.

To describe these elements further, the irregular economy includes work remunerated in cash or other tangible means but not reported. This is work done "under the table" or "off the books". As we will discuss in greater detail, theory suggests that this sector of the economy expands in an economic downturn as people are forced out of the economic marketplace and turn to work which is "off the books". While these activities are not counted as part of the formal economic system, neither do they fit within civil society which includes interactions which are non-monetised.

The household economy, or the family, which we have already discussed, includes work
done by family members for themselves. As women have entered the workforce more of these activities have shifted into both the formal and irregular economies. Given my focus on trying to establish constructs which accurately account for how people meet needs, the family or household is an important source of exchange but one that I locate in the ‘private’ rather than the ‘social’ realm.

The illegal economy includes earnings that derive from illegal activities. It does not include legal work on which no taxes are paid or that done by immigrants who are not allowed legally to work. This sector of the informal economy is not relevant to the present study except for there being, in common with other sectors, a relationship neither monocausal nor linear, between its scope and the state.

The fourth and final component of the informal economy is the communal or social economy. Slightly more difficult to delineate, it is a primary area of interest. The activities of this sector include all of the supportive roles and undertakings, outside of the household that, people offer each other. Things such as car pools, exchanging babysitting services, loans to friends, mowing a neighbour’s lawn, lending household tools or supplies or supporting a bereaved friend are all part of the social economy. The distinction made between this sector and the irregular economy is that the work done in the latter is remunerated by cash. In the communal economy an activity may be remunerated through an exchange or the vague promise of future reciprocity but it does not involve cash payment. For ‘informal economy’ theorists, the ‘social’ or communal economy refers to what I have characterized as civil society, although, because of the nature of their interest they have focused primarily on the instrumental aspects of these interchanges.

In attempting to comprehend the magnitude and import of the informal economy, and particularly its social or communal component, Gaughan and Ferman suggest:

the informal economy might be understood as containing the very foundation of other economic activity and as necessary to the functioning of any social arrangement. In its most pervasive social component, the informal economy
comprises the supportive and sustaining functions of the personal sphere, without which all public activity - whether economic or political, intellectual or artistic - could not take place (Gaughan and Ferman 1987:25).

Human interchange and activity have always been organized through "the relationships of reproduction, kinship and community" (Redclift, Nanneke and Mingione, 1985:5). The location of civil society and the marketplace in a social sphere attempts to acknowledge their relationality. Even more broadly, civil society waxes and wanes in response to complex internal and external factors and appears to exist across class, state, income and ideological lines. Its presence varies across time and space. The term may be experiencing a revitalized interest, but the questions raised by this discussion are not new.

Continuing the discussion of the relationality of the activities of civil society requires a contextualizing discussion about the nature of the state and its relation to the means of production. It is necessary to recognize the interests of both marketplace and state in the current period of globalization, economic restructuring, structural and sustained high unemployment, trade-barrier reduction and the impact of these on demands for rationalizing the programs of the welfare state and addressing the fiscal crisis of the state. Weiss (1987) demonstrates the state's role in legitimating some types of work in and out of the formal economic sector in ways that are in apparent accord with the interests of industry.

I have excluded waged or monetised exchanges from my definition of civil society. As previously mentioned, many of these purely economic transactions straddle the formal economic sphere, distanced from it only by state fiat or the interests of industry (eg. home work in the textile industry). There are however, a range of activities occurring within the irregular economy that are not congruent with the marketplace of formal economics and have more to do with social networks and a modified form of self provisioning. These activities are probably part of civil society.

Some authors claim that the presence of an irregular economy is essentially regulated by the
state according to the needs and interests of the formal economy. The extent to which this claim is accurate is the justification for its exclusion from civil society. There are competing claims that suggest that at least some irregular economic activity is a 'for cash' variant of subsistence provisioning and is much more closely related to associational life. These claims are discussed further.

There are a number of marxist or neo Marxist explanations of what 'causes' civil society in a capitalist context. These are important enough to be articulated individually. My goal is not to refute them but to suggest that we must look beyond them. Civil society has emerged or exists across capitalist/communist divides, in democratic and totalitarian states. While the nature of the state and the social structure are related, the relationship is neither unitary or monocausal. An examination of some of the theory related to the emergence of civil society follows.

One explanation of the growth of civil society relates it to the ability of the formal economic system to provide employment. The informal economy is a labour force buffer, absorbing workers no longer required for waged employment. Workers are kept available and often retain, through their participation in the irregular economy, high skill levels, for their recall to formal paid employment when the marketplace demands it. In a somewhat oversimplified argument, Hoym (1987) provides numerous examples of government policy which limit the likelihood of female labour force participation, or support "home-work", or with the stroke of a pen, exile work of some kind from the formal to the informal sectors.

In addition to the theory of the informal economy as a buffer are two related theories. "The two main factors that create an underground economy are taxes and restrictions, and either is sufficient alone to bring about an underground economy" (Tanzi, as cited in Weiss, 1987:216). Weiss dismisses this explanation with a review of 17 OECD countries and their levels of taxation and, as an indicator of "restrictions", the proportion of public administrators in the workforce. Findings did not bear out any such correlation and Weiss concludes that "to have any credibility [this theory] should at least be able to predict the
polar extremes along the size continuum, represented by Italy and Sweden. Instead its projections are entirely contradicted by all the evidence on the size of their shadow economies" (1987:218).

A more sophisticated theory correlates civil society growth with the recession, unemployment and economic restructuring currently occurring in most western capitalist countries. Although an underground economy provides opportunities for capital’s quest for labour flexibility, and while high unemployment undoubtedly drives some people into "subsistence", Weiss (1987) critiques this explanation as overly simplistic. She suggests that the resources and structures of the state and social structure must also be considered as factors determining informal economic growth in complex combination with ‘pure’ economic and market forces.

Gerry (1985) and Pahl and Wallace (1985) suggest that recent state strategies including privatization and ideological approaches to strengthening families and communities are political responses to deindustrialization. These measures in effect shift the burden of care from the state to the individual/family and/or community under the guise of supporting associational life and the activities of civil society. There are numerous examples of governments initiating programs and strategies to "strengthen communities" at the very time when the state faces an unprecedented demand for service in an economic climate of declining revenue and a clamour for tax reduction. The state clearly plays a role with respect to its varied support for associational life and the extent to which informal economic activity is supported or constrained. As will be discussed later, the state was an important source of support for many of the groups that organized during the period of urban reform in Toronto. Federal funding and later municipal programs, directly sustained some of the groups that were strongly associated with reform.

The importance of cultural traditions and patterns of production, labour market participation and self-provisioning must also be acknowledged as factors influencing the strength of these ‘shadow realms’. And these traditions, as a result of globalization and tremendous changes in immigration and settlement patterns and assimilation standards mean that such cultural
variations are no longer easily relegated to particular regions. Subsistence or self-provisioning, for example, has always been much closer to the forefront in the countries of southeast Asia and Latin America. As immigration to Canada from these countries increases, so change some of our cultural norms and the strong, primarily Anglo heritage that has dominated the clearer distinctions between work and not-work in our communities. Accompanying these changes are new and competing cultural models and norms of labour force participation and micro level production not unlike the cottage industries by which industrialization first took hold in western Europe. These shifting patterns are likely only 'real' in large urban centres in Canada, in which the density of new immigrants is sufficiently high to enable non-mainstream social networks. Nonetheless, at least in these centres, there are 'real' changes which at the very least support the possibilities of an emergent realm or the expansion of a marginal one.

In summary, we know that "the informal economy reinforces the strong division of roles and the inferior status of women" (Hoyman, 1987:77). And we know that a relationship exists between the state and social structure and the role and function of the informal economy. As Weiss states "to omit government as an actor from analyses of the informal economy is an obvious and unfortunate omission" (1987:xx). We also know that the relationships between the state, the marketplace, the family and civil society are complex and multidimensional. This brief review is in part, congruent with a Marxist analysis that sees the state supporting legitimization or accumulation functions on behalf of the capitalist economy. Thus, the lack of accounting for a huge range of human endeavour including the activities of civil society and some specific types of monetised exchanges is consistent with the hegemonic values of the formal economy and with what Illich describes as the "war against subsistence" (1981:9). There are a range of activities occurring within the irregular economy and it is not possible to suggest that these activities are, in sum, either associational activities, fully part of civil society or that they represent an extension of formal economic activity subject to the needs and interests of the state and formal economy. The irregular economy is a construction which, in Venn diagram form, crosses into formal, economic and associational life. The irregular economy cuts across the spheres which I have represented. It is a categorization of
a different type but one which reveals two things of importance to this study. One of its subsets, the communal economy appears to be a categorical equivalent to civil society. Secondly, the permeability and relationality of all spheres of activity is readily demonstrated among the subsets of the irregular economy. This discussion reveals how easily the life practice of one realm or sphere might be transposed into that of an other sphere by particular needs and demands, restrictions and regulations. This serves as a reminder that in creating notional spheres of activity we must not come to see them as bunkers or silos.

The relations among the spheres might be characterized as dynamic linkages in which there is a hierarchy of breadth of sociation. Michelson (1996) suggests the following configuration (Figure 3), which adds to the present understanding and focuses particularly on the relationality of the sphere. This is not intended to supplant the previous conceptualization but to illustrate another point. Each so-called sphere of activity or life practice exists along a continuum by which it joins or abuts others and each sphere and the activities occurring within it impact differentially on the other spheres. In contemporary western society, the marketplace has become the dominant sphere asserting its demands and claims perhaps more successfully than each other realm, but not to the exclusion of the others as social actors. Further as previously discussed, all such social action or activity occurs as a function of different levels of human sociation. This diagram illustrates how such individual and multiple 'sociations' are the 'building blocks' of all of the activities in all realm.

The Roles of Women

The permeability of these spheres should perhaps not be overemphasized, or perhaps it is the particularity and specificity of this 'permeability' which is revealed when considering the roles of women. Women may 'pass' easily between the private and civil society, but not so easily into the public sphere or some parts of the marketplace. In fact, the role of women in the informal economy might be considered an extension of women's role in the private realm. While this notion at first seems to conflict with Illich's belief that women's domestic role was a creation of classical economics and the needs of capital, it might be argued that
Figure 3

Hierarchy of the Organization of Life Practices
women remained in the private sphere without completely abandoning 'subsistence' as their wage labour mates were required to do. As some earlier citations revealed, women have maintained responsibility for linking some aspects of 'private' life to other aspects of social life. Cooking, sewing, child care and a range of other domestic 'production' are often translated into economic production through the entry of women into the informal economy. While women have the linkage roles of connecting family to civil society and the informal economy, men have assumed what are considered more primary roles, connecting family with state and marketplace.

If civil society is an "emergent condition" (Tester, 1992:14), it seems that the roles of women were not duly considered in making such a claim. Women, have since subsistence times, continued to relate the life practices and needs of their families to the larger community. As Pateman (1992) argues, the position of women was not considered in making the 'contracts' that forged the state. It follows that there is likely a relationship between the 'occupiers' of the realm and its considered societal importance. In reviewing the extent to which civil society has been long with us, we must also consider our differing cultural and ethno-racial traditions and heritage and perhaps even something about "inherent human values" and the "social solidarity which comes from a certain number of states of conscience which are common to all the members of the same society" (Weber, 1968). For hundreds of years prior to industrialization and the "reification of labouring" there were no distinctions made between social and economic exchange. A range of varied exchanges or interchanges were required to meet human needs. It is not likely that the nature of human exchange has changed but rather that the hegemony of capitalist economics has caused us to overlook or discount interchanges that occur outside of the marketplace. Part of the explanation for the existence, everywhere, of some form of civil society, informal economy, and community is the relational nature of people. Associational and non-commodified life continue to be important in meeting human needs even while conceptually, they are ignored. It is also important to note the varied associational and individual relations that civil society has as its base, which are often not explicitly acknowledged as being within the realm.
In the following section of this chapter, I will describe the activities and behaviours which I include as elements of civil society, the realm of non-monetised interchange. This level of understanding is necessary for two reasons. I am claiming that non-monetised interchange, although unacknowledged and legitimated, has remained important. Therefore, we must explore what it is, the extensiveness of this activity. Secondly, the case study examines expressions of human activity or life practices that originate in civil society. I believe that social movements, voluntary action, all of civil society develop and build from certain kinds of non-monetised interchange. Thus, the following is both a broad description of the kinds of such interchanges common to our society, which are also the building blocks of the more formalized interchanges with which we usually characterize civil society.

The Elements of Civil Society

I suggest that the elements of civil society are as follows:

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<tr>
<th>Individual Sociation</th>
<th>Collective Sociation</th>
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<tr>
<td>social networks</td>
<td>informal collectivities</td>
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<td>social support</td>
<td>the voluntary sector</td>
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<td>social movements</td>
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The forms of individual sociation are less acknowledged as ‘socially’ important because their instrumental role as the building blocks of collective sociation is not apparent. Individual sociation is thus privatized - like family life, it is ‘out there’ and probably sustaining but assumed to be of marginal sociological importance.

Civil society is usually described as including the voluntary sector and social movements (Cohen and Arato, 1992). It is at this level of the organization or formation of groups and associations, that individuals in their ‘private’ capacities intersect with the spheres of state or marketplace. The nature of the intersection is usually by way of the protests or claims-making associated with social movements (Cohen and Arato, 1992) or the creation of alternate spaces for production associated with the communal economy (Gaughan and Ferman, 1987) or the quasi-public provision of services (Wolch, 1989) with which much of the voluntary sector is associated. These are the dominant elements of civil society and
represent non-monetised interchange in its associational forms, essentially in its formalized configuration. Because this thesis has a broad interest in non-monetised interchange, I am claiming a fuller definition of civil society. This definition is not inconsistent with what I have just described, however it is more encompassing of all non-monetised interchange. My belief is that these more formalized elements of civil society begin as informal non-monetised interchanges. Depending on their genesis and the goals with which they are associated, they sometimes formalize but often do not. And, because they are not formalized, another set of western values - liking things which can be seen and measured - further devalues sets of interactions that are not formally organized and structured and of a non-monetised nature, except those within the family. Civil society is often considered to include formalized or quasi-formal organizations. I wish to explore the elements of non-monetised interchange that build to ultimately constitute the social movements and voluntary organizations that are widely seen to represent the sphere of action that we define as civil society.

The elements of this sphere are described by a number of terms which are in wide use. Quarter, (1992) depicts the sphere in economic terms - the ‘social economy’. It is often referred to as the ‘third sector’ (Van Til, 1988) - complementing those other two sectors that are the acknowledged ‘mainstays’ of western capitalist society - the state and the marketplace. The ‘voluntary’ sector also relates this sphere of activity to the economic sector by contrasting its ‘work’ as unpaid or voluntary in comparison with the paid labour of the marketplace. ‘Civil society’ as an equivalent phrase has a slightly different meaning although it describes the same sphere of activity. While the just described terms contrast the activities with ‘work’ or paid employment, civil society is intended to invoke and impart other meanings. It harkens back to the Aristotelian polity - it is meant to convey a realm in which people are acting freely12. Thus ‘civil society’ contrasts not only with the demands and requirements of paid employment but also with the current day ‘public’ sphere which, as it is conceived, has shifted from its Aristotelian heritage to invoke surveillance and intrusion rather than freedom. The ‘public’ is seen or represented as the realm of the bureaucratic apparatus of the state with its extensive and intrusive controls over freedom13. And it is this view of the ‘public’ that is perhaps most directly related to a resurgence of interest in ‘civil
society’ viewed as a ‘project’\textsuperscript{14}. This perspective is related to a description of this sector that emphasizes social movements and the voluntary sector. Thus, the combined emphasis is on voluntary action and the possibilities for social discourse and social change.

The descriptions and goals of classifying and categorizing informal economic activity and the distinguishing of a ‘communal economy’ are similar to those that I have reported for civil society:

To a large extent, the enormous amount of attention to informal economies in recent years is an effort to undermine or weaken the hegemonic role of mainstream economic thinking, which is largely neoclassical in its bases. Attention to informal economies reconnects economics to society, to concrete individuals in specific settings trying out actions to improve their lives. The informal economic viewpoint threatens the neoclassical perspective that universally useful concepts that divorce economic functioning from social structures are adequate in analysing activities that are termed economic.

\textbf{Community}

The following discussion includes a review of the issues in the study of ‘community’, a term used so often to mean such radically different things that it has lost much utility. For our purposes ‘community’ will be used most often to talk of human sociation, not in the sense of an ‘ideal type’ but of the real and varied nature of the social connections between human beings. As theoretical specification\textsuperscript{15} has shown, ‘community’ includes but is not limited to, geographic neighbourhood. ‘Community’ refers here to existent and potential human relations.

As I have indicated, questions about the evolving nature of ‘sociation’ for a long time focused on whether ‘community’ continued to exist. I suggest that this debate, although differently focused was of the same substance as the more contemporary inquiries about the communal economy or civil society. Although the latter are oriented to exposing the possibility and/or promise of social change, both inquire about how non-monetised relations are holding on in a monetised, commodified world. It is for this reason that I propose to survey, at least briefly, non-monetised interchange as it exists at various individual and
collective levels and the key literature for each, as well as a small body of literature that attempts linkages similar to those proposed. I will begin with a review of some of the early theory about the modern urban world, particularly how the dual structures of modernity and urbanity were to affect human relations.

The literature begins with the early development of sociology and the speculation by Weber, Tonnies, and Simmel on the effect of the modern industrial urban form on the nature of 'man's' social relations. In fact, the issues raised related more to the effects of capitalist industrialization, with urbanization seen as an effect thereof, rather than a deterministic force in changing social relations. This earliest sociology was revisited by Robert Park and Louis Wirth, early American sociologists of the Chicago school, who were the forerunners of modern urban sociology. Some of the subtlety and complexity of the earlier view was lost in its flight over the Atlantic. The American work was narrowly focused on how modern urban life was responsible for the disappearance of community. The effects of industrialization were conflated with urbanization as the setting, particularly in America, for industrialization. Thus, the more subtle inquiry about the effects of the division of labour and industrialization on human sociation was translated by some early American sociologists as the effect of urban life on human social relations. There ensued great debates about urban/rural differences and a consequent inquiry about the deterministic effect of the urban form and its power to shape increasingly anomie social relations.

Although first clearly articulated by Park (1925) and Wirth (1938), the effect of urban mass society is epitomized by William Kornhauser (1959) who described individuals as isolated "atoms" in a mass society, unconnected and uncaring. While Greer (1958) and others pointed to evidence of continuing personal social relations, Kornhauser claimed that the very functions of personal relations had been altered and eroded by mass society, supplanted by mass communication, non-local social organization, and large-scale industry and were no longer supported by the institutional framework of the society. The studies by Wirth and Park remain current as theoretical postulates critiqued and defended in contemporary North American sociology in a debate focused on whether community has been 'lost' as Park and
Wirth claimed, 'saved' as Gans (1962) and others argued or 'liberated' from the need to be geographically bound as Wellman postulated.

The political and social activism of the 60's and early 70's combined with a revived interest and commitment to the inner city and citizen movements provided the context for the 'saved' argument. Its early proponents (Jacobs, 1961; Gans, 1962, 1967; Greer, 1962, 1972) countered both theoretically and empirically that community continued to exist, that urban/rural distinctions were not significant in effecting the loss of community. They argued that changes in social forms and settings were not enough to overcome human gregariousness. Community continued to provide social and instrumental supports, acting as a "buffer against large-scale forces, filling gaps in contemporary social systems ... and providing a secure base from which residents could engage the outside world" (Wellman, et. al in Wellman and Berkowitz, 1988:134). Have industrial bureaucratic urban forms led to attenuated ties? This is the question asked in Barry Wellman's 1979 "The Community Question". The intuitive answer is "no". But, something has clearly been altered by the present urban form, something is different than our notions (which may be inaccurate romanticizing) of small town or rural life of a century ago. It seems likely that community must have changed from that of preindustrial rural or village life. It is clear that the effects of mass society, of complex urban life with its time pressures, commuting, mass merchandising and anonymity have affected the way we relate to one another. However, our discussion of the development of modern industrial capitalism and the shift from subsistence has probably already said all that is necessary about the real sources of this change. All of human interchange has been conflated with monetised exchange and Arendt (1958) and Hansen (1987) make strong, well substantiated claims about the reification of labouring and the marketplace, that are eroding the value attached to 'man's' activities within the public and social spheres. Nonetheless, this does not lead to support for Park's argument that social relations have been destroyed. They have suffered, in words best known in another context a "legitimation crisis" forcing different forms, perhaps marginalizing their impact on the social structure, but sociation, in the form of non-monetised human interchange has not gone away.
A desire to prove that community was alive and well, was also the agenda of those claiming "community saved". These advocates looked for and found the very kinds of communities said to have been "lost" - communities that were local and solidary. The very nature of community was assumed to bear close resemblance to its 18th century relative; community was a geographic unit, tightly knit, an "Urban Village".

As it seems likely that community would have been affected by industrialized urban forms so too does it seem likely that 'community' continues. The question raised by the "community liberated" argument is of course whether the form of community might have changed. The profound thing about a new research question is that it opens new worlds of knowledge. The question of "community" posed without geographic constraint yielded a new understanding of human social networks, comprised of local ties, kinship ties, relations with colleagues, other non-local connections or relationships (with those who may previously have been in any other group) and members of communities of interest. Community 'liberated' postulates a distinction between community and neighbourhood. Community is liberated from its spatial limitations. Whereas in smaller centres, community and neighbourhood may have been co-terminus, in large urban centres this was neither necessary or possible. Consequently, our communities may include neighbours but will also include others related to our associational interests - work, school, ethnicity, union membership, arts interests, and so on. A footnote is in order on the opening of new avenues of inquiry by asking about community liberated from geographical constraint. A recent paper by Wellman (1996) points to a reconsideration of the importance of neighbouring when contacts with neighbours are considered as "interactions" rather than "relationship". This subtle shifting of the question suggests again that neighbour relations are important for certain kinds of social supports.

To continue with questioning the impacts of the modern city on human social relations, or 'sociations', we must briefly consider Fischer's work on urban subcultures. The thesis is simple but important: in modern urban cities, there is a sufficient population 'mass', that people who do not conform to the dominant culture in any number of ways, might find others like themselves and thus be sustained in the city. This contrasts with the communality
and cohesiveness at least romantically associated with small-town life, the loss of which is often mourned in considering modern urban community. In fact, as almost anyone still living in such a close-knit community will attest, such ‘communality’ is also associated with imposed social values. Those who do not conform are pushed out - often physically - they feel uncomfortable and move - or they are shunned as community members. In the ‘big city’ there is more anonymity, more tolerance of diversity and those who represent diversity are supported by finding ‘community’ with others like themselves. Thus, cities support subcultures which are in turn fortified by their collective strength, represent themselves more visibly, become increasingly tolerated and accepted each element in turn strengthening the cycle. Thus, the city provides ‘space’ for diversity. Lefebvre (as cited in Harvey, 1973) adds to this point, suggesting that industrial society homogenizes (Durkheim’s mechanical solidarity) while urban society differentiates. Harvey comments that strong forces work toward cultural heterogeneity and territorial differentiation in the urban system, even while "exchange value has reduced everything to a common denominator,... other more subtle criteria have emerged to structure urban differentials" (1973:309). The significance of cities in supporting diversity will be discussed in our analysis of urban reform in Toronto.

The goal of the following two sections on individual and collective sociation is to scan the field of non-monetised human interchange and assess it, its strength, scope and impact and how each relates to the other spheres of human life practices.

**Individual Sociation**

Sociation, or the social relations of human beings, are by their very definition, not individual. They are, however, constructed and ordered for individual and for collective purposes. Although this distinction is not precise, I am using it as a structural device to explore, in as systematic a manner as possible, the full range of human interchange, individual and collective sociation. In this section, which is largely framed by a significant theoretical and empirical literature on social support and social networks, I will review the interchanges between individuals to explore what such relations directly offer and what capacity they have as a means of meeting human needs. A significant literature established
an empirical basis for claiming that personal relationships are a critical element in meeting human affective and instrumental needs. While not a surprising finding, it is a literature and field of inquiry almost entirely residual to mainstream discussions about human exchange. The first category, social support, effectively examines what is provided to the individual through the relations of non-monetised interchange. The second category of social networks more particularly examines how an individual's personal, non-monetised relations are structured and more broadly examines the kinds of support variably available from networks.

Social Support
This is the most primary of the concepts under review involving sociation or social relations between individuals. This is sociation at the micro level, the individual strands which make up the web. The concept of social support involves delineating, or accounting for, what resources individuals generally receive within the communal or societal realm of civil society.

The significant literature on social support defines it to include both the affective and instrumental supports that sustain each of us informally, provided through our "communities", "social support systems" or "networks" - our neighbours, friends, families and colleagues. Gottlieb and Selby, offer this definition: "social support refers to the processes of interaction in relationships and social structures that shore up coping, esteem, belonging and competence through actual or predictable exchanges of tangible or psychosocial resources" (1989:8). Thus, social support, as Gottlieb and Selby define it, is a useful measure of the contributions or impacts which derive from non-monetised interchanges outside of the immediate family. Well demonstrated in the literature on networks (Granovetter, 1983; Wellman and Hiscott, 1985), is their typical inclusion of a range of relationships that variably offer the resources identified in the definition above. Although we may intuitively acknowledge personal relationships as buttresses to our mental health the full impact of social support on health is only now being operationalized. The effect of research in this area has been to dispel myths including those suggesting that all personal relationships are supportive, and that family relationships are most supportive. A
literature emerges that reveals that very different kinds of supports are provided by different types of relationships (Granovetter, 1983). The narrower the individual's personal network the less likely that it will provide a full or adequate range of supports. As I will further explore, the range of needs met through such networks is extremely broad and include the defining, delineating, and aggregating of needs by which processes groups and organizations are formed and claims against other organizations and other spheres are advanced.

Social network analysis (which also permitted the exploration of the non-geographic "liberated" community) has been utilized to explore the differential social support provided within social networks. This includes Granovetter's work on the importance of weak ties (1973, 1982) which demonstrated that acquaintances (weak ties) were important in effective networks. Weak ties, rather than closer relationships with family and friends have also been found effective in providing a variety of instrumental supports such as finding a job. These ties provide structural links to other social and economic circles and, hence, provide different information. Larger networks as well are more structurally complex and have been found to be more supportive (Wellman 1990).

The varying support within networks is typified by Fischer's comment that "we typically have a good time with friends but turn to relatives in a crisis" (1982b:132). Friends have been found to provide less active support than parents and children but are as likely as siblings to provide support (Wellman, 1990:49). The proximity of neighbours and their possibility as providers of social support in a retrenching welfare state has given rise to the belief that we must "strengthen communities"19 and to the concerns expressed by those fearing "community lost". Neighbours have been particularly valued for their ability to give tangible aid - ranging from the borrowed cup of sugar, to house sitting, joint home repair or child minding. Wellman (1990) describes these ties as less voluntary and of greater importance for those describes as less mobile, including stay-at-home parents, the disabled, and others.

Although for Wellman the issue is mobility, it is likely that there is a much broader group that has no limitation of physical mobility but is economically less mobile and more socially
isolated. Popenoe (1985) comments on this in a larger context of expressing a concern almost identical to that expressed herein—that what he describes as "public subcultures" or social networks 'belong' effectively to the individual, without public legitimation, they are more features of private life than public. This point differs slightly but is quite central to this work. Popenoe adds the dimension of considering networks as private (which may be appropriate to some network ties more than others) but suggests that legitimation would aid in extending networks from the private to the public. Wellman's view that some people are less able to develop effective support networks is worth reconsidering in light of Popenoe's concern with the 'publicness' of networks. The more that resources in our society, including social ties, are only private, the more restricted their access. Popenoe echoes this concern and suggests that an individual without extended ties is "then forced to face life at the mercy of what has been called 'mass society'" (Popenoe, 1985:138). More particularly, I would suggest, these individuals likely face life at the mercy of bureaucratized, formalized society where their social connections are individually purchased or more frequently, because people in this 'group' are often poor, doled out by the state. Public or community life, neighbourhood life, often represents, to the extent that it endures, the most likely source of interchange for those who have limited networks and limited potential to establish them. For these reasons, neighbourhood remains important as an organizing unit and a resource in civil society, and is perhaps of even greater importance in a context of high structural unemployment. This perspective is at least conditionally supported by Wellman (1996) as he reassessed the contributions of neighbours.

The changing nature of labour force attachment may have enormous implications for the whole subject of civil society and the nature of social relationships. The extent to which those who are unemployed retain their social networks or whether their networks reduce to those typical of other 'stay at homes' is receiving increasing attention. The potential for support from local community is important in understanding how people meet their needs and the role of civil society therein. It is at the level of this 'localness' of community where the issues and concerns prompting urban reform in Toronto, were identified and from whence
a significant degree of social mobilization occurred. This issue of the importance of geographic community will be discussed further in the context of the case study.

Socially supportive ties enhance self-worth, self-esteem and social connectedness which in turn have been shown to have strong relationships with overall mental health (Weiss, 1974, 1987; Frydman, 1981; and Bell, LeRoy and Stephenson, 1982). There is a clear relationship between these findings and the possibilities of empowerment that I touched on in an earlier section of this thesis. One of the issues which defines powerlessness and atomization in the urban environment is a person's perception of their ability to meet their own needs. This view is consistent with Gottlieb and Selby's definition which is of course directed by their interest in the psycho-social - 'social support' can include tangible or instrumental activities but their assessment of social support includes the production of a psycho-social effect - feelings of improved competence, belonging etc. My interests and those of this research include, but are broader than, the psychic effects of network support. Do the interchanges outside of the marketplace and state play significant roles in enabling a family to have sufficient food, keep the kids in school, find a babysitter or a job?

Another related but parallel literature explores how human beings provision themselves. Most often this is examined from a perspective of the value and importance of human social relations but extends to other 'instrumental' supports as well. The literature in this area effectively begins in 1974 with the publications of important papers by Caplan, Cobb and Cassel. Gottlieb and Selby (1989) provide a concise history of the contextual factors which contributed to the interest of diverse disciplines in the phenomena of social support. Its growth as a field of inquiry, can be traced to a continuing devolution of "helping" back to community, an interest in non-institutional supports for the aged and mentally ill, as well as the current interest in 'empowering' local community. The literature ranges from extensive work in psychology, which attempts to delineate 'support' and inquires into its psycho-social and physical impacts particularly on certain disease states, to research that examines helping networks, the nature of social ties, and social role redefinitions.
Community participation, although externally oriented, is an important source of social support to those engaged in it. Opportunities for local, social, engagement contributes, for those who participate, to improved self-esteem and social attachment. Another aspect of Fischer's work on subcultures (1975, 1982) deals with the difficulty of tying the subculture to the existing moral order. Its potential size and anonymity within the metropolis is both a positive, creating new ideas and innovative expressions, and a negative, urban freedom and anonymity that permits destructive anti-social expression. Fischer cites three varieties of alienation often described in an urban environment: powerlessness, normlessness and social isolation (1976:237). There is evidence that community participation, in creating social attachment, helps to overcome alienation as Fischer describes it. Thus, participation in a social movement of whatever magnitude may have a dual benefit of effecting social change and in improving the attachment of those involved, to their community and society at large.

In commenting on community development initiatives, Schramm notes the importance of integrating the activities of individuals with these third-sector activities, such connection providing mutual support, an enhanced common purpose and better integration into a larger-community political economy (1987:159).

Friedmann, (1992) further argues that 'development' has been thoroughly and singly guided by mainstream economic doctrine and holds little promise for improving the lives of an excluded majority. He argues for the empowering potential of restoring initiative to individuals and communities. In a sense, Friedmann makes an argument and a claim for the value of all of the possibilities of civil society, both for the outcomes but as well for what people experience as a result of the process of engagement and action. This is a point of extreme importance to the argument made herein. Non-monetised interchanges at individual and collective, formal and informal levels remain highly significant for people because in a technological and commodified world, these are the relations and life practices that allow people to express both individuality and collectivity, relations that express freedom and difference or diversity. Such relations or life practices often serve directly to meet needs and cause people to feel valued and valuable as part of the process. Both of these effects are important.
Social Networks

Social network analysis, as the other component of this section, describes the method by which individuals construct their individual 'sociation', and the resources it provides. The identification of social networks as an analytic tool enables the exploration of both geographic and non-geographically bounded relationships and therefore reflects the theoretical discourse described above in the 'community question' debate. The theoretical development in this area has been closely tied to the evolution of environmental sociology and theory on the effect of modern urban life on individual and collective psychic and social well being. Modern 'man' was presumed to be "impersonal, superficial, transitory and segmental,... in a state of anomie or social void" (Wirth 1969:153). And obviously, if these are the conditions of modern 'man', then they would severely impact the ability for human interchange and negate the value of a discussion of non-monetised interchange as a way of meeting human needs.

As our general discussion of community reveals, the nature of the social relationships available to people are less constrained by geography as a result of transportation, communication and personal mobility. New opportunities have been afforded for people to create networks according to their own individual needs and interests (Kadushin, 1966; Fischer 1975, 1976; Wellman, 1979). These non-geographic communities are often referred to as 'communities of interest', reflecting their voluntary nature and basis in common interests, beliefs and/or activities rather deriving from physical proximity.

The community lost, saved and liberated arguments have been variously viewed as part of an evolutionary sequence of empirical social inquiry or each as 'true' descriptors of modern life. Wellman et. al. (1988) offer an other view, each as a model of obtaining resources with community "lost" exemplifying use of formal organizations, "saved" reflecting membership in densely knit solidary groups and "liberated" community offering selective use of specialized, diversified, sparsely knit networks. Viewed in this way, these become not alternate models but a way of recognizing the complexity and diversity of 'community' and the importance of it being variable in order to provide required resources to its members.
**Informal Collectivities**

People are always interacting with each other - and these actions take myriad forms. Small subgroups - whether a committee, task force or subgroup - come together at workplaces voluntarily and informally or at someone’s command. Small ads appear in newspapers looking for others to join in research projects and hockey games. The needs and interests that cause people to form a group range from identifying a problem and seeking others with a similar one, identifying a common threat or enemy, or the desire to pursue a common activity or vision. The processes by which such groups form have become more varied and complex. Two somewhat conflicting factors related to industrial urban society have affected the formation of groups. These are articulated by Fischer (1976) and include the increased difficulty, posed by the spread of cities and diminished local solidarity, of finding those with common interests. This difficulty is balanced however, by the possibility enabled by the diversity and density of urban life such that the most esoteric or marginal subgroup might be formed. These informal groups may form to meet their own needs and in this way are perhaps ‘closed off' in a form of marginality. Alternatively, such a subgroup or "subculture" might choose to interface with the other spheres of human activity, claiming acknowledgement and legitimacy or a support. An example of this and evidence of its transformative or social change potential might be the gay community, which in an informal way began to congregate in a particular downtown community. This was an informal and non-intentional collectivizing in its early stages. No one said ‘let's all live downtown and create our own space’ but a process began that was a demonstration of Fischer’s theory of subcultures. Over time the group established some formal elements but there was no explicit formalization. The marketplace accommodated with restaurants and bars, at first ‘tolerating’ gays and lesbians, then actively pursuing their business. Support organizations, a community centre, public and social spaces have developed which have strengthened and formalized ‘in space’ what has remained an informal collectivity. And rather than being either marginal or in violent confrontation as Touraine suggested were the possibilities, this informal collectivity has, I would suggest, served as a highly visible and symbolic expression of gay and lesbian rights and the legitimation of their life practices.
The gay/lesbian collectivity in downtown Toronto, is but one example of informal groups, not all of which have such a broad legitimizing effect. The meeting of their own needs does have a potential social impact though, as individuals have the experience of meeting with others outside of the marketplace and state, and meeting their own needs. By forming the mediating structures in which Berger and Neuhaus express such hope, they have the 'possibility' of feeling empowered. I suggest this is only a 'possibility' - failures and the insignificance of many such activities should temper transformative zeal. The firsthand experience of groups organizing together is a first condition for the organizing of the more formal structures of civil society, social movements and voluntary organizations. As we will discuss in the context of urban reform, even the experience of acting collectively, of having a collective history acts as a 'shaper' of future beliefs in the value of collective enterprise.

The Voluntary Sector

A huge range of activities occur within the voluntary sector, which includes extensive health, social, arts and cultural, communal, educational, spiritual and quasi political services and activities (James and Rose-Ackerman, 1986) managed by incorporated, private, not-for-profit organizations or other formally constituted bodies. This distinguishes these activities from those of informal collectivities that may come together on one or repeated occasions but without a formal organizing structure. Social movements must too, be distinguished. Formalized voluntary organizations are sometimes established to organize for a specific social change but more often they act as organizers and facilitators of social movements. Voluntary organizations will lend staff, space, an institutional structure and sometimes influence, to the fight for a particular social change or more generally for improved social equity. Social movements are generally more broadly constituted than a single or even several voluntary organizations; they span informal and formal collectivities. Quarter, (1992) in defining the parameters of the voluntary sector, distinguishes four categories of organizations: co-operatives, mutual insurers, non-profit corporations and unincorporated associations (both formally constituted and informal). I am considering the voluntary sector to include Quarter's first three organizational sub-types however, I am excluding social
movements in order to consider them separately. I include formally constituted but unincorporated associations in this section.

For all of the reasons previously recounted, the scope or scale of this sector and the relative importance or contribution of those activities contained within it, are difficult to assess. American estimates place the value of volunteer labour\(^\text{20}\) in these enterprises at over $55 billion per year. Other estimates suggest that it accounts for 6 per cent of the measured American economy (Van Til, 1988:3). Quarter estimates there to be at least 175,000 such organizations in Canada. He makes a critical point about such estimates and our ability to assess the contribution of these types of associations.

Inevitably, if organizations are part of the economy, financial statistics are indicators of their importance. However, as the term "social economy" implies, the social value of an organization stands alongside and indeed precedes its economic import. Organizations of the social economy touch some of the most important aspects of our lives - higher education, recreation, religion, health care, culture.

Thus, the hegemony of market economics and our social constructions are again at work. We look for economic indicators as a way of assessing the importance of the sector, denying the very purposes for which it was created: the expression and fulfilment of social and communal human needs. A deconstructionist view at least recognizes the trap associated with economizing the non-economic; human sociation requires validation on its own, rather than economic, terms. Such non-economic measures are not readily available and nor are they likely to be developed by a sector that always faces more demand than it might satisfy and which increasingly must justify its existence in economic terms as business plans and the identification of profit centres are demanded of non-profit organizations by granting organizations and government funders. Real measures of the significance of the sector might include the total number of ‘hits’ to use a term by which sites on the internet record usage or visitation. The total number of ‘interchanges’ occurring within an organization or movement would be less precise than ‘number of needs met’ but would give weight to the value of the interaction rather than a measure based solely on the resolution of expressed and

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likely instrumental needs. Without proceeding further to try to capture the size of the sector, I note that important Canadian work in this area has been done by Quarter (1992), and Ross and Shillington (1990a and 1990b).

I will continue to describe the importance of the sector. In addition to wide ranging orientations and activities, the voluntary sector is ascribed varying roles. Bruyn (1987) suggests the voluntary sector as a countervailing force comprised of organizations oriented to democratize, and localize control over land, labour and capital, key dimensions defined by Karl Polyani (as cited in Bruyn, 1987) as critical to establishing a new social foundation for the economy. Bruyn further suggests that voluntary sector activity in each of these areas creates the possibility of real, democratizing community control.

Similarly, Van Til (1988) ascribes to the sector influence or positive contributions in building community and enhancing co-operation between people, assuring democracy, contributing to social justice and solving social problems. He also cites Tocqueville, suggesting that one of the roles played by this sector is "building habits of the heart" (1988:13). Tocqueville theorized that "feelings and opinions are recruited, the heart is enlarged, and the human mind is developed only by the reciprocal influence of men upon one another. I have shown that these influences are almost null in democratic countries; they must therefore be artificially created, and this can only be accomplished by associations" (as cited in Van Til, 1988:13). In other words, community becomes a behavioural concept; the individualism of "American" life must be resisted or its effects moderated through voluntary association which creates human connectedness. As a final note on the role of voluntary association, to prevent our waxing too poetically about its virtues, Cornuelle reminds us that "sometimes independent [voluntary] action shows itself in ugly, perverse ways, as when the Klu Klux Klan organizes a vigilante force..." (as cited in Van Til 1988:17).

The voluntary sector derives from all of the forces I have previously reviewed in trying to understand the origins of our current social order. In other words, its presence is often supported by both the state and the marketplace. The interests of both dominant spheres of
human activity are readily identifiable in the establishment and maintenance of an organized sphere of human association. The maintenance of a happier, more effective work force at less cost to the state reflects the most obvious marketplace and public (state) interest. To acknowledge those, however, is not to suggest that the voluntary sector is limited by these interests, to serving only as a force for social order and control. It may serve these interests and as well have real empowering potential. The sector meets real human needs and serves as significant space in which divergent views gather support. Wolch summarizes: "the behavioural latitude of many voluntary groups is constrained by structural political economic forces, the determination and persistence of individuals pursuing voluntary initiatives can also alter these constraints" (1989:218).

Social Movements
Much has already been suggested about social movements which are the most acknowledged and visible if not the most important element of civil society. Charles Tilly describes preindustrial forms of collective sociation as local and reactive. They usually involved a geographically based group attempting to restore some newly abrogated privilege. Often, these appeals were not made directly by the citizenry but relied on a local patron. Contrast this with the social movements of today. An ever expanding list of positive rights are accorded to diverse and non-geographic collectivities, including demands to obligate the state for the protection of diverse interests and basic provisions for the sustenance of life.

Our task is to briefly describe the evolution of these movements. More specific to understanding the role and scope of civil society in meeting human needs, I will briefly examine the effect of social movements as a source of social change and of social protection (particularly for groups who may not receive the sanction and support of the state or dominant economic sphere). What needs get met and for whom as a result of contemporary social movements?

Tilly (1975, 1978) has suggested that the evolution of the modern social movement was related to the organizational form and increased power of the modern nation state. Relatedly,
Tilly acknowledges that large scale structural change also affects collective action (1975:6). Specifically included in structural change are economic transformation, urbanization and state making. As Tilly correlates the establishment of the modern social movement with the rise of the modern nation state, so to does a relationship appear to exist between the emergence of "new" social movements and the current structural transformation of western capitalism.

A brief scan of the social movement literature identifies many different definitions, distinctions and categories. Among these, Zald (1985) identifies conscience versus beneficiary constituencies as classifications helpful to understanding contemporary social movements. The former includes the early feminist movement and the labour movement, while examples of the latter are the temperance and anti-poverty movements. He acknowledges that to predict the orientation of the social movement sector requires a juxtaposition of issues perceived to be actionable in the political system with emerging social cleavage lines of class, race, age, sex, and culture. This perspective on social movements and their possibilities appears unreasonably constrained by the notion that they might only respond to that which is "actionable" in the political system. It is, in part, this ground that separates the resource mobilization theorists from those with another view of "new social movements". And it is this ground that moves the discussion of social movements into the more complex possibilities of civil society. Before proceeding to that discussion there are other elements of the social movement discourse that must first be introduced.

Whether the nature of the changes in the industrialized West are transition from the modern to the postmodern is a matter of debate. That the nature of collective action has changed is widely agreed on, even by those proposing competing theoretical arguments. It is not the goal of this discussion to engage in the debate between the resource mobilization theorists (RMT) or those promoting "new social movements" (NSM). These debates are well summarized (Cohen, 1985; Cohen and Arato, 1992; Carroll, 1992). Offe (1985:842) moves beyond RMT and NSM as competing discourses to suggest two contrasting explanatory perspectives. The "issueness" of an issue emerges as the joint effect of values and facts, interests and events, subjective and objective factors. Accordingly, the rise of new issues can
be explained by placing emphasis upon either subjective or objective factors. Subjective analyses give weight to changes in the values and motivations of actors while objective explanations suggest that issues arise from changed or changing conditions. A fully explanatory model must allow for the interaction of both actors and events. Offe suggests that "for the most part it has been assumed that new forms of action reflect 'rising demands' on the part of actors, as opposed to a rising urgency to defend existing needs" (1985:843).

Offe suggests that there are three interrelated aspects of advanced capitalist industrial societies that together have affected people sufficiently that they have come to "defend existing needs" through new social movements. These include: (1) a change in the nature of the negative effects of our economic and political institutions beyond their previously assumed effect by class; (2) an expansion of the realm of rational and explicit social control so that almost no sphere of life remains beyond it; and (3) our political and economic institutions have lost any capacity to be self correcting. These three issues build on work also done by others, some of which were previously referred to, including Foucault's work on surveillance; they are however effectively summarized (Offe, 1985:844-845).

Offe posits that there are occurring structural 'events' that are being interpreted and responded to by 'actors' and that the organized reactions to these events are our current social movements. This explanation fits with Tilly's observation of collective action in an earlier time. "The reorganization of everyday life transformed the character of conflict [including] the reshaping of solidarities" (Tilly, Tilly and Tilly, 1975:86). What is perhaps most significant about the changes in the collective action of the "new social movements" is this very reshaping of solidarities. New constituencies have been formed along ethnic and personal identity lines. Offe suggests that these issues of "identity and autonomy" supersede those of the "old" political paradigm which centred on the distribution of income and security.

These "new solidarities" include a base from the new middle class "shot through with elements coming from two other regions of the social structure, namely decomm...
'peripheral' groups on the one side and elements of the 'old' often rural middle class on the other" (Offe, 1985:856). The new middle class is characterized as well educated and economically secure often with public sector or social service employment (Offe, 1985; Cohen and Arato, 1992). Offe describes them as sufficiently cognitively sophisticated to have assessed and rejected the changes in modern culture described above, aware that it is not values at issue but the implementation of those values; "an awareness of the disaggregation and partial incompatibility within the universe of modern values. The ties of logical implication between values - such as the links between technical progress and the satisfaction of human needs, property and autonomy, income and identity, and, most generally, between the rationality of processes and the desirability of outcomes - are perceived to disintegrate." (Offe, 1985:850). Decommodified or peripheral groups attached to this "new middle class" have a slightly different interest in the issues of broadening deprivation, deepening control, and the lack of mechanisms for learning and self correction in the dominant economic and political systems. They are as their name implies, less socially 'attached', excluded from mainstream participation in economic and political life and correspondingly less constrained by the dominant institutions and norms.

In addition to the changes in who the actors are in the "new social movements" there have been similar changes in the issues on which movements focus. New social movements focus on local autonomy, gender equality, ecology, and the right to a distinct life style (Cohen and Arato 1992:504-5). Everett (1992:970) adds to the list "movements concerned with gay and lesbian rights, tobacco control, abortion availability, animal rights and handicapped citizens". The new movements have been characterized as dispersed and individualistic (Melucci, 1989), their emphasis "on rupture and discontinuity" (Canel, 1992:31). They are "focused more and more on questions concerning individual identity, democracy and the relationship between society and its natural environment" (Keane and Mier, 1989:6). The issues brought into public discussion -sexual orientation, interpersonal relations, biological identity and family relations -blur the traditional lines between the public and private spheres (Canel, 1992:32).
Melucci suggests that although what we see are individualistic or fragmented movements, they represent, more broadly and antagonistically, "symbolic challenges which publicize novel dilemmas and problems, the clarification of which requires new definitions of freedom and the recognition of new rights and responsibilities" (1989:11). Civil society can be seen as a sphere of individuals acting outside of, and importantly, beyond the state. The reaction, or more positively, the action, is about resisting the deepening of state interest and engagement in what is seen to be the 'personal'. The movement is particularistic and the demands are quite different from those resulting from an analysis based on class and involving a conflict with the model of production. Thus part of the drive to create 'civil' space is the desire for life beyond political and economic institutions and its validation. The push for rights comes from groups whose lives are affected by these dominant institutions along lines other than class and income/economics. New social movements "defend spaces for the creation of new identities and solidarities and seek to make social relations within the institutions of civil society more egalitarian and democratic" (Cohen and Arato, 1992:505).

Social movement theorists acknowledge the interrelationship between the nature and form of social movements and the context in which they occur (Tilly 1975, 1978, Touraine, 1985, Tarrow, 1994). Cohen and Arato further define the elements of the current context. Shaping the forms of collective action and the strategies pursued are the "public spaces, social institutions (mass media, the press), rights (to associate, to speak, to assemble), representative political institutions and an autonomous legal system, all of which are targets for social movements seeking to influence policy or initiate change" (1992:497). The contextual changes in the state, which have been previously discussed, have created a different environment in which social movements now 'act'. This discussion presages the more detailed analysis of how we are to understand the social movement for urban reform of almost 20 years ago and whether it shares any similarity with the characteristics of the 'new' movements.
Summary

In describing contemporary community and theory about human sociation, I have tried to illustrate the importance of these life practices. The sheer breadth of human interchange is of course impossible to demonstrate or assess (as the economist would argue, especially give the lack of a measuring rod), however, I have tried to define and categorize these activities and their general nature. As Cohen and Arato and other civil society theorists argue, there are important interrelationships between the state, the formal economy and civil society. At a more micro level there are relationships between the elements of civil society, the connections between social support, social networks, other kinds of sociation. Understanding these elements and their interrelations is necessary to comprehend the possibilities for civil society and its interrelations with the state and the formal economy.

The effect of our modern urban form is perhaps a substrata of other effects of modernity on human interchange; the urban built form is just one expression of modern industrial social relations. It is in this form, the spatial expressions of the city, that I will examine the relations among and between these spheres of human activity. Chapter Five begins to ground the discussion of these various life practices in the places and spaces by which we constitute our urban world.
Chapter Four, Endnotes

1. A rejection of Cohen and Arato's formulation that situates the family and the marketplace together as the constitutive elements of the private realm is also supported by Habermas: "the intimate sphere, once the very centre of the private sphere, moved to its periphery to the extent that the private sphere itself became deprivatized" (1962:152). Habermas further describes the family's loss of power to shape conduct, its scope having shrunk to that of a "community of consumers" and cites Schelsky who noted that the family lost its "power as an agent of personal internalization" a contributing element of which was the "levelling of the intrafamilial authority structure" (p.156). This change in the roles of the family contrasted with an expanding private enterprise role "the industrial firms build apartments or even help the employee to become a homeowner; they organize concerts and theatre performances, offer continuing education classes; they provide for the elderly, widows and orphans. In other words, a series of functions originally fulfilled by institutions that were public, not only in the legal but also in the sociological sense, are taken over by organizations whose activity is non-public... The oikos of a big firm at times permeates the entire life of a town..." (as cited in Habermas, 1962:154).

2. It is this English tradition of civil society which best explains Arendt's critique of the 'social' as being conformist and conforming, bringing with it very little by way of possibility for a broader impact on the state; the creation of an Aristotelian-like polity.


4. The authors omit mention of the opportunity too, to assess the "mediations" between these spheres and the family, whose roles are formed in relation to these spheres.

5. In the construction which I propose, the private realm of the family/household is separate and therefore its relation to the other spheres of activity can also be understood.

6. Both marketplace and state are subsumed in my proposed reconceptualization, in a 'social' sphere.

7. The use of the word 'economy' is somewhat problematic as many of the activities occurring therein are non-monetised. The use of economic language to describe these activities undoubtedly results from the oversimplification enabled by economic dominance and lack of legitimacy accorded to other kinds of human activity. In a sense this useage results because we have few other categories.

8. For an example which strongly supports the state serving the interests of industrial capital through accumulation and legitimation functions see Weiss (1987) for a description of how variable the size of an informal sector might be, depending on how laws are constructed that serve the interests of capital.


12. Freedom of action and discourse as well as freedom of necessity were central elements of the Aristotelian public sphere as contrasted with the private sphere which was in essence, the realm of necessity. For a more detailed discussion see Hannah Arendt, (1958).

13. I do not propose to debate here the extent to which this claim or representation is accurate, merely that this is a common view of the public realm.

14. This notion builds on Gramsci’s notion of hegemony and counterhegemony. Civil society is seen by some as having the potential to be a counterhegemonic force. Even those who do not expressly invoke these Gramscian notions view civil society as a ‘carving out’ of space, external to the market and the state where people can freely express themselves - in terms of self-expression and as a sphere of activity. See Laclau and Mouffe (1987), Cohen and Arato, (1992), Tester, (1992).

15. See Wellman's extensive work delineating ‘liberated community’.


17. Defined as a broad descriptive term including all of the various possibilities for non-monetised interchange.


19. The "Social Development Strategy" of Metropolitan Toronto promotes this as do the City of Toronto and Metropolitan Toronto Official Plans and the final report of the Sewell Commission, *New Planning for Ontario*.

20. Volunteer labour would only account for a small part of the contributions from this sector, as many such organizations employ a paid staff that deliver extensive services.
CHAPTER FIVE
URBAN BUILT FORM:
A MEDIATING STRUCTURAL FORCE AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR LIFE PRACTICES

Introduction

I have commented only briefly on how a study of the built environment fits with the project undertaken thus far, the explication of categorical realms of human activity or life practice with a view to highlighting the importance of non-monetised interchanges. There are both a significant literature and a number of theorists who suggest that it is in the modern city that we best see represented the confluence of all of the agents or forces by which our society is produced and reproduced. It is the site of the most developed and hence recognizable forces of civil society, it represents, as discussed in the previous chapter, the heterogeneity of Durkheim's organic solidarity. The following citation from David Harvey summarizes this notion that the city is an exemplar of all of the elements that combine to shape our society.

Capitalism has survived into the twentieth century through the production of space and [it] has been an increasingly urbanized space that has been produced. A study of the urban process tells us much therefore, about the mechanisms of capitalism's successful self-reproduction. Secondly, increasing urbanization makes this the primary level at which individuals experience, live out, and react to the changes going on around them. To dissect the urban process in all of its fullness is to lay bare the roots of consciousness formation in the material realities of daily life (Harvey, 1989:230).

Somewhat less broadly, Wolch and Dear advise that "[g]eography facilitates and constrains the practice of everyday life" (1989:v). The dissection and explication of life practices and their respective contribution to the spheres of our society is the broad goal of this research, detailing how these are revealed in the urban form, the specific task of this chapter. I will explore the ways in which "geography facilitates and constrains" and set out some of the conceptual and theoretical implications which derive from this view. This task sets the stage for the case study of the Toronto urban reform movement, which follows in Chapters Seven
and Eight. This urban movement demonstrates, I believe, the power and possibilities of civil society at a number of levels, and expresses a particular set of interests which relate to how the built environment is developed and whose needs it serves. One could dissect almost every structure, institution or process of modern life to understand how the forces of social production and reproduction play out. I have chosen to look at one form of life practice - non-monetised interchange and how it relates with other life practices in a particular 'behaviour setting' - the modern city.

The previous chapters have attempted to interweave an understanding of a particular form of life practice - non-monetised interchanges - with a larger conceptual picture, suggesting that how we see everyday life has implications for life practices and that further, certain practices are valued at some cost to others. This chapter adds another thread to this weave. There are no universal 'practices of everyday life': such activities are grounded by gender, income, class, culture and ethnicity. So too, are they grounded in both time and space, with space including both national, political and environmental 'space', economic and social space, rural/urban space and finally, the more detailed physical structures of the buildings, streetscapes, and patterns of land use that prevail in the capitalist industrialized cities of the West, which is the context in which this work takes place. A period of urban reform in Toronto resulted from the concerns and issues raised by city dwellers about the development of their urban space. Life practices which they deemed important were being (or at least were perceived to be) threatened by an agenda of economic growth and development that was changing the 'spaces' of the city - the built environments in which certain life practices were accommodated. Before proceeding more fully to examine these claims and explore their meaning this chapter reviews the literature related to the interrelationship between human activity and behaviour; 'life practices' and geography; the relationship between the places and spaces of human life and the human lives which are lived out within them.

**The Relationship Between Behaviour, Social Structure and Space**

In thinking of the connections between the built environment and behaviour, most people’s first thoughts are likely to be of their homes. These are the built environments in which,
regardless of our general interest in such things, we have paid attention to floor plans, size, scale and environmental context - neighbourhood and proximity to other things of interest. The reasons for our interest are of course related to the extent to which this environment will facilitate the life practices in which we engage. We ask, is there a fit between the built environment and the human behaviours that will act in it?

The range of 'homes' is enormous- tiny apartments, town houses, garret rooms, spacious single family residences, tall narrow, inner-city houses - even this limited list indicates the variety of different life practices that might be facilitated or constrained by what we call home. Our view of the world and our activities and behaviours might differ if home is aesthetically stimulating and provides the possibility that whatever the desired life practices, they might be achieved within the space of 'home'. Think for example, of a home with light and open space, with adequate space for privacy and for socializing and compare it to a dark, damp and cramped apartment with a shared bath and no laundry. While there is no question that life in the latter will be more difficult, it doesn't follow that these environments will 'change' the people who live in them. It is not as simple as saying that the people who grow up in such spaces will be different but rather that the possibilities for certain kinds of expression and development will be better supported for some people by one environment over the other. A significant factor in this relationship between environment and behaviour is the level of congruence that exists between the built environment and the desired activities of its occupants. In short, do people have the housing they need (Michelson, 1977)? This question will receive additional focus in the case study of urban reform in Toronto.

To refer back to Barker's (1968) notion of a behaviour setting, I wish to draw attention here to the interrelationship between the 'setting' and the behaviours or life practices that are supported by it. Further clarification is provided by Studer (1993) who distinguishes between 'meaning' and 'use' in this relationship between environment and behaviour. In general, elements or features of the environment provide behavioural 'clues'. "[T]hey provide instructions for use on the one hand, and signify, symbolize or stand for something on the other." (Studer, 1993:30)To refer back to the previous example of how we evaluate a
possible home, the considerations listed there were primarily oriented to use. But we also pay attention to meaning; kitchens are infrequently turned into bedrooms. When we evaluate a neighbourhood, we implicitly assess whether this is 'my' type of neighbourhood: the fit between the self-perceptions of the person and his/her perceptions of the meaning attached to home and neighbourhood. Studer provides another concrete example of a front entrance to a dwelling that will help to clarify this. Clearly, one wishes the front door to give direction. It should be prominent and give an unambiguous message that this is a means for ingress and egress. But front doors also give other meanings. They say something about the inhabitants (who they are or wish to be), about the nature of the dwelling one is to enter. I will return to this signifying aspect of the built environment at a later point in this chapter.

At this stage, the aim is simply to suggest that behaviour or human life practices do not happen in isolation or independently of the physical environment. They are linked, but not deterministically. To press the front door illustration to a rather absurd level, although the front door clearly signifies that it is the means of entry, one is not prevented by the presence of a front door from climbing in a window. However, the signifying presence of the door increases the probability that most will enter the dwelling this way rather than through a window. "Use gives meaning to housing, and at the same time, meaning guides how housing is used" (Arias, 1993:1).

At the level of the home - because of the attention our society accords to individual rather than collective welfare - the interrelationship between environment and life practices is acknowledged: space impacts on human development. That this is so forms the basis for the arguments in favour of social housing, for rent control and minimum income and housing standards. The nature of the interrelationship however, is complex and multidimensional. It is this complexity that enables people to transcend the limitations of their physical (and emotional) environment as evidenced when we see, for example, a famous pianist who comes from an environment where there was no music or the space to accommodate such an interest. People can be viewed as having 'agency' in their own life and in the life of the community that enables them to direct behaviour, activities and events to meet their own needs and those of others on whose behalf they direct such efforts. Thus, the physical
environment is not determinant. The relationship between space and place and human behaviour is acknowledged essentially only at the micro level when considering individuals and their physical environment. The overall impact of the urban form on the structures of social and community life appear less to be a matter of public interest. At the neighbourhood level, social workers and police might acknowledge the impact on children of being surrounded by concrete and traffic. The children's possibilities for engaging in the kind of stimulating play known to be important to child development are reduced. But this theorizing about the connections between people and the space they inhabit ends rather abruptly at the level of the neighbourhood and even then is really only of interest in a 'troubled' neighbourhood. The nature of the urban form and its connection to the reproduction of social life is not an engaging debate save for a small and perhaps growing cadre of academics. Our liberal heritage, with its focus on the individual and on individual pathology, limits the degree of social interest accorded this issue. As previously mentioned, social work recognizes the importance of 'human behaviour in the social environment' but it does so as a member of the 'human pathology professionals' who assess personal relations and home and neighbourhood 'influences', including a limited range of physical and spatial elements, as they attempt to understand the factors which contribute to individual, human pathology. Bad neighbourhoods and squalid homes, while not to be defended, are seen rather simplistically, along with poverty, lack of nurture etc., as co-determinants of behaviour.

Space and place have historically been acknowledged only insofar as they impact on individuals. Similarly the relationship between agency (human behaviour) and structure has long been the focus of debate. In this chapter I wish to consider a third element, which has only more recently been widely integrated into the debate - that of space (and a fourth, because all of these considerations necessarily occur across time). To this end, I will describe some of the current thinking about how our relations of production and reproduction are replicated in our urban forms and how these forms affect and are affected by human agency. I will briefly review some of the theory that attempts to explain this interrelationship.

Understanding the relationship between human behaviour and industrial urban life began with
the human ecology movement. In its early period "it took a rather simple minded approach to causality, tending to view ecological factors, such as building type, site plan and community size as independent variables or causes which had predictable effects on the quality of social life" (Abu-Lughod, as cited in Michelson, 1970:4) The views of biological ecology were understood to be completely transferable to understanding human life. Michelson evidences this point by noting that the prominent human ecologist Robert Park's citation of "The House That Jack Built", bound together "malt, mice, men and marriage" (1970:5) with built form as if each was of the same fabric. Early theory about the relationship between the 'built form' and human behaviour was the domain of social engineers who believed that the built environment had deterministic properties. Human and community problems could be both created and resolved as a result of particular physical interventions. It was a nice and simple idea appealing to those who saw that there was a relationship and sought to explore its power over human beings.

The human ecology movement evolved to consider in a more detailed way the effect of the modern urban city, its buildings, roads, green spaces or lack thereof, and how and where public space was constructed and for what purpose, on human social relations. It is necessary to situate our review of individual and collective sociation into the context of this theory. Mass society, it was claimed (Kornhauser, 1958; Park, 1916), was destroying the social fabric through the creation of isolated, atomized human beings bereft of sociation. If these claims had any basis in fact\(^2\), it is likely that such effects were occurring through the combined or interrelated effects of the urban built form and, importantly, industrialization, the latter of course having a significant and shifting impact on the nature of production and reproduction in industrial urban life. In a sense, the inquiry that resulted conflated urbanization and industrialization with the built form of the city. The thesis that developed was that the city, urban life was destroying social relationships.

The "community question" (Wellman, 1979) asks about the relationship between modern urban community and human personal relations. Theory on the 'built environment' explores these same questions from the perspective of the built form of modern urban community.
Even as I write the previous sentence, I note that it isn’t quite right - it was a more specific, individually oriented inquiry. The primary question asked was how the ‘built form’ (spatial organization, as opposed to the social organization, which is the subject of inquiry in the community question) impacts on (individual) human behaviour. The nature of the relationship between built form and the structures and social processes of the community, its collective ‘behaviour’, is not a visible part of the inquiry.

Like the “community question”, the study of urbanization, housing and communities can be traced back to the Chicago school. Heavily influenced by Darwin and Durkheim, Park and Burgess suggested that competition and co-operation are the forms by which humans struggle to maintain an equilibrium in a constantly changing environment. The conception of the efforts by which plants and animals obtain resources served as the basis for understanding human behaviour. The industrial city became a “Darwinian web of life” (Park, 1952) in which the ‘fittest’ became rich, moving to more desirable residential areas, leaving the poor closer to factories, in transient neighbourhoods and slums, most often on the periphery of an expanding commercial or business district. This process, described as ecological succession’, attempted to explain land use patterns, demonstrating how members of a population competed for territorial space (Buttel and Humphrey, 1982:9).

Acknowledging the presence and duality of the relationship between the built environment and human behaviour came later, following areas of inquiry not addressed by human ecology. This development coincided with other expanded areas of sociological inquiry, including what van Vliet describes as the “new urban sociology” (1987) that concerned itself with macro-level processes and structures. Both of these areas of inquiry come together in this study. There is a relationship between the effects of the built form on people and their needs, interests and how they conceive of themselves and their needs that, in turn, impacts on the development of our urban forms³. And, to make the link to macro-level processes and structures, cities express the relations of a society. Cities house the citizenry who work in the offices and industries of the marketplace, or do not work, who establish structures and processes by which they are to be governed, who carry out their everyday lives in the
streets, homes and buildings that are built to meet their needs and also act to constrain their needs. As well, cities are spaces in which the norms of the social and economic order are reproduced.

More recently, work in this area has attracted more attention and has expanded to include broad multi-disciplinary work from philosophers, sociologists and social geographers (Lefebvre, 1991; Habermas, 1989; Wolch and Dear, 1989: Soja, 1990; Bassand, 1990). The current nature of the inquiry addresses some of the problems associated with, for example, asking about community relations in contemporary urban society without contextualizing this in both the detailed inquiry about the relationships between environment and behaviour and these larger order questions about the state and the marketplace. All of these shifts and developments, this broadening of inquiry in these areas, have helped to shape this present research. They have enabled the formulation of the question asked in this work (but unlikely to be fully answered): How are people’s social or non-monetised relationships impacted by the context of the urban environment in which they are expressed and how, in turn, do such relationships and, in aggregate, people’s collective behaviour as a community, impact on the forms and structures of the urban environment? I will return to discuss what is now an interdisciplinary inquiry after reviewing some earlier work that is important in its own right and important as well because of its influence on the current inquiry.

Jacobs (1961) theorized that the kinds of physical structures we create affect human behaviour, bringing the study of the relationship between people and their environments to wide attention. This work was expanded by Newman (1972) who suggested that certain kinds of environments could create a potential for mutual interest and concern among neighbours. The work of Newman and Jacobs began to influence how we conceived of our urban environments based on explicit social goals for our communities. Although somewhat overly deterministic, the importance of this work was that it made explicit the relationship between the environment and human behaviour. The concepts have been refined and narrowed, and the theoretical value tested so that the relationship is now expressed as the built environment creating a range of social and physical ‘possibilities’ (Michelson, 1970) for the user rather
than determining behaviour. Michelson’s theory of congruence assesses the extent to which people find it possible to realize their preferred and mandated behaviours (their life practices) in a specific setting (Michelson, in van Vliet et al., 1987). Congruence theory is based on a belief that there is an interrelationship between people and their environments that is interactive and multidimensional; environment can expand or limit the potential for possible human behaviours, it cannot determine them.

Gehl (1987) describes how features or elements of the built environment impact on various human behaviours. He describes the forms of buildings and public spaces that support interchange and on which I will comment further in a later section of this chapter. He also describes features of our environment that we tend to ignore when thinking of factors that influence behaviour. For instance, building levels have an affect, as people apparently resist stairs and elevators. A building’s size may affect the perception of how much of it can be reached without mechanical aid; similarly the scale of the street can encourage or discourage walking; the location of building entrances in relation to the street can encourage or discourage movement and having an entrance that is easily visible from the street can encourage entry. These and other similar points illustrate this relationship between environment and behaviour.

We perhaps understand more readily the relationship between the physical environment and behaviour. The power of the natural environment has a capacity to shape human activity. Mountains can be difficult to cross, creating a natural barrier to human mobility and perhaps ‘freezing’ language and customs. A seasonal scarcity of water, in the absence of more technical solutions, creates a strong impetus for a nomadic life. Fertile plains lend themselves to agricultural production, which in turn requires certain human interventions at particular times. In each case, the environment ‘shapes’ rather than determines the behaviour and activity of the human inhabitants of the land.

This preceding section has primarily considered the way in which the environment impacts on the behaviour of individuals. I have not yet touched on issues relating the built
environment to how human communities or societies are structured within these environments. Is the social order a given or are there unique relationships between the built environment and the structures and the processes of the communities acting therein? Beyond the level of the home, or what Michelson (1987) describes as the "ego-centred view", the interrelationship between the 'environment' and human behaviour is only infrequently acknowledged. A public interest in these broader questions generally arises when the public is inconvenienced or impacted. For example, the absence of a neighbourhood school, such as occurred at Bathurst Quay, described earlier, acts as a constraint on certain activities and behaviours. Neighbourhood schools contribute to a feeling of community and both children and parents are more likely to get to know one another. Relationships become more possible.

Short of the social action that affected a response to the absence of a school at Bathurst Quay, a public interest in the matter would likely develop only if the costs of the school busing became public, there was a tragic traffic accident or something of similar magnitude. The absence of school space didn’t determine behaviour. People moved in and arranged complicated ways to get their children to school. Nor did the absence of a school determine that a social movement would result. Residents occupied the site for over six years before any focused community action occurred. To return to the more macro consideration, as a neighbourhood, Bathurst Quay has developed a number of social problems. Although these do not arise because of the lack of a school, particularly attentive planners at the City of Toronto now speculate that the lack of attention to the relationship between the built environment and human behaviour is one factor that has contributed to the lack of social cohesion, youth vandalism and other social problems on the Quay. Unfortunately, instead of examining the relationship between the broader neighbourhood and the built environment, we are as likely to focus on the individual characteristics of the people who live there. "These problems always arise with social housing" is as likely to be the public perspective, rather than an inquiry about the kinds of social and physical environments in which such housing is likely to be located.

Questions about the relationship between human activity and environment can (and should) be asked at an even broader level: what is the nature of the relationship between the forms
of cities and the people who relate to them; how does our production and reproduction of space reproduce social (societal) life? This question shifts the discussion in the direction of how our social norms and values, life practices and activities are formed and reinforced. These derive not only from our political and economic system and historical processes, including the division of labour, but also from the ways in which these factors relate to the organization and construction of our physical environments, which in turn contribute to the reproduction of social and economic life.

I want to return to the issue of social structure, which was the focus of Chapter 3, for a discussion that now takes a slightly different form. The present inquiry is specific to social structure and its relation to space - specifically urban space. In the previous discussion I reviewed the forces that contribute to structural change and described a change process represented by a circle wherein, with each revolution, the circle spirals ever so slightly to enclose a sliver of new ground. Each revolution leaves something behind - old patterns of production and reproduction cast aside in favour of new - or, not so new as subtly different. The shaping of these revolutions or spirals can best be described through the application of the Marxist concepts of production and reproduction. The explanatory ability of these concepts is improved if the structure-shaping potential of the interactions between and among the political, economic and social/cultural spheres in space and over time is also acknowledged (Laclau and Mouffe, 1987; Wolch and Dear, 1989). Thus, in grappling (or trying to) with understanding how and why monetised and non-monetised interchanges are situated in our society, I am acknowledging a social structure that is not simply a product of the Marxist notions of base and superstructure. In classical Marxist theory, the base is the means of production, which are the key relations of the economic sphere. However these relations or processes of production are also processes of reproduction, in that production processes produce more than material objects, they also reproduce the production and distribution relations. The state is a primary institution of the superstructure as are subsidiary institutions, such as the educational system, prisons, hospitals etc. The reproduction of social relations is safeguarded through these institutions and structures of the superstructure (Wolch and Dear, 1989). While acknowledging that these notions remain central to an understanding
of social structure, they ignore human agency. Thus, I refute a simple economic determinism; society is complex and constantly changing and the nature of the change can be directed by human agents acting in time and space. Human agency can be expressed in multiple ways outside of both the state and the marketplace. Before proceeding, and to defend against having gone too far in my desire to acknowledge the possibilities for social change, let me clearly identify that the forces of production and reproduction are powerful and the latter act first to reinforce the values of the established and dominant order. It is for these reasons, as I have already tried to demonstrate, that the common view of the western world held by its inhabitants, is a two-part view in which the state and economic system dominate. That this is the view we hold derives from those powerful forces of reproduction. To offer a summary description of reproduction: "it is the method by which the total social "ensemble", including modes of circulation, distribution, and consumption, is protected and repeated through time" (Wolch and Dear, 1989:5).

The reproduction of the processes of production and the sustaining social and economic relations happens in specific ‘space’. And these processes interrelate with another set of processes that are established through the social, cultural, history of the place or space. Thus these processes are not universal or even general but specific in time and space. Before proceeding further, I will briefly chart how this debate and subsequent understandings, have played out in the field of geography.

Anthony Giddens made an essential contribution to our understanding of social structure by theorizing the connectedness of social phenomena in space, and more particularly the role of human agency in reproducing this structure. Rose (1993) summarizes "through their everyday interactions with people and objects, individuals develop certain kinds of knowledge - conscious, subconscious and ideological - and their subsequent actions based on these kinds of knowledge reproduce a social structure" (1993:20). While I will deal more particularly with the significance of human agency later in this chapter, at this point I wish to emphasize its general contribution to the formation of our social structure. It is a mediating force - against a simple economic determinism and against an equally determinist environmental
view. Human 'agents' mediate between the structures of production and reproduction and their representation in space. They also do this across time, which leads to the work of Torsten Hagerstrand who developed theory and models of the temporospatial structuring of social life. Hagerstrand suggests an analytic model which involves describing the routes individuals take to fulfil their everyday tasks or projects. Through this process, described as time-geography (represented in Figure 4), we can understand constraints on an individual. Hagerstrand identifies three types of constraint: capability, coupling and authority and I will address each in turn. Capability constraints refer to physical limits to movement including being in different places at the same time. Coupling constraints are those which require that sufficient numbers of people be in a particular place at a pre-set time, eg. school or work. Finally authority constraints are social rules and norms which encourage or discourage certain temporospatial behaviour, eg. the absence until recently of Sunday shopping, noise bylaws which restrict by time and/or space, lower vehicle speed limits in school zones and so on. While earlier, a struggle ensued about whether these constraints didn’t confirm a geographical marxism, social relations as determinate, time geography enables a view of the recursiveness of agency and structure. Time-space diagrams could show how "the details of social reproduction, individual socialization and structuration are constantly spelled out by the intersection of particular individual paths with particular institutional projects occurring at specific temporal and spatial locations" (as cited in Rose, 1993:22). This debate is central to this research which seeks to illustrate how human agency is made manifest, through what I have described as non-monetised interchanges. These interchanges are the 'building blocks' by which human agency is expressed and I believe that their strength is related to the structures of the urban form which can act to sustain or constrain them.

I will return later in this chapter to the specifics of the structure-agency debate but first continue to address the issue of how spatial form relates to social forces. Wolch and Dear (1989) concern themselves with this same question and suggest:

Any locale is therefore, at once a complex synthesis of objects, patterns and processes derived from the simultaneous interaction of different levels of social process, operating at varying geographical scales and chronological stages. It is as though a multi-tiered sequence of events had been telescoped into a single
Figure 4  
An example of a time-geography diagram.
dimension; many levels and scales of process are simply collapsed on to a single territory. But this is precisely the intellectual challenge posed by the "geographical puzzle": to unravel the complex locale into its constituent elements and processes... . (Wolch and Dear, 1989:7)

While to promise to do all that Wolch and Dear suggest would be both false and falsely grandiose, I hope through this review, superimposed onto a review of the claims, goals and achievements of the Toronto urban reform movement, to offer some further reflection in the direction suggested. Specifically, I suggest that human agency - as it is frequently understood, representing the actions of human beings oriented to impacting on the social structure - is manifested in civil society. Thus, this review will sharpen our understanding of how the relations of this sphere interact with those in the marketplace and the state in the context of the time and place - city spaces - in which these events occurred.

The significance of the city against the backdrop of the processes of production and reproduction is not a given. This issue is at the heart of Castells' The Urban Question (1977) in which he argues that the city is a theoretically significant context. Bourne (1982) also argues that "urban structure is firstly a spatial mirror of society and its historical and organizational principles. That is, it reflects the previous and currently prevailing operating rules - of culture, technology, economy and social behaviour - of the society within which the city has developed" (as cited in Herbert and Thomas, 1990:143). Lagopoulos further contextualizes this discourse, arguing that "inspired mainly by Lefebvre, Soja argues that there is a socio-spatial dialectic - not implying a resurrection of geographical determinism - and that the socially produced spatiality of society also conditions and shapes society" (1993:262). And, it is with Soja's dialectic that we leave this discourse, as I believe that it accurately reflects the complexity of the space-life practice equation. I will now turn to some more specific examination of what this dialectic might mean in terms of life practices in the city.

The following section of this chapter will review this relationship between space, particularly urban space, and the production and reproduction of economic, political and social life. The
sites of production are less significant to the story told here than are those of reproduction, which will be the primary area of review. Following this review we will return to reconsider the relationship between human behaviour and the environment at more micro levels in light of this macro discussion. Finally, this chapter will conclude with a consideration of human agency, people as social agents or actors and how these forces 'shape' the city, which of course shapes us all.

Urbanization is the appropriation of space by metropoles and their social actors. In doing this they build, produce, transform, and attach signification to, not only their own territory, but also the national and world ones (Bassand, 1990:9).

These are the issues that the following section will explore, beginning with some comments on the reproduction of social structure. Following this, I will discuss the relations between the social spheres that represent the social structure and their representation in space.

**Spaces of Meaning and Meanings of Spaces**

The task in this section is to explore the meanings conveyed by the built environment and the significance of these for the reproduction of our social structure. Semiotics is the study of such meaning, signs, not just literal signs, but the reproduction of culture through the messages and meanings we attach or ascribe to buildings, events, areas and neighbourhoods, human behaviour and activity. The list is endless. These signs or meanings are part of that grand circle by which our social structure evolves, largely reproduced as it was, but accommodating change and its possibility. Lagopoulos (1993) expresses the connection: “one can state that the built form allows from the sociological exosemiotic standpoint, the fulfilment of a material function and semiotically signifies this function. Thus, built form has two indivisible aspects, the one material and the other signifying, the one supporting the other" (p.273).

Architecture or to use the more general term, 'built form', is seen as a reflection, a crystallization, of "the public realm, shared social values and long-term cultural goals ... [It has] explicit social content...[and] a responsibility towards communication... and the
explanation and dramatization of certain social meanings" (Jencks, 1985:31). This section reviews some of the ways in which social reproduction is assured through the signs and meanings attached to human activity and life practice in space, particularly urban space.

Changes in the nature and patterns of production on which our economic system is based, globalization and new technological capacities for the promotion and exchange of information, have been accompanied by new and enhanced opportunities for information to be disseminated, promoted and exchanged. Every view of the built environment and the extension of the built environment into almost every landscape provides evidence of these changes. Some have described our cities as 'postmodern' (Soja, 1989; Irving, 1993) and Sorkin defines the significant elements that are effecting this change:

Main street is now the space between airports, the fibre-optic cables linking the fax machines of multinational corporations' far flung offices, an invisible worldwide skein of economic relations. Liberated from its centres and its edges by a new world order bent on a single citizenship of consumption, the new city threatens an unimagined sameness even as it multiplies the illusory choices of the TV system.... The new city replaces the anomaly and delight of such places [traditional cities] with a universal particular, a generic urbanism inflected only by applique. Here locality is efficiently acknowledged by the inclusion of the croque-monsieur at the McDonald's on the Boul' Miche or the Cajun Martini at the airport lounge in New Orleans... The idea of the city as the site of community and human connection [has been sacrificed] (1992:xiii).

How far from being just "one form of human interchange" economic relations have moved. Commodified exchange is disguised as other things, history, entertainment and the interchange of the public sphere. This notion of disguise, of falsity and the creation of duplicitous images, is an important part of the contemporary built environment and the messages it conveys.

As the citation from Sorkin demonstrates, these messages are different form those of the 1950s that promoted a family like Beaver Cleaver's with a stay-at-home-Mum, gleaming kitchen floors and burgeoning private consumption. These images, and the nature of what they promoted (whether or not we agreed with them), were straightforward, without the complexity, subtext and disguise of the signs and meanings confronting us in the
contemporary urban sphere. The sheer number of places and spaces through which we can be reached with these messages increases their importance. We encounter directed messages - advertising - while we’re on ‘hold’ on the telephone, on our computers, at a movie, on every available street space, on public vehicles, in the sky, the football field, on our own clothing. And those are only the directed messages. What meaning do we attach to the very fact that we buy and wear promotional clothing. A curious twist in advertiser/audience relations has occurred when we pay premium prices to advertise a corporate name on the clothing we purchase. The modern city conveys endless messages obfuscating twists and turns of this kind; trickery, disguise and duplicity are behind the messages and are the messages themselves, which we no longer recognize. Sorkin suggests that the profession of urban design is “almost wholly preoccupied with reproduction, with the creation of urban disguises” (1992:xiv). Thus, the very nature of the buildings constructed and the way they inform and signify correspond to the dramatization of certain social meanings (Jencks, 1985:31). And for the most part, as Lefebvre (1991:39) suggested in delineating his notion of representational space, we are passive and unreflective about the messages that are communicated and received by us.

Baird (1989), in commenting on ‘plurality’, ‘mobility’ and ‘history’ as the concepts guiding the development of modern architecture, suggests that all three are expressed in a fashionable new hybrid that combines the regional shopping centre with the theme park. Citing the West Edmonton mall as an example, he suggests that new hybrid emerges in which the shopping centre is calculatedly hybridized to a Disney-like model of urban history” (Baird, 1989:149). There are other examples of how history itself becomes a commodity - used to signify, or give a particular meaning to - various architectural expressions.

Till (1993) talks about ‘neotraditional’ towns and urban villages which are recent inventions by corporate planners but invoke images of former and nicer times. This phenomena is described as a geography of “otherness ... which reinforces existing social and spatial divisions, promotes reactionary and exclusionary territorial identities and legitimizes the status quo” (1993:709). Soja also describes these new residential communities and cites artist
and cultural critic, Peter Halley who describes them as:

cities that are doubles of themselves, cities that only exist as nostalgic references to the idea of city and to the ideas of communication and social intercourse. These simulated cities are placed around the globe more or less exactly where the old cities were, but they no longer fulfil the function of the old cities. They are no longer centres; they only serve to simulate the phenomena of the centre" (Soja, 1992:112-3).

In a similar vein, but indicating the other more ominous side of these simulacra, Zukin (1991) describes Disney World as the “power of facade and the facade of power". I will return to this notion of ‘centre’ as a way into the relational space of the city, to the extent that there remain within cities “sites of community and human connection" (Sorkin, 1992:xiii).

Realms of Human Activity

I have classified human activity into the categories of civil society and the marketplace (social sphere), the state (public sphere) and the family (private sphere) and have further suggested that for both analytic and ideological reasons these realms of activity should be situated into the three spheres indicated. Although I acknowledged that these are representational realms - “imaginings" to use Tester’s term, they also correlate with real and grounded life practices. These life practices, I suggest, are themselves reflected in the organizational and structural form of the city. Thus, I will examine the life practices of each sphere with regard to its form of expression in the city. The social sphere, which I suggested as an important part of a reconceptualization, expresses the relations of interchange, both the very prevalent monetised form and its non-monetised counterpart - civil society. I have previously commented on the life practices of civil society and their lack of societal acknowledgement. This makes them even more difficult to ‘see’ in space. In addition, there are also economic life practices that are not readily revealed in the marketplace. These include the activities of the informal economy and a range of less obvious economic ‘work’. Thus, the representation of the social realm in the structure of the city will require some careful consideration in order to reveal its complexity. I will return to how I propose to consider these. The private sphere is the sphere of the family whose primary spatial
representation is in the form of homes or housing. Again, there are a number of considerations about how to best express the life practices of the family and to these too I will return. This leaves the public sphere, which includes the state, both as site of government as well as its bureaucratic apparatus, and social institutions and public space. These too, are not straightforward in their spatial representation; commodified interchange has begun to mimic public life. The city spaces in which there are real and divergent life practices (expressions of the 'public') or spaces that are 'public' in the sense of being accessible to all, are harder to find. This summarizes the issues in relating my notional realms of human activity with the places of life practices in the city. In this chapter, I hope to establish a way of classifying and categorizing the spaces of the city that will permit a discussion of the current literature with respect to these 'spaces of life practice' or to use Barker's term, "behaviour settings". Such a system of classification, through which the urban social and spatial conflicts that were the basis for reform can be understood and related to the proposed re-conceptualization, will structure the case study.

The problems with a simple classification system arise because of the relational nature of human life. It does not occur in spheres, but occurs also between and across them. Thus, describing the private sphere as represented by the homes of families or households does not adequately acknowledge the relationship between the life practices of home and family and those of work, which is an increasingly important and defining dimension or extension of family life practices. This representation, the relation of family space (home) to work, must be acknowledged in any attempt to understand 'private' life. As well, representing 'work' by the marketplace only represents the direct production and distribution of commodities. While 'work' occurs in the economic realm, much of it occurs invisibly, in 'offices', in which the functions do not relate directly (or sometimes even indirectly) to the production or distribution of goods. These changing forms of economic work reflect what has been variously described as a shift in our patterns of production from an industrial to an information economy or to postindustrial or postmodern society. Zukin (1991) suggests that the distinction between 'market' and 'place' began even earlier. Historically, markets were closely bound with local communities and they were both a "literal place and a symbolic
threshold, a ‘socially constructed space’... The denseness of interactions and the goods that were exchanged offered local communities the material and cultural means for their social reproduction” (Zukin, 1991:6). Now, Zukin argues, market no longer internalizes place, rather place internalizes the market culture. These points will be more fully explicated throughout this chapter. For now, this discussion points to the need for a categorization that captures this ‘other’ economic activity, office-as-workplace and the most transformative aspects of marketplace that are no longer the commercial marketplace (market as internalized place, Zukin, 1991:6) but that all encompassing marketplace which has no spatial referents; it is everywhere as ideology, culture, recreation. We also continue to need to ‘see’ the commercial marketplace so that we can understand its most important relations to the life of the family (as consumers) and to the public sphere (shopping mall as ‘centre’).

Civil society has no direct spatial correlates. In talking of home, workplace, public space and marketplace, I may be trapped by the dominance of our conceptual constructs, the problems with which also find expression in space and place. In the case of civil society, it is the lack of a spatial expression that troubles me; there is no space or place to talk of life practices that are non-monetised. Those interactions between friends, neighbours, members of a community, movement, club or organization are not organized into a sector of the city. They occur everywhere, in church basements, neighbourhood parks and sidewalks and at the office water cooler - but there are few spaces designated to such activity. Without a ‘place’ in which these particular kinds of practices occur, they are more difficult to track and more difficult to acknowledge. How many are there? Where do they happen? What are the places in the modern city that support non-monetised interchange? Voluntary organizations and co-operatives come readily to mind, as do neighbourhoods, homes, places of worship and public spaces. These activities, life practices, are best revealed between the spaces of the other spheres. Civil society, the entire spectrum of non-monetised interchange, is first and foremost relational; it seems likely that its spatial expression will be primarily between and among these other life spaces.
The places of life practice that I suggest to order the following discussion are essentially those proposed by Choay (1969) for what she claimed to be a rational classification system structured to eliminate social references from the meaning of the space system in favour of an operative analysis of the economic field. She proposed three metaphoric poles of the new system, *housing, industry and centre* which she asserted to be a reflection of the modern built form. Choay’s use of “centre” is helpful to my difficulty with representing the space of civil society and in adequately representing the shifting relations between the public (state) and the workplace/marketplace spheres. This classification system also gives appropriate spatial acknowledgement to the city centre, which, in the case of Toronto, remains a meaningful site of social and life practice. In other cities, the centre has ceased to be very relevant to the life practices of most of its inhabitants other than those who have been described as economic refugees. Castells uses the term ‘urban reservations’ to describe the marginalization of those remaining in the centre of some cities. Because Toronto space still importantly includes a centre, I will use Choay’s categories but replace ‘industry’ with both workplace and marketplace. I believe that ‘centre’ accords adequate descriptive possibility for the activities of the public realm, which again, to invoke Toronto as an example, remain sufficiently ‘centred’ so as to permit this classification to reflect the spatial representation of these practices in the city. This classification system will also facilitate the discussion of urban reform in Toronto, perhaps improving our understanding of why its ‘centre’ has remained vital. Also in a Toronto context, the remaining vitality of its centre against the bleak imagery of the urban reservations remaining as ‘centre’ in other cities may also inform our discussion of human agency, which I suggest was expressed through the reform movement.

The use of centre, in a Toronto setting also points to this as the *centre* or point of convergence of a variety of life practices - marketplace and workplace, private (home) space and public space and such civil society as has spatial representation. The ‘centre’ continues to represent the features of Aristotle’s ‘agora’, as the previous citation from Zukin (1991:6) noted, “affording communities the material and cultural means for their reproduction”. Thus, the use of centre as an analytic category resolves some of the difficulties just described
in capturing the relational nature of the activities and practices of human beings and the permeability of the social, public and private spheres. Analyzing the life practices of the centre will enable a view of how the human activities, represented by my notional categories of private, public and social, come together. The centre is the focus of the activities of a variety of forms of the state; it contains the majority of the civil society activities that have spatial form; it is public/social space - the space of demonstrations, public celebrations, anonymous urban conviviality. Related to the 'publicness' of the 'centre', it will be important to note whether it is also a 'centre' of diversity. The centre is also economic headquarters, containing those vaguely described workplaces and the showpieces of the marketplace as well as private, home space.

In the review of 'centre' I will attempt to spatially locate each of the spheres of activity represented in my three-part reconceptualization: home (private), workplace/marketplace, civil society (social sphere), and the state, its institutions and spaces for public discourse, celebration and communality (public). As indicated, it is in the 'centre' that I believe the public/state find expression, as does civil society. Of particular importance will be the demonstration of the convergence of life practices across these realms and the demonstration of the activities of civil society. At this stage, this categorization (represented by Figure 5) will be used to describe these life practices in general terms and the current theory that pertains to them. It will be used later to analyze the case study material. Its utility for that purpose has been previously mentioned.

**Home as Private: Its Relation to Public**

I commented earlier about the space of the home. More broadly now I wish to consider the home or homes as they express the forces of production and reproduction and human agency. Arias (1993) notes that although residential design is seen most frequently as a physical phenomena, it also includes social, economic and political dimensions. Homes spatially represent the relations between the spheres of interaction: family (the private) to each (and all of) state, marketplace and civil society. Before proceeding further it is important to both clarify and stress my usage of the terms 'public' and 'private'. First a simple clarification:
Figure 5

Table of Classification of Spatial Life Practice

HOME WORKPLACE MARKETPLACE (Spaces of Life Practice)

Public
Private
Civil Society
Social:
Marketplace

(Realms of Activity)

CENTRE (Spaces of Life Practice)
(HOME/WORKPLACE/MARKETPLACE)

Public
Private
Civil Society
Social:
Marketplace

(Realms of Activity)
through the following classification I am attempting to relate my reconceptualization of public, private and social realms to their spatial forms. Thus, the elements of those spheres are defined in Figure 2 in which the marketplace (and workplace) - the economic realm - is re-situated alongside civil society in the social sphere. The public sphere represents something closer to its original Aristotelian meaning - a realm of free expression by citizens, including the realm of governance. The private is the family or household in all of its various contemporary forms.

As Bourne (1982) saw the city as a “spatial mirror of society”, Habermas further suggests that the diminished role of the sphere of the family can be seen through architectural expression. Before proceeding to Habermas’ view of this expression, it is perhaps necessary to explain the subtlety behind the view that each of the spheres finds its roles and functions expressed in the architecture of the city. This view acknowledges the complexity of the relations among the spheres (those which were represented in Figure 2) and mediates the more deterministic view that ‘economic growth drives the development of the city’, which suggests that the built form is expressly and singularly driven by the needs and interests of the marketplace. A revisiting of Soja’s socio-spatial dialectic would suggest that the view centred on economic growth gives too much weight to the power of the marketplace, inadequately acknowledging the power of the other spheres, and of space and time. It is a subtle and complex web of interaction that perhaps describes Simmel’s frustration in trying to examine the web of sociation by disassembling its strands. It is a similar enterprise that I am attempting: to determine the forces that shape how we “perceive, conceive, and live” the social space that we call homes (and all other spatial elements), recognizing that homes themselves act as a force in our perceptions, conceptions, and life practices. Both Lefebvre (1991) and Soja (1989) emphasize the relationship as a dialectic. To return to Simmel’s metaphor, it is not only a web but a tangled one at that.

Habermas suggests home as a sphere of pseudo-privacy in which the “surreptitious hollowing out of the family’s intimate sphere received its architectural expression in the layout of homes and cities” (1989:157). He describes clear public space/private space distinctions
between homes with front yards and fences facing on to public streets. We might consider that the porch or stoop on which families sat provided an intermediary place, a connection point between the public and private. The consequence of the increasing polarity of public and private is that the realm of activity within each sphere ceases to be relational, which in turn affects their separateness. This is not the tautology it may seem; the reciprocity and relationship between the realms is essential to the maintenance of appropriate boundaries between them. The loss of the front porch might be seen as a metaphor for the loss of this relational realm. Bahrdt describes the phenomena:

The process of urbanization can be described as a progressive polarization of urban life under the aspects of “public" and “private”. In this regard we must note that there always is a reciprocal relationship between the two. Without a protective and supportive private sphere the individual is sucked into the public realm which, however, becomes denatured by this very process. If the element of distance that is constitutive of the public sphere is eliminated, if its members are in too close touch, the public sphere is transformed into a mass... at the moment the social problem of the modern city consists not so much in that life has become all too urbanized, but rather in that it has again lost essential features of urban life. The reciprocity of the public and private spheres is disturbed. It is not disturbed because the city dweller is mass man per se and hence no longer has any sensibility for the cultivation of the private sphere; but because he no longer succeeds in getting an overview of the ever more complicated life of the city as a whole in such a fashion that it is really is public for him. The more the city as a whole is transformed into a barely penetrable jungle, the more he withdraws into his sphere of privacy which in turn is extended ever further; but at length he comes to realize nevertheless that not the least reason why the urban public sphere disintegrates is that public space has been turned into an ill-ordered arena for tyrannical vehicle traffic. (as cited in Habermas, 1989:158-59)

To examine this statement in the context of grounded life practices, we might think about the changes being wrought at two levels - the commodification of the activities, enterprises and responsibilities of the family that were discussed earlier and the changes in the homes available in the marketplace for private life. And, to further complicate our reflection, we must acknowledge these issues in their temporal context.

I’ll begin the discussion of homes in the suburb, still an important feature of private life in most cities. The suburb of the 1950s responded to a number of changes and was itself
created and sustained by the intensification of land in the city centre. Stemming from this intensified use of land at the ‘centre’, home building occurred at the periphery and land use had been effectively separated by function. North American suburbs are low density, single use and reliant on private automobiles. This pattern emerged for a number of complex reasons, including, among other factors, demographics, changes and improvements in production practices and economic growth. Housing was to be more private, home was where one was to repair the damage inflicted by “labouring” in industrial life, a “haven in a heartless world” (Lasch, 1977). This ‘need’ and expectation shaped the demands for increased space, private yards, and quiet, homogenous, single-use neighbourhoods. And, not to unduly emphasize economic growth as the engine building our cities, the postwar baby boom offered the possibility of creating a demand for mass produced housing and suburban land was available and cheap.

Given the nature of the interrelationships I have tried to describe, the features which produced suburbia become self-reinforcing. Suburban development coincided with the mass production of affordable private cars and suburban densities made the efficient operation of public transit financially prohibitive. These factors ensured continued suburban economic homogeneity, reinforcing the central city as the home of the poor (particularly in the case of the U.S.), which also in turn, reinforced its decline as the site of a public or social realm.

The suburban neighbourhood also illustrates the creation of new human capacities for capitalist consumption. Faced with expansive yards, garages and for most, the new standard of the three-bedroom bungalow, a need was developed for a host of modern goods. The size of the yard rendered yesterday’s push lawn mower obsolete, to be replaced with a new gas or electric model. The presence of the yard as private recreational space made essential the private replication of the amenities of the park. Kids’ slides and swing sets, sandboxes, lawn furniture, barbecues and a range of outside toys were marketed to facilitate the enjoyment of this new private space. The car, of course required specialized tools and cleaning equipment. The garage itself became a feature of private life, in early suburbia located on the lane or at the back of the house, later moved to the front to reduce the developers cost
for public laneways and to make this essential piece of suburban living more proximate to
the door and the street. While the exterior of the suburban home was the domain of the man
(perhaps as a transitional public space for which the man was acknowledged to be better
equipped\textsuperscript{11}), the interior of the home was to be the space of the woman, or more correctly,
of mother and wife.

To pursue a little further these roles to which women were ‘assigned’, (not to invoke the
economic determinism previously rejected, however appropriate and appealing it might be
in the present context) there occurs at this time (late ‘40s), a number of related phenomena.
Women have relinquished their war ‘duties’, giving up their roles in productive enterprise
to return to the private realm. If it was necessary, the effect of the division of labour
couldn’t have been more effectively consolidated. The suburban house was portrayed as
every woman’s dream. Remote from the centres of production, it contained new space with
a possibility for the consumption of new goods. Those very goods begin to roll of the
assembly lines at the rightful hands of men returned from the war. And, these goods
included an astonishing array of ‘labour-saving’ devices, which in fact accomplished the very
opposite as women became enslaved by the demands of the home.

The suburban environment also enabled the actual role of the housewife to be
extended and elaborated. The single family home in its suburban neighbourhood
provided a material space where women could practice the newly conceived
science of home economics. This superficially elevated the status of housekeeping
while confining it ever more closely to women and the family home (as cited in
Rose, 1993:121).

Effectively removed from the centre, both socially and geographically, the world of women
became more private and gendered, no longer engaged with reproduction at its broader social
level, but reduced most narrowly to its biological function (Mackenzie, 1989; Rose 1993).
The discussion of the ‘home’ as the spatial representation of the private sphere is also the
discussion of the relegation of women to these spaces and the conflation of women’s
biological role in reproduction with their roles in the production and reproduction of society.
These were not the only forces acting on women, their labour force participation never
completely disappeared after the war, and by the late 1950’s it was again on the increase.
Nor did women, in spite of the pressure created by suburban life, ever completely abandon the social and communal roles associated with civil society and to this point I will return.

**Home as Private:**

**Its Relation to the Social Sphere - The Marketplace**

The suburb also enfranchised the sovereignty of the nuclear family and anchored it staunchly through its male 'head' to "labouring" in the marketplace.

Serving men and children in wageless isolation had hidden that we were serving capital. ... We are *always* their indispensable work force, at home, cleaning, washing and ironing, making, disciplining and bringing up babies; servicing men, physically, sexually, and emotionally (as cited in Rose, 1993:54).

Suburban space emphasized these roles at the expense of others. The car was used by the 'breadwinner' to transport him to work while the lack of public transit physically trapped the woman in the private space of her home. Additionally, the homogeneity of the environment denied the possibility of a grandmotherly babysitter (or its equivalent) and there were no formal childcare facilities. Thus, the life spaces of home and work become further separated.

As Kornhauser (1968) suggested, the 'functions' of personal relations have been continually challenged by economic relations. "The decreasing role of primary relations in the social organization of mass society and their increasing isolation from the larger society weaken them as sources of meaning and support for the individual in the larger society" (Kornhauser, 1968:62). The development of the modern suburb, as Habermas (1989) suggests, both increases the distance between the private and public realms (geographically and socially) and marks the beginning of the diminution of the importance of the family as a key institution in the reproduction of social life.

Another aspect of the modern suburb was the centrality of home ownership as a means of classification and identification. A 'home' was to be owned - that was an important promise of the suburb. The notion of home ownership has been extensively analyzed in terms of its facility in 'binding' the homeowner and their family to the capitalist marketplace. Incorporation theory, as it is described, has a number of strands. Homeowners become obligated to their work as a result of the long term indebtedness that results from the
mortgage, which is a standard feature of home ownership. Divisions within the working class are theorized to result from distinctions between homeowners and tenants. The ownership of property gives homeowners a stake in the system through their involvement with ratepayers associations. In these small but direct ways, homeowners are enabled to participate in democracy - at least in terms of the politics of development. Castells (1977) comments on the effectiveness of a French suburban development program, which effectively makes an owner out of a worker without of course effecting any change in the worker's status at work.

The suburban home provided a sense that the toils of wage labour were tolerable because they were exchanged for the happiness, peacefulness and security of a private lifeworld. "Insofar as workers create satisfying private worlds in and around the home and community, they may more readily accept the increasingly impoverished nature of work" (Pratt in Wolch and Dear, 1989:295) This view suggests the importance of home ownership as an agent of social integration (Arendt, 1958; Sennet, 1974; O'Connor, 1984). "Work becomes a means to an end, a way of sustaining a pleasurable and fulfilling home life" (Pratt, 1989:295), which in turn facilitates the distance between the private life of the home and the more worldly enterprises of work and such public life as continued to exist.

The suburb has remained an important feature of family life, although no longer the exclusive option. The marketplace has responded to at least two phenomena in creating newer forms of private homes/space. As the family has become increasingly private, with fewer responsibilities for social reproduction, it has also changed in form. These changes in form, which include women's labour force participation, fewer children, more single households, and, in general, less homogeneity in the notion of 'family', have been combined with profound changes in the nature of work. These phenomena have caused a strengthening of the ties between home and workplace that will be discussed further.

The rationality which I earlier described as a value claimed to be inherent to man has also led us to "science and its derivative technology" (Fry, 1969:xx-xxi). Science and technology
are transforming the workplace, they are made manifest in the construction of our built environments which appeal to a ‘man’ whose life practices and social space are increasingly monetised and commodified (Fry, 1969; Choay, 1969; Jencks, 1985). The home space desired is still private, a ‘haven’, but it is possible that such haven might be a highrise condominium boasting a private gym and swimming pool, a theatre and a shopping complex underground. Newer examples of housing forms offer ‘wired’ spaces with fibre-optic lines for data transmission to and from home computers and the possibility of an increasingly private world that can access stores, restaurants, banks, movie houses, symphony concerts and so on from the private space of home. As I outlined in the description of the evolution of the suburb, changes in land use are both mirror and map for the connections between the spheres of human activity. As the suburb foretold the privatizing of family life (including its reduced social roles), so the new housing forms indicate a further privatization as well as an increasing commodification of public functions. Even the public space, which was an “ill-ordered arena for tyrannical vehicle traffic” (as cited in Habermas, 1989:158-59), has in some communities ceased to be public space. “Gated” communities offer private roads as protection against the increasing incivility of the rest of the world. They also offer homes, amenities and policing to their residents and some of their most astonishing representations are found in the United States. They are indeed representational spaces in that they copy, mimic and create images of being other than what they are, which in fact are simulations of a sphered social realm. They create in simulated form all of the features of urban life which this research explores. These gated, exclusive ‘communities’ are developed and sold as ‘communities’ supporting a full range of human activity, life practices, which are private, public, and social and both monetised and non-monetised. These ‘private’, market-driven ‘communities’, which are so pure a product of monetised relations, simulate in their developments the very life practices that have been destroyed by them. A particularly chilling illustration of these ‘simulated life’ communities is afforded by a view of Hilton Head, South Carolina. This island, less than an hour from Savannah, Georgia, was minimally developed and largely occupied by ‘gullas’ or freed slaves until it came to the attention of developers in the 1960s. With beautiful beaches and a temperate climate, it was clearly wasted on such an unappreciative and marginal population. The gullas were bought off and a bridge to the
mainland was constructed, readying the island for development. In the spatial and historical context of southern slavery with a black population that has remained economically impoverished, the island land was divided into private plantations. Each plantation has its own town centre, a re-created main street with parks and benches, a social and communal centre ('public' space) to which access is controlled by those at the gate house who confront every visitor. Each plantation has numerous housing sites and forms, often 'sub-gated' to afford increased protection to the most exclusive residential 'communities'; shopping areas, often malls disguised as main streets; and golf courses, swimming pools and private club houses masquerading as community centres. The beaches remain public, although there is no public access. It is an island of sanctuary replicating what America allegedly values - the notion of public and community - but constructed to ensure homogeneity and protection from any contentious discourse - a false public.

In summary, the residential lifeworld reveals an increasingly specialized geographic form. It is also, as van Vliet indicates, a world in which economics have dominated (van Vliet, 1993:556) High rises apartments, downtown luxury condominiums, 'casitas' and other oddly named homes in 'private communities', suburban, single-family houses and their gentrified inner-city equivalents divide the private lifeworld according to its social practices, which in turn often relate to the form of the family. Affluent traditional (to the extent that they remain) nuclear families, especially in an American context, continue to opt for suburban homes, now located in private communities. In many of these circumstances, the male householder also continues to maintain the primary ties to the labour force.

Of a number of factors that are significant and defining of these evolving 'lifestyle' communities, one of the most important is their homogeneity. The use of 'lifestyle' as a descriptor is intended to be defining, the community is marked out as designed for young families, the 'active' senior, the urban professional, and so on. Popenoe (1985) comments extensively on the significance of this planned homogeneity, creating the seeds for intra-community conflict. Different communities require different services and amenities and thus a battle shapes up over whether community 'A' gets recreational facilities or 'B' gets health
care services. This discussion highlights issues of importance to the case study as an underlying factor related to the differential needs of suburban commuters versus those inner-city dwellers who were happier to rely on walking and transit. Popenoe cites other issues, including the likely segregation of the poor, the lack of diversity and following from it, the lack of creativity, and the separateness and lack of wholeness that comes from separating people by stages of the life cycle. Popenoe suggests that, ideally, “each local community should be an approximate microcosm of the demographic make-up of the nation as a whole” (1985:153). The desire of people to have those like themselves around them can be met at the level of the neighbourhood, not at the level of the community. This last advice is also reflective of the Toronto in which the spaces of the city were preserved by reform. While the central city may not be a precise microcosm of the demographics of the suburbs, it importantly continues to reflect diversity. I will return to this issue in the case study.

At a broader political level, it is important to consider how home ownership helps to tie the household to the labour force. This is one of its greatest assets in capitalist life, although Zukin points to several other important and relational or ‘binding’ features:

Homeownership is one of those institutions that tie economic production to social and cultural life. It also bridges the means of production and the means of consumption. When mortgage rates rise or the housing market gets tight, the change affects an individual’s position in the housing labour and capital markets. Depending on these interrelated effects, homeownership may emphasize either stability or lack of mobility. In this sense, it represents a compromise between market and place.

There are many other forms of homes and families. The new middle class12 may reside in gentrified downtown neighbourhoods. As Arendt (1958) claimed, man’s excellence is increasingly defined and demonstrated through excellence in labouring. This is manifest in the strong linkages between home and work. And this in turn is most evident in the ‘homelives’ of singles and urban professionals without children whose social practices and life worlds are more singularly defined through their work; work is the centre of their lives. This also extends to many of those with children, however, the children either offer a competing interest or are largely cared for by others, except for short bursts of quality time.
Homes are located to be adjacent to work, work is recreation and an important definer of the private sphere. The homes of these urban professionals may be rented or owned but in either case, they are likely to be filled with high-end convenience foods and nice things. There is undoubtedly a well-used and equipped home office (or two) and 'home' is visited regularly by cleaning and maintenance people of various types. All of this enables the 'freedom' to work. Similarly, work often defines a potential life partner or the absence of one. White collar 'workers' and professionals, traditionally non-shift workers, have joined with those who remain in enterprises of production in working across the 24-hour day, from home, car and even public spaces such as streets and libraries; no space is immune from the computer and cell phone. This was made very clear recently while attending a symphony concert when I sat in front of someone who worked on his laptop computer throughout the concert, even breaking at intermission for coffee. Cellular phones, computers, modems and fibre-optic cable overpower geographic, spatial and temporal distinctions.

At the same time that the claims are made for the ability of technology to transcend space, Zukin (1991) reminds us of a theme that is recurrent in conflicts across the globe. It is about localism and personal identity whether defined by ethnicity, religion or attachment to place. In spite of the transcendent promise offered by technology, people maintain attachments that are important beyond what may be rationally deduced. In spite of its power, a global marketplace is unlikely to effect a major devaluing of people's attachment to place. Local attachment was a factor in urban reform and in Toronto and will be further discussed in that context. Local attachment is what directs the present conflicts over the amalgamation of Toronto's local municipalities into a megacity.

Popenoe (1985) describes three kinds of bonds by which a community is structured: functional, political and social. Social bonds are those most likely to contribute to these strong feelings of attachment. They are represented by the presence or absence of community activities, the experience of shared community life. Political bonds too contribute to the identification with place as they are "the conscious attempt to create or regularize the practical interconnections of activities" or the development of shared goals that rise above
the exigencies of the market. Functional bonds are relationships of exchange, labour markets and trading networks. Popenoe suggests that the three taken together are the bases of a community’s social structure and in them one can see the expression of the continuum from home (social bonds) to marketplace (functional bonds) with political bonds variously oriented to supporting either end of the continuum or straddling more neutral, middle ground.

The description of the relations between home and marketplace, thus far, is striking for the exclusion of mention of the lifeworld and life space of those who are poor. To lack the definition of work is to be economically poor but also to be without life-and-status-defining work - the dominant and most important ‘life practice’. The absence of work increasingly correlates with the form of the family (led by a single mother) and with its urban, geographic expression in public housing, either high rise apartments or stacked townhouses. In the U.S., these forms of family and of housing are likely in the inner city and are further correlated with race and ethnicity (black and Hispanic). In the case of the poor, the family role in the reproduction of children outside of the most narrow biological function is even further reduced by the intensive bureaucratic interventions of child welfare authorities, school truancy officers and police. Even this very brief description begs a further teasing out of how those who I have described earlier as “human pathology professionals” begin a process of social problem construction in associating these families with a variety of pathologies ranging from alcohol and drug dependency to child abuse, promiscuity, prostitution and mental illness. One might suggest that these become alternate life practices in the absence of those more typical practices such as work and leisure-from-work, which give both personal and social meaning. The condition of poverty is no longer simply economic. As life space figures so significantly with life place and life practice and in turn with social meaning, the absence of work shapes the relations with the other spheres.

A final comment must be made with respect to the signifying value of housing and homes. While Rybczynski (1986) traced how housing has followed our changing notions of family, and many others (Bassand, 1990; Pratt, 1989; Habermas, 1989; Rose, 1993) have analyzed the evolution of the meanings attached to homes, there is little analysis on the meanings of
the housing of the poor. Perhaps it is too obvious. It is not that people who are poor do not express themselves through and in their dwellings but, more broadly, what meaning do we attach to how poor people’s housing is constructed, how entryways are often hidden and even more broadly what is being represented by the range of housing and homes across the income scale. On the basis of observation, these differences are much greater in North America than most other places in the world. Home is in this cultural context an important signifier of who we are - it is a spatial reflection of our "excellence in labouring" (Arendt, 1958).

In San Francisco, a well-intentioned architect has designed 4x8 foot plywood dog houses at $500 a piece to house the local homeless. ... In the United States, it is also possible to find a $15,000 miniature Victorian mansion for a [dog].... in these instances [housing] symbolizes foremost the prevailing national commitment to a view of housing as a commodity (van Vliet, 1993:559).

**Home as Private:**

**Its Relation to the Social Sphere - Civil Society**

In a North American context ‘homes’ rest quite definitively within the private sphere. In other cultural contexts ‘home’ is much more socially and communally oriented. Examples of the home spaces on an Israeli kibbutz or the co-operative and collective housing available in Sweden exemplify these differences. In Canada, there are a small number of homes that do not have the creation of a private lifeworld as their dominant orientation. The co-operative housing that was previously mentioned in the discussion of Bathurst Quay provides such an example. Housing co-operatives create an alternative space that is relational. They offer diverse ‘private’ space to a range of singles, couples and families, including, through the availability of federal and provincial subsidies, those who have low incomes. The housing forms of co-ops vary and include some co-operatives comprised of single family houses. More typical building forms include apartment buildings and townhouses. While the individual living spaces in the co-op are private, the housing is produced according to a different set of social principles that link the private realm to the social realm in its non-commodified form. Persons living in a co-op do not pay rent but rather a monthly ‘housing charge’ to emphasize the co-operative ownership of the project. All residents are ‘members’
of the co-op, which signifies their social attachment to the co-op and to each other. Similarly, members are expected to participate in the management and maintenance of the co-op. Housing co-ops emphasize non-monetised interchange and create a primary relation between the family and civil society. Chouinard (1989:233) argues that “housing policies constitute a significant contested site of social reproduction in capitalist societies”. Those federal and provincial policies that enabled the creation of housing co-ops as well as more diverse non-profit housing developments are evidence of the impacts of policies, which, in effect, enable the reproduction of different, non-monetised social relations.

To continue this present consideration of the relations between the home or households and civil society, I will return to the suburb. In spite of the fact that there is no designated ‘place’ in the city in which the activities of civil society are specifically situated, there continue to be a range of life practices which are non-monetised and constitutive of civil society. In the suburbs, the physical, spatial environment tended to have less social or public space, spaces that, in the city centre had been the basis for the development of ‘community’, for communal sociation. Suburban spaces were often limited to elementary schools and churches - supporting limited ranges of more formally organized interchanges. Rose comments on how women act to create ‘space’ for non-monetised interchanges even in the absence of supportive and signifying social spaces: “By watching their children playing in the street, women get to talk with other mothers - their neighbours - and networks develop which establish a safe place for their children beyond the confines of the home, as well as renegotiating the meaning of motherhood" (1993:37). Dyck (as cited in Rose, 1993) claims that there is a relationship between how particular social identities are constituted and the space they inhabit. Thus, the suburban ‘mother’ was both constituted by the narrow private space of the suburban home but even in this context acted to constitute a social space, even if it was only the street.

I argued in an earlier chapter that the life practices of women consistently demonstrate an involvement in, and the maintenance of, non-monetised interchange. The whole gamut of such interchange, from talking to a friend, getting involved in the domestic crisis of a
neighbour, establishing parent-teacher associations or social service organizations to meet the needs of their kids, campaigning against child abuse, drunk drivers, pornography, family violence and for peace are all activities of the non-monetised realm of civil society in which women have played dominant roles. These practices happen from and in the context of the home. In neighbourhoods, over the telephone, at local schools and in other private/public and commandeered space (such as the street), women work first with other women, and subsequently with men and then formal organizations to meet their own and the needs of their families and to address neighbourhood, community, civic, national and global issues. Women also teach these life practices to their children and often support their male partners in maintaining the interchanges associated with this realm (making and maintaining friends, helping neighbours, participating in parent-teacher associations and civic organizations). The space of home appears as a central point from which these practices emanate and is likely central to their social reproduction. The illustration of the activities at Bathurst Quay provides evidence of this. Those present at the park whose activities were described earlier lived in the area. The park provided, to use Barker's term, "a behaviour setting" appropriate to the activities in which the women (and children) wished to engage. As Rose indicates, in the absence of a park, women may take over the street as social space. In summary, the space of primary and informal non-monetized interchange is often found in and around the space of home.

The Workplace: Relation to the Private and the Marketplace

I evaluate the relations between 'workplace' as city 'space' and both the private - home, and the marketplace (part of my social sphere) to demonstrate an intertwining, what Sorkin describes as the "ageographical city" in which "the 800 telephone number and the piece of plastic have made time and space obsolete" (as cited in Sorkin, 1992:xi). Speeding this obsolescence are home computers, modems, fax machines, the internet, fibre optic lines, and the increasingly computerized functions that dominate our work spaces. How work-space or place relates to the marketplace and to the spaces of home is worthy of comment as these spaces and activities are becoming less distinct. They are often - as Sorkin suggests - without place. As this discussion will elaborate, work happens everywhere, without fixed 'place'.

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The increasing connection between the private space of home and the space of work has been partially described. Workplaces are also changing in their relation to the marketplace or sites of production. These changes have been alluded to as I have discussed globalization and technological change. When one inquires about the ‘places’ where people work in the (post)modern city, a general response is that people work in offices. These rather ambiguous sites have replaced ‘plants’ and factories as the workplaces of urban North America. To refer back to Bathurst Quay, those housing co-ops, those “contested sites of social reproduction”, occupy former industrial and harbour lands and are surrounded by 6.5 million square metres of office space (Caulfield, 1994:82) that crowd downtown Toronto. Meanwhile, nearby port lands, which were once the site of industry related to shipping, are now unused and derelict. These changes in the urban use of space correspond to changes in the economic realm, in the transition of our relations of production from goods to services and information. This is not to suggest that work no longer occurs in producing and distributing commodities. This clearly remains the case as the discussion of the marketplace which follows will confirm. There is however, a need to distinguish between ‘workplace’, which is likely a product of postfordist capital, and the marketplace, which has also changed as capitalism has entered its ‘late’ phase.

There are two transformations in both workplace and marketplace that signal a significant change in how the life practices associated with work impact on the space of ‘home’, as well as on the activities and spaces of the public realm (the roles and functions of the state). The first of these transformations relates to the service and information-based economy, which has supplanted industrial production. This has changed the nature of work and workplace and has moved us further in reifying ‘labouring’. As well, even in the production and distribution of commodities, work is more technologically sophisticated and assembly-line functions have largely been mechanized. A second substantive transformation occurs because work ceases to be associated with toil. The manager of a retail store that maximizes its profitability by to-the-minute stock orders can check inventory from home, note profits by merchandise item and ‘click’ on those items which s/he wishes delivered to the store the next day. All of this ‘work’ occurs without a visit to the marketplace (store) and is similar enough as a life
practice to what we do as recreation that the distinctiveness of what is ‘work’ becomes lost. Work transcends all the spatial spheres of the city (except of course those which are reserved for the poor).

The Workplace: Relation to the Public Sphere
This discussion will be brief. Perhaps more even than the marketplace, offices (workplaces) are the dominant spatial feature of most city centres. The highrise towers of banks, insurance companies and other significant service industries dwarf the sites of government and the social and public institutions that were the heart of a public sphere which had some lingering relation to the Aristotelian polity rather than that which is the bureaucratic apparatus of the state. Although the spatial representations of the service and information economy associated with late capitalist life loom over us in the form of modernist towers of glass and steel, the activities which they shroud are much less grounded. These flexible forms of capital accumulation are just that - adaptive and able to move quickly and freely. And this fleeting, ephemeral quality becomes manifest in urban workplaces when the hand of the state attempts to steady their course. A whole range of policy and taxation practices previously employed by the state at every level are increasingly no longer effective. The enterprises such policies are directed can ‘outsource’ their production, or even more definitively, can utilize their global potential and flee the jurisdiction. Both marketplace and workplace in the new capitalist order resist and threaten the traditional hand of the state. These changes and their reflections in the spatial form of the city have an impact of the life practices which are supported (or not) in the ‘centre’ and this discussion will continue in that context.

The Marketplace: Relation to Public
Sennett suggests that “the spaces full of people in the modern city are either spaces limited to, and carefully orchestrating consumption, like the shopping mall, or spaces limited to and carefully orchestrating the experience of tourism” (Sennett, 1990:xii). And, the argument begs extension to note that modern tourism is simply another form of consumption. These comments are intended to reflect on the fact that the marketplace is everywhere, as at least subtext in most of our relations in any realm. I have previously noted that the expansion of
market activities has replaced and supplanted public life. This changing historical context has created a significant confusion about where the marketplace is in fact situated in the spheres of private and public human activity. Historically, ‘business’ was a private function - it was beyond the concern of the state or public. In this sense, the functions of business have remained private. However, as an activity, or life practice, consuming the products of business has become the new form of 'public' expression and social engagement in late capitalist society. The “exchange of products has become the chief public activity” (Arendt, 1958: 162). Where once an activity of engagement in the public realm may have been to attend a lecture, stroll in the park, or gather in the central square, now these activities and the spaces in which they previously occurred have in many cases been given over to the marketplace. As Crawford, (1992) Baird, (1989) and others describe, the dominant space of public life has become the shopping mall - often the spatial site of such real ‘public’ establishments as still exist - schools, libraries and galleries are often relocated to shopping malls. Understanding the significance of this becomes quite complex: we witness the shift of marketplace to a quasi-public realm even as it becomes more private and exclusive (the ability to resist state intervention, gated communities which include their own shopping malls), thus consumption and social engagement are publicized while profit and control are increasingly privatized.

**The Marketplace: Relation to Private**

The marketplace exists in this classificatory schema as a spatial representation - shopping centres and malls, stores and the infinite variations on them, places where we go to buy, rent, and experience (movies, vacationlands, theme parks) goods and their facsimiles. And, marketplace also exists as a sphere of a particular kind of interchange - that which is monetised and dominant. Because of its dual representation, the relation of ‘marketplace to public’ was previously discussed in the context of how spatial homes relate to market interchanges. Is there anything new to add in this current context of how the spatial marketplace - shops, malls, theme parks and tourist places, commercial art and theatre relates to the sphere of the private? There are two points worth noting.
The spatial forms of monetised interchange have become the dominant spatial expression in our society. This was most apparent at the height of modernist highrise construction, when offices, homes and malls were often contained within the same high rise form. The move to less universalizing expressions as has been noted also extends to less architectural uniformity in the ways homes are built. While the spatial features of the city express monetised relations, their forms are more varied.

While there is more diversity in housing forms, there is also less real separation between the marketplace and the private realm because the marketplace is, as previously indicated, without spatial form. It is "ageographic" and is thoroughly and seamlessly integrated into the life practices of the household as its members watch cable television, bank by phone, buy "pay TV", order take-out dinner or pay the babysitter. What were formerly 'cultural' activities and practices are now practices which involve a culture of consumption.15

The Centre: Relation to the Public Sphere

Early land-use planning was based on the pattern or practice of those who were able to move to the most desirable land or area (Choay, 1969). In North America, this was often land away from the city centre, where industrial sites had begun to develop. In continental Europe, because of the intense infrastructure and amenities the central city already afforded, the rich tended to reside in the core, and poorer quality housing was created with less geographical proximity to the arts and culture of the central city. Industrial growth too took place outside of the urban core. This separation of the functions of the city into the three metaphoric poles described by Choay (1969) as those of industry, housing and the centre was variably achieved in Europe and in North America. While these local variations may be shortlived in the globalizing context that I have described, this discussion begins by noting some of the differences in the life spaces and practices of the city centre.

Because of the different historical evolution and the surviving cultural and social artifacts of a vibrant 'public' sphere, the European 'centre' continued to be distinct from its American counterpart. The U.S. city 'centre' had functions that were limited from the outset by the
strong American valuing of individual man and private life. Correspondingly, the bureaucratic administration of the state had limited roles, although in some American cities such as Washington, the greatness of America was to be demonstrated by grand-scale spatial representations in the centre of the city. Perhaps these spaces of the American city were, in a sense, never intended to be for 'public' life practice. Their very scale dwarfs rather than invites, suggesting display rather than engagement. Relatedly, Sennett describes Arendt's valuing of Aristotle's comment that "an urban space of assembly should only be as large as a shouting human voice can make itself heard in" (Sennett, 1990:135). In addition to these 'displays' of public life, the American urban centre was the showcase for the commodities produced by economic life.

American cities had different roots and cultural expressions than both the European capitals and Canadian urban centres. The Canadian experience differs not because of the historical significance of the city centre as in the European case, but probably because of different cultural and social beliefs and practices about public, social and communal activity and space. These beliefs and practices in turn shaped the role of the state and consequently, the social, cultural, historical, and geographic space given over to it. Canadians have a different collective consciousness and notion of collective responsibility out of which have come a different and broader notion of appropriate roles for the state. In a Canadian context, government and public, communal and social expression have been significant in creating and maintaining an urban centre, a literal centring of the activities of all spheres in the geographic central city. The continuing vitality of the centre in many Canadian cities derives from a number of phenomena which have supported and sustained 'public' spaces. In fact, all spaces that serve to attract people to the 'centre' help to keep the centre alive. This is the idea central to Jacobs' work (1961, 1974). Large numbers of people and diverse groupings of people present 'on the street' or in other public places make these spaces feel safe. This vibrancy builds on itself, making these places even more attractive. The diversity of the groups using the space helps to ensure that the space or place is used at different times and for different activities. Thus, the space doesn't become appropriated by only one group or vibrant at only one time period. It is this lack of diversity that characterizes the demise of
the 'centre' in many American cities. The centre is used by the middle class as a work space from 9 to 5. It is home space to a poor and largely black population. Consequently the space is used consecutively, sequentially: during the day there are sufficient workers that it is a safe workspace, after working hours, it becomes the exclusive space of those who live there - the urban reservation that Castells (1977) describes. This contrasts with the 'centre' in Canadian cities, which perhaps because of the larger roles of government, often contain amenities which are fully public and are therefore available to and utilized by diverse groups. Large central parks, institutions such as Harbourfront, which was previously described, museums and other public establishments, squares and even attractive public street space, all support the continuing use of the centre by diverse and continuous groups of citizens. Gehl (1987) points to the importance of public spaces promoting socialization. In a public environment, an individual can seek out things and places as an inducement to go out. Gehl refers to an "interweaving of motives", the place or public space is the acknowledged or 'public' motive, an opportunity to engage socially is also a strong inducement, but more covert. Playgrounds provide the same kind of spaces for children. "Whether or not others are outside playing, children can always go to the playground, and there is always something to do - as a start" (Gehl, 1987:119). Gehl describes the Italian town of San Vittorio Romano where, until a few years ago, pails were left beside the well so that if someone turned up to talk to, "going to get the pail" provided a ready excuse for social intercourse. Jacobs (1961, 1974) demonstrates, as does the San Vittorio vignette of Gehl's, that the more that these spaces are used, the more attractive and safe they are for use by others. This point on the diversity of use also ties in with previous considerations about the meaningfulness of 'public', whether it in fact is fully public or a bourgeois public which limits diverse access. In a sense, based on this limited discussion, in a Canadian context, centres have remained public because they support diversity of use. They have not become elite or 'bourgeois' public spaces that conversely might be described as spaces which are public in name only, to which no one wants to go.

Zoning and land use planning, about which much more will be said in the context of the case study, have been extremely important instruments of public policy that control who has
access to, and can afford, the spaces of the 'centre'. Even more simply, all of the features of the built environment can be used to foster socialization, including the creation of easily accessed and visually accessible public spaces. Streets and streetspaces become public spaces (Gehl, 1987). In San Vittorio Romano, where the pails were left by the well, social intercourse, non-monetised interchanges were facilitated by the town having been built around a large public space. This was the function of the squares or small parks around which small towns or neighbourhoods were built, they serve as a public space convenient for and supporting of social interaction. Another critical feature of zoning is the promotion of diversity. In Toronto, the retention of downtown neighbourhoods attractive to families of mixed incomes has ensured the continuing, 24-hour-a-day presence of people in the centre. These neighbourhoods are not however, compounds of houses, but include shops, bars and restaurants, libraries and community centres. Similarly, zoning that has ensured the survival of small and even marginal businesses in the heart of the centre, together with the more upscale establishments which proffer to the economic elite the finest commodities of the marketplace, help to ensure that the centre serves everyone; the rich, middle class and the poor all find attractions and interests. Thus, the space remains 'public' in the broadest sense of the word.

The Centre: Relation to Marketplace

In the U.S., with its diminished appreciation of the 'public', the notion of city centre had a different history and served slightly different functions. Traditionally, the emphasis has been on the economic functions of the city centre. The notion of the centre as the display of all of the social and life practices which make up the city has been reduced in an American urban context to the expression of economic life practices. The 'centres' of American public life are private commercial centres of consumption which have shifted with land use practices to be contained within the shopping mall (Baird, 1989).

In a very telling piece of research, Sommer et al. analyze shopping as a social or communal activity. They found that only 16 per cent of supermarket shoppers shopped with another adult. At farmers' markets, this rose to 75 per cent. Additionally, two thirds of the solitary
shoppers at farmers’ markets chatted with others, while only one tenth of those at supermarkets did so (as cited in Popenoe, 1985:115). While shopping has become a major recreational activity, as it has increasingly been structured, it becomes less associated with ‘social’ or communal life. As I indicated in the introduction to this research, even in places such as Turkey which had strong social traditions associated with the marketplace, social interchange - non-monetised interchange - is no longer a necessary feature of the marketplace. However, as the farmers’ market data assure us, it is not gone, but is rather related to, or a function of, place and space. Gehl (1987) in his study of the relations between buildings, neighbourhoods and city spaces and social interaction, adds to our understanding of shopping as social behaviour. He advises that in spite of the fact that people are reluctant to acknowledge that their shopping plans have anything to do with contact with others, people who work at home spend three times as much time shopping as those who work outside the home. Furthermore, their shopping trips are spaced evenly across the week, suggesting that shopping becomes an excuse for, or more positively, an opportunity for non-monetised interchange as well as the monetised exchange of shopping. Shopping provides a safe and neutral way for us to have social contact with others. Whether in the farmer’s market or local shops, non-monetised interchanges are better supported than they are in the shopping mall grocery store. This point too will reemerge in the case study.

Baird further comments “[in America], you have to pay for public life" (1989:142). “Monumental urban architecture is bound to be less about what we have than about what we have instead" (Moore as cited in Baird,1989:143). And what they have instead that is offered as replacement for the decaying city centre is Disneyland, which “recreates all the chances to respond to a ‘public’ environment which Los Angeles particularly does not any longer have” (Moore in Baird, 1989:144). The regional shopping mall, one of the most potent illustrations of the significance of changes in the built environment, has been credited with the destruction of the American city ‘centre’ and its appeal has been related to its congruence with the American association between the free movement of the automobile and individual initiative (Baird, 1989:141). The car, perhaps the best symbol of the power of commodification becomes reified to represent man’s rights to freedom and correspondingly,
American 'man' has no wish to go where his car may not. The American city centre, which in some cases began grandly with public parks and statuary and bold demonstrations of the importance of public life\(^8\), died at the hands of the shopping centre with its myriad replications and large parking lots. An additional comment on the shopping centre is required to address a more recently emerging role which has placed libraries and social services in shopping malls, along with walking clubs for seniors and a range of other activities associated with civil society. Given the presence of the shopping mall as a site already attracting a huge community, it may be possible through such activities to re-establish linkages between non-monetised and monetised interchanges. The Dufferin Mall in Toronto found that through such linkages they were able to contribute to the resolution of neighbourhood social problems and improve sales. While of interest, the establishment of non-monetised spaces in shopping malls is not the norm.

A particular aspect of this commodification or commercialization of the American centre requires emphasis. First, it did not occur as a result of some sort of historical accident. As Popenoe indicates, “decisions which favour the public interests as distinct from the narrower interests of buyers and sellers in the marketplace, are relatively infrequent” (1985:101). Secondly, this emphasis on private interests rather than public is often, in the United States, aided by the state. Popenoe suggests that public housing, parks, historic and environmental preservation are limited and run counter to the dominant economic view. More generally, governments play active roles in the construction of freeways, urban renewal and suburbanization “that tend to foster and promote the already powerful interests in the marketplace” (1985:101). This theme of government as the promoter and developer of the infrastructure for marketplace expansion is highly relevant to the case study which follows.

Another different aspect of the relationship between centre and marketplace requires mention. Much of the industrial development of North America was oriented to the development of ‘centres’ which relied on hinterlands for natural resources and manpower at times of peak expansion. Economic development was ‘centred’ in this way and centres and their hinterlands were usually circumscribed by national boundaries. With globalization, these distinctions
loose meaning. Instead, we see "regional cleavages - between Sunbelt and Frostbelt [and between the centre] city and the suburb" (Zukin, 1991:4). Zukin's point about regional cleavages is particularly relevant to the case study which follows, wherein the cleavage was between, or constructed to be between, the central city and the suburb. These phenomena affect the strength of the centre - the nation state has, in addition to little strength, no compelling reason to support what remains of the 'centres' as they no longer contribute so directly to the wealth of the nation - they no longer support the hinterland. In addition, as there is further polarization between centre and suburb, centres lose resources. I will return to this latter point in some detail in the case study as this was an issue of significance in the contest over the spaces of Toronto.

In summing up what happens to centres, Zukin suggests "the wealth of cities seeps out to border regions (evidence the 416/905 area code distinctions currently made in Toronto), and within the city, the centre acquires a new aggressive-seductive lure. Place, moreover, is sharply divided between landscapes of consumption and devastation" (1991:5).

The Centre: Relation to the Private

As mentioned in the discussion of the relation of the centre to the public realm, the vitality of the centre is closely linked to the retention of homes in the centred spaces of the city. The existence of a tie or connection between maintaining the activities of private life and maintaining a vibrant centre may appear to be almost paradoxical. How and why do the activities of the private realm, with its diminished and diminishing roles in social reproduction which were earlier discussed, support or promote the centre? The answers to this are complex.

First, as the centres of Detroit, Chicago or Atlanta demonstrate, it is not simply the presence of housing downtown that keeps the notion and reality of 'centre' alive. These cities typify Castells description of the city centre as an urban reservation. Those whose 'private life' is lived in the centre have no other choice. They are effectively on a reservation, in 'private' space which is made both more and less private because no one else wants it. It loses its
relationality to other spheres of life and it is this reciprocity between spheres, the juxtaposing of public to private, which reaffirms and situates both. Thus, the 'privacy' of private life, extended too far, becomes meaningless. The decline of the centre is cumulative, it builds on itself. As the centre becomes the exclusive private domain of the poor and marginalized, no other resources are added. Workplaces, in the form of office towers shield the middle class from the ravages of the centre by day and an exclusive underground marketplace supports their presence until the last commuter train leaves in the evening. An accessible and diverse 'public' marketplace and public space die - as a result of lack of safety - 'eyes on the street' and as a result of the lack of use by a diverse citizenry and the attendant lack of vitality. Groups of people in the right form and circumstance create vitality which contributes to the 'image' of the space as attractive, creating a basis for its further vitality. When this is absent, when there are no or few people enjoying the space of the city an image is created that there is nothing there to enjoy, which reinforces its emptiness. This is the stereotypic American urban 'centre'.

The citation from Bahrdt earlier in this chapter suggested that 'man' must be able to get an overview of the city, 'see' it as publicly accessible. As the city becomes an impenetrable jungle, whether by reason of lack of safety, lack of public access, or the perception of these as factors which might easily arise because of the lack of familiarity which comes from having no cause to go there, 'man' withdraws further into his private sphere. As Jacobs (1961, 1974) claimed, the process is circular, the more the centre loses the diversity of its appeal, the faster its deterioration into a space for isolated, non-relational life practices.

The presence of a diverse private sphere in the centre appears to be a factor in the vitality of the centre. There may also be a relationship between the vitality of the centre and the presence of the non-monetised interchanges of civil society. One aspect of this relationship is thoroughly explicated by Gehl (1987) as he details how the features of the built environment contribute simply and directly to socialization. This, as I have described it in the previous chapter, is individual sociation - but it is from these basic social interactions that all other forms of non-monetised interchange evolve. Gehl (1987) describes how the features
and structures of houses, buildings, streets, parks and open spaces can all contribute or detract from opportunity for non-monetised interchanges. Front yards, public benches, wide sidewalks and neighbourhood stores all provide "safe" spaces for interchange. Another aspect of the relationship between the vitality of the centre and non-monetised interchange relates to how vitality in public spaces is maintained. In addition to those physical elements which Gehl points to, diversity of use of public spaces is also important. If the park is occupied only by a teenage gang, it will cease to become "public" space supporting non-monetised interchanges. Offe (1985) suggests that what he describes as the new middle class readily forms allegiances with peripheral groups in supporting new social movements. To extend his argument slightly, perhaps there are expanded positive outcomes if the private sphere space in the centre accommodates both of these groups - peripheral groups and the new middle class, which Offe suggests are able to work together, able to establish common interests. These forms of private space (home space) in combination with the fact that much non-monetised interchange emanates from around the space of home, may contribute to the centre as a space for diverse interchanges and multiple forms of association which again, in turn, help to sustain the 'centre' as a relational realm. Thus, the presence of a diverse private realm of a form that supports informal socializing, may be associated with the forms and functions of civil society which together reinforce the 'centre' as an important relational realm and life 'space'.

The Centre: Relation to Civil Society

The immediately preceding discussion touched on the correspondence between the activities of civil society and the private space of home. Small scale non-monetised interchange supports affiliative and associational life, which in turn supports the relationality of the centre. The 'publicness' of a functioning centre creates expanded opportunities for a wide range of informal, non-monetised interchange but this is circular, as diverse interchanges also seem to be associated with a vibrant 'centre'.

Some elements of civil society have become more formalized, have been 'put on the map', so that we find that they have a direct spatial representation. This is the case with housing
co-operatives, which we have previously discussed. Co-ops represent a zone or sphere of contested life practice - one which is oriented to supporting non-monetised and affiliational life, in this case perhaps in direct conflict with the reproductive role associated with marketplace housing. As was discussed earlier, a very wide range of other groups and organizations also function in the realm of civil society outside the marketplace and the state. Formal organizations, because of their very nature, are the easiest part of civil society to identify and the extensiveness of the sector has been measured by Quarter, (1992), Van Til (1988) and others. It is this formal component of civil society that has a direct spatial representation, most often in the 'centre', and is worthy of further discussion and distinction.

The 'centredness' of large formal voluntary organizations suggests a spatial fit with Wolch's (1989) description of them as a "shadow state". She theorizes that formal voluntary organizations represent a privatization of public services, a response to a retrenching welfare state. She further suggests that they may represent the increasing "statization" of life as the apparatus of the state permeates further into all spheres of human life. The shadow state analysis points to "an extended and increasingly diversified pattern of state intervention via voluntary groups... Even though the formal edifice of the state is being held in check or even scaled down, state control of social life is permeating ever more deeply into the practices of voluntary organizations, local communities, the home and personal life." (Wolch, 1989:217) That this may be an emerging role is contrasted with the possibilities that I have described - that civil society in all of its forms represents the direct and continued expression of human 'actors' forging alternative solutions to their own needs and developing structures appropriate to those needs and day-to-day life practices. It is likely, especially in the case of formal voluntary service organizations, that they do in fact represent a privatizing of public life which brings with it both good and bad. Positively, these organizations are credited with being more responsive to individuals and their needs. They also operate outside of democratic control, which brings a concomitant reduction in public accountability. While we need to be cautious about extolling the virtues and possibilities of a sector about which Reagan commented "we've let government take away many things we once considered were ours to do voluntarily out of the goodness of our hearts..." (as cited in Wolch, 1989:200),
this view contrasts with Wolch’s concluding comment:

The shadow state may yet have the potential to cast a heavy blanket of social control over our lives and as such its extension is something to be carefully monitored. Statization via voluntarism is to be strongly resisted if the only beneficiary is the power of the state apparatus. Despite these dangers, voluntary groups have been at the cutting edge of progressive social change and pressure for local autonomy. Their efforts have altered popular consciousness and expectations of the state. ...So while the behavioural latitude of many voluntary groups is constrained by structural political economic forces, the determination and persistence of individuals pursuing voluntary initiatives can also alter those constraints.... Instead of transformation into a shadow state apparatus which performs certain functions of a shrinking welfare state, the increased size, variety and resources of the voluntary sector could hold the potential for expanding popular influence on the state and for allowing individuals greater self-determination. In short, expanded voluntarism may allow for progressive social change in the metropolis. (1989:218)

As Chouinard (1989) described housing co-operatives as contested sites of social reproduction so might we describe the voluntary sector. The spatial presence of these organizations is important not only for what they do, the life practices that they directly support, but as well because these spaces support a diversity of use. The resources and ‘spaces’ of the formal voluntary sector which are often ‘centred’ are made widely available to other groups - formal and informal - for their own purposes - organizing, networking, providing social support and self help.

As expected, non-monetised interchange is by its very nature relational. This suggests that these activities may be best supported by and between the relations of all of the spheres of human activity. When non-monetised interchanges are sufficiently formalized, their resources and spaces are extended to support other non-monetised interchanges. The private sphere extends easily into broader forms of non-monetised interchange. In a sense, the family, although circumscribed in a private realm, has never functioned, and is not likely to be able to function, exclusively as a private entity. Increasing marketplace incursions provide for many of the family’s needs, but as Wellman’s (1996) recent reconsideration of neighbourhood shows that families (perhaps only families with women members?) continue to extend private familial relations into a broader social realm (Rose, 1993; Hansen, 1987).
Non-monetised interchanges also appear to be supported by public spaces and places. The thesis developing from this review suggests, in short, that human beings will be relational; if 'spaces' are available that support their interaction with each other outside of the marketplace, they will tend to associate and affiliate. The 'centre', with its possibility for diversity both of space and life practice, is both a likely locus of the activities of civil society and is probably implicated in their propagation.

Summary: Relations Between Spheres and Spaces

The differences that continue to exist in the centres of cities around the world may suggest that it is at this relational centre where local values, issues and interests find their strongest expression, which may or may not be strong enough to ensure the retention of these urban differences over time and in space. As the discussion of the distinctions between Canadian and U.S. cities demonstrates, other forces that impact on the spatial representation of human activity are the cultural and social values of the 'place' and their expression over time. Whether these will fall by the wayside of late capitalism and its globalizing influences remains an unknown, outside of the metanarratives of modernity on which we have previously relied. Zukin offers a concluding thought that "without a traditional centre, cities ... can only be seen in fragments" (1991:217).

That human agency remains and will continue to be a relational and mediating force in the tension between the spheres of human activity and their spatial representations will be explored in this following section.

Human Agency

I have expressed my view of how our social structure is formed through the expressions of the relations of production and reproduction, tempered in space and time and by the activities and interests of human agents. Because this latter element is so central to this research, I return to consider a little more fully how human agency is expressed.
The notion of humans as agents, as beings with individual and collective will and the capacity to express it underlies every aspect of this work. The extent to which 'they' — individually and collectively — have influence has dominated discussions of the production and reproduction of social life. Civil society, especially in the view held by some that it is a transformative 'project', might be considered as an alternate to Habermas' 'public'. The contrast is that while the Habermasian public was a bourgeois 'public', in civil society, it is often claimed that all actors are or can be represented. Human actors are assumed to have agency and, in their daily life practices, act together through the varied expressions or elements of civil society expressing their will and interests. These are expressed in their own life practices but also in life practices or behaviours which are directly and indirectly related to influencing other spheres of life practice most particularly the state and the marketplace.

The nature and possibilities of human agency must be considered directly in the context of the typical structure-agency context. The discussion earlier in this chapter on production and reproduction essentially 'reproduced' the essence of a long and important multidisciplinary debate. I also suggested its resolution in an understanding beyond the dualism of structure versus agency. Because of the centrality of this issue, I will further consider some of the debate which has suggested limits to the power of agency.

The problem with the construction - structure/agency, particularly as it impacts on trying to understand life practices in space, is discussed and the issues summarized by Gregory,(1981) and subsequently by Pile (1993). Within the discourse of geography, this debate is described as that of the historical materialists (in the person of Gregory) and the humanistic geographers (represented by Ley, 1978). According to Pile (1993) Gregory believes “people are constituted in the dimensions of time and place, routinization and distanciation, production and consumption, social integration and system integration, modernity and postmodernity, signification and subjectivity, amongst others; these are the properties of social relations." To this, Pile responds, “the carving of structure from agency remains” (1993:131). Pile suggests that the problem with the debate between historical materialism and humanistic geography (this same debate is also replicated in other disciplines) is that neither
can:

show how the human subject is (re)created, with (in) forms of power because they each rely on "directly facing the dualism of structure and human agency". Resolutions of the dialectic/reciprocity between structure (lifeworld, context) and agency (intentionality, subjectivity) are offered at either the level of social relations or at the level of direct experience... the structure agency dichotomy is itself the problem" (p.131).

Pile suggests the addition of psychoanalytic theory to the structure/agency mix, arguing that in whatever form (and he acknowledges the contested ground of this theory) a model of the 'self' is required to contextualize the meaning and possibility of both structure and agency. He suggests that the result:

re-composes the relationship between the person, social action and social structure; it forces us to think again about the models we have of the material, social, cultural world... it offers a model of ideology based on systematically distorted communication; ideology becomes the symbolic representation of the imaginary relationship to the real conditions of existence... it can describe and explain how power infects language and how language places people in relation to power" (Pile, 1993:136-7).

By way of example, this move outside of the dichotomy of agency and structure permits an understanding of "how children are forced to occupy particular, exclusive and bounded symbolic space(s)" (1993:137) and the difference and incommensurability between the spaces occupied by men and women and further how "the notion can be extended to the other dimensions through which individuals are forced to adopt orientations such as 'race', class, able-bodiedness and so on" (p.136).

The corrective suggested by Pile returns us to the micro consideration with which I began this chapter. I have emphasized that neither the social structure nor the built environment are determinative of human behaviour. In spite of a social structure that reproduces itself, there are numerous illustrations of social change. In spite of built environments that do not foster particular life practices, we see them emerge. We have evidence of the power of agency but no explanation about the myriad factors that contribute to its quiescence or its emergence. As Pile suggests moving out of the false dichotomy of structure and agency by drawing on psychoanalytic theory and a notion of the 'self', I suggest as well that our notions of 'self'
are not constituted in isolation but in our relations with others. While the dominance of economic relations continues to effect a shift to an ever more commodified ‘man’, non-monetised interchange in their myriad forms serve as mediating structures - in the formation of our ‘selves’, in our experience of agency and in the reproduction of the social structure.

**Conclusion**

The previous discussion suggests that the extent to which the activities of civil society remain non-legitimized might effect the likelihood of our constructing an urban form that will in turn support non-monetized human interchange. A scan of the development of the contemporary built form and its modification over time reveals changes that are supportive of, and congruent with, the evolution of economic (industrial and commercial) life and monetized human exchange. This is not, however, to ignore evidence of the power of human agency, better contextualized as Pile suggests and not locked in step as a polar opposite to structure. The understanding enabled by Hagerstrand’s identification of human behaviour being *limited but not determined* by capability, coupling, and authority constraints across time and space further sharpen our understanding of human agency.

At least in Canadian cities, the public spaces created in a previous era continue to be used by a diverse ‘public’ and each such use helps to build and reinforce a local public history. In addition, these diverse and centred public spaces reinforce the vitality of the ‘centre’. This occurs as residents chat while they shop in local stores, or from their front porches and as well when those of diverse backgrounds come together to demand and get concessions from builders and/or the state to create libraries, schools and community centres. These activities create traditions and local cultural practices that in turn help to sustain other non-economic spheres of life.

A re-thinking of our land use patterns to those that are denser, better integrated, in short, more self-sustaining, has been suggested[^24]. These demands come from social movements organized around desires for respect of the environment, stronger communities and better
integration of land use practices, to name just a few. I suggest that this claim has been able to surface, in part, because of the surge of social movements within a growing sphere of civil society that can successfully place issues other than those conceived by the state and the marketplace on the 'public' agenda. Irving, (1993) summarizes:

Working within the possibilities and limitations of postmodernism, urban planners need to advance a humane and creative vision of a reconstructed society. Postmodernism, with its rejection of the metanarratives of the Enlightenment, may clear the way and open up urban planning for the first time to all the possibilities inherent in the humanities. In Italo Calvino's Invisible Cities (1972), Marco Polo tells Kublai Khan of the dreamed of cities he has visited; at the end he tells the great Khan that 'I will put together piece by piece, the perfect city, made of fragments mixed with the rest, of instants separated by intervals, of signals one sends out, not knowing who receives them. If I tell you that the city towards which my journey tends is discontinuous in time and space, now scattered, now more condensed, you must not believe that the search for it can stop' (p.486).

This effectively tells the story of the possibilities and limitations that Irving associates with urban planning and the built form of the city in postmodern or postindustrial society. Little else need be added, save perhaps an emphasis on the fact that 'perfect cities', although beyond our grasp, will be cities that, at every turn recreate the possibilities of 'centre' as discussed herein, which are centres of diversity of life practice and discourse.

Irving (1993) comments on the Commission on Planning and Development Reform in Ontario and describes its recommendations as postmodernist themes:

Communities should be planned to minimize the consumption of land and to promote the use of public services, especially public transportation. Public streets and squares need to be planned to meet the needs of pedestrians and designed to be safe, accessible and vibrant places. Urban planning and development will be guided by the principles of mixed uses and intensification ... The report notes that 'design guidelines help create coherence of physical form and predictable and pleasing relationships between buildings, streets and landscapes. Streetscapes from previous centuries convey the feeling that the buildings were designed with common principles in mind'. (p.485)

Sustainability is generally taken to refer to a physical, geographic and/or economic 'sustaining'. While these are critical, we must add to the concept the notion of creating
'social' relations that are sustainable. I would like to suggest that this notion of sustainability must encompass something of what sustains the 'centre' as we have discussed it, must sustain men and women beyond the power differential that engulfs them, as well as sustaining their non-labouring, non-commodified selves as represented by the forms of non-monetised interchange which continue in spite of not being 'sustained'. The discussion of 'centre' focused on difference - different uses, by different people - economically, socially, culturally, temporally. The vitality of the centre is perhaps related to its function as the safe relational space of the city. The realm of civil society, of non-monetised interchange, while residual to the exchanges of the marketplace, may continue to be a significant sphere of life practice as it offers the possibility of an alternative to the Aristotelian polis as the 'space' of relationality and a truly 'public' or 'open' discourse which can be reflective of difference and diversity.

In the following chapters, the possibilities and perils of this complex interrelationship between the built environment and the social structure will be played out even more concretely as I begin to recount the story of the urban reform movement, which was a significant social force in Toronto. My study will focus on the most intense period of activity from 1968 to 1974 and will be divided into three sections. The next chapter will be methodological, grounding the inquiry in a set of methodological and technical practices and arguing their applicability and validity within the context of this present work. The first 'real' chapter of the case study, Chapter Seven, continues where this leaves off - it inquires about the physical form of the city, its history, the temporal and spatial context in which this period of social action arose and the specific urban development issues that were the focus of the reform movement.
Chapter Five, Endnotes

1. The term is one used extensively by Roger Barker (1968, 1973, 1978) in ecological psychology to refer to a setting in which certain behaviours or life practices occur and these two phenomena -- behaviour and setting -- are interrelated.

2. This has remained a matter of extensive debate, for a brief summary of which see Wellman, (1979).

3. The emphasis is on 'urban' form, for it is here that I believe the manifestations of industrialization are most evident. Whether these issues are, in fact, specifically urban will receive some limited further attention at a later stage of this research.

4. This is in a sense reflective of the argument between Spencer and Durkheim previously referenced. Durkheim wanted acknowledgement of a 'societal' function that was more than the functions of the individuals therein. We have been left with attending primarily to 'individuals' acting in society, which is not the conceptual level to which Durkheim was urging us.

5. This is not intended to imply that our values are 'social'. The use of the term here refers to societal and is therefore intended to reflect the manner in which societal values are formed, as has been described in this paper.

6. The emphasis is mine as the use of the work is suggestive of a 'play', an 'other than the real world' kind of experience, which is precisely the nature of our new social meanings reproduced in postmodern urban space.

7. This is the 'public' in the sense in which it is critiqued by Fraser (1990), Negt and Kluge (1993) and Hansen (1993). The public sphere of Habermas (1989), they suggest, ignores the question of who the public is, and which groups are defined out of the public.

8. Public is used in this chapter as it is used in the literature and in our two-part world view, as the bi-polar opposite of private. Thus, the public with which private life is contrasted means generally a public life or 'centre' as it perhaps used to be experienced -- including the real public or Aristotelian polity -- the realm of interchange and ideas and public and social expression. Confusingly the marketplace or economic life is often referred to a 'private' but I talk here, as do many others (Arendt, 1958; Illich, 1981; Soja, 1989), of economic life have overtaken or encroached upon public life. This 'false public' of economic life is excluded from the discussion of public as it is represented here.

9. These terms are borrowed from Henri Lefebvre (1991:p.38-9) who describes them as a dialectical triad in which: a)'perceived' space is "the spatial practice of a society"; b)'conceived' or conceptualized space is the dominant space of a society where "artists with a scientific bent" graft together 'perceived' and 'lived' space with 'conceived' space;
c) 'lived' space is the dominated realm in which space is passively experienced, it overlays physical space and includes symbolic space.

While more abstract than Soja's socio-spatial dialectic referred to earlier, the views expressed by Soja and Lefebvre would be, I believe, in general agreement (See Soja on Lefebvre, 1989:76-79).

10. This 'need' to the extent that it can even be referenced as such, was heavily conditioned by the marketplace.

11. For a discussion of this issue see Rose, (1990:36).


13. The current conflict in Toronto over the province's plan to amalgamate the six local municipalities, which together constitute a metropolitan federation, is an indication of the power of place, of local attachment. The province did not anticipate the strength of solidarity and attachment to these small-area municipalities, which, to an outsider, are indistinct as one traverses the metropolis. Very strong referendum results and ensuing public anger are contemporary evidence of these attachments.

14. In 1985, 42 per cent of Metro Toronto's work force was employed in offices and this number has continued to grow (Caulfield, 1994:82).

15. For an expanded discussion of what a culture of consumption means and more exhaustive detailing of changes in the reproduction of culture see Day, (1990) and Strinati (1995).

16. Roles which are now being re-evaluated.

17. Marketplace as it is used in this instance is specifically intended to refer to Zukin's (1991) description cited earlier this chapter.

18. Boston with its 'common' and strong support for the importance and value of education symbolized by the magnificence of Harvard and Washington, with its galleries, squares and majestic capital, were expressions of a public realm, although as previously indicated there is less evidence that the American city wanted 'public' engagement.

19. I do not intend to suggest by this usage that the marketplace is public, rather I wish to acknowledge its place as a social centre and specifically to contrast such a public or accessible marketplace with those that have developed as underground cities, located beneath downtown office towers, often without real public access and which close when the office workers return home.
20. ‘Safe’ is intended to convey two meanings -- both physical safety and -- the social safety Gehl (1987) refers to, in which the motive to talk with others is masked by there being some other reason to be there (gardening, walking, shopping, enjoying the fresh air and so on).

21. As an indication of just how extensive this realm of activity is, the yellow pages of the Toronto telephone book lists in its index 81 different categories of activities or services in which all or a substantial number of the listings are self help, voluntary sector, social or communal. They range from rehabilitative, social, ethnic, cultural and religious organizations to sports and fitness clubs, professional associations, advocacy and national and international welfare and rights organizations, to women’s, men’s and youth service and social groups, educational services and the yacht clubs that we charted among the residents of Bathurst Quay. These are only the organizations that are sufficiently formalized to possess a telephone number and an address — they have a real spatial presence in the city.

This brief telephone book survey doesn’t reveal many more elemental kinds of non-monetized interchange that never become formalized. It is these more ephemeral kinds of interchanges that often directly and immediately meet people’s needs or are the ‘spaces’ in which such needs come to be realized, organized and placed on the public agenda. The more detailed discussion of Toronto and the contested spaces that were the impetus for reform will permit a more direct examination of some of these less formalized elements of civil society.

22. A brief telephone survey was conducted of the formal voluntary organizations and groups with space in the centre of the City of Toronto. Approximately 80 per cent of the groups surveyed provided either space or other resources to other not-for-profit groups.

23. This paper (Wellman, 1996), combined with previous work that has demonstrated the ongoing utility of neighbourhoods as the site of social ties for those with small children, suggest the ongoing significance of these ties for families.

24. This demand comes from a variety of sources, including citizens’ groups, the fruit farmers of Niagara, Ont. and others. These views were confirmed by John Sewell as Commissioner of the Commission on Planning and Development Reform in Ontario, 1993.

25. I suggest that the nature of the public that is controlling of the agenda is the Habermasian public that has been transformed into the bureaucratic apparatus of the state. The breadth and inclusivity of civil society replaces the public as a realm of discourse; placement on the ‘public’ agenda is perhaps reduced to a request that the state broker between the realms, or a claim against the state.
This research has two major elements. The first, the creation of a conceptual schema intended to better distinguish the realm of civil society and the non-monetised interchanges that constitute it, has been extensively discussed. However, to reiterate, I have suggested that civil society is part of an unacknowledged social realm that is obscured, in part by the dominance of the marketplace. Although we acknowledge the roles of the state and family, we do not formally acknowledge varied forms of ‘non-monetised interchange’ that are important in sustaining social functioning. This research explores the establishment of the conceptual boundaries necessary to bring these to light.

This chapter establishes the methodological approach to the second part of this research, a case study of the Toronto urban reform movement. The case study is intended to meet two goals, the first of which is the linking or ‘grounding’ of the conceptual component of this work. This consists of exploring the claims and issues of the various groups that together have been described as the Toronto urban reform movement. Examined in this context are the city spaces that were contested, what they were seen to represent, and the nature of the human behaviour and activity (life practices) that they supported or were identified as supporting. The activities of the ‘movement’ and the claims made by it (including the claims for particular kinds of urban spaces) will be analyzed with respect to how they fit with the reconceptualization proposed. Does the conceptual establishment of civil society enable us to see the movement differently and, do the claims appear to be resolved through mediations between these notional spheres of society that the reconceptualization distinguishes?

The case study provides an example or ‘case’ against which we might see whether and how what happened in Toronto over this period relates to non-monetised interchange and the
relations between the state, marketplace and civil society. The claims of the movement largely involved the protection and preservation of certain elements of the urban built form. I have suggested that the built form supports life practices that are increasingly monetised. Consequently, I will inquire about the preservation of certain life spaces and the kinds of life practices that might be seen to be supported by them. The case study explores whether non-monetised interchanges, the activities of community, are better supported by certain kinds of built forms.

This research has been constructed such that I have intentionally chosen a case study that I believe can explicate these issues. The urban reform movement demonstrates the presence of civil society. I hope that it will, as well, make clear the relations between certain kinds of life practices and the urban 'space' required to support them. The urban reform movement was successful in both its stated goal of stopping (so-called) urban renewal as well as in having a more sustained impact on municipal government. The movement has, both directly and indirectly, shaped the spaces of the city. High density development was immediately halted through a holding bylaw, later the Central Area Plan reflected reformist goals with a plan for the central city. The St. Lawrence neighbourhood was a large-scale downtown redevelopment that incorporated 'mixed use' development, and all of market, co-operative and non-profit housing developed with explicit social development objectives. These are only some of the reforms generally attributed to this movement. The sum or composite impact of the changes wrought by and through this period of social action have, I suggest, supported the development and maintenance of a built environment that is markedly and notably different from what might have been. I explore these differences to determine whether and how they relate to civil society. The case study explores these contestations over urban space, and inquires about whose needs and interests were being served and what types of life practices were sustained.
Specifically, the case study is utilized for inquiry in five areas described as follows:

1.) The case study explores the role of civil society as a 'place' by which citizen interests and demands are formulated. I have suggested that these are non-monetised interchanges, some of which may expand to become social movements. I have anticipated what the case study might 'show' and use it advisedly to illustrate mediations among the spheres.

2.) It is less possible to anticipate how life practices - non-monetised interchanges and their ultimate expression as human agency - have contributed to the preservation of life spaces and how these spaces contributed to the expressions of Toronto citizens as agents. The case study explores the relationship between those life spaces which were preserved as a result of urban reform and non-monetised interchange/civil society and how the kinds of spaces which were opposed would have impacted on life practice.

3.) I believe that the claims of the movement changed the functioning of the municipal state, which, as in 1) above, is revealing of mediations among the spheres. I analyze the data to determine whether there is evidence to support this belief. If state functioning changed, it is important to this research to explore the significance of civil society and non-monetised interchange in effecting this change.

4.) As previously indicated, the iterative nature of the research involves using the case study to assess the conceptual research. To this end, I employ case study data to analyze the proposed reconceptualization, to reflect on both its utility and accuracy, to determine whether it highlights or reveals the life practices for which I suggested it.

5.) Finally, the research explores the value in examining life practices in the context of the urban built environment. I (and others) have suggested the importance of social research done within the context of the urban form as within it are expressed the relations by which our society is structured. If this is true, and there are ways to 'see' these expressions, then we might be able to explore aspects of human behaviour, 'better seeing' them in their social context.

This research differs from traditional empirical work. I have chosen a case because of its potential to demonstrate the points at issue - it is representative or illustrative. The purpose and value of the research is not then to generate 'grand' theory about civil society or social
movements but rather, and less ‘grandly’, to contribute to a discourse about the utility and importance of civil society, to tease out what some of the contributing and sustaining elements of the sphere might be and to understand at least in this particular case the nature of the relationships between the state, civil society, the marketplace and to a lesser extent, the family. As I have earlier suggested, new boundaries and classifications can make certain elements of our social life more apparent. By categorizing non-monetised interchanges and the constitutive realm of civil society, an opportunity is afforded to see how these play out vis-a-vis the dominant realms of society and how they interact with other social phenomena such as the built environment. Thus, the value of this research is the contribution it makes to our overall understanding of complex interrelations which structure human society and which in turn shape and structure these relations.

Methodology

The methodological approach to this dissertation is guided by the same epistemological understandings (knowledge as subjective, socially constructed and contextual) that provoked the need to inquire into our common conceptions of our social structure. These must be considered as overarching any discussion of the methods to be used in this inquiry. An major epistemic contribution of this dissertation is a conceptual one: a three-part reconceptualization of society that creates boundaries important to a understanding the role and scope of civil society and permitting a better, fuller understanding (with the possibility of validation) of non-monetised exchange. The case study is not concerned with ‘testing’ in its normal empirical sense. Rather it is an opportunity for a reflexive dialogic review of both the life practices that it reveals and of the new boundaries proposed to enable a sharper analysis of those practices.

The proposed research is ‘interpretative’ rather than empirical. To clarify this distinction, I will offer briefly some of the feminist and postmodernist critiques of empiricism (some of
which has been previously discussed) and describe an ‘interpretative’ approach to social inquiry and the implications thereof for the case study proposed.

Discussions on the nature of social science research continue to reflect deep divisions between those who believe that research must as far as possible adhere to the criteria of good science. Such ‘scientific’ research and the very subjects chosen to be researched must enable objective, replicable, and in most cases, quantifiable examination. Over the past twenty years this notion of research has been increasingly contested by diverse groups and from differing perspectives. The very presence of this debate owes something to an expanding feminist/postmodernist (and other) critique of science. The interdisciplinary nature of feminist scholarship and expanded interdisciplinary work has brought this debate to almost every discipline and has effected changes in both how research is conducted and in what we expect from research findings.

In the social realm the possibility of ‘grand’ theory or laws of human behaviour have generally come to be discounted. The totalizing claims of the empiricist tradition have been weakened but not eliminated. Research in the social sciences no longer makes claims for universal truths and acknowledges the impossibility of a ‘value free’ stance. While these are important modifications in an empiricist tradition, I believe that a more fundamental questioning of the structures by which we legitimize the creation of knowledge is required.

A struggle ensues about what might replace empirical research. A need to reject the colonizing traditions that permitted the western world to judge others against its standards suggests for some an endorsement of the concept of relativism. Simply put, relativism suggests that there are multiple truths, that there is no one objective reality. It acknowledges, as many theorists have seemingly pleaded for, the reality-shaping potential of our contexts, including our cultural, social, economic and political milieu. This ‘equal but different’ perspective entails other problems. If every view is equally valid, how do we sort and choose
among competing views? Do we lose our ability to make any moral choices - to say that ‘x’ is wrong? This pluralism has a certain appeal when contrasted with ethnocentric research traditions. While relativism protects us from this, it confounds us in trying to make other choices, in constructing a model of reality.

“The dangers of postmodernism are ... both relativism and the abandonment of theory” (Nicholson, “Introduction” in Nicholson ed, 1990:9). The lack of ability to make theory results from the lack of an epistemic base. One of the critical knowledge claims of modern science is that research, empirical inquiry, creates a set of facts, and that each further inquiry tests and adds to these facts, enabling the building of theories that, through refinement and re-testing, explain structures, events and human behaviour. Citing the objective, context-free and value-free pretence of empirical research as the “view from nowhere”, Nicholson (1990:9) defends an alternative postmodern position. This position has been critiqued for offering so little in the way of truth claims and absolute knowledge that it has been described as the “view from everywhere”. She argues that postmodernism does not demand an end to theory-making but rather an end to totalization and essentialism, the false generalizations that stem from purporting to be objective, value-free and context-free. These among others are the issues that form the basis of the critique of empiricism. There is no one alternative vision - ‘post-empiricism’, ‘critical social science’ and ‘interpretivism’ all express an alternative methodological stance. It is not my goal to elucidate these and their differences, but rather more simply to establish my basis for not grounding this research in an empirical tradition and to explain and justify an alternative methodological approach. To this end, some of the distinctions between these three positions must be clarified.

I must begin with a repudiation of relativism as a way out of the problems of empiricism. Truth, as it has been conceived, post-enlightenment, is an “ahistorical phenomena dependent on the accurate representation of an external independently existing reality” (Smith, 1993:130). If we see that this definition doesn’t work, how are we to substantiate ‘truth’
beyond relativism? What is it and by what processes is it to be substantiated? How do we separate truth from opinion? Philosopher Richard Rorty describes three different views of relativism:

The first view is that every belief is as good as every other. The second is the view that "true" is an equivocal term, having as many meanings as there are procedures of justification. The third is the view that there is nothing to be said about either truth or rationality apart from the familiar procedures of justification which a given society uses in one or another area of inquiry (Rorty as cited in Smith, 1993:131).

These three views of relativism generally fit with the three views of knowledge creation that dominate the ground where the receding power of empiricism has left space for other considerations: generally, post-empiricism, critical theory and interpretivist inquiry. Interpretivists adopt the third view which rejects the notion that all beliefs are equally justifiable or good. Each is justified according to its correspondence with an independently existing reality as far as this might be determined given our social, historical contexts, our values, our reflective judgements and the correspondence of our views with others. What we know of this 'objective reality' is acknowledged to be temporally situated - it changes over time.

Interpretivist inquiry proposes that we do not need to replace empiricism with a new theory of knowledge, which is the broad philosophical/epistemological direction supported by post-empiricism and critical theory. What does this mean, or more specifically, what would it mean to do without a theory of knowledge? Again, I will try to slide briefly but smoothly over a large body of philosophical inquiry. In short, and with some consequent oversimplification, a theory of knowledge turns on the idea of realism, just as empiricism was based on the discovery of this 'real' reality through the objective application of context and value-free recording. The point is that there is clearly no ahistorical, non-subjective way of recording this reality. Even if reality is there - independent of our goals and interests and contexts (our subjectivity) - we can never know it 'objectively' (Rorty, 1979). This is
especially true considering our options to depict and record our 'objective' reality. Language is not comprised of abstract groups of words that we use to describe independently existing things, [it] is not an assembly of words that designate things, it is a medium of reflective awareness" (Smith, 1993:130). The process is an iterative one, language shapes the world, which in turn shapes language, posing a further difficulty with the concept of 'reality'. Wittgenstein points to the folly in continuing the search. “It might give certain philosophers comfort to be able to show that a reality exists which we can know nothing about, but it is difficult, to say the least, to see how this has anything whatsoever to do with the problem of working out methods of obtaining knowledge." (1958:16)

So, in the absence of a new theory of knowledge, having refuted relativism, interpretivist inquiry proposes a return to a substantiation of knowledge claims in multiple ways. Habermas (1987) suggests that there was a time before the hegemony of empiricism where knowledge was assessed with reference to a system of cognitive faculties that included practical reason and reflective judgement. These multiple methods of substantiation are the basis of interpretivist research. “These criteria do not stand over and above the research process, but are worked out as part of the social practice of the research itself. ... To advance an argument that a particular piece of research is good is to advance an argument for the particular traits that one thinks should characterize that particular study, given its nature and purpose” (Smith, 1993:155).

I proceed acknowledging the more modest contributions possible, with research which is interpretive. “Interpretive inquiry is concerned with the meaningful behaviour of people - their intentions, purposes, motives and so on. The goal in this case is to make clear what is unclear or not well understood. This process is hermeneutical because interpretations must always be undertaken within a context. The circular process of interpretation between parts and whole has no definite beginning or ending points. Interpretive inquiry succeeds when it produces interpretations that deepen and enlarge our sense of community as social and moral
beings" (my emphasis) (Smith, 1989:171). Thus, the case study is specific and the circular process of interpretation referred to here, is directed to moving back and forth between the conceptual inquiry and the case study. In this way we can explore whether and to what extent the case study is a 'case' of what I have suggested that it is. And, we see whether the reconceptualization indeed meets the goals set out herein.

**Research Design**

The rationale for a case study has been offered in explaining the goal of the second and "grounded" part of the thesis research. 'Stories' help to bring the reconceptualizations offered herein to light. A case study is such a story. Wievorka identifies sociological and historical approaches to the use of a case study. The first sociological approach has two elements. "A case may signal the presence in a historical experience of a simple element or a particular characteristic that the social scientist wants to bring to light and that constitutes an analytic category" or "it may be selected for what it represents in an abstract construction". In both of these examples, the intention is to interpret the case with a sociological tool.

A case may be examined "to learn what it teaches concretely about a reality defined from the outset as a complex synthesis" (Wievorka, 1992:161). In this case, it is selected for study because it can be used to illustrate or exemplify a historical hypothesis.

While Wievorka is careful to distinguish these two approaches to the use of a case study, he also acknowledges their complementarity. The case study undertaken here has a sociological "aspect" according to Wievorka's distinction in that its primary value is in "bringing to light" the situating of life practices in conceptual realms or spheres and in illustrating the phenomena of non-monetised interchange. Although I do not propose a historical hypothesis, by its very nature - a case study of an urban social movement and its impacts and
consequences - the study also enables a reflection on this period of history, on social movements and on urban governance. The case study of the urban reform movement and its impacts and achievements is a complex synthesis of human agency and interaction “conditioned by historical time and cultural place” (Smith, 1989:9).

The case study tells the ‘story’ of urban reform in Toronto, how it was organized, who participated and why, what they sought to achieve and what was achieved, including impacts that were not foreseen. The data collection process is iterative, other sources of data emerge as the inquiry progresses and new avenues of exploration come to light. The case study enables the examination of real life practices that I believe to be pertinent to the analytic categories that I have proposed. By moving between conceptual construction and case study, reflexively, the research creates a circular process of validating each aspect of the inquiry. The value of the reconceptualization is determined by the case study and in turn its utility as a ‘case’ is confirmed by the extent to which it gives form to the concepts. Both the value of the conceptual research and that which is more grounded are supported by the extensive theoretical discussion that has preceded this chapter and an appeal to “reason, rationality and dialogue”. Further validation is achieved by relying on multiple sources of data that, in combination, tell the story of the case study.

Key Research Questions

Many of the following questions cannot be ‘answered’ by this research in a definitive way. Rather they are offered here as a focused and summary way of indicating the nature of the reflections that will be enabled by the two research elements, the reconceptualization and the case study.

What does a conceptualization of human activity and the social structure need to account for? Does the reconceptualization proposed meet the needs established for it?

What is the role of civil society vis-a-vis the state and the marketplace? Is it an inclusive alternative to a public sphere? Is it a mediating sphere?
What part does non-monetised interchange play in meeting human needs? Is civil society the ‘sum’ of non-monetised interchange? Is that conceptualization accurate? Is it useful?

Is this case study a useful way to ‘bring to light’ certain life practices and their relation to city space?

Is there a relationship between the dominance of a two-part model and the built environment? Has urban reform in Toronto impacted on the built environment? What differences might be attributed to reform? Do these differences support different life practices and do these have any relation to civil society and non-monetised interchange?

What are the life practices and spatial elements that sustain the urban ‘centre’ as it has been discussed here? Did the urban reform movement contribute to retaining these?

Methods

As the previous discussion has suggested, there is no single process or set of methods prescribed for the research proposed. Rather the case study is part of a circular process moving back and forth between the conceptual work of the dissertation and the “on the ground” applications. The case study involves an extensive review of archival documents and the related secondary literature and key informant interviews.

Source Documents/Archival Research

The following source documents form the basis of the archival review:

* Minutes, press releases and other documents produced by the Confederation of Residents and Ratepayers (CORRA), CIVACS, Friends of Spadina, Stop Spadina, Save Our City (SSSOC), Pollution Probe and other organizations representing the voices of urban reform between 1968 and 1974 (City of Toronto Archives, York University Archives).

* Minutes of Toronto City Council and related standing committees where the issues and demands of the above groups were presented and discussed (City of Toronto Archives).
* Documents, press releases, campaign material and papers of reform candidates for city council, and the archival papers of those elected as reform candidates (City of Toronto Archives).

* The papers and archival documents of David Crombie and John Sewell during their respective terms as Mayor (City of Toronto Archives).

* The archival papers of community leaders and politicians during this period including those of Ellen Adams, Allan Powell, Allan Grossman and Jack Granatstein (York University Archives).

* Policies, planning documents and studies done by and prepared for the Metro Toronto and City of Toronto Planning Departments relevant to the land use and development issues discussed in Chapter Seven.

Secondary Sources
Much has been written about the Toronto urban reform movement both as a social movement and in the form of commentary on its accomplishments and failures in preserving or failing to preserve particular features of the urban environment. This extensive literature has been reviewed, as have newspaper and popular press accounts of these issues.

Key Informant Interviews
Many of the people important to this period of urban reform movement have continued to be associated either directly or indirectly with shaping the Toronto urban environment. A list of possible informants was developed based on archival and secondary data. This list was categorized and refined based on the distinctions described in the following. Potential key informants were approached to request their participation in detailed interviews related to their roles, the goals and impacts of the movement as well as their reflections on some of the specific questions raised by this research. The interview questions were adjusted to be particular to each informant, although they remained similar for informants in each category. Because of the unstructured nature of the interviews, the outline was used primarily as to
begin the interviews and as a check on the material covered by each interview. The interview outline is provided in Appendix A.

Key informants included politicians and former politicians, city planners and other municipal employees, citizen activists, members of the press, academics and developers. Potential key informants were categorized as follows, according to the perspective an informant was likely to bring based on his/her roles and experience. Key informants were chosen from those people identified in the literature or archival material who played significant roles in the urban reform movement during the period from 1968 to 1973. Issues in selection of those interviewed from among prospective informants in each area included willingness and availability, gender, and extensiveness of role. As part of each key informant interview, informants were asked to identify others who could usefully inform this inquiry. In several cases, I added interviews as a result of this ‘snowball’ sampling.

Most informants interviewed were categorized as following into Part I or II:

**Part I**  A) politicians or those running for municipal office during the prescribed period

B) community organizers and/or citizen activists who played significant roles in supporting the collective action.

**Part II**  C) government employees, including planners and others who responded to citizen activists

D) academics and journalists who have written about the period.

For persons in categories A or B, the interview inquired into the role which the interviewee played in the urban reform movement. The intention, in simplest form was to ask them to tell the ‘story’ of the Toronto urban reform movement as they experienced it; how it was organized, who participated and why, their goals, and the outcomes which were consciously sought and those which were unintended. Their general impressions of the forces that contributed to this period in Toronto’s history and observations about its lasting impacts were
explored. Specific questions were asked regarding the extent to which they see the movement as having had an impact on the state (in its municipal form) and on the marketplace (altering the possibilities for development, changing the development review process, emphasizing local sustainable communities, increased support for public transit etc). Informants were asked to distinguish when possible between their reflections now on what happened, and what they thought was occurring at the time. Informants were asked about the physical spaces of the city, the life practices associated with them and their ongoing importance.

Persons in categories C and D were asked for their general impressions of the movement and were questioned specifically about their role. They were also asked questions that attempted to verify the experiences of those interviewed in Part I and their interpretations of what was happening. Informants were asked to distinguish as much as possible between their reflections now on what happened, as well as what they thought was occurring at the time.

Interviews were largely unstructured (guided by the interview outline contained in Appendix A) Each interview (categories A, B, C, and D) was 1/2 to 2 hours long. Informants were asked if I might call them back to clarify material and interpretations, to which all agreed.

Part III
A third type of informant was included and these interviews form Part III, as they differed from the others in a number of ways. A question important to this research and to many inquiries that focus more specifically on social action is, who participates? The secondary source material and archival data suggest the dominant actors in this movement were members of the middle class. The key informants in Parts I and II can generally be described this way. The areas slated for urban renewal, many of which were saved, included a significant number of poor and/or working class families. While especially in some specific areas (Trefann) the needs and interests of area residents were well established and articulated, their involvement in the social action was in most cases mediated by others
(middle class lawyers, social workers, academics, politicians and aspiring politicians). Even if actively involved, these people (if they might be so grouped) are not those recorded in the proceedings of events available in archival or secondary source material. Given the 25 years that has elapsed since this period of reform, these non-professional and more informal actors were difficult to identify and find and consequently only a limited number of these interviews were conducted. These interviews were more general in nature. I inquired about the roles played, reasons for participating, relations with and impacts on neighbours, observations of other participants and of local government and developers, and impressions, 25 years later, of the effects of the movement.

**Procedures and Consent**

Persons to be interviewed were contacted first by a letter from me, explaining the research study, my role as a doctoral student, stating that I wished to interview them and providing a general description of the information to be gained form the interview (Appendix B). These letters were followed by telephone calls to determine willingness to participate and arrange an interview time. Interviews were conducted in the informant's home or office and, in one case, in a community agency. Two interviews were conducted by telephone.

The key informants to this study are public figures or those generally regarded to be experts in their fields (except those in Part III). For this reason, the information that they provide would be of significantly less value were the data to be reported only in aggregated and/or anonymous forms. The value of the data is closely related to the image, reputation, experience and position held by the person providing it. For this reason the interview findings are not considered to be confidential and findings, specific quotations and observations have been attributed. The sample consent letter (Appendix C) is explicit on this point. The only variation in this practice occurred when a key informant made a reference to another person or group and their permission for its inclusion could not be obtained. In
these cases, if the information was used, the identification of the informant and of the person(s) being discussed were masked.

The letters of consent specified how I was to record the interview (notes and/or tape), the use of the data, the period for which I have the right to retain the interview notes, tapes and transcripts, and provide permission for the publication of all or portions of the interview data. Interviews of Part III informants were guided by similar processes but were not taped and the responses were used more generally. Should this material be further utilized it will be done without identifying the respondents.

**Data Analysis**

As previously indicated, the case study is intended to strengthen the dissertation methodologically by enabling a reflexive movement back and forth between the conceptual work and the grounded inquiry into the life practices of human beings and how these are situated in social ‘space’. This research in its most general form might be seen to explore how our society is structured. Very simply, this debate centres on those who claim for structure - economics or a combination of economics and politics as determiners - and those who claim for agency - the interventions by humans, collectively and individually or as part of organized groups - effecting change in these more fundamental structures. Why do I raise this, especially in the context of the design of the research? The two ‘halves’ of this research explore respectively structure and agency. It is my desire to avoid the trap of being seen to claim for either - structure or agency. In suggesting that this research is iterative, it is not to ‘confirm’ the research that focuses on how we conceive of our social structure or the power of human agency expressed in the social movement considered. I suggest that the conceptual understanding and life practices can only be understood in their coming together and with appropriate consideration of the possibilities and resources of the specific human ‘actors’ in this particular drama. This is an important aspect of the way the data has been analyzed.
The case study (Chapters Seven and Eight) utilizes primary and secondary source data and interviews with key informants. Each interview was written up as a memoranda, with the information categorized by type as suggested in the interview outline. These were compiled so that the responses to each question were grouped by respondent type. I also re-grouped the data according to a number of themes that emerged. These included the subsequent roles of the respondent, ways in which the movement(s) was characterized and others. Although I anticipated data being similar according to the dominant perspective of the informant, the multiplicity of roles and perspectives for each informant suggested a further grouping of responses according to three types of informant response (which often did not ‘match’ with the dominant perspective of the informant):

1) What I describe as ‘academic’ reflections - considerations about how what happened in this period squares with theory and our understandings of social structure

2) The personally reflective - considerations about how people were affected, both at an individual and social level

3) The politically reflective - all or most considerations turn into analyses of action opportunities, what should have happened, how the state should have responded, how citizens should have ensured state support, issues of governance.

Both commonly held and divergent views of the movement(s) and its impacts were noted and considered. I also tried to be aware in reviewing archival and interview data of the implications for the roles and spaces of women and to be alert for the ‘voices’ of women when these might be divergent from men’s.

The case study is described and analyzed over the following two chapters. The first case study, Chapter Seven, focuses on the spatial demands and issues which generated a period of social action in response. Chapter Seven begins with establishing the historical context and the development/re-development and growth pressures which were significant prior to and
during the time period under consideration. The specific plans for development and growth are described for each of the significant city spaces that were to be redeveloped. The changes that developments would have made to the spaces and life practices of the city are discussed, as are the spaces that have been retained through the successful opposition of these developments. These descriptions are supported by photographs and demographic data.

Chapter Eight focuses on the social movement, on the process of collectivization, the articulation, revision and dissemination of claims about the human needs of Toronto citizens and their interests. I describe and analyze who and what structures and institutions were on what sides in this process, the nature of the claims made and to whom they were directed. I also describe and analyze who was involved, the process and forms of the sub-movements and collective entities that formed during this period. In analyzing the data, where possible I have tried to note informants’ reflections about what these claims and movements have meant for the city. I suggest that there were impacts deriving from this period of social action which have continued to shape the city - through the creation of structures and institutions and also through the maintenance of certain life practices and collective traditions. These will also be discussed in Chapter Eight.

The broad analysis of the research and its utility, its ‘findings’ or better - the reflections which it has enabled, form part of the final chapter of this work. As indicated, part of the goal of the case study research is to assess the utility of the reconceptualization. This and the strengths and weaknesses of the research and its implications for future work will be reviewed. These considerations conclude this research.
CHAPTER SEVEN
TORONTO: URBAN RENEWAL AS IMPETUS FOR URBAN REFORM

We are never completely contemporaneous with our present. History advances in disguise; it appears on stage wearing the mask of the preceding scene, and we tend to lose the meaning of the play. Each time the curtain rises continuity has to be re-established. The blame of course, is not history’s, but lies in our vision, encumbered with memory and images learned in the past. We see the past superimposed on the present, even when the present is a revolution. (Debray, as cited in Alan Powell, 1972:10)

Introduction

This chapter establishes the historical and spatial context for the period of urban reform under consideration here. Throughout the 1960’s the City of Toronto experienced significant development and growth pressures which impacted on the residential and commercial life of the city. During this period, several large urban renewal projects were completed and the first of a new breed of downtown office towers began to change the Toronto skyline. Opposition to these early projects was negligible even though they did not differ in substance from the projects around which strong social movements later coalesced. Rather, one can imagine that it took time for an awareness of the transformations occurring to dawn on the citizenry. The shape and form of the city were changing, and the profound nature of the changes were masked - disguised by boosterism, claims to rationality and technical efficiency and "an unwavering belief in the righteousness of urban expansion" (Caulfield, 1994). I suggest that these values and claims made people feel that growth was at least inevitable if not good, and that the growth which was occurring gave a message of "more of the same". It was only on closer examination that it became apparent that this new urban growth was not just an expansion of what was - but a marked shift to the production of significantly different urban spaces.

Related to my overall goal of demonstrating a connection between the spaces of the city and non-monetised interchanges and civil society, Logan and Molotch (1987) suggest that

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contestation over growth is central to the organization of cities. Thus, in this period in Toronto, urban growth became a trigger for a broad public discourse about what kind of city Torontonians wanted to live in - and in order to assess the meaning of the shape of the city - they began to relate the forms and structures of the city to certain life practices which they wished to preserve. From this beginning in a discourse over urban growth, social movements developed to express other values and life practices which have continued to shape the city. The following examines the growth which was proposed and which triggered this discourse.

Plan of the Chapter
The chapter begins with a general description of early 1960's Toronto: politics and political structures, life practices and the changing life practices being wrought by immigration and changing industrial and corporate life. Reflecting these changes are the modernist face of the new glass and steel office towers and a belief that much of the housing stock in downtown neighbourhoods was "blighted" or in decline. Following this setting of the historical context, the specific development plans which engendered opposition will be described. I have categorized these using the classification system of Centre, Workplace, Industry, Housing and Marketplace which I employed in Chapter Five. Within these categories, major developments which were successfully opposed will be described, the rationale for development given and their context depicted. The analysis of the development will include, to the extent determinable, the impact of the proposed development on the physical, spatial form of the city and on the life practices within it. The spaces which were saved and the life practices which these spaces can be seen to support, will be considered by describing current land uses and occupancy patterns. As appropriate, these descriptions will be supported by photographs and demographic data. The utility of categorizing these spaces by centre, workplace, marketplace and housing is that they help to make visible the relationship between the spaces of the city and the life practices which occur within them. For example, I will recount the extensive expressway plans proposed for the city. At first glance, they don't seem to fit - but on reflection expressways express the relationship between these spaces which was anticipated, between housing and centre and housing and marketplace.
Expressways were the mechanism for connecting these spheres which were otherwise seen to be socially and spatially distinct. Thus, through these analytic categories it is possible to see these land use development plans in a new light. I will also describe the basis of the opposition to these various development plans but an analysis of the ‘movement’ or collective action opposing the development is the focus of the next chapter. I will begin with the discussion of Industry/Workplace which will be brief as industrial space was insignificantly affected by this drive for urban growth. The most significant area proposed for redevelopment was at the Centre - where proposed was not only growth or development but a fundamental shift in the life practices which were to be sustained therein. It was in the Centre that the peculiar and particular vision which developers, planners and politicians had for the city becomes most clear. Perhaps ‘vision’ is to suggest incorrectly a considered and purposeful plan - a desired end. Rather, the plan for the city was based on a number of quite unreflective assumptions: growth is essential and good, land uses should be functionally discrete, families should live in the suburbs because they will be happier there and ‘proper’ amenities can be provided, and, downtown land should be redeveloped at high density, reflecting the principle of ‘highest and best use’ for the land at the centre. To effect all of these plans, a system of expressways was essential to ensure the relationality between each of these discrete land uses. Reflecting this final point, the expressway plans will be considered under Centre as it was to become the primary workplace for suburban residents, the centre was to become a place which was to be almost exclusively workplaces. Homes too, for high rise dwellers, but while ‘homes’ of this type were being constructed they were simply an adjunct to the other forms of high density development occurring in the centre. With their form had changed - high rise - instead of single family house - it seemed that providing the usually amenity spaces associated with homes was no longer required. If high rise apartments were to be there it was because they could be developed at high density and there would be a market for them. This contrasts with the equally market driven approach to suburban development wherein there appears a conscious supporting of the life practices of people in and around the spaces of their homes - although perhaps in a more limited fashion than in older downtown neighbourhoods - playgrounds, parks and schools support home spaces. Thus the housing which was being constructed downtown was either as just
another form of high density development at the centre or, alternatively was constructed especially for the poor. And in neither case was 'building a community' part of the goal. (This view of downtown housing development probably explains the "urban reservations" by which Castells describes the housing for the poor in the centres of so many U.S. cities.)

Following the discussion of Industry/Workplace, I will discuss Housing and conclude with a discussion of Centre as Workplace and as Marketplace. The categorization of which housing re-development proposals should be classified in Centre and which in the category of Housing was necessarily somewhat arbitrary given that all of the re-development considered herein relates to the central city. I have used as guide the inclusion of projects in Centre when they seem particularly important as illustrations of what the Centre was to be like. This discussion will follow a brief description of the historical context.

**Historical Context- 1960's Toronto**

**Politics and Political Structures**

In the 1960's, Toronto was a large, increasingly complex and diverse city. Rapid post war growth had created suburbs with needs which were different from those of the central city. As well individual local area municipalities were slow to acknowledge the need for joint planning or infrastructure development. In 1953, by provincial statute, a regional government for Metropolitan Toronto was incorporated with responsibility for planning and co-ordinating Metro-area policy which would respond to these and other issues. The Metro level of government was effectively a federation of the local municipalities which retained their own structures for local governance. The preservation of these local municipalities slowed the process of governing the region, maintained parochialism and the fiefdoms for some old guard politicians. It also appears to have provided the central city with a forum to represent its interests - to Metro and the province. Local municipal councils were comprised of two aldermen (post-reform, this term was changed to the gender-neutral 'councillor') elected in each ward every two years. Metropolitan Toronto was comprised of the City of Toronto, and the Boroughs of North York, Scarborough, Etobicoke, York and East York (See Map 1 of
MAP 1
the Toronto Region). Each local municipality also elected a mayor. Metro Council was not directly elected, rather, it was comprised of an alderman from each ward and the mayor of each local municipality. Thus, the structure of the regional government gave more weight to the suburban boroughs than to the central city.

In the City of Toronto, Council was effectively controlled by what many have described as an "old guard" or "old boys network" (Nowlan, N., interview, 1996; Sewell, interview, 1996). Sewell (interview, 1996) indicates that the issue was not that the politicians were corrupt, rather, *they understood their role as facilitators of development*. Growth was seen to be an unquestionably good thing and the notion that this might conflict with the 'public interest' was not often raised. Logan and Molotch describe the growth partnership which forms between government and business as "an apparatus of interlocking progrowth associations and governmental units" (1987:32). Molotch describes as the "urban growth machine" (1976), a continual and unrelenting search, even in successful communities, for more and more, for the continued intensification of land use (Logan and Molotch, 1987:32). This appropriately describes the Toronto circumstance. If any debate about public interest were to arise, it occurred not over the private redevelopment of land but rather, in the context of justifying the public expenditures required for the mega projects of the day such as the Gardiner expressway or the subway system. "Most of city council was hooked by the maxim that bigness equalled progress and the increased assessment it was thought to bring" (Lemon, 1985:164). This was (is) a common view that is perpetuated by market economics and is one that we can see played out in the actions of government on may other fronts beyond urban development. Recently, the Ontario provincial government both cut welfare benefits and cut taxes - arguing that spending will create growth - and growth is good, without the need for further justification. In fact, the costs of growth are most often unacknowledged and very often accrue not to those who derive the economic benefit, but to others. This will be evidenced throughout this chapter, especially in considering the system
of expressways which was to be developed at public expense essentially to sustain a re-development of the city centre at "highest and best use" - enabling enormous private profits - to create a city of high rise towers rather than streets of homes.

Caulfield (1974) makes a similar argument, that increased assessments were more than offset by the overwhelming costs of providing the infrastructure to service these new developments.

City Council for its part, had been Queen’s Park’s [the site of the Ontario legislature] willing accomplice in making downtown Toronto a colossus for largely the same reasons it supported high-rise residential development. Far from seeking controls over core development; it greased the gears of downtown growth, by "servicing" land and by closing off streets and lanes and selling them to developers at bargain prices to help them complete their assemblies….

No one computed the cost of all this massive building to the tax payer; the old guard kept repeating that it was all to the advantage of the citizen’s tax bill. But considerable evidence suggested otherwise… residents of the City might be subsidizing the developers’ profitable ventures. (Caulfield, 1974:98-9)

This describes very briefly the local political context which was generally reflective of this period of urban history.

**Life Practices and Immigration**

The focus on growth was by no means limited to urban planning and development, the pressures for expansion also derived from real population growth in the Metropolitan Toronto area. Between 1951 and 1971, the population of Metro Toronto increased by 86.6 per cent to 2,100,000 (Metro Planning Department, 1975:45). The largest single period of growth was from 1961 to 1966. These are critical years for the current case study as it is in this 5 year period that most of the expressway and urban redevelopment programs under discussion really had their genesis.

As the expressway debate reveals, Toronto was also spreading. Metro’s population as a percentage of the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) declined from 1961 to 1971 from 88.8
per cent to 79.4 per cent. Metro was growing, but the regions outside its bounds were growing even faster (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, 1975:45).

Forty per cent of Metro’s growth between 1951 and 1971 was attributable to immigration (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, 1975:28). And perhaps as importantly, "despite the attempts at ethnic balance Canada and Metropolitan Toronto have received large numbers from southern Europe and modest numbers from Caribbean and Asia.... [Refugee programs have resulted in] a large number of immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe and more recently from Africa", (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, 1975:29). It would be hard to make a serious claim that these immigration patterns were disturbing the "ethnic balance" given that 78 per cent of the Metro population continued to derive from English speaking countries and western Europe. Nonetheless, there was a substantial increase in non-native English speakers who brought with them and maintained non-anglo cultural, linguistic and religious traditions.

**Changing Industrial and Corporate Life**

The dramatic changes in the nature of work which were discussed in an earlier chapter were beginning to be apparent in Metropolitan Toronto in the 1960's and early 1970's. Employment in primary industry had begun to fall off and was being replaced by service industry growth. Employment in the financial, real estate and insurance sectors increased by almost 13 per cent in the 3 year period between 1969 and 1972. This rate of growth was exceeded by growth in other service areas -professional, community and personal services - and by increases in public sector employment.

Changes in the nature of work were expressed in the spaces of the city. Industry was beginning to leave the central city for larger and less expensive suburban sites. In the downtown there was massive growth which Caulfield (1974) suggests was facilitated by the virtual absence of municipal planning control. "Downtown landowners were permitted to build almost any sort of commercial structure, in whatever form they chose, within size limits which for all practicable purposes, were limitless" (1974:95). A 1969, City of Toronto
Planning report advised that it was Council policy to encourage the "concentration of financial and related business, of retail trade [and] commercial office buildings" (as cited in Caulfield, 1974:96). Downtown office space increased by 25 per cent in the years 1970-73.

A huge range of office tower projects (adding tens of millions of new square feet of space), new hotels (to provide over 4000 new hotel rooms), shopping malls and department store plazas were under construction (Caulfield, 1974:96). By 1982, Toronto's financial district had more than 25 million square feet of office space which, from another perspective, was significant in helping to stabilize Toronto's share of Metro's property tax base at about 40 per cent after a period of rapid decline (Lemon, 1985:160).

Data reported by the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department confirm that significant changes were occurring in the structuring of work. The changes noted in the following, forecast the much larger changes which lay ahead resulting from the technologizing of the workplace. Metro reported that:

There has been a growth of shift work in the white collar fields. It is found in offices closely tied in to computers, accounting and data processing. Twenty-four hour office operations are based on large capital investment in automated equipment and inevitable changes in technology which make the equipment obsolete rapidly. ... Office shift workers usually work fewer hours than the average office worker, with elaborate arrangements for extra time off, special compensations such as free meals, payment of transportation costs to and from work, etc. Discussions with managers in these fields suggest continued growth and could mean over 200,000 workers by 1990 working after 6 pm and before 8 A.M. (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, 1975:71).

Work on weekends and evenings was increasing largely due to the burgeoning service industries. The wage differential between service industry jobs and manufacturing jobs was significant; service industries averaged an hourly rate which was only about 70 per cent of that in manufacturing. At this time, however, the expectation was that these wage rates would even out because of the high demand for service industry workers (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, 1975:73-4). This has obviously not come to pass. These
projections did not factor in the significance of unionization which has been successfully prevented from getting a toehold in most of the service sector.

The marketplace was also changing. In addition to the dramatic increases in services which were now available for purchase in the marketplace, the kinds of stores in which we were to shop were to be transformed (although not perhaps as absolutely as was desired by the rationalist planners of the day). A study done for the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board (1966c) reported there to be 20,000 stores in the Metro Planning area. The study reported a Central Business District (CBD) which was both growing and declining in importance relative to the overall Metro retailing structure. In other words, the marketplace was slowly shifting to the regional shopping mall eg. Yorkdale, leaving the "centre" as a place of 'workplaces'. In the 10 years from 1951-61 the CBD percentage of overall sales declined from 34 per cent to 23 per cent. The study's authors define something called "functional blight - the obsolescence of store type or goods sold" (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, 1966c). These "blighted" establishments appear to have been the local 'mum and pop' retailer. The study acknowledges that their determination of functional blight did not require a retailer to have poor sales. One might be doing well and be judged to be functionally blighted. They caution that older commercial establishments would experience "sales decline unless bolstered by increases in population and income" - which they subsequently acknowledge to be occurring in all zones. "No zone has suffered has suffered a net decline in either stores or sales or has undergone a serious depletion of population or income" (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, 1966c:61). The authors also indicate that the problem with these stores is that they are oriented to pedestrian traffic and thus, at risk. They point to a similar study done in Chicago which examined the shopping patterns of suburban housewives and found that "the consumer is no longer locked into one or two locations but by virtue of the automobile is free to visit a multiplicity of outlets" (Chicago Tribune, 1964, as cited in Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, 1966c:62). "The accessibility of store to pedestrian traffic becomes congestion in the eyes of the customer in an automobile. Their clientele becomes more widely dispersed. New through streets and expressways pass them by." Of extreme importance for the future of Toronto and revealing of the basis for the
subsequent opposition, this same report suggests that "mixed land use is the problem at which most planning techniques are currently aimed" (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, 1966c:61-2). Amid all of the values disguised as rational planning is the belief or value that one of the causes of so-called "frictional blight" is the presence of commercial and residential mixed areas. These are simply not seen to be desirable- disguising the value preference of the new-age rationalist planner - as reason or rationale. Commercial uses are seen to "blight" the residential. This determination is made without recourse to the views of shop owners or residents who 'live' this mixed use.

One must further note that the use of the term 'centre' in this Planning Board document (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, 1966c) refers to commercial 'centres' which are, in modern language and urban renewal terms, taken to mean shopping malls. These are described as "planned centres", strongly implying that they are 'good' as a result of such planning and that "unplanned centres" such as those which 'grow up' spontaneously around major intersections are haphazard and 'not good', resulting in congestion and inaccessibility to those in automobiles.

On the subject of centres, the development of a new city hall for Toronto must be noted. The building, chosen as a result of a large international competition and designed by Finnish architect Viljo Revell remains notable to this day, but equally important was the vision for public space, for city hall as 'centre'. The large square surrounding the new city hall "represented something new for Toronto, an open space for celebrations, demonstrations and recreation, a return to a market square or agora as the focus of public activity" (Lemon, 1985:145).

Other notable features of the changing economic life in Metro Toronto at this time, include a developing tourist industry, the continued movement of industrial jobs out of the centre city and the increase in recreational and social services. The participation of women in the labour force was continuing to grow. In summary, we might conclude this reflection on the Toronto context in which urban reform took place, with words from a planning document,
"[M]etropolitan Toronto is a work oriented community" (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, 1975:90) and also one wherein the forms of work were changing, growth was rapid, and the population demographics were in flux. The opportunities for the development of the urban core were significant and likely to be profitable.

**Changing Urban Spaces - Old and Blighted as Synonyms**

To be rational was a claim to be value-free, 'rationality' was a 'disguise' for particular values. And it was thus a value system rather than something beyond values and preferences, which shunned mixed land-use and old buildings. The latter were equated with land-use 'problems'. This and the desire to build at higher densities explain why previous to the development of a citizen movement which formed to protect some of the last of Toronto's historic buildings, downtown Toronto had been the scene of considerable carnage. Historic bank towers and office buildings were razed to make way for new without much appreciation for their historic and architectural value. The fight to save Toronto's old city hall which stands today and is used as a court house, was a turning point in the preservation of historic buildings. The values of 'rational planning' promoted the 'modern' and 'new', 'clean' and 'efficient'.

Fraser suggests that "Toronto planners disliked old neighbourhoods just because they were old" (1972:57). 'Old' came to be synonymous with "blight". Those neighbourhoods which the Planning Board found to be sound and unblighted were by definition, suburban subdivisions characterized by low density, single use and "new houses of modern design" (as cited in Fraser, 1972:57). Also by definition, downtown neighbourhoods were "blighted", "characterized by high density of population, high land coverage by buildings, houses on narrow lots with no side drives, resulting in excessive parking at the curb, heavy through traffic by trucks and other vehicles, inadequate park facilities for residents, obsolete architecture..." (as cited in Fraser, 1972:57). Fraser suggests that the assumption naturally grew that downtown Toronto would stop being an area of residential neighbourhoods - except perhaps as the site of public housing.
Occupancy of this old and blighted stock was also strongly associated with class, "... the [Planning] Board concluded that decline of a residential area is the simple and direct result of a fundamental change in the character of its residents and that no decline would take place were the original class of residents willing and content to remain permanently in the neighbourhood..." (as cited in Fraser, 1972:57). The solution to these problems were policies aimed at encouraging families to relocate to the suburbs, and the subsequent urban 'renewal' or clearance of downtown land. The vision was that "urban renewal provides the opportunity for producing a different kind of urban living from that to which we have become accustomed" (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, Oct, 1965:20).

To conclude this setting of the historical context, I will briefly describe other notable demographic changes. Planning Board data from the late 1960's indicate that the largest concentration of people with the lowest incomes live in the City of Toronto between Dufferin Avenue on the west and Greenwood Avenue on the east, south of Bloor/Danforth, and in the Borough of York. Just over 15 per cent of Metro families live below poverty line, the number rises to about 23 per cent in the City of Toronto. Even then, Toronto faced an aging population. Elderly people comprised almost 10 per cent of the population. Estimates suggested as well that 20-30,000 old people in Metro had no relatives living close by.

Day care had become a problem as mothers joined the labour force. There were as many as 30,000 pre school children of working mothers, compared to only 6,000 licensed day care spaces. As well, there were another 30-40,000 school age children under 10, whose mothers worked. In assessing these growing social issues the Planning Department notes that "demand is taking its place on the political stage" (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, 1975:292). They conclude that "social planning - the development of goals and programmes on a thoughtful basis has been limited in Metropolitan Toronto" (1975:319). This is perhaps as an effective a concluding comment as any. Local government and bureaucratic initiative was directed at and limited to physical planning, although this was not, in the context of the day, seen to be limiting - a strong belief still prevailed that many social ills could be eliminated by rational planning.
The changes described, in combination with other changes in technology, the development of new markets and an ideology of growth suggested the 'need' for new urban spaces to support new life practices. In reality, the desire to re-develop the central city, the "urban growth machine" (Molotch, 1976) saw the opportunity to act on Toronto's low rise downtown. There was a need for new work spaces, offices, but it is important to understand that these could have been built in the 'nodes' or subcentres which Metro's Official Plan acknowledged as areas desirable for growth. The redevelopment of the centre appears to have represented a much higher profit potential than did suburban development.

I have contextualized the differences between the central city and the suburbs in only the most general terms. The conflict over land use which is described in this and the following chapter have been frequently characterized as conflicts between the centre and the suburbs. Expressways were seen to meet suburban needs at the expense of downtown communities, central city dwellers were judged to be anti-growth and not progressive. While the struggle was characterized this way, a question arises about whether there was anything about the re-development plans proposed which actually better met the needs of those in the suburbs. I raise this question in this context because it relates to the phenomena of the "urban growth machine" which wished to develop the downtown. One of the ways in which Logan and Molotch characterize urban growth is as a competition between regions (1987:35). In fact, I suggest that urban growth in the city centre was fuelled by the suggestion that it would meet suburban needs and it was perhaps only the narrowness of inner city residents which would prevent this improved quality of life. The detailing of the proposals for growth provide an opportunity to examine what about them may have better met the needs of those living in the suburbs, when in fact, Metro already had clear policy promoting the development of subcentres and the balancing of jobs and homes. The question of the extent to which the central city/suburb conflict was socially manufactured to promote growth warrants further consideration. I will return to this issue at the conclusion of the descriptions of proposals for re-development.
The "urban growth machine" is again evident in the changes taking place in the marketplace. Aided by the car and the values of land use planners, neighbourhoods could be spared the 'blight' of local stores and instead, consumers could drive to large regional shopping 'centres'. This new marketplace was to offer enormous choice and introduce notions of recreation and convenience to shopping. A visit to the mall was intended to be an 'outing, more than just provisioning. The regional shopping mall was structured to be car dependent and so auto routes including expressways become critical to the success of this 'vision'.

Suburban subdivisions were seen to be the most appropriate as home space for families-without the blighting impacts of other kinds of land-uses, and these too, required a car. These new 'visions' of appropriate land-use were guided by a higher value - in planning terms, the 'appropriate' or most rational way of assessing the development potential of a site is "highest and best use". These are value terms - but value terms which are couched in the language of market maximization. Everyone is expected to acknowledge and agree that the "best" use for a piece of property is the "highest" use - the development or re-development of the land to its maximum capacity, to the limit of the zoning controls which govern such development. It is this value which so strongly directed the kinds of development which was to occur in the Centre. Under these previously described headings of Industry, Workplace, Housing, Marketplace and Centre, I will delineate the major land use proposals which became the focus for opposition and reform. Part of my goal in providing these descriptions, in addition to understanding how they relate to these spheres of life practice, is simply to emphasize the sheer mass of the redevelopment being proposed and the extensiveness of the changes to life practices which were to be affected.

**Plans for Industry/Workplace**

The industrial spaces which the planners of twenty-five years ago considered to be blighting, have ceased to blight as they have ceased to be. Industrial spaces have left not only the centre and the central city, but associated with the global economic changes in which this work was earlier contextualized, many have also left the region and the country. This was
not quite the outcome which the planners of the late 1960’s were seeking, although they were adamant that workplaces were to be geographically separate from home ‘spaces’. Although the juxtapositioning of industry and working class housing has characterized the construction of urban centres over the past century it was viewed by modern planners as blighting and in almost all cases, inappropriate. In Cabbagetown, Trefann Court and the Junction, working class housing grew up adjacent to employers of an unskilled and semi-skilled work force. For workers in these areas, this co-relation was often a benefit, ensuring ease of access. While there were (and are) noxious industrial uses which have no place adjacent to residential communities, the distinctions being made in the late 1960’s were not so specific. The sole criteria being applied was single-use, no matter how benign (and many were not) the industry, it was seen to be appropriate at a far distance from homes. Even though industry had begun to re-locate to the suburbs, in some downtown neighbourhoods, industrial lands were to be preserved and housing relocated.

In late 1960’s Toronto, there was some seeming awareness that work was being transformed - the expectation was that more and more people would be engaged in office work rather than work based in production. The mis-guided assumption was, however, that all of these workplaces would or should be located in the centre city. This expectation contravened Metro’s Official Plan which acknowledged the need to relate homes to jobs, and ignored the migration of industry, well underway at the time, to the suburbs. In the planners minds, housing was a suburban land use and workplaces - primarily in the forms of offices- were to be located in the centre. Where industry fits in these land-use distinctions is not clearly revealed, perhaps because the primary emphasis of this whole period of development was on the re-development of downtown land at its highest and best use. Thus, the driving force for development might be seen to be the re-development of the centre at higher density, and everything else was to fall into place to enable this. A major enabling feature were expressways, linking workplaces which were to be centred downtown with the suburbs which were to be the spaces of homes. The importance of expressways as a link between the suburbs and the centre is evidenced by the frequency with which the need for improved road connections between north west Metro and downtown were referenced with respect to
freeway construction. The expectation, in spite of the large number of jobs - often industrial jobs - being created in that area, was that people would commute downtown. This will be further discussed as I analyze the rationale for the extensive expressway system which was proposed.

**Plans for Housing (or More Correctly Plans for Not-Housing)**

"I had thought that everyone thought that it was a good idea to tear down and get rid of slums. I didn’t realize that many of the people who lived in the ‘slums’ didn’t share that idea" (Sewell, 1972:15).

**Housing forms**

I have already described changes which have come to be associated with a postfordist economic structure, with more flexible forms of accumulation. These structural changes are manifest in the changing nature of work, the globalizing of the workforce and the changing uses of urban space. The changes in urban spaces were caused by a number of factors including changes in work and were premised on the use of the automobile although the arguments supporting urban growth and development never articulated as creating a ‘dependence’ on the car, only offering choice and freedom. The ‘new urban spaces’ were to separate land uses which were incompatible and blighting. In place of mixed-use, suburban neighbourhoods, planned shopping ‘centres’ and downtown office towers were to reflect a more ‘rationally planned’ city and increase consumer flexibility and choice.

The spaces in which people live shape the city - living spaces take up much of the urban space. The dominant assumptions of the time appear to have been a belief that people will wish to drive almost everywhere and that this in turn enables a much stronger separation of land use which is also desirable. Consumer choice was claimed to be an important factor supporting these changes and it is here that major incongruities surface. A Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department study (1975) reports on housing preference, that 90 per cent
of respondents indicated a preference for a single family dwelling. The report continues, that in the period since 1958 when this was the dominant housing form in Metro, apartment construction has increased to where it now accounts for 70-75 per cent of all new housing stock. By 1971, apartments represented 41 per cent of Metro's housing stock. The report suggests that by 1981, the majority of dwellings will be apartments and further designates the family structure appropriate to each dwelling type:

The single detached dwelling household is the most suitable form of housing for a family which is organized on the basis of a husband-father who is also the sole income earner, three or four children per family and an assumption that the wife remains at home as housekeeper and to care for the children. It assumed a family would be to a certain degree burdened with children...

The higher density forms of housing (apartments and others) are suitable to:

1. Families which are smaller
2. With more than one breadwinner

(Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, 1975:96)

This same report acknowledges the increasing participation of women in the labour force and smaller family size - a norm of a little more than 2.1 children per family. Thus, these higher density forms of housing become, by definition, appropriate for the vast majority of Metro families - in spite of the overwhelming preference of these families for single family houses. And, all of this is in spite of the fact that, at that time, single family houses comprised 59 per cent of the Metro stock. (As we shall further discuss, a significant number of these single family houses were literally standing in the way of the various re-development plans). It is difficult to believe then, that the desire to respond to the preferences of consumers was a genuine factor in the drive to separate land use by function. While single family homes were being built in the suburbs, there had been no indication from the thousands of families living in single family homes downtown, that they wished to change their circumstance. Rather, it appears that larger economic and technical motives were the significant factors driving re-development and consumer choice was only likely to be invoked when it was coincident with these 'larger' visions but otherwise largely ignored.
A Metro Planning Department statement interestingly bears on just what Metro may have informally decided about families and family housing. "For instance, it is usually desirable if the needs of children are to be adequately met, that there be concentrations of families with children in certain areas in order that schools, playgrounds and other supplementary services that are designed for children be adequate and efficient" (my emphasis) (1975:136). The study goes on to identify that City of Toronto schools have empty classrooms - which we might take to mean that they are not operating "efficiently" (which is of course a value handmaiden to 'technical' and 'rational', the three of which were the dominant bureaucratic values of the time). Metro bureaucrats appear to have decided that downtown was not an appropriate place for families, therefore the demolition of acres of single family housing would not cause undue harm. Those very 'modern' families who chose to remain downtown would be happier in an apartment which required less maintenance and less time, others would move happily to single family homes in the suburbs where concentrations of children would enable the efficient provision of suitable amenities. This was the environment in which the urban renewal and re-development projects which I describe, were being considered.

Most of the proposals for the re-development of these neighbourhoods of single family homes, were not plans for similar residential communities. In only some cases were new residential neighbourhoods planned - and 'neighbourhood' or 'community' were never used as descriptors. For those wanting 'neighbourhood' with their housing the message was quite clear - it was to be found in the suburbs. Thus, although this section is entitled housing, the sub-title is the more accurate.

Most of the housing located downtown was seen to be 'blighted' a term perhaps gentler, but synonymous with 'slum'. Thus, this is a specific meaning given in a particular historic context, given that urban places and spaces are in an ongoing process of decline and renewal. In 1960's Toronto, there was a strong belief that social and urban problems could be overcome and the mistakes of previous decades corrected if there were to be applied a
rational, systematic and technical process of planning. Urban renewal was a common approach to these problems which claimed to embrace modern, rationalist, technical solutions. Unlike other incrementalist options, renewal was drastic and transformative, old and blighting uses were quickly eradicated enabling 'modern' construction and design.

In 1966, Metro released a report on urban renewal which found that "the problem rests not in the existence of substantial areas of serious blight but in a widespread distribution of a moderate degree of blight through many parts of the city and a few suburban areas" (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, 1966b:9). The study identified about 10,000 residential properties which were either seriously deteriorated or in poor structural condition. The presence of blighted areas corresponds interestingly with those areas which would likely be affected by the expressway development which will be subsequently detailed. (See Map 2, City of Toronto, Planning Board).

There is a general conjunction of residential commercial and industrial blight in three distinct geographic bands: running west from downtown along the mainline railway corridor about 5 miles into the junction area, running east from downtown about 6 miles along the main-line railway corridor into East York and Scarborough; and in southern Etobicoke and the lakeshore suburbs about 8 or 9 miles from downtown. In addition to problems of deterioration, overcrowding and environmental blight in these areas, there are frequently inadequate public facilities and a relatively low level of public improvements particularly inadequate sewers. Schools are frequently overcrowded, but there has been a consistent effort to provide new and improved public school facilities in these areas (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, 1966b:ii).

The areas reported to be blighted areas coincide quite closely with those discussed in the context of expressway development. Rail corridors might naturally be considered a "blighting use" in any city. If the construction of the definition and problem are so defined, then land which is adjacent or near will be considered to be blighted no matter what its actual use or the experience of the people who live there. The areas which were determined to be blighted were the Junction area of west Toronto, the area along the CP Toronto line and the east side
3 City Planning Board’s Neighbourhood Classifications, 1944: The first attempt to sort out districts by housing quality was largely based on the age of homes. "Blighted" and "slum" areas caused concern, as did the wide extent of declining and vulnerable housing. But after 1965 many of the "old" areas would become attractive.
and lakeshore area of Toronto city. These areas correspond to alignments proposed for the '400' extension, the Crosstown, and the Scarborough expressways. In other areas, blight was less extensive, enabling a program of spot clearance rather than wholesale 'renewal'.

Overall 50,000 dwelling units were affected by the designation of "blight" which excluded those homes already slated for renewal in Regent Park, Alexandra Park, Moss Park, Trefann Court, Riverdale and Don Mount. It was claimed that the city had more than 200 blocks of housing in which one fifth to one half of the dwellings were in a deteriorated condition (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, 1966b:9).

Moderate residential deterioration is characterized by overcrowded school buildings on small sites, lack of neighbourhood playgrounds and parks, inadequate sewer systems resulting in occasional or frequent flooding of basements, excessive traffic on residential streets, and a serious lack of parking space. It is not only the existence of deteriorated and overcrowded dwellings but their conjunction with other manifestations of neighbourhood blight, which leads to the need for a comprehensive renewal program (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, 1966b:11).

It is important to note in the definition above that many of the causes of "blight" are the lack of adequate infrastructure services which are the responsibility of the municipality. Rather than a slower incremental approach to upgrading municipal services, the more intrusive clearance approach was adopted - in part because clearance for urban renewal brought federal and provincial dollars to which the municipality would not otherwise be entitled.

Statistics on overcrowding reveal that one of the indicators used to measure it is the presence of dwellings with more than one household, ie. lodger families, two or more families per house, and dwellings with more than 1 person per room. The former was taken to be a measure of involuntary "doubling-up". This dividing of a house into flats or the sharing of a house by two families was found to be 50 per cent higher in renewal districts than in rest of city. Room overcrowding was found to be twice as high in these "blighted" areas as in the rest of city (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, 1966b).
While I do not wish to argue with the need to assess housing and occupancy standards particularly as a measure of urban well-being, it is arguable whether the presence of children sharing a room or families sharing a house can be so readily determined to be "blighting". That the areas in question are poor is borne out by statistics for those areas, some of which have been previously discussed. However, doubling up, creating flats or basement apartments or providing for boarders by crowding one's own children together have been the standard methods by which those with lower incomes and immigrant families buy houses. These tools were among the only ones available to poor people who wished to buy a house. They also provided additional housing for many families and singles during a period of time when housing stock was in short supply. In these older sections of Toronto, a common house form is a three story, five bedroom house with basement, quite suitable for accommodating more than one family.

"As would clearly be expected it is in the older sections of the metropolitan area that severe urban problems are found in substantial quantity, comprising not only deteriorated and obsolete structures, but also other aspects of neighbourhood blight such as incompatible land uses, obsolete and inefficient street patterns, a low level of public improvements, inadequate recreation space, and lack of parking and other environmental amenities". (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, 1966b:8). Again, the issue of "blighting use" is revealed to be related to what is old - obsolete structures combined with obsolete street patterns, exacerbated by poor municipal infrastructure development which was very likely related to a municipal view that the area did not warrant this kind of expenditure.

Urban renewal programs were initiated by municipalities, however as previously noted, senior levels of government established both legislative and fiscal mandates which supported these programs. Important changes were made to the National Housing Act (NHA) in 1964 to support broad urban renewal programs and to improve the financing available to municipalities engaged in renewal. The federal program was not just facilitative, such programs were being actively encouraged. In introducing these legislative changes, the Minister responsible made the following points:
For the first time federal legislation is put forward which will encourage and assist municipalities, with appropriate provincial authorization and supervision, to conduct broad programs of urban renewal. The plans included in the proposed new legislation call for the redevelopment of areas which would lead to the construction of public housing in some areas as well as commercial development in the same areas.

The development of fine cities in Canada requires that municipalities be able to clear areas of blight and slums, whatever their present use may be, whether it is commercial industrial or residential. (as cited in Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, March 1966a:37)

Following these federal changes, the Ontario Minister for Municipal Affairs announced program changes which reflected these changes in the federal legislation, notably the broadening of provisions for renewal beyond the creation of housing:

Under the new policy the province will extend its program to include not only the acquisition and clearance of land in approved areas but also Broaden cost sharing ...

Arrange loans between the municipality and the federal government...

Whereas blighted areas previously had to have a substantial housing component in order to receive financial assistance, the new policy will include areas other than residential (as cited in "The Role of Private Enterprise in Urban renewal", Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, March, 1966a:412).

The financing of these projects was 50 per cent federal, and 50 per cent municipal as provided by the NHA. In Ontario, the province committed 25 per cent of the municipal share and assisted the municipality in securing a federal loan. Viewed from this legislative and policy context it is not surprising that Metro pursued urban renewal so vigorously.

A Metro report on urban renewal acknowledges a problem in housing supply which was unlikely to be satisfied by the private market which builds for the "upper half at best of the income scale" (1966a:294). It further acknowledges that "filtering down does not work" (p.294) and that old and run-down properties are an important resource for the low income population. "For those with no other choice, these properties meet a vital need even though offending middle class standards" (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, 1966a:294). This comment stands in marked contrast to the policies which the municipalities pursued. In spite of the important role acknowledged for these houses and neighbourhoods, the City of
Toronto and Metro relentlessly proceeded with plans for their clearance. Often the properties slated for clearance were old and not even necessarily run-down - they were blighted by their proximity to non-residential land uses, poor municipal servicing and infrastructure and other properties which were run down.

These neighbourhoods were to be replaced, by and large, with high rise apartment towers. Rational bureaucrats assumed the desirability and suitability of units in high rise apartments (in spite of preference studies to the contrary) for small urban families, either professionals or low income families which shared the characteristic of two working parents. A housing supply problem, continuing urban growth, the demolition of old more flexible house forms, which as indicated often housed more than one family, all contributed to ensuring that in spite of preference, these new rental forms had a market. In some cases as in Regent Park, a market was assured because housing costs were subsidized to ensure affordability by those with low incomes.

Urban renewal involved the redevelopment or renewal of urban land in ways which generate large additional returns on the investment made. Land developed in earlier times was considered to be under-used, this circumstance deriving from two phenomena. As cities expand, what were once suburbs, cottage communities or even neighbourhoods of single family homes now occupy land that is in close proximity to the city centre. As well, "developers viewed the single family dwelling as an anachronism in a downtown neighbourhood, which was not a satisfactory market solution for such valuable land" (Burton and Morley, 1979:39). "To the developer... prime downtown land along subway and bus routes was virtually lying fallow; a few houses with lawns and back yards, straggled along street after street right off the main arterial roads" (Granatstein, 1971:viii). The solution in market terms², was the development in the central city of commercial office towers, hotels and high rise apartment buildings and on less valuable suburban land - commercial shopping centres. The value of the land had increased and so too had the technological capacity to build on it. As well, building practices and the norms of post war growth and expansion
encouraged more intensive development. The re-development pressures which faced Toronto derived from these circumstances and their primary impact was on the neighbourhoods of houses which lay close the city centre.

I begin by describing two urban renewal projects which proceeded. This does not quite follow the plan which to reiterate, is the description of urban renewal proposals which were stopped by social movements making alternate claims on urban spaces. I begin with descriptions of Regent Park and St. James Town because their "success" as early renewal projects strengthened the opposition to more of the same. Had these projects really been successful (and this is not to disregard the significance of Regent Park in the history of Canadian public housing) it may have been much more difficult for the forces of urban reform to coalesce so clearly about what they didn't want. I include the descriptions of Regent Park and St. James Town here rather than in the discussion of Centre (where both are located) because I see their significance for how we think about downtown housing and their role as a catalyst for other downtown neighbourhoods. Most of the housing re-development proposals considered here, under the category of Housing, could as easily be considered under Centre as most or all relate to housing which is in or near the centre. In spite of this overlap, the categorization remains useful, if somewhat arbitrary, because it serves to highlight the life practices which are associated with each spatial categorization eg. we expect areas of homes to support some readily discernable and broadly agreed to life practices, we can similarly identify these for workplaces and so on.

Regent Park
Regent Park was the first public housing development in Canada and a huge urban renewal or slum clearance project. Along with Yorkville and Trinity Park it was first identified by the City in 1944 as appropriate for slum clearance. Regent Park was the area originally described as "Cabbagetown" made famous by the Hugh Garner book of the same name and settled by Irish immigrants fleeing the 1847-48 potato famines. This settlement was encouraged by industry developing along the Don River which required a new and largely unskilled work force. The area south of Gerrard Street already existed in sharp contrast to
the more affluent Don Vale to the north (to be subsequently discussed) where the homes were of better quality and were occupied by a middle class comprised "predominantly of self employed businessmen" (Kelly, 1984). The houses south of Gerrard Street have historically been housing developments, the earlier form built by industrialists to house their workers and known as "worker's rows" (Kelly, 1984). "These cottages were rarely maintained by the factory owners and as a result they quickly deteriorated... The small crowded lodgings were poorly built and with no insulation they offered little resistance against the cold winters. Most of the row houses were torn down for Regent Park.." (Kelly, 1984:7). The evolution of Regent Park is worthy of note as it might be seen to signal an important shift in the responsibilities of the marketplace and the state. Earlier, the responsibility for housing their workers had been assumed (not admittedly assumed with enthusiasm) by industry. With the redevelopment of the area this responsibility was adopted by the state. Coincident with this is a further erosion in the labour force participation of this sector of urban Toronto. It seems as though a wholesale transfer of work, life, and housing responsibility was shifted from the marketplace to the state. In Caulfield’s words, Regent Park became "a kind of soft concentration camp for a segment of the city’s surplus labour force" (Caulfield, 1994:29).

Regent Park, as Canada’s first public housing project was financed by Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. The development took place in two phases: existing mixed quality neighbourhoods of poor and more substantial houses were razed and in their place, a variety of row house and apartment buildings were constructed. Through streets were closed off, commercial development shut out, parking centralized, in short, the ‘campus’ approach to public housing was adopted, that which is most widely associated with U.S. style ‘projects’. The new Regent Park housed about 9000 people and redevelopment occurred before the period under study here.

Regent Park is just east of downtown, adjacent to many of those areas which were subsequently proposed for urban renewal. In fact, every neighbourhood from Yonge St east to the Don Valley parkway and south of Bloor Street was during this period, slated for
renewal. That Regent Park and St. James Town had already been "renewed" was of significant importance in giving residents of other "blighted" and threatened areas, real and tangible evidence of the effects of renewal.

**St. James Town**

St. James Town exemplified the most common form of urban 'renewal'. From Wellesley to Howard St. (just south of Bloor St.) west of Parliament, this private sector development replaced a neighbourhood of "hundreds of family houses. They were old a bit rundown and dirty for Toronto... With bonuses for "good development" and with the very best planning advice, city council succeeded in destroying that "slum" ... It was replaced with windy concrete canyons and sunless prophylactic greensward and a dozen 25-storey monuments for people to live in" (Kilbourn, 1984:300).

Kilbourn suggests that "what was destroyed in St. James Town was not just a community and its physical fabric of houses and backyards and trees, but the possibility of growing another one there remotely like it" 1984:302). I will not attempt to evaluate fully all of the forces which Kilbourn had in mind in suggesting that a new community with similarities to the previous one, could no longer grow from St. James Town. But there are several factors which are noteworthy: St. James Town has the highest residential density of any community in Canada, almost 15,000 people live at a density of 325 persons per acre (City of Toronto Planning Board, North St James Town, March, 1975). And unlike the houses which formerly occupied the site, there is no flexibility in the form of the neighbourhood. The life practices supported by these dense high rise buildings with small identical units are those within a more limited range. Houses permit an endless array of conversion; rooms can be added, as can a garage or shed at the back, boarders can be offered shelter, an apartment or flat created, friends and family can move in, the living room can be converted to a shop, vegetables can be grown in a garden. The very form of the house permits, if not quite the subsistence life which Illich describes (1971), at least more flexible forms of family life which include opportunities for economic sustenance. The division of labour and the isolation of the nuclear family are less absolute and affect life practices in a less totalizing way.
St. James Town serves now as a reminder of these issues. Twenty five years have passed since the "project" was built. Unlike most other neighbourhoods, there is no evidence of evolution in St. James Town, only decline. The buildings while generally maintained, look their age, the face of a high rise of that vintage is not easily changed or contemporized. Updating and 'modernizing' which for house form buildings can be both significant and minimal such as a coat of paint or new landscaping, are for developments at this scale, major undertakings. The interiors of many of the buildings are deteriorated as is their structural condition. Like many high rise areas, there are a number of social problems and safety is a concern to many residents because of underground parking, long corridors, the 'unowned space' and lack of the "eyes on the street" phenomena noted by Jacobs (1961) and Newman (1972).

A final note must be added about St. James Town and Regent Park. Although there is no evolutionary cycle apparent and these neighbourhoods are fixed, they have also been fixed in providing housing for those with lower incomes. While much of the housing stock in other Toronto neighbourhoods has been gentrified, now housing urban professionals, these projects have remained an important resource to low income families. To ignore this would be to commit the same folly as the municipalities were about to in 1966, when they were advised of the importance of old houses and neighbourhoods and continued to make plans for their demolition. In Regent Park the stability of the tenant group is dictated by its structure as public housing. In St. James Town the circumstance is perhaps worse, its stability is dictated by the lack of desirability of the physical built form. This touches on an issue to which I will return - while the possibility of the evolution of a neighbourhood is clearly important, so too is the preservation of housing stock for those with lower incomes. An acceptable solution is not the construction of stock so unappealing that its retention by the poor is forever secured. While perhaps oversimplified, I suggest that this has been the case in St. James Town.

**Don Vale**

Don Vale - better but incorrectly known as Cabbagetown, might also be described as "one that got away". This relatively small area bounded by the Don Valley on the east, Parliament
St on the west, St James Cemetery on the north and Regent Park to the south was also slated for urban renewal. Plans for this neighbourhood were developed later (late 1960's) and reflected more sensitivity than did widespread "slum clearance". Nonetheless, individually blighting uses and properties were to be cleared and a requirement was imposed for that area that property owners must bring their property to a new standard set for that district which was higher than that required elsewhere or they would face expropriation (Lorimer, 1971).

Lorimer writing of his experience living in the area, presents an alternative view of the city's assessment of blight:

Most of the houses in the area have a well kept appearance from the street, and there are little signs ( like freshly-painted bricks or trim, a new porch rail, new bricks around the top of the chimney, or an aluminum scree door) which indicate that repairs and improvements are going on all the time.

Some houses, perhaps 70 or 80 of the 1300 in the area, look run-down from the outside. Small but significant signs, like a front yard of packed earth instead of grass, distinguish run down houses owned by absentee landlords from those of owner-occupiers. A small number, perhaps 20, have some obvious structural problems...

At the time when Toronto's city planners were trying to convince residents that, in spite of what they thought, their area was at least 'blighted' if not a 'slum', they showed residents slides of back yards, empty lots, lanes and fences. The slides were generally black-and-white because this served the purpose better. The lanes .... are almost always unpaved and without gravel. Empty lots fill up with derelict cars, old tires, bottles and junk.... Fences are almost always sagging... (Lorimer and Phillips, 1971:152-53).

As Lorimer and Phillips (1971) describe, this neighbourhood was already in transition to becoming a neighbourhood of white painted houses and professional people, replacing the area's long term residents, "working people" in Lorimer's parlance. Some spot clearance occurred in this neighbourhood, but organized opposition to urban renewal in Don Mount (just east across the Don Valley), in Cabbagetown/Don Vale, and the increasing organization and opposition to these proposals from resident/ratepayer organizations across the city.
forestalled a ‘successful’ renewal scheme in Don Vale. Plates 1, 2 and 3 depict the existing community of Cabbagetown/Don Vale showing the mixed housing types in the area including nearby infill housing (lower photograph on Plate 3 shows a housing co-operative developed as part of the compromises effected in south St. James Town).

Trefann Court
"I had thought that everyone thought that it was a good idea to tear down and get rid of slums. I didn’t realize that many of the people who lived in the ‘slums’ didn’t share that idea". This was a comment made by John Sewell (1972: 15) as he first began to work with Trefann Court residents and it is a view which was common at the time. Certainly reports on the redevelopment of Regent Park express the view that the tenants will be delighted to have "new and modern" apartments. Trefann Court was slated for urban renewal - not of the type which emerged a decade later - which was a more selective approach to redevelopment and expropriation and demolition (often though with the same eventual impact on neighbourhoods) but the urban renewal of early 1960’s Toronto. Trefann was to be cleared, enabled by the federal and provincial legislation and policy previously described.

Trefann is a small area on the east side of Toronto’s downtown. In 1966, it housed about 1350 people in houses built in the late 1800’s. It was a surviving and poor neighbourhood in a now mostly "renewed" cabbagetown. Across Shuter on the north side of Trefann stood Regent Park, built in the 1950’s and expanded in the 1960’s. To the west, were the three high-rise apartment towers of Moss Park, also testament to urban renewal. Some of the Trefann residents were "refugees" from Moss Park and Regent Park because they didn’t take to apartment living or they had no where else to go once their houses had been destroyed (Sewell, 1970).

The quality of the housing was mixed - some frame "workers" cottages, other more substantial brick fronted row houses and other semi-detached three storey houses. Forty per cent of these houses were owner occupied. This was a neighbourhood of mixed use - commercial along Queen, the usual assortment of variety stores but also auto wreckers and
light industry. There were no parks, recreational or community facilities (Sewell, 1970). Trefann found itself identified as "blighted", and an urban renewal plan was approved by City Council for public housing to accommodate 1250 people on the west side of the neighbourhood, the rest was to be industrial land. After its speedy approval of the proposal the city hired a relocation officer whose job was to just as speedily move people out of the area.

The issues and sides in Trefann were quite clear - the neighbourhood was poor - consequently the houses were not maintained in prime condition and many were of poorer quality in the first instance. The neighbourhood was mixed residential, commercial and industrial and many of the specific industrial uses were not considered appropriate in close proximity to a residential neighbourhood. The rational position, that which examined only the physical elements of the neighbourhood and had not yet begun to conceive of the possibilities of rehabilitation of these neighbourhoods, demanded the 'clearing' of Trefann. The struggle over this neighbourhood lasted a great many years and involved successful struggles and policy changes at a number of different levels. These struggles are well documented (Sewell, 1970, Fraser, 1972) and won't be fully recounted here. Work with Trefann was the beginning of the political activity of John Sewell who became a city councillor and then Mayor and has remained deeply involved in city issues.

The significance of Trefann for this narrative is twofold. Firstly, Trefann was a neighbourhood, a community, a small area of intense, local networks. In place of the structural supports, the designated urban spaces which are now often required to nurture or sustain community - people in Trefann worked from their front steps and porches, the street and their kitchen tables. Not that there was such homogeneity -Trefann had historically housed Macedonians and eastern Europeans at the turn of the century, then it became home to those of British and Irish decent for whom Cabbagetown was named. Secondly, Trefann was, whether pretty or not, a representation for the people who lived there of urban space which was theirs, which met their needs and suited their life practices. It belonged to them and therefore emphasized both their power - as home owners - and their powerlessness
against the state - which was made manifest in their early belief that "one can't fight city hall". The initial fight in Trefann was not about preserving their homes - only an attempt to secure fair compensation to move somewhere else. Their fight with the city, with the support of Sewell and other outside organizers, eventually crystallized into a demand to drop the renewal project and involve Trefann residents in planning for their area. This request was made in 1966 and treated with disdain by the city. The Commissioner of Development, Walter Manthorpe, said that the Trefann proposal which was supported almost unanimously by the area residents, reflected "a lack of real knowledge and information" (as cited in Fraser, 1972:98). The City failed to have their urban renewal plan for Trefann approved by the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) by Dec 31, 1966. This began a long period of destructive uncertainty for the people of Trefann and in 1968 the City secured OMB approval to begin buying up property in Trefann. This it did, paying highly variable prices and boarding up houses which had been family homes in a neighbourhood by then effectively destroyed by uncertainty and divisiveness. Trefann was finally successful in having approved a redevelopment plan which was based on work done by Trefann residents, supported by a local planner located in a site office in Trefann. Area alderman were also on the Trefann Working Committee (in fact, three future Mayors of Toronto were participants on the Trefann Working Committee- Sewell, Crombie and Rowlands, supported by planner Howard Cohen, later Director of Harbourfront among many other civic roles). Trefann was redeveloped and Fraser (1972) cites some of the observations and urban space claims made by residents. Cohen designed a small parkette with seating at a corner of a row of new townhouses "Well, they told me to take it away... all it would do would be to encourage rough teenagers to hang around at night and because it would be a public place nobody could throw them off" (Fraser, 1972:197). They similarly advised against shared open space behind the townhouses -the "responsibility and control over the garden space had to be made clear" (Fraser, 1972:197). Another urban space issue came to the fore when Cohen drew sketches which showed a redeveloped site where the "fix-it" garage stood. He assumed it was an incompatible use - they were not so sure. Gus Dixon, a resident of Trefann responded "we don't want trefann court to be pretty. Its a mixed use area. We like the area the way it is" (as cited in Fraser, 1972:201-2). This message was finally grasped by Cohen and re-
articulated into the basic premise of a redeveloped Trefann "the basic approach of the scheme will be to maintain and reinforce the inherent strengths and perform such remedial work as is necessary while still retaining the indigenous nature of Trefann Court (Fraser, 1972:203). Cohen reconceptualized urban renewal- he proposed the hiring of two community workers to make the community centre "an extension of the community involvement process that is now occurring with regard to urban renewal" (Fraser, 1972:205). Thus, "urban renewal would become a tool to enable people in Trefann to continue to work at dealing with their own problems" (Fraser, 1972:205).

Among these stories of urban renewal, Trefann lives on, now largely redeveloped, still a mixed use community, but it is apparent that it is a community - the houses are cared for, and the cycle of comings and goings resemble that of any other neighbourhood. During a period of analysis people were observed going from one house to another and frequently left on foot returning quite quickly with purchases - still enjoying the benefits of mixed-use.

Quebec/Gothic
This well established residential neighbourhood north of High Park in Toronto's west end, was one of several redevelopment initiatives which catalysed reform. Before describing this process, it is of critical importance to indicate that in Quebec/Gothic it is possible to see the redevelopment 'plan' for all or most of Toronto's downtown neighbourhoods of old houses. Cadillac Fairview, a large property developer joined forces with Greenwin (another large developer and manger of rental property) to form Gothic Developments Limited (Sewell, 1972) which proposed to build high rise apartments on Quebec and Gothic Avenues. Unlike the redevelopment pressures in east Toronto, there could be no claim that the area north of High Park was blighted or the housing stock of poor quality. The homes in the area were substantial, brick of two and three storeys and occupied by middle and working class residents many of whom were eastern European immigrants. The City of Toronto had designated the area for high rise redevelopment because of its proximity to the subway. This was, as Caulfield describes it, "reasonable logic in theory; locating population concentrations close to transit facilities makes abstract sense. The difficulty for the city’s politicians became
that the area's residents refused to regard their neighbourhood as an abstraction" (1994:34). Consistent with this plan, some high rise development had already taken place. Gothic developments proposed to demolish more than one hundred houses, and aided by the first of the reform politicians elected in the previous municipal election, residents mounted a fierce battle. More will be said about Quebec Gothic in the next chapter, for its significance lies not so much in the nature of the fight over the urban space which was similar to many others, but in the fight which ensued between the reformers and the "old guard" politicians.

**Lionstar (Bloor and Dufferin)**

Similar to Quebec/Gothic, the presence of a subway stop at Dufferin and Bloor put at risk a residential community of solid houses. Four thirty story high rises were constructed at the expense of 50 houses in good condition (Caulfield, 1994). Many more high rises were planned but the developers' financial footing was not secure, resident opposition added to the costs and delays and further development did not proceed.

**Marlborough**

The fight on this now quiet and largely gentrified residential street has been well described by citizen activist, resident and historian, Jack Granatstein (1971). As a street of not grand homes too close to the railway tracks and very near to Yonge street and the high density which was to be associated with its subway line, Marlborough was to be obliterated with scarcely a nod to its residents. It was seen to be space for high density workplace/marketplace development. Housing could continue there - but not family housing with front yards on quiet streets.

The street lies directly adjacent to the CP tracks which were to have provided part of the land for the Crosstown expressway. Furthermore, the street is just one long block and ends where the Crosstown would have made a tunnel out of Yonge St. Although the battle ultimately fought over this space was with Marathon Realty, the Canadian Pacific development arm, the early elimination of plans for the Crosstown spared the residents of Marlborough an even bigger battle.
Viewed in 1996, it is marred by the blighting nature of a quite unattractive racquet club which was the only element of the Marathon development plan which did proceed. Granatstein acknowledges today that he no longer even notices the racquet club, but he remains certain that without the dogged fight between the residents of this small street and one of Canada’s major developers, the residential character of the street would have been destroyed. Marathon planned to redevelop a former railway station site on Yonge street. Proposed was Summerhill Square, "a distinctive 36-storey tower over a two-level Shopping Concourse and an 11-16 storey medium rise building, including recreational facilities... and five low to medium rise residential buildings varying in height from 4 to 14 storeys" (Marathon Realty as cited in Granatstein, 1971:26). One of the major consequences of this development for Marlborough would be traffic. In fact, Marlborough had been identified by the developer as the solution to other major traffic problems arising from the development of the site. The Marlborough story was not resolved quickly, finally, through the opposition and organization of the street’s residents an agreement was reached with Marathon - a compromise which would enable Summerhill square to proceed without devastating this small street. In the end, for a quite other set of reasons, Marathon did not proceed with Summerhill Square. The racquet club lives on, quite unbeautified, a reminder of the street’s capacity to respond to an even larger threat.

The illustration of threats to downtown housing - the story of the plan for its displacement to the suburbs, could continue. In almost every Toronto neighbourhood, old houses were viewed to be blighted and plans were made for clearance or partial clearance. Housing downtown was to be in the form of the high rise apartment building.

**Housing -- Analysis**

In spite of the pressures described above, traditional forms of housing have been retained. The residential communities along the routes of the Crosstown and the Christie/Grace alignment of Highway 400 have survived as have those in the Annex and Don Vale and Don Mount to name just a few. Toronto continues to be a city of downtown single family houses,
which, like in former times, do not always function as the home of a single family. Apartments as a percentage of dwelling units in Metro peaked at 53 per cent and declined to 45 per cent by 1981 (Lemon, 1985:199). This contrasts with the earlier reported plan for high rise apartments as the housing form of the future. Many downtown houses have been renovated and whole neighbourhoods gentrified (see Caulfield, 1994), but many houses and neighbourhoods reflect significantly more diversified life practices. Kensington (described under Centre) remains a "heterogenous jumble", while the houses on the Crosstown route continue to house people with a mix of incomes, and backgrounds. Children continue to attend downtown schools and occupy other downtown spaces whether such use is "efficient" or not.

Since the slum clearance and urban renewal which bequeathed St. James Town on its inhabitants and on the city, no similarly scaled 'projects' have been developed. As well, a variety of alternative models of providing housing to low income households have flourished. Many of these innovations derived directly from the period of reform considered here, including the redevelopment of a large tract of downtown land adjacent to the St. Lawrence market. The St. Lawrence community is, with False Creek in Vancouver, a unique and quite remarkable product of enabling federal policy and a reform oriented municipality. It and some other examples of housing redevelopment which replaced slum clearance and urban renewal as models are discussed in the next chapter as I consider the outcomes of the reform initiative. However, in spite of these initiatives, housing for people with low incomes has remained a problem and at various points in the ensuing twenty-five years has reached crisis proportions as older stock has been lost to gentrification. There have continued to be a co-mingling of the state and the marketplace in housing development, as all levels of government have developed housing programs to boost the production of low-income housing. This is of course different than the co-mingling of state and land development industry during this period of intense redevelopment pressure, a discussion of which will conclude this chapter.
Plans for The Centre

In concluding with 'Centre' I wish to emphasize its function as a synthesizer - both of this rather far-ranging discussion and - of city spaces. As I described in Chapter Five, the centre is the realm which at its best, represents the integration of life practices from all spheres of activity. Or, as Karl Jaffary expressed it "some of us think that a great city is a place where a great variety of people meet each other and do their own particular things in contact with each other... others seem to think that a city is a place to earn a living and from which one retreats to bucolic suburbia at night" (Jaffary, City Hall, March 9, 1971:59). Jaffary's comment is an appropriate beginning to a discussion of centre which as its re-development was proposed would have represented the latter view. The 'vision' of politicians and planners is perhaps best symbolized by the Metro Centre development proposal.

Metro Centre - Workplaces

Metro Centre was a redevelopment proposal by a consortium of Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railways. In brief, the proposal was about building office space - these new workplaces - in the core, in particular nine million square feet of them, in high density form. In addition to office space, Metro Centre was to create three million square feet of commercial space (much of which was to be in that now familiar downtown form - under the office towers) and nine thousand dwelling units. Metro Centre was the largest downtown development being proposed anywhere in North America. The 187 acre site spanned the downtown railway lands from Front Street to the Gardiner Expressway and from Bathurst Street east to Yonge Street (Jaffary, City Hall, January 26, 1971:43). Stein (1972) and Sewell and Jaffary (City Hall) recount the ways in which Toronto City Council colluded with the developers to support this proposal. In many instances the public interest was quite clearly traded off - reductions in park land, permission to create "publicly accessible open-space" in lieu of park land, reductions in the variety of dwelling units to be built and, public land required for the deal, exchanged at less than its value. Stein recounts the important role which the Confederation of Resident and Ratepayers Associations (CORRA) played in attempting to focus public attention on the Metro Centre deal.
Metro Centre is still not fully built, the city was spared the immediate development by a collapsing real estate market. And since then, a subsequent City Council re-opened negotiations and demanded increased benefits and amenities for the city. The lessons of the Metro Centre proposal relate to the notion of single (or almost single) use. While housing was to be constructed, plans for a wide range of unit types were whittled down to a unit mix approaching that of St. James Town. The profit potential was much higher for commercial office space than for residential - thus this was a deciding factor. For Metro Centre as elsewhere, the redevelopment of downtown land was to proceed according to the principle of ‘highest and best use’.

Plans for Metro Centre were in addition to other significant office space developments recently completed or underway. While ‘workplaces’ were being constructed primarily at this south end of downtown, the provincial government was making a secret deal with the city for development of several high rise office towers at Bay and Wellesley (Caulfield, 1974), as well, other developments on Yonge Street, University Avenue and Bloor Street were proceeding.

**Eaton Centre - Marketplace**

The Eaton Centre was spatially a continuation of the Metro Centre proposal. Like so many U.S. cities, downtown - this aggregation of office buildings and office workers - was to have a showcase shopping mall. The form of the mall was to be the same as that of a regional shopping mall relocated to a downtown street. This mall was to be in the city ‘centre’, on Yonge Street in the heart of downtown Toronto. Eaton’s (a chain of department stores) wished to construct a new store in conjunction with the development by Cadillac Fairview of a large shopping mall and office towers. The early plans for the development:

- called for demolishing nearly every building within Yonge, Queen, Bay and Dundas Streets and replacing them with a suburban-style concrete box shopping plaza - a sort of island-onto-itself dropped into the midst of downtown. The plaza would face inward, and along the once busy Yonge Street frontage would be a
nearly blank concrete wall, destroying Yonge’s street life for a several-block stretch. There was at first, barely any provision for public access along pedestrian walkways through the complex; the huge superblock would be private property controlled by the developer. The development offered little in the way of public open space or commercial diversity to give the area life outside of shopping and office hours. (Caulfield, 1974:104-5)

I will move briefly to consider another development at the ‘centre’ before analyzing some important differences between them.

Yorkville - An Alternate Reflection of Centre

Yorkville is at the north end of Toronto’s downtown, the Eaton Centre toward its south end. Yorkville had been identified early as an area appropriate for clearance and renewal (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1944). Renewal of that ‘sort’ never occurred and Yorkville is now highly promoted for its chic stores and cafes. However, its chief attraction during this period of intense urban renewal was its potential as a source of parking adjacent to downtown. It must be remembered that this was a period in which planners expressed a firm belief that consumers would wish to take their cars to shop - thus downtown commercial space would only be viable if it emulated the model of the regional shopping mall. Between 1967 and 1971, three major multi-level parking garages were proposed for this small Yorkville area (Johnson, 1984). Planners expressed the view that Yorkville could provide the parking ‘function’ which would be necessary to keep downtown viable. While Yorkville was re-developed, it was not this view that predominated.

I juxtapose Yorkville and the Eaton Centre because they reflect different approaches to and differing views of what the city ‘centre’ should be like. While I do not wish to suggest Yorkville as an exemplar, its redevelopment suggests a synthesis of public, social and private life rather than the more singular marketplace, the Eaton Centre, which is both private space and primarily supports monetised life practices.

As Caulfield (1972) notes, "economic feasibility" was the language used by Cadillac Fairview in negotiating the development of the Eaton Centre with City Council. When Council, in requesting an amenity or alteration in the project would be told that this would
make the project "economically unfeasible", they would inquire by what amount it might affect the profit margin. Cadillac insisted that this was not the business of Council, the project would simply not be feasible. Yet, after the election of a new, reform Council in 1972, Cadillac Fairview found that a number of these amenities could after all be effected. "Economic feasibility' had meant as much profit as possible. It meant every last dollar of value which developers could soak from their land" (Caulfield, 1974:99). It must be emphasized that there is neither rationality or universal agreement that the "best use" is the highest use. These are issues of value or preference disguised as the only rational choice of the market place. When these are espoused as the only values to be considered then the role of the marketplace directly confronts other values and interests.

The Cadillac Fairview circumstance is nicely contrasted by that of developer Richard Wookey, who might be seen as the developer/ saviour of Toronto’s Yorkville district, a mile north of the Eaton Centre, and just north of Bloor Street. As is readily evidenced by even a few minutes in Yorkville, or the photographs in Plate 4, Wookey made every effort to integrate the Hazelton Lanes Shopping Centre within the existing neighbourhood and other building forms were retained. He was interested in Yorkville development for probably what were reasons very similar to those which attracted Eaton’s and Cadillac Fairview to Yonge and Dundas. Wookey (and Cadillac Fairview) liked the vitality of the area. Unlike Cadillac Fairview, Wookey didn’t translate that only into a measure of financial yield. He appeared to have an interest in contributing to and sustaining the area’s vitality. He had a vision which included making money but was not only about making money. He wanted to support spaces in which people lived and played, contrasting temporal spaces, and an attention to scale. All of these elements were to contribute to the continued vitality of the area.

When a neighbour complained to Wookey about the loss of light to her home which would result from the development of Hazelton Lanes, (a shopping centre integrated into the Yorkville neighbourhood in scale, size and location, see Plate 4), he promptly removed a floor from the development -a financial loss over the life of the development - estimated at $25 million dollars. He was not compelled to change his plan, but as the developer, Wookey
saw Hazelton Lanes as contributing and relating to an attractive lively community, where people worked, lived and shopped. The shopping element of their lives was not the only life practice with which Wookey was concerned. To be fair, there are divergent views of Wookey's success in Yorkville and in Hazelton Lanes. Whiteson (1982) who appears to admire the Eaton Centre says of Hazelton Lanes "[It] is a bold attempt to bring elegant shopping to Toronto. It doesn't quite succeed. Partly this is a failure of the architects. Also the siting is obscure... It's hard to find your way into the Lanes even when you know its there. Discretion has been rather overdone... The architecture is villagey to the point of dullness" (p.78). Caulfield (1994) refers to the gentrification of Yorkville and its loss to the marginal young people and artists and bohemians who began its resurgence. While this is true and forms the basis for theories on the stages of gentrification, Yorkville remains attractive not only because of its upscale shops but because of its mixed use and distinct character. It is undoubtedly not the financial success that is the Eaton Centre and it has become gentrified space. But for space at the heart of a major urban centre, it is noteworthy for its scale, the diversity and localness of its shops (not the chain stores of the Eaton Centre) and for the streets of houses which have been retained -many converted into shops - but others remaining residential.

The contrast between Yorkville and the Eaton Centre is dramatic, especially as the Eaton Centre was initially proposed. Had the developer, Cadillac Fairview, proceeded as they wished they may well have destroyed the vitality of Yonge Street which they acknowledged and appeared to value. Vitality was associated with being a good place to do business and Yonge is Toronto's busiest street, not only in a commercial sense. Yonge St. is also where young people, tourists and visiting suburbanites go to 'look at' and 'be' in the centre of Toronto. The street and its arcades, street corners, bars and cafes and the parkland adjacent to the Eaton Centre which Cadillac Fairview was forced to concede, are occupied for most of the 24 hour day. That this activity might have been jeopardized by the Eaton Centre development was a claim made at the time and would seem contrary to the long term interests of the developer. Such a lack of foresight could not be claimed to be exclusive to developers however. A 1963, City planning document noted Yonge Street to be "busy,
prosperous and exciting" and then went on to recommend its reconstruction because its buildings were old and a "heterogeneous jumble" (as cited in Caulfield, 1994:53). Had such a reconstruction, in the form of an inward looking mall without connection or enhancement of the streetscape, a true "megastructure", as it was described (Whiteson, 1982:16), proceeded, Yonge Street would have become more exclusively focused on one life practice - shopping. And even this activity may over the long term have been threatened by decreased activity and vitality - as in so many U.S. cities -leaving the centre only to workplaces, occupied by day. As a reform City Council noted, the Eaton Centre project was undiversified - even by the provision of other commercial forms such as bars and restaurants. In the experience of U.S. cities, the transformation of the city centre by shopping malls and office towers has proven over the long term to be self defeating, people no longer come to be in the centre and even shopping ceases after the exodus from the office towers. These longer term considerations, the relational nature of life practices, the importance of "centre" are not consistent with the assessment of development according to the principle of "highest and best use" which speaks to the shorter term ‘development’ interest rather even than a longer term view of profit making.

A final note about the Eaton Centre as it was eventually built. Two subway stops serve as ‘bookends’, and fully half of the one million shoppers who visit it weekly (Whiteson, 1982:15) arrive by subway. Due to the demands of an elected reform council, the Yonge Street frontage of the mall was changed to provide for a number of pedestrian access points, interior subway station access was secured, theatres and restaurants were added and their locations changed to encourage activity and access, Toronto’s old city hall and one of the city’s oldest churches were retained (which provides an alternative to the commercialism of the mall with noon hour concerts and a non-profit cafe), some local streets were retained and urban park space was provided. The Eaton Centre remains a shopping mall downtown, but unlike many others it has won design awards and has not contributed (at least overwhelmingly) to the decline of the Yonge Street ‘strip’, which has retained at least some of both its vitality and "heterogeneous jumble".
Centre as Marketplace

A narrow view of 'workplace' - the high rise office tower and a narrow view of 'centre' - as workplace - circumscribe the type of marketplace likely to be sustained in the centre. If one 'type' of person works downtown (the white collar office worker) and one 'type' of person lives downtown (perhaps two - both singles and the poor) the range of commercial activity will be similarly limited. The Eaton Centre was to serve as downtown's version of the regional mall, accessible to everyone by car, while the office worker would also be supported by an underground commercial complex. Both of these market 'spaces' are private and access to both is limited and private. The subterranean marketplace closes by 5 or 6 pm and is closed on weekends and it offers a range of goods and services oriented to the office worker shopping at lunchtime. While this marketplace is a part of Toronto's downtown, because of the claims of the reform movement, it is not the exclusive marketplace of the downtown.

Toronto has retained other very different marketplaces in the city centre, (Plate 5 illustrates only a few of the many different small scale commercial 'centres' which have been retained in Toronto) although in each case these spaces were threatened by urban renewal. As well as the Eaton Centre and Yorkville, there is an indoor public market - St. Lawrence§, which caters to urban professionals and others who live downtown, and not far away are both Chinatown and Kensington, dense, crowded and still defying Anglo-sanitizing. Like Chinatown and Kensington, Yonge street has also remained a "heterogeneous jumble". The significant feature of these city centre marketplaces is their diversity and the 'publicness' which follows from their use by diverse groups of people. Office dwellers have their underground city, convenient for lunch and lunch hour shopping. Yorkville and the very high-end stores adjacent to it, have become a sort of tourist attraction as well as supporting the shopping habits of the rich. The Eaton Centre is there when a chain store is required. But all of the spaces of the centre have not been developed like the Eaton Centre and the office complexes, at highest and best use. Some of the spaces of the centre exist at the opposite economic end of the scale. These are spaces which have remained 'affordable' for
those without urban professional-incomes, to shop, or, to start or run a business. These varied spaces continue to attract varied groups of city dwellers to the city centre aided of course by the fact that varied groups of city dwellers continue to live in the city centre.

**Kensington - as Centre - Marketplace, Workplace, Home Space**

"Heterogeneous jumble" is a term most appropriate to describe Kensington, (see Plate 6) a lively downtown neighbourhood which includes both a market and residential neighbourhood. Located close to downtown, it contains house-form buildings many of which have been converted to main floor storefronts with apartments above. Perhaps more than anywhere else, for the rational planners and developers of the late 1960's, Kensington symbolized all that was wrong with Toronto. Located only a mile or so from the Eaton Centre, this was land that was seen to be appropriate for clearance and renewal. High rise apartments and institutional uses were suggested -the area lies just south of the University of Toronto and just west of the many hospitals which line University Avenue. As land in the centre, it was too valuable to remain in its present state - which was as a business incubation area. Although it served this important function, it was more likely to be seen as the location of slum housing juxtaposed with marginal and not-to-be-encouraged businesses - those which were blighted by obsolescence, the "mum and pop" retailers so disparaged in the Metro Urban Renewal Study (1966c).

As in the 1960's when plans for its redevelopment continually resurfaced, Kensington, viewed today, remains of mixed use and repair. The buildings are not all well maintained and the charm of the neighbourhood perhaps lies in the jumble of Portuguese clothiers, bakeries and churrascos and Caribbean fruit and vegetable stores jostling with those spilling over from Chinatown across Spadina Ave. Live crabs in bushel baskets, vegetable stalls selling produce from every corner of the globe, and large trucks on delivery block every inch of sidewalk space forcing shoppers into narrow streets to dodge crawling traffic. The air is flooded with the mingled aromas of fish, coffee and grilling meat, reflecting Toronto's non-anglo heritage. Thus, Kensington contrasts with Toronto's *other* market which is indoors and sells the freshest and best of everything in a more sanitized circumstance to a distinctly better
class of shoppers. It is not a surprise that a district such as Kensington raised the eyebrows of bureaucrats and politicians alike and was seen as highly appropriate for clearance and urban renewal.

Both then, and now, above the shops, bars and cafes, are flats and apartments occupied by a mix of students, street kids, immigrant families and those operating the businesses downstairs. On the streets ringing the market the houses are also mixed: owner occupied, divided into flats and apartments, some in perfect repair with each blade of grass seeming to have been swept into place, others with unkempt yards and old couches on front porches. The area defies the usual notion of mixed use which has come to suggest neighbourhoods of houses supported by commercial and other establishments on surrounding, more major streets. Kensington can perhaps be described as 'integrated mixed use' - houses, shops and other less easily distinguished uses are side by side on many of its streets. The small businesses on these streets come and go with some frequency marking the area as one important for business incubation. Many businesses now relocated to grander parts of the city had their modest beginnings in a Kensington store front or the living room of a house on a Kensington street.

In 1967, Allan Grossman, MPP for the area which included Kensington, adviser the community that a formal agreement had been reached so that the government would not proceed on any further urban renewal schemes for Kensington. "You are going to have a great deal to say about how your district is going to be developed. The Ontario government is going to refuse to participate in any kind of urban redevelopment until it is satisfied that the people in the district not only know what is going on .... and that they'll be in agreement with it" (Lorimer, 1970:116). Without going into extensive detail, this provincial promise was then followed by significant duplicity which involved the province, the University of Toronto and a local school board engaging in land swaps and development plans without a word to neighbourhood residents. In the end, Kensington was not redeveloped, although the credit does not accrue to Allan Grossman or the province. Kensington was fortunate in having the urban renewal of Alexandra Park take place on its door step. Significant
opposition developed there and in Kensington and was strengthened by the opposition developing to renewal schemes across the city. Urban renewal plans for Kensington were delayed and never refocused because the renewal climate in the city had been weakened by a reform council with an appreciation for "heterogeneous jumble".

**Alexandra Park - Centre as Housing Project**

Alexandra Park is eerily illustrative of how housing was seen to coexist with the ‘centre’. Like Regent Park it was a low-rise public housing project built with very different values than were applied to the middle class housing being constructed in the suburbs. Alexandra Park and all that it signified (a model of housing the poor), joins with St James Town and what it signified (a model of low-cost apartments for low to middle-income renters) to represent two of the new forms of housing to be built in the centre. These two developments give real evidence that the U.S. city was the model being emulated in the re-construction of Toronto.

The space which is now Alexandra Park, as well as a wide swath of land between Queen and Dundas Streets and Grames (a former street east of University Avenue) and Euclid Avenues was designated for renewal (along with Yorkville) in the 1944 city plan. Toronto’s new city hall, hotels and commercial development assured redevelopment of the land east of University Avenue, while the Art Gallery of Ontario and the “Grange”, a sort of modified shopping mall and high rise development, carried redevelopment west almost to Spadina. From there a "blighted" area of single family homes and worker’s cottages hung on. Urban renewal policies enabled clearance of this area and its redevelopment by the Ontario Housing Corporation as a ‘project’ of low income subsidized housing. In the now familiar style of these projects, rows of townhouse-like buildings were separated from through streets and commercial life. Unlike in the earlier Regent Park, most of the grass was eliminated, replaced by concrete playgrounds and dead-end corridors and courtyards (see Plate 7). The concrete theme extended to constructing a concrete retaining wall blocking visibility of the project from Dundas street. This wall, the layout of the project, the ghettoization of its residents have all contributed to a range of social problems, lack of maintenance, issues of
physical safety and the isolation of the project inhabitants from the surrounding life of the community. A few years ago the wall which blocked the project from Dundas street was finally removed because of its use as a shield for drug deals. The other problems associated with Alexandra Park remain and are unlikely to be resolved without a major redevelopment of the site.

While it is perhaps unfair to suggest Alexandra Park as the 'vision' of what housing in the centre was to be, it does, along with the development of Regent Park and Moss Park, suggest a view dominant at this time, that 'projects' of this type should be built and located in the centre. Furthermore, 'projects' were to be the form of housing provided to those with low-incomes. Housing was also to be provided for working class singles and young families (St. James Town) and along the subway lines for other singles and small families. Most housing was however, to be located away from the centre.

Expressways - Connecting the Centre to Other Spheres
Expressways are best considered here - under centre - for that was to be their function - linking each of three distinct and discrete poles together - housing to centre (workplace) - and housing to marketplace (regional shopping mall). If one examines travel patterns in many large U.S. cities, what is likely to be revealed is travel between these 'poles'. Considered in this circumstance, expressways might be seen to provide the critical linkage - if land uses are to be so completely separated by function - then rapid access between them is important.

The Spadina Expressway and what it might have been is commemorated by the three and one third miles of the Allen Road on which thousands of cars hurtle at 90 km an hour only to stop abruptly, south bound at the congestion signalling the expressway's end at Eglinton Avenue. Although this brief bit of expressway connects with the MacDonald Cartier Freeway (the "401") it begins and ends nowhere. The Spadina's most important connection is that which is unacknowledged. It was built to connect downtown and Highway 401 with the Yorkdale Shopping Centre (Nowlan, 1970; Haggart, 1962, reprinted in Nowlan, 1970). The first of the links between what were to have been disparate poles of life practice connected
by expressways. It lives on, a heavily used reminder of what 'might have been'. The other 'might have beens' were a comprehensive and co-ordinated system of expressways proposed and approved in varying forms between 1964 and 1970, by the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. As will be further detailed, the Spadina was violently opposed because it was seen to represent the lynch pin for this system of expressways and because it was a first, providing tangible evidence of the decreasing values of adjacent properties, the destruction of neighbourhoods and the 'paving over' of ravines and parkland. "Stopping Spadina" was from the first about more than just one expressway.

The following will describe the proposed development of the expressway system of which Spadina was seen to be a key feature, or what Nowlan and Nowlan (1970) describe as a "Trojan Horse". Map 3 reproduces the most complete of the several versions of the expressway plan which was reproduced by those opposing the Spadina expressway under the heading "This is the Spadina" to draw attention to the fact that it was a 'system' of expressways which was proposed. The plan conceived of "inner and outer rings" of expressways which were acknowledged to be effective only once all of the elements of the ring were complete. The outer ring was created by the Gardiner Expressway/Queen Elizabeth Way (QEW) on the south, Highway 401 on the north, Highway 427 on the west and the Scarborough on the east. The inner ring was to be created by the Crosstown on the north, the Gardiner on the south, the southern extension of Highway 400 on the west and the Don Valley parkway on the east. Connecting these rings were a number of "radial links" which included the Spadina, the Richview and the continuations of the Don Valley Parkway and Highway 400.

The Outer Ring
The Outer Ring of expressways had largely been constructed in the late 50's and early 1960's and was a direct consequence of the assumption, by the Metropolitan level of government, of infrastructure development. Because there was as yet little intensive development in these outlying districts, these expressways had been built and with minimal difficulty. The one remaining piece of the outer ring was in effect the eastern continuation
THIS is the SPADINA EXPRESSWAY!

According to Sam Cass, Commissioner of Metro Roads & Traffic, no home in Metro Toronto will be more than 3/4 of a mile from an expressway.

Map 3
of the Gardiner Expressway, the Scarborough Expressway.

The Scarborough
The Scarborough was the last link of Metro's expressway chain to be set aside and like the Spadina, construction was begun and halted only as a result of citizen protest. The Scarborough was to extend the Gardiner Expressway east following the existing Gardiner alignment to Coxwell Ave. in the City of Toronto's east end. This section of the expressway was completed before work was stopped and its abrupt end occurs just where it was intended to shift north, across Queen and Dundas Streets, roughly to the present intersection of Pape and Gerrard Streets where it would swing east following the CNR right of way. The design and alignment posed numerous difficulties. It was to be 6 lanes wide in a trench 30 to 40 feet below ground with deep vertical retaining walls. This design created a number of problems, among them a problem with interchanges - arterial road widening and re-alignments would have been required - and would have resulted in significant expropriation and alteration. Concerns about the safety of the design were also present but muted.

As with all expressways, the land required for the expressway alone tells only part of the story of disruption. Interchanges, service roads, ramps, new as well as disconnected arterial roads gobble more land than the strip of expressway proper. This was the case for the Scarborough, especially given that three interchanges were proposed for its relatively short span within the City of Toronto. Each of these would effectively decimate an urban neighbourhood. Interchanges were to be located to connect to the Don Valley Parkway at approximately Broadview Ave; at Gerrard St. just east of Coxwell Ave; and at Victoria Park at Danforth Ave. Interchanges in Scarborough would also disrupt existing neighbourhoods but would be less damaging because the interchanges were to be more widely spaced and the land affected was less intensively developed.

The Scarborough expressway was to provide a continuous linkage across downtown Toronto and Scarborough to the Pickering Airport for which the federal government had assembled land and was to proceed with plans for a second airport to serve the southern Ontario area.
It was also to serve the entire east commutershed and would have occupied land adjacent to lake Ontario for much of its route. A growing awareness of the value of the lake frontage combined with opposition to the airport project and the hesitation by the federal government to commit to Pickering. As a result, the Scarborough routing was amended deleting the airport link. The new alignment was to join the Scarborough Expressway with Highway 401 at the eastern edge of Metro.

Beyond its original connection to Pickering, the utility of the Scarborough expressway was related to its linkage to other expressways. In its revised alignment joining with the "401", the report of the Metro Transportation Plan Review notes that the Scarborough, the 401 and the Don Valley form a triangle enclosing the southern half of Scarborough and the eastern portion of Toronto city. The Scarborough expressway completes the long side of the triangle and would reduce the distance across the triangle by 4 miles and travel time by 3 minutes (Metro Toronto Transportation Plan review, #47, 1974:28). This time saving is offered as evidence of the value of the expressway and time savings of similar magnitude are reported for other proposed expressways, seemingly without critical assessment of whether that small a magnitude of savings justified the development. Further minimizing the expressway advantage, as the Nowlans' (1970) identify with respect to the Spadina and the reporting of similar time savings - these estimates are based on ideals, without the over usage which Jacob's (1970) suggests will occur on any expressway. Additional functions of the Scarborough identified included carrying expressway traffic into and out of Scarborough (to downtown workplaces) and for shorter distance travel within Scarborough - to the "planned centres" which Metro expected would replace local stores.

The area of Toronto city from the Don Valley Parkway east to Victoria Park south of Danforth Ave contains a significant portion of Toronto's working class housing stock. With the exception of a small pocket of houses along the eastern beaches, these communities were largely ungentrified at the time of the Scarborough proposal (Metropolitan Toronto Transportation Review #47, 1974). And because the "Scarborough" had been looming for an extended period, losses in value and neighbourhood decline due to homes purchased and
left vacant to accommodate the expressway were exacerbating the "blight" already present. As those providing their views to the expressway review advised "the final decision on this issue must be taken now" (my emphasis) (#47, 1974:87). Just under 700 homes were to be lost to the Scarborough expressway, almost 500 of which were in the City of Toronto, of which half again were in the Riverdale (sometimes called Don Mount) neighbourhood. Thirty per cent of those who would have been dislocated were elderly and on fixed incomes.

Sixty-one industrial and commercial properties were to be lost, employing 1600 people. And, while the report speaks somewhat glibly of these jobs being relocated, expropriated businesses do not always move, do not always move successfully and do not always carry with them the same number or the same employees.

Perhaps most important in contextualizing the Scarborough is that work was commenced while the Spadina Expressway decision was under appeal to the provincial cabinet, five years ahead of schedule. Work began in response to a $5,000,000 capital works grant from the federal government which was "to put 200 men to work for a year and a half on the first leg" (Montreal Star March 31, 1971) of the expressway. The response to this unilateral Metro action is considered in the next chapter, however it is appropriate to note here the sensitivity given to community action in the report of the Metro Transportation Plan Review prepared after this hastily commenced work had been stopped pending a review of the Scarborough expressway plan. The report contains extensive sections on public participation and notes at least twice that public consultation was widely sought after. "Keen local interest" was also noted.

The Inner Ring
This was the most contentious ground for expressway development, requiring substantial disruption of existing neighbourhoods and seen as unnecessary by many city dwellers. The differences in their viewpoints from the planners might be seen to be based on the city dwellers assumption that they would continue to live in the centre, while the planners had a different vision of the city.
The Extension of Highway 400

Highway 400 (the "400") was to be extended from its original terminus just south of Highway 401 at Jane Street, in the north west quadrant of Metropolitan Toronto. The first part of this extension was to be undertaken by the province and this portion of the '400' extension was subsequently completed. Like the Spadina Expressway, the extension of the 400 was ultimately named and described in terms intended to mask its expressway-like character. The Spadina (to its terminus at Eglinton) is now the W R Allen Road and the extension of the "400" is now "Black Creek Drive". Both are described as "controlled access" roads rather than expressways.

Black Creek Drive cuts a wide swath through the city terminating at Rogers Road. It follows its namesake, Black Creek for its entire length, trading residential disruption for ecological disruption which was, at the time, less visible, hence it was a frequent expressway alignment strategy employed by Metro. Sensitive to the claims of those protesting the expropriation of entire neighbourhoods, expressway planners sought salvation by routing expressways through Toronto's many ravines and nature lands. The Gardiner Expressway runs along the lake shore as does a six lane arterial, another "controlled access road". The Scarborough, the Spadina, the Don Valley, the Bayview extension, all occupy or were to occupy ravine lands.

Rogers Road, where the extension of the '400' presently ends is like much of early working class Toronto. The "Junction" or what was then the "Port of West Toronto" (Miles, 1986), was developed as a result of its location at the junction of two major rail lines. This and the political connections of an aspiring liberal MP who succeeded in obtaining 'port' or customs entry status for the developing community ensured its status as a major industrial centre in developing Toronto. This status was retained and west Toronto or the 'junction' continued to develop as a "mixed use" area containing meat packing plants and slaughterhouses, working class homes, railway lands, manufacturing and some heavy industry. It is notable in Toronto history for its strong temperance movement and local plebiscite to become 'dry' which continued to recent times. Because of its mixed use the area was seen to be blighted and there was no focus on the preservation of the residential communities in the area.
Expressway development was seen to be beneficial to the industrial land uses and it was this which was emphasized.

Three alignments were proposed for the remaining southerly extension of highway 400 and all of them were to have a common beginning in the 'junction', at the '400' (at the terminus of what is now called Black Creek Drive) between St Clair and Rogers Road, at Keele St. Each of the proposed alignments would have carried the '400' to join the Gardiner Expressway which runs adjacent to Lake Ontario at the southern boundary of the city. The '400' was also to link to the Crosstown Expressway. This extension of Highway 400 was argued to be an important contribution to increasing the number of roadways in the west end of Metro, which was defined as under-serviced (Globe and Mail, Feb 2, 1972). Thus, the '400' was the link between the growing suburbs of west Metro and the 'centre', an essential link between home and work.

A final alignment for the '400' south was never chosen and rather than detailing in full each alignment which was proposed and the urban spaces "to be taken" as the Metro Transportation Review reports advise, I will describe the alignment which appears most often in maps and descriptions of the expressway system.

Christie/Grace

Christie/Grace is the alignment which would have caused the most residential disruption. As the most easterly alignment which would have connected to the Crosstown, portions of what is described in the following were slated for expressway development no matter which alignment of the '400' was chosen, as in any case a continuous expressway was to cross the city just north of downtown joining the '400' with the Don Valley Parkway. The description which follows thus describes impacts which would have occurred no matter which alignment was chosen if this original plan of linking Highway 400 and the Don Valley with the Crosstown had proceeded.

There is a continuous residential neighbourhood locked into a 3-4 block strip north of the
Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) tracks which run parallel to Dupont St, south of Davenport Road. Whether described as the '400' extension or the Crosstown, this thin strip of residential development was adjacent to the expressway corridor, although technically saved from demolition by the expressway being placed "on structure". The Metro Transportation Review Report (1973) does not appear to consider whether this narrow band of housing could remain an intact community against the scale of the expressway development. It must be emphasized that although these are neither grand homes or neighbourhoods, perhaps because they are somewhat cut off, they were and are strong and stable communities. The houses are mostly owner occupied, often by immigrants. Some houses are divided into rental flats, some offer rooms for rent. Viewed in 1996, the area and the houses can be characterized as working class and well tended. There is evidence of some gentrification but of a minor nature compared to the neighbourhoods immediately to the south or north. As in Trefann Court or Regent Park, one might speculate that this too would be a neighbourhood more easily re-developed than some. The high number of immigrants and working class character of the residents would likely make them more vulnerable to flats from city hall. These neighbourhoods are less apt to organize a strong opposition. In fact this view and a somewhat disparaging view of the residential properties themselves is revealed in a report considering the '400' alignments to which the Crosstown would connect: "this alignment requires acquisition and demolition of structures and consequent disturbance of existing land use for practically its entire length... but most of the structures are not very substantial" (Metropolitan Toronto Transportation Plan Review, Report #46, 1974:16). Plates 8 and 9 show these "not very substantial" properties in the current day along with recently developed infill housing).

Interchanges were again to be a significant and direct source of property loss. At Dufferin St. "an area of single family residential dwellings and some industrial properties" (Metropolitan Toronto Transportation Plan Review, Report #46, 1974:57) would be required for an interchange. From Dufferin to Christie the structure is "three-tiered with the ground level being retained as open space" (p.57) although the desirability or use to which such open
space might be put is not commented on. It was at this point that the ‘400’ south actually
turned south, although the Crosstown continued an east/west expressway across the city at
this same point. These details are rendered in Map 4. A massive interchange was planned
for the intersection of the Crosstown and the southerly Christie/Grace alignment of highway
400 which would change the land use of much of commercial Dupont St between Christie
and Palmerston Ave before sweeping through the residential communities, schools and parks
between Christie and Manning Avenues, expanding to permit interchanges at Bloor, College
and Richmond Streets.

Bloor and Christie is the site of significant parkland which is in short supply in this very
urban section of the city. The park lands provide for a variety of recreational uses including
swimming pools, skating rinks, baseball diamonds, basketball courts, playground equipment,
picnic facilities and tobogganning hills. A high school and city-run community centre share
the site. While the interchange would not have required all the land, the impact on the
remaining parcel, especially for these recreational uses, is not commented on.

At College Street an interchange for the 400 extension would have destroyed what has
become one of the most vibrant neighbourhoods in west Toronto. It continues to house a
significant number of immigrants, more established second generation Italian Canadians,
urban gentrifiers, students and working people. The commercial activity on College Street
reflects this diversity. It is an area of attraction for those across the city but also remains
local - people in the neighbourhood walk to butchers and greengrocers, Italian social clubs,
coffee bars, Portuguese and Italian restaurants, small hardware and dry goods stores as well
as some newer more upscale clubs and restaurants.

Finally, the land at Richmond St. which would have been given over to an expressway
interchange has been altered over the last 10 to 15 years, shifting from manufacturing to a
sizable residential community including non-profit housing and alternative compatible-use
industrial and commercial sites. Plate 10 and 11 show some of the present land uses where
the extension of Highway 400 left the Crosstown alignment, south toward the lake.
The issues and context for the extension of Highway 400 are much the same for each of the elements of the ‘ring’. The system proposed was largely an interdependent one, without the 400 extension south, the Richview made less sense as did the Crosstown. As those opposing the Spadina argued, which we will subsequently discuss, building the Spadina was seen as fuelling demand for the Crosstown. The general premise (seemingly agreed to by all sides) is that expressway construction creates expressway demand - having channelled a higher number of vehicles than would otherwise be present, on to one roadway, provision must be made to continue to carry them or stagger at different intervals their leaving the expressway. To do otherwise creates bottlenecks and gridlocked arterial roads. The extension of the 400 was seen to be such a linkage and hence critical to an expressway system.

With respect to the question of which alignment was preferable, each of the three had advantages and disadvantages. A final decision was likely not to have been made by Metro pending the approvals for the remaining elements of the "ring". The Allendale would have caused least disruption and the Christie/Grace, the most significant. Christie/Grace (a continuous street, the latter its name south of Bloor Street) is only 10 blocks west of Spadina Ave, where but for fearsome opposition, the Spadina expressway would have run. The proximity of these two alignments and the lack of any clear proposals or analysis by Metro of the three ‘400’ alignments suggests the possibility that Metro was waiting for the completion of the Spadina Expressway to make a final determination about Highway 400. Perhaps if the city had not opposed the Spadina, the Allendale with its reduced interchanges and minimized disruption might have been acceptable for the southern extension of the ‘400’. On the other hand, if as did happen, the Spadina was to be stopped, then Christie/Grace becomes quite acceptable as an alternate route, only 10 blocks further west, able to perform the somewhat dubious functions ascribed to both expressways. This is somewhat speculative, although it is clear that after the Spadina had been stopped by the provincial cabinet in 1971, the Christie/Grace alignment became the subject of increased analysis by Metro and in the press.
The Crosstown

The Crosstown was to extend easterly from the southern extension of Highway 400. The exact point at which the Crosstown was to begin was to depend on which of three proposed alignments was chosen to extend the '400' south to the Gardiner expressway. As indicated, this most southerly extension of the '400' never occurred and very little preference for a particular alignment was expressed. The most easterly alignment of the '400' is that which proceeds south down Christie from Dupont. It is hence from this point we will consider the Crosstown.

This version of the Crosstown proposed a 3 mile east/west expressway beginning with an interchange with the "400" at Christie/Clinton, and then at each of the Spadina Expressway, Yonge St, Mount Pleasant Ave. and terminating at the Don Valley Parkway. Unlike its reports on other expressways, the Metropolitan Toronto Transportation Review

10 begins its introduction to the Crosstown advising that as early as 1966, Metro began to reconsider the appropriateness of this link in the expressway system. This 1974 report indicates that a specific alignment "or the proposal itself has not been given further consideration since the cancellation of the Spadina Expressway in 1971" (Metro Toronto Transportation review, #46, 1974:1).

The Crosstown was to be built "on structure", elevated in order to reduce the land required. For most of the western section of the Crosstown this was a two tier system. At Yonge St the structure was to be reduced to one tier eight lanes wide. For most of its western section, the expressway would have 4 lanes of westbound traffic at 19 feet above grade and four eastbound lanes towering above, 36 feet above grade. Although an expressway built "on structure" requires less land, these elevations resulted from primarily economic rather than social considerations. The 1974, Metropolitan Transportation Plan Review report acknowledges that the elevation of the expressway reduces the number of houses and commercial/industrial properties which must be expropriated. However, "this form of construction would not only broaden the area of environmental impingement and increase the visual intrusion, but would also reduce the number of solutions to one of the major

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concerns, that of noise". It goes on to acknowledge that the land underneath such elevated structures has limited appeal (Metropolitan Transportation Review Report #46 1974:50). (Interestingly, this same acknowledgement was not made with respect to the review for the southern extension of Highway 400 which was under more active consideration and was also to be built on structure.)

While the Crosstown was re-routed to reduce the number of properties which were to be expropriated the channelling of an expressway through a heavily built and largely residential area could not but cause disruption. As before, the use of ravine lands was maximized to incur less public opposition. Plates 12, 13 and 14 show the area of Yonge Street which would have been made a tunnel by the Crosstown overhead, and then proceeding east, show the land uses in Rosedale which would have been "taken" by the Crosstown and culminate with the Park Drive Reservation which would have been swallowed up by the expressway before it was to connect with the Don Valley Parkway in what remains of the Don River valley.

Like the other components of this system, the Crosstown was to be a critical link in the 'inner' ring of expressways, which the Nowlans' (1970) cleverly describe as a "Carousel", suggesting that the ride around might be pleasant, problems only arise in getting off to proceed to a specific destination. The Crosstown was to be an "essential element in the future transportation system" (Metropolitan Transportation Plan Review, Report #46, 1974:22) and in providing expressway access between downtown and north west Metro which was considered both necessary and problematic. The Crosstown was also critical to disbursing the traffic carried downtown by the Don Valley Parkway and the Spadina expressway. "Completion of the Spadina expressway prior to the construction of its terminal links on the Expressway loop [ie. on the Crosstown] would probably create unbearable traffic conditions on Spadina Road... and would have a severe impact on the general area between Dupont and Bloor..." (Metro Toronto Planning Board, as cited in Nowlan, 1970:24). And
further, "plans for the Spadina route were made on the assumption that it will be followed by the Crosstown" (Planning Commissioner Jones, as reported in the Toronto Telegram, October 17, 1961)

The Crosstown is also described as doing "away with the barrier to free movement of north/south traffic - imposed by Bloor Street intersection right across the westerly part of the City" (as cited in Metropolitan Toronto Transportation Plan Review, Report #46, 1974:9). Like Yonge Street which runs north/south, Bloor Street (called Danforth Ave east of the Don Valley) is a lively east/west commercial artery extending right across Toronto from Scarborough to Mississauga. Residential neighbourhoods flank its entire length excepting the intense commercial/office/hotel development where Bloor crosses Yonge Street, the nexus of Toronto's downtown. The street reflects the diversity of the neighbourhoods through which it passes, Bloor West Village, the Annex, the haute couture shops at Avenue Road, the Greek Danforth, each of these conjure an image for a Toronto resident. Bloor Street is also, especially at rush hour, a major traffic arterial connecting in the City of Toronto with 20 north-south arterials. It seems unlikely that it is experienced by city residents or commuters as a barrier in any form.

The expressway proposals are interlinked to such an extent that to consider one piece without talking of them all is exceedingly difficult. This is to excuse some repetition which will necessarily occur and in fact a number of important elements of the Crosstown have already been alluded to. As the Nowlans (1970) suggest, the catalyst forcing the construction of this east west arm of the inner expressway ring was likely to have been the Spadina Expressway. The halting of the Spadina reinforced the prior stopping of the Crosstown which had been effectively blocked by the affluent Rosedale neighbourhood. In spite of this however, some bureaucrats imagined that these plans might be revived - they knew that Spadina would create pressure for the Crosstown, and still (in 1970) considered the Crosstown a possibility even though it had much earlier been rejected by Metro Council and did not appear in the City of Toronto Official Plan. This was a period, previously alluded to, in which land-use planners and some other bureaucrats as well, believed that they had 'technical' and rational
answers. They literally 'knew best' and therefore continued to support building an expressway system. As the tide turned against expressway development many such bureaucrats continued to argue for the earlier plan. Such was Sam Cass, then Metro Traffic Commissioner, who in 1966, succeeded in raising again the spectre of the Crosstown by securing the support of the Metro Transportation Committee for the inner expressway ring. He did this after Metro Council (1962) had deliberately and explicitly excluded the Crosstown, largely as a result of an intense lobby by the City of Toronto. The Toronto Star comments "that on two occasions Metro Council has instructed Metro planners and traffic officials to cease consideration of the [Crosstown] route on the basis that it is not a priority item" and quotes Metro Chairman Allen as saying: "The only way to get the Crosstown Expressway out of my mind is to leave the country" (Toronto Star, September 20, 1966). The findings of a major study on the Crosstown prepared in 1968, found that "as a link in a regional expressway system... it did not perform satisfactorily" (as cited in Nowlan and Nowlan, 1970:48).

One final comment on the urban context is necessary before leaving the issue of the Crosstown expressway. The urban context and how it might have been changed, can never be fully understood for those developments which did not proceed. However, as the relation between the Crosstown and the Spadina reveals, no urban plan or development exists in isolation. Impacts are cumulative and synergistic; each element of the urban system is shaped by all of the others. And, as the voices of the 'Stop Spadina' campaign and others loudly proclaimed, expressways attract cars (Nowlan, 1970). Thus, the continuing development of the city at high density in combination with expressway construction would create pressure on each other part of the system. Expressways "gobble" downtown land which in turn fuels demands for high density. Similarly as the downtown becomes increasingly oriented to one type of land use, those who want and can choose other spatial environments move to outlying areas and commute into downtown. Once this cycle begins, the likelihood of introducing or sustaining an alternate vision of the city is reduced, particularly because the land uses in question are among the most imposing of particular life practices.
The description of the Crosstown in various planning reports is limited to a somewhat terse technical description. As a result of this "technifying" of urban social space, the overwhelming impact of an expressway built across Toronto's heavily populated downtown residential neighbourhoods is not easily understood. The Crosstown expressway alignment was carefully chosen to reduce the amount of commercial and residential property to be expropriated. However in its path, all the way from those homes of modest working class character in the west, to the Rosedale mansions, are residential neighbourhoods with largely quiet streets, playgrounds and parks, easily accessible 'public' and community facilities such as swimming pools and skating rinks, libraries and schools. While the number of properties directly "consumed" by the expressway is less than might be expected, the reports on the Crosstown fail to even reference the desirability of the neighbourhoods which were to be left, adjacent to the expressway or even several blocks away, and those neighbourhoods which were left would be bisected and cut off. Access to amenities would be significantly disrupted.

The Spadina
Perhaps in waiting until last to consider the Spadina and its impacts on urban space, there is little left to be said. The rationale and justification for all of the expressways is much the same. For each, Metro's rapid growth is invoked to explain the need for expressway construction, particularly that suburban areas are growing at a much faster rate than the city. This suburban growth was seen to support freeway growth and also as critical expansion of Metro. Metro Chairman Ab Campbell is quoted as saying that Metro would "become a high rise jungle" if its boundaries aren't extended. This additional urban growth space is required he advises, because "we need open land. We must have it for homes and for parks. And, we also need it for garbage disposal". And, the "city's core will start to die" unless the Spadina Expressway is completed (Toronto Star, Feb.24, 1970). It is not clear how Campbell's prophecies mesh together as it is difficult to understand why a high rise jungle was to be alright for the city core, but not alright for Metro, or quite how the Spadina expressway - destroying much of the core, would help to keep the core alive.
Also of interest, Campbell notes that 70 per cent of those coming to work in downtown Toronto everyday are carried on public transit. In the same context, he notes that people should be given a choice about their method of transport, suggesting that this opportunity for choice will be realized if the expressway construction proceeds. (Toronto Star, Feb. 24, 1970). Thus, expressways appear to have been viewed, at least by the Metro Chairman, as an important alternative to public transit.

From 1966, the Spadina expressway extended from Wilson Heights in the north, with an interchange at Highway 401, and south to Lawrence Ave. for a total distance of 2 miles. Significant evidence points to this phase of the expressway having been constructed to connect to the Yorkdale Shopping Centre. Other explanations are hard to credit given that as previously indicated, 'it begins and ends nowhere'. At very least, Eaton's (one of the mall's developers) was successful in working with Metro, in what Logan and Molotch referred to as an "interlocking progrowth association" to expedite the development of this 'bit' of the Spadina ahead of the resolution of plans for the remainder of the route. Plate 15 illustrates the connection to Yorkdale, the parking lot of which can be seen in the upper left hand corner, and is also revealing of the tremendous land absorbed not only by the expressway but also by expressway interchanges. South of Lawrence, the expressway was to be 4 lanes wide to Bloor St. "With not a lot of extra clearing, you could drive a 330 foot football field sideways along this route from Downsview Airport to the centre of the city" (Nowlan and Nowlan, 1970:2-3). From its terminus at Lawrence south to Eglinton Ave. (a mile and one third) the right of way was cleared and levelled and only paving remained to be done.

As part of the preparatory process for the section from Lawrence to Eglinton Avenues, seven overpasses were built, 300 homes were expropriated and 8 arterial roads were closed (Nowlan and Nowlan, 1970). South of Eglinton Avenue, the expressway was to continue through an established residential neighbourhood. Many houses had been purchased by Metro to accommodate the expressway, devastating the neighbourhood even before the expressway plan had been approved to proceed. The expressway route shifts to ravine and park lands
south to St. Clair Avenue. One hundred and nineteen buildings in the Borough of York were required for this very short piece of the alignment from Eglinton through to Bathurst. To avoid opposition from another substantial residential community, the Spadina alignment was altered to provide for a "cut and cover" of the expressway through Cedarvale park with the top structure restored as a recreational area. From St. Clair, the expressway was to occupy ravine lands before going 60 feet underground through the Casa Loma embankment (another substantial residential community adjacent to an historic castle). From Davenport south, the expressway was to run along its namesake, Spadina Avenue.

Interchanges were to be provided where the expressway met Bathurst St. and then only a short distance further south at St. Clair Ave. Another interchange was to be provided at Davenport, facilitated by elevated ramps to a widened 4 lane arterial road. Davenport, while an arterial with significant traffic, has retained its residential character, with houses on both sides of the street in most sections. Details are not provided on the widening but houses on both sides would be effectively lost whether or not all of the land was technically required. An additional 79 houses would be "taken" by the expressway and a number of local residential streets would be closed off. South of the CP tracks (alongside of which would have been the Crosstown) the Spadina was to be constructed 20 feet below grade (City of Toronto Public Works, March 1970). Another interchange was to be located at Lowther Ave. in the heart of the Annex residential neighbourhood, at this juncture encompassing 10 lanes of traffic (Nowlan and Nowlan, 1970).

Arterial road widening and closing off local through streets was required for much of the expressway route. A planning report advises of the need for pedestrian underpasses at Bloor Street and Spadina Road because of anticipated "extensive pedestrian-motor vehicle conflict". These underpasses are necessary because "the land use in this area creates a high pedestrian activity" (City of Toronto Public Works, March 1970:28). No where does there appear to be reflection about the source of such high pedestrian activity or the impact on it of the proposed land uses, the safety of pedestrian underpasses and the losses to the intersection and community of buildings and services "taken" or expropriated to enable the expressway.
In total, the Spadina would "take" over 300 homes, not including those effectively removed from residential use by an expressway running through their backyards (which would impact on hundreds of additional properties - largely houses, both single family and subdivided into flats and apartments). Other direct impacts of the expressway were also extensive. One major ravine would be despoiled by the expressway running through it, another would have the expressway running under it. Two smaller parklands would have the expressway pass immediately adjacent to them. In addition the expressway would abut a community centre, two arenas, and 5 local schools as well as the main campus of the University of Toronto. Two new roads would be built (not including ramps), six local roads would be closed, and two arterial roads doubled in size. These would be the total direct effects of the Spadina, the indirect effects - some of which I have suggested- were not calculated.

The construction of the Spadina Expressway was stopped by a decision of the provincial Cabinet on June 3, 1971 on appeal of an Ontario Municipal Board decision which had granted Metro approval to finish the project. In spite of this provincial cabinet decision and the premier's personal promise that the Spadina Expressway was stopped, Metro managed to extend the expressway south to Eglinton. This was accomplished through covert and sometimes illegal activity such as building ramps double the width at which they were approved (Nowlan, 1996). Legally and technically, the expressway ends at Lawrence and it is only the W.R. Allen Road which extends to Eglinton Avenue although there is little evidence of this change of use, even to the most frequent Spadina user. The fight for the Spadina was not easily won and nor was it really over when Premier Bill Davis announced the decision of the provincial cabinet in 1970. As the discussion of the next chapter will demonstrate, the Spadina might well have re-emerged with the government of Premier Frank Miller had it not been for the persistence and sheer doggedness of those who opposed it.

Expressways – Analysis
Traffic planners continued to see expressways as necessary for commuter access to downtown in spite of increasing numbers of jobs in the municipalities beyond the City of Toronto. The vision was of the city centre as the centre of work, employment growth outside
of the central city was seemingly either ignored or incorrectly interpreted. The need for expanded road linkages with downtown was argued by expressway opponents who pointed to the 'nodes' or centres of business and industry developing in the boroughs. Development trends indicated that suburbanites would be less likely to find their employment in the centre city and the area of north west Metro with which there was much evidenced concern illustrates this. While transportation planners wished to build roads to improve the connections between this area and the central city, other forces were contributing to west Metro's more autonomous and rapid development. Its proximity to air and rail links supported the development of new industry and existing industry had already begun its exodus from the City of Toronto. The area of industrial development in southern Etobicoke, for example, was comprised in significant measure of industry which had moved from Toronto city (Kerr and Spelt, 1965:139). Metro's Official Plan also recognized at least officially the importance of keeping jobs and homes in proximity to each other. The existence of a balance between population and employment "may serve to minimize the need for the provision of transportation facilities and may also affect, in varying degree, the financial status of the individual municipalities" (Metropolitan Toronto, 1959). The presence of clear policy did not change the orientation of the transportation planners who were sure that their expressway plans were essential to the continued vitality of the city based on this expectation of highly differentiated land use and expressways as the essential connectors.

The expressway movement emerged in the period of post war growth. It was based on a belief in efficiency and rationality -in this sense it was truly a modernist phenomena. And, even 10 years prior to the period of time under consideration here, the same beliefs had caused the construction of hundreds of expressways across the major cities of the United States. Coming late to Toronto, at the end of the 1960's, the pro-expressway perspective appeared to come up against two things. First, the experience of those U.S. cities had begun to be reported and had filtered down to many residents of 'provincial' Toronto. Expressways and urban renewal had begun to devastate the downtowns of American cities and these impacts, in Chicago, Washington and Detroit had come to be well known. The second factor contributing to a different perspective on the desirability of expressways, was a rejection of
growth, speed and segregated land use as the dominant forces shaping the city. Many of the people occupying these downtown Toronto neighbourhoods wanted to stay there - thus expressways were not essential to them - they did not view themselves as commuters travelling to downtown from the suburbs - and they did not want to lose their downtown spaces to the noise, disruption and enormous land consumption associated with expressways.

There was not however, universal agreement about the cause of the "blight" in American cities and for some, there persisted a desire to emulate the U.S. 'big city'. The social action which ultimately developed in Toronto was essentially a contestation between these two forces. Opposition was strengthened by American and British social theorists and 'urbanologists' who had begun to document the impacts (Lemon, 1996) of the city centre as workplace facilitated by expressways. Knowledge of the U.S. experience in urban redevelopment continued to spread -by the many American young who were arriving in Canada to escape being drafted into the Vietnam war, and by Canadians returning from living in the United States. Among those who left the U.S. because of the Vietnam war, Jane Jacobs was perhaps best known. Her views were made more compelling by her recent immigration to Toronto from New York. She advised:

But surely, we suggested to one another, it would not really happen. Ten years ago, even five but now? Surely the government in so up-to-date a City hall must know all about the expressway disaster lands in Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Buffalo, Detroit, Washington - the battles and demonstrations, mounting over the years, by increasingly desperate victims. They must certainly, we thought, have reflected upon the lesson of Los Angeles where at rush hour the cars on the great freeways crawl at 10 miles an hour, the same speed horses and buggies used to achieve, where the poor have no practicable way to reach jobs, where the exhausts have turned the air into a crisis, where expressways, interchanges and parking lots occupy some two-thirds of the drained and vacuous downtown.

But Los Angeles, we soon read in the newspapers, possesses an almost ideal transportation system and affords the model Toronto is aiming at. The speaker quoted was Samuel Cass, Director of Metro's Traffic Department (Jacobs, in Nowlan and Nowlan, 1971).

I have described the essence of the expressway plans proposed for Metro Toronto and detailed some of their impacts. A difficulty in detailing these narrowly avoided impacts, then
and now, is that as with the Spadina, construction was commenced without approval of a final alignment or a detailed impact assessment. For each of the expressway plans, there are very limited assessments even of the direct impacts on land and property. In each development proposal there is no significant discussion about the combined impacts of these proposals or even an acknowledgement (let alone assessment) of the social impacts. Bloor Street is suddenly identified as a "barrier to north-south movement". There is no legitimation of the claim offered and none is requested. In planning (or not-planning) for the Spadina, the Planning Department acknowledged two things. It had not worked out the final alignment south of Bloor, and the Crosstown was considered essential. In spite of the possible horror to be created by continuing without resolution of these ‘details’, the Ontario Municipal Board approved the continuation of the expressway. These are but two examples in a ‘story’ which abounds with them, a ‘story’ which describes a quite astonishing lack of bureaucratic regard for the ‘public interest’, for the expressed instructions of their political ‘masters’, even for their own Official Plan. Although described as technical and rational, the land use planning process (at least in Metro) appears to have been privileged by this pretence of holding these values of rationality and technical efficiency rather than constrained by their employment in the planning activity. These themes re-emerge in almost every development proposal.

This concludes the discussion of centre, which to reiterate was to provide spaces for high density development, largely in the form of the office spaces reflected in the Metro Centre proposal, but accompanied by high rise apartments and public housing ‘projects’. Housing, as it was previously considered was largely a discussion of not-housing as it described numerous re-development plans which involved the clearance or renewal of neighbourhoods of single family houses, downtown. This was perhaps the most definitive and most impactful of the changes proposed for the life practices of city residents. As I hope this discussion and this research has made clear, city centres only remain centres when they are kept alive -and mixed uses including especially home spaces, for diverse groups of city residents, appear to be one of the most significant contributors to the life of the centre. The discussion of expressways points to a different vision - it is clear that for the most part, families were to be relocated from the centre and expressways were to provide them with a convenient
alternative to public transit ("a choice" in the words of Metro Chairman Campbell) to link their suburban home with their workplace in the city centre.

**The Suburb and the City**

Earlier, I promised a return to the question of whether the development which was proposed did genuinely serve suburban interests over those of the central city. The 'poles' or silos of life spaces which were promoted during this period do not appear to serve the interests of city or suburb dweller. Since this period of redevelopment of the centre city, growth has continued - but it has occurred across the region rather than only downtown. North York might now be seen to be privileged with its own concentration of office towers, as is Scarborough. Most Metro residents do not commute to the centre for work but even if they did, it seems a false debate to suggest that expressways were for suburbanites. The arguments made about speeds and congestion, the significant lack of real planning for access on and off of the expressways and dispersal of traffic at their 'ends' as well as the vision, every rush hour morning and evening, of the clogged '401' suggest that Metro's system of expressways would have served no one other than those who stood to profit from the re-development of downtown at high density. What would have served suburbanites as well as those living in the centre city were more even patterns of mixed-use development so that those who chose to live in Scarborough might also find work there - and a community, with shops and amenities to support non-monetised interchange...

**Adaptation and Urban Evolution**

As discussed in the context of St. James Town, the house form and its use change over time. Houses and neighbourhoods go through a continuing cycle of renovation and neglect moving from established single family, perhaps to rooming house or commercial use. Nothing precludes a house from again being "rehabilitated" to use today's term, so that the structure and those around it become again a part of a well kept residential neighbourhood, or the spaces appropriated, as in Yorkville, for upscale commercial use.
The building form and its way of being situated on a local street are what permit this changing and evolving use. As Jacobs (1961) claimed, the process of slumming and unslumming is a continuous one, if there are certain key elements which permit this process to take place. Rigidity of building type, excessive bureaucratic fiat, narrow and limiting occupancy standards or physical conditions (garbage dumps, expressways etc.) which so overwhelm the neighbourhood that neither its physical or social evolution is possible, these are the features which prevent the possibilities for real "renewed urban spaces - the kind of urban renewal which is antithetical to that which the planners of the 1950's and 1960's had in mind.

Clearly, it is not just house-form buildings which are subject to this cycle. Many of the 'mum and pop' retailers along Bloor/Danforth which were claimed to be obsolete both physically and in terms of goods sold, have been "unslummed" to use Jacobs' term. In some cases the stores' offerings have been updated, and the buildings transformed by renovation. Other stores have a certain cache because while they have been maintained physically, their goods and merchandising style is largely reflective of another time. As well, the transformation of old industrial buildings and others into the very contemporary live/work spaces also reflect the flexible evolution of urban spaces.

The evolution of spaces is likely enabled by a number of different factors including but not limited to the form of the building itself. As was discussed in the context of St. James Town, high rise apartment towers and 'big box' retail spaces may not be quite so flexible. However, as the contemporary conversion of industrial buildings reveals, perhaps even these spaces might be supported for other uses if the local government has sufficient flexibility to enable such transformations to occur on a small scale. This appears to be key -small scale experiments so that we might learn whether our experiments with urban spaces work and for whom, and under what conditions. And, even if they work, the last two limiting points must always be invoked to save these experiments from becoming new and dominating paradigms used to guide all urban redevelopment. These contrast with a significantly more modest "this approach appeared to work here, carried out this way, by and for this group under these
specific conditions". The ideas of 'modernity' are reflected in these tendencies to universalize and totalize - from positivist, empirical science to a belief that these were the modern building forms which would dominate the modern city, in spite of any and all antiquated expressions of personal preference such as those for house form buildings, local shops that one could access on foot, families downtown, and automotive repair shops beside homes. In the end, scale and control mattered enough for people to resist these pressures to universalize.

At small scales people appear to be able to create and modify urban spaces in ways which meet their own needs, provided that institutional structures enable or do not preclude these adaptive approaches. Perhaps even St. James Town could evolve over time, but the scale, process and institutional supports required would necessarily be more extensive. Compare the evolution of the spaces of St. James Town to those of Kensington. In Kensington, property values are low enough to enable two families together to buy a run down house, open a shop in the living room, do piece work for the garment industry after hours and live in the back. Over time, as they become established, the house is painted and kept in better repair, the shop and living space fixed up. Perhaps eventually a second house is purchased, a basement apartment created...

In general, smaller scale less definitively single-use functions better lend themselves to the adaptation required by different groups over different times in the urban sphere. Grid streets have had street railways added and taken away, have been widened and more recently, narrowed and equally well sustain horses, bicycles, pedestrians, transit vehicles and cars. The same can not be said of the mega-project single use structures of the urban growth years.

At a recent public meeting on the future of Toronto, Jane Jacobs said that like mega-projects, mega-cities and mega-governments will be equally limiting in supporting the adaptation of urban spaces. A smaller scale better enables adaptation - mega-cities like mega-projects are more rigid, harder to penetrate, less innovative and more likely to require large scale
bureaucratic structures and regulations which are like other values of modernity, more totalizing. The ready adaptation of urban space is necessary to its ongoing vitality. Forms and structures which enable this support the control and modification by people of their spaces.

Related to this notion of totalizing and universalizing, David Nowlan (1996) identifies these tendencies with the structure of bureaucracies which is related to Offe’s thesis about the deepening and broadening of the state’s interests in all aspects of people’s lives. Nowlan suggests that bureaucracies readily adopt paradigms which then fully inform their operation. This was the case in the late 1960’s and early 70’s in Toronto, where the dominant paradigm uncritically supported economic growth through urban development. This entailed large scale clearance and urban expressways. These paradigms, Nowlan suggested, can sometimes be dislodged by citizens, and this was the case in Toronto. "Out of this chaos emerged a new political perspective -against high-rise development and growth and for neighbourhoods as humane living spaces for residents of all social classes" (Burton and Morley, 1979:39).

**Linkages Between Land and Transportation**

As the illustration of how shoppers get to the Eaton Centre reveals and as was evidenced by the connections made between the development of the Yorkdale shopping mall and the Spadina expressway, there is a relationship between the issues of transportation and the development of urban land. The relocation of industry away form the city centre to cheaper suburban land, for example, is not dependent only on the availability of suburban land. Such a move only becomes feasible at the point at which there are a whole range of infrastructure features available at the suburban location. This is a quite obvious and uncontested issue. The question at hand is a version of the chicken and egg question; does infrastructure expansion drive development or does development drive infrastructure expansion? And, what should this ordering look like, whose interests and life practices are served and whose should be served? To be very clear, the costs of infrastructure expansion are generally borne broadly by citizens and corporations through taxation, the profits of development are realized
by a private sector development industry. The issues of land and transportation raise questions about the actual relationship and the desirable relationship between the state at its local level and the marketplace.

The question ending the previous paragraph would not be likely to be asked. Development was (and is) assumed, without much thought, to be always in the public interest. A similar set of arguments are being made by the Ontario provincial government in the current day as it cuts services while reducing taxes and effecting other measures to stimulate growth. With growth will come expanded economic well-being - allegedly for everyone through a 'trickle-down' effect. The job of government is to support growth:

And in the reallocation of city land to development, the politicians, planners, officials, and developers interact, and work with one another. The planners set standards with an awareness of "what is practical from a business point of view," the developers build to extract the maximum density from city regulations and bodies to obtain the greatest return from investment, and the politicians co-operate in order to avoid "throwing roadblocks in the way of progress" (Granatstein, J.L., 1971:4).

A variation on this view is offered in the report on the "Role of Private Enterprise in Urban Renewal" (Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, 1966a):

residential and non-residential alike are recognized as necessary and in the public interest.... A variety and scale of incentives should accordingly be furnished as required so that this participation (private enterprise) may be forthcoming and to make it successful" (p.309).

This was a quite direct message to governments at all levels to provide these incentives, with which they complied. Presumably the earlier message of retaining old housing stock for those with low incomes was lost amid the struggle to take up the incentives offered. The interests of government - rational planning, efficiency, new and clean versus old and blighted and the values of government - support for private sector growth - coincided with those of a development or property industry which had new technology to build high rise buildings, financial incentives provided by senior levels of government and the lure of significant profits effected by the purchase of land zoned for one use and built on at a much higher density. A footnote is necessary - Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC)
altered its support for clearance and introduced the first of a series of programs which provided for residential rehabilitation and infill housing. Much of the housing stock in Toronto and other Canadian cities was saved from slum clearance by this later federal policy change and many of the innovative housing developments later produced by Toronto urban reformers were enabled by it. Which is not to argue that government isn’t intimately connected to supporting urban growth, only to acknowledge that there are other actors and other claims for support of the state. In the instance of the changed policies of CMHC, they came about because there was significant citizen protest over urban renewal and this had begun to be translated into political action. While this illustrates that the state can serve other interests, it does not presuppose that serving the interests of ‘citizens’ or the 'public’ is the most common action of the state.

James Lorimer offers a quite unequivocal answer to the question of whose interests are and should be served, the appropriate mediation between these two spheres of life practice. The property industry controls municipal politics and directs the agenda of the local council. "Let’s face it: the developers run city hall" (Lorimer, 1972:4). Lorimer argues that city councils have two primary functions, the servicing of urban land and its regulation and that the understanding of city government and its functions is dependent on an understanding of the property industry. I won’t reproduce the arguments made by Lorimer and others (Harvey, 1973; Castells, 1977) about the structure of land ownership and the opportunities for profit which derive from land and the structures built on it, including housing, because of their treatment as commodities. Rather, the point here is to emphasize the connection, that the very functions of city governments, as their roles have been assigned by more senior levels of government, are the control of urban land and the services and amenities which in turn control its value. And, like with the issue of "highest and best" use, however disguised as objective or neutral or rational, the way in which these functions are carried out and to whose benefit, are decisions based on values - on the valuing of particular life practices and the needs and interests of some citizens over others. That this doesn’t begin to sound like a conspiracy theory, two factors which support this orientation must be acknowledged. First, there is a dominant belief that the private sector is the "engine of growth", if it does well,
so will everyone else - growth means jobs and general economic well-being. The second factor which supports these values remaining as implicit and unacknowledged is the history of municipal governance. It has limited mandates beyond the control and servicing of land and citizens have a limited history and experience of their local council beyond ensuring roads, sewers, basic amenities and the proverbial pothole fixing. In turn, in Toronto and elsewhere, their local council thought not very much about them - at least as a collectivity.

As Toronto planning documents (1969) show, higher density development followed subway lines and expressways. In other cases, development forced or sped up the provision of transportation access routes. In all cases, "the common technologies of urban transportation policy are directly linked to the technologies of the property industry. New development follows the familiar lines of highrise apartments, suburban housing developments on large lots, shopping centres, industrial parks, extremely intensive high density office development in the downtown" (Lorimer, 1972:190).

And again, according to Lorimer, development and transportation planning occur in ways which foster the property industry's interests over others:

transportation planners produce expressways, one way street systems, widened roads and subways necessary to support these kinds of developments [large, specialized, single use] and make more of them possible. These transportation plans clearly hurt many people in existing city neighbourhoods, and they are harmful to small-time property investors like store owners who see their business slashed when their street becomes a one-way throughway or when they are expropriated to make way for a widened mid-city mini-expressway...

For the property industry the technology of neighbourhoods for walking, where communities inside the city are largely self-sufficient, is out-dated... If power at city hall were in other hands, clearly the techniques for transportation planning would change dramatically. Sidewalks would be widened instead of roads; bicycle paths would be built; lanes on roads would be reserved for busses... (Lorimer, 1972:190).

These linkages and the seeming serving of one set of interests over others has been the 'story' of this chapter. Again, to use Molotch's term, it is the story of an urban growth machine. In this environment of boosterism and growth, the urban spaces which people
needed to support their life practices were noted to be disappearing, and when people registered their first mild protests they were not heard, in fact, dismissed as "Maoists, communists... pinkos...left-wingers... and hamburgers...". The latter included, as explained by Vancouver Mayor Tom Campbell (the author of this statement), "anyone without a university degree..." (Vancouver Province, Feb.10, 1972, as cited in Lorimer, 1972:201).

While the focus of this chapter has been land-use, I do not want to lose sight of the fact that these struggles over how land should be used, and by whom, where, came to the fore because of Toronto residents seeing in these 'land-use' struggles, implications for their life practices. The human use of the land of the city and how it could and would be used to support what types of human needs was not represented in all of the development plans considered here. This omission was noted by citizens, who made claims for downtown neighbourhoods - which were not to be exclusive but in which, residents felt connection and shared fate (Logan and Molotch, 1987), in which there were opportunities for the kinds of social interactions referred to by Gehl (1987) and where for some, important and enduring social networks were built. Claims were also made for less personal, 'public' or 'social' space, for a Yonge Street which represented Jaffary's view of being a place where everyone does what they wish, in the company of all others. Together, the kinds of spaces which were claimed for represented the claims of civil society for its own continued expression. What transpired might be best described as a small but significant rejection of the dominance of the marketplace, of the "urban growth machine" and a different more civil shaping of the city.

The following chapter focuses specifically on how these land use battles were translated into social movements, and analyses the claims of citizens for spaces which would support their life practices, which would express non-monetised human interchanges and the spaces of civil society. In essence, the focus is on people as 'actors', reflective beings who have 'agency', an ability to alter their circumstance. This reflects back to the considerations of the formation of our social structure discussed particularly in Chapter 5, wherein I claimed
for neither structure or agency but rather that social structure is forged as a result of the self-conscious actions of people against structures and these together produce and reproduce our social structure. Logan and Molotch examine this same debate in the context of the urban environment:

we give primary attention to the strategies, schemes, and needs of human agents and their institutions at the local level. People dreaming, planning and organizing themselves to make money from property are the agents through which accumulation does its work at the level of the urban place. Social groups that push against these manipulations embody human strivings for affection, community and sheer physical survival. The boundaries of our urban sociology are drawn around the meeting place (geographical and analytical) of these two struggles (1987:12).

This chapter has set out the strategies and plans of those who are described above as "the agents" of accumulation. The next chapter explores the response of "social groups push[ing] against these manipulations" as they struggled for their own survival and that of civil society.
Chapter Seven, Endnotes

1. For a more complete discussion of housing preferences and the kinds of behaviours associated with these preferences, see Michelson (1970).

2. The language of the market was so much the dominant language of the day that no one countered with alternative interests. Municipal politicians, until the period of reform considered here, took it for granted that the business ethos of growth and development was without question and in everyone's interest (Nowlan, 1996; Sewell, 1996).

3. In this same way the early expressways enabled people to know their impacts - the Don Valley Parkway despoiled the entire Don Valley ravine, while the Gardiner Expressway locked in the city from its lake front. These were early and classic examples of expressway development, however they were not so often pointed to in the expressway battles as was St. James Town in the battle over urban renewal.

4. The corporation was established as the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and the name was subsequently changed.

5. Regent Park North was Canada's first public housing development, which cleared 42.5 acres of urban land, constructing low rise apartment buildings and "maisonettes" or town houses. A second redevelopment project, Regent Park South cleared an additional 27 acres and was the first project of the Metro Toronto Housing authority. For a more complete description and an appreciation of the context in which urban renewal was conceived, see Rose, (1958), (1968).

6. Over 5 storeys the decline was even greater, to 33.5%


8. The presence of which is important if we recall the research cited by Gehl (1987) in which the extensiveness of social interaction in farmer's markets significantly outstripped that occurring in supermarkets.

9. As Jacobs (1961) notes such an area is critical to the economic wellbeing of a city as these areas with their high volume of traffic and low overhead give many small businesses the initial foothold they require. A number of businesses which began in Kensington and have gone on to become bigger and more established in up-market areas of the city demonstrate the value of districts of this kind.

10. This review was conducted by Richard Soberman who was appointed by Premier Davis following the cancellation of the Spadina. The terms of reference for the review included a review of the transportation plans for the greater Toronto area and so included transit plan review although it most significantly focused on expressways.
CHAPTER EIGHT
NON-MONETISED INTERCHANGE AND CIVIL SOCIETY:
URBAN REFORM IN TORONTO

This chapter sets out to describe, from a broader citizen-action perspective, how we might understand the nature of the citizen protests over the changes in the spaces of the city which were described in Chapter Seven.

I begin by describing the general context and summarizing some of the issues discussed in Chapter Seven. I will then describe a wide range of activities, protests and actions being undertaken by the citizenry of Toronto during the late 1960's and early 1970's. While some of these activities relate directly to the contestation over the spaces of the city, others are focused on broader, more social goals, still others reflect the associational, affiliative aspects of civil society and are not change oriented. I describe these activities quite briefly, but I purposefully wish to illustrate their breadth - this was a period during which civil society and the activities and life practices associated with it, were flourishing.

Whether a flourishing civil society was a precondition for, coincident with, or even an effect of, the social movements which are described in the next section of this chapter, is unclear. I suggest that the protests over the shape of the city and the claims made by citizens may be understood or characterized as two movements. I distinguish ‘movements’, from what I describe as citizen action or associations, in the sense that the movements I describe appear to have been a very broad culmination of citizen claims or demands and can be seen to have been directed against the other spheres of society - the state and the marketplace. Hence, a final section of this chapter explores the effects or lasting impacts of these movements. If they were movements, broad, change-oriented citizen protests, what changes were effected as a consequence? I describe and categorize data which suggest that changes in the state and in how the spaces of the city are used, have endured as a result of these early 1970's citizen
claims. In concluding the chapter, I analyze the impact of this period of movement and action as it has shaped the city's consciousness and its collective history and reflect briefly on its meaning for the current day.

I have moved far, at least by explicit reference, from my starting point which was a concern for and with non-monetised interchange in an increasingly market dominated society. In Toronto, in the period being described, not only was the marketplace dominant, that domination - or growth and expansion, as it was viewed, was seen by the municipal structures of the state as evidence of the city's health and prosperity. Growth was created by an expanding marketplace which generated economic wealth and was therefore good. Thus, the expansion of the city and urban development were the means to a desirable outcome. In this environment, non-monetised interchanges were largely unnoticed. They remained significant in the personal lives of city residents but they had no aggregated impact. When the life spaces and life practices of city residents began to be directly affected by the dominance of the marketplace, these non-monetised interchanges were the 'building blocks' of a citizen response.

The life practices and expressions of families and households, of neighbours and communities were directly threatened by the interests and activities of the marketplace. And, somewhat to the surprise of the early citizen objectors, there appeared to be no avenue open to the expression of these interests. The 'state' in the form of both Metro Council and that of the City of Toronto was unavailable as a mediating sphere, so completely had it embraced the ethos and goals of the marketplace.

The organization of local government - without partisan structures or the oppositionary forces created within a parliamentary democracy - enabled the kind of totalizing paradigm referred to in the last chapter. The marketplace was avidly supported by the state. Toronto, in this time period, might be considered to have had only one sphere - the marketplace. Beside it 'hung' (conceptually and metaphorically) a complicit state and a complacent citizenry whose interchanges were directed, as Wellman suggests, toward a "mutuality of interests", and
"forming personal communities" (1972:94,97). These communities were not particularly neighbourhood based and nor were they more broadly proximate - citizen interest in the city - its structures, forms or processes was minimal.

As I described earlier, many of the interchanges between people outside of the marketplace and the state begin informally - conversations at a kitchen table or over a backyard fence. Many remain informal and this was also the case in the development of the citizen’s movements and social protest at this time in Toronto. I will discuss this in more detail, but it is interesting to note that during this period of reform, at least two major but completely informal strategy groups met every week at a bar or someone’s home. Some interchanges began informally, formalized and remain to this day, others continued informally evolving into large effective bodies expressing citizen interests. It is important to emphasize not only the impact of this period of reform but that the process of organizing for change was itself a product of the interchanges of civil society. The possibility of forging strong local ties made this ‘movement’ possible, and these local ties and interchanges were supported by the structuring of Toronto’s neighbourhoods and spaces, by who lived in the central city, and because in this period of history, across North America, there was a strong assertion of the rights and interests of citizens. This was an historic period of citizen participation, which in combination with the life practices of those who lived downtown and fostered by the spaces of downtown, created a citizen movement and strengthened even further the elements of civil society which produced it. Friendships developed which also exist 25 years hence - other relations experienced rupture in both personal and political areas. As well, many of those significantly involved in the events of protest and change which I will describe, have remained part of a large and significant social network that continues to influence the shape of the city. I will discuss these interchanges more fully.

Literally hundreds of small and not so small groups and organizations formed between 1969 and 1972 in reaction to specific things - for citizen empowerment, environmental issues, and for more detailed consideration and reflection on what was occurring in the city and in people’s lives. I will describe some of these citizen groups in the following section, as they
are significant for three reasons: i) they provide an indication of the mood of the time - oriented to citizen participation, protest and social change, ii) they are illustrative of the breadth of citizen expression, which as I later suggest might be understood in terms of two broad social 'movements' and iii) they are revealing of civil society - of an extensive array of non-monetised interchanges occurring between neighbours and in the institutions and structures of civil society (churches, labour organizations, non-profit associations, informal citizen groups, neighbourhood organizations and many others).

Citizen Action and Social Protest

The varied activity of citizens which I describe in the following also supports the extensiveness of an "undercurrent of citizen advocacy". I will not analyze the scale or impact of these multiple protests as this will occur in the context of the broader analysis of what I have suggested were two social movements. The descriptions are brief and the data derives from interview and archival sources. The activities recounted are in addition to the estimated 65 plus resident/ratepayer organizations associated with CORRA and those groups already described associated with specific land use protests.

Land Use

Land use fights continued including the previously described urban renewal battles. The latter continued to be an issue primarily in St. James Town where the developer, Meridian, aggressively pushed for expansion to the west and south. In each case strong citizen protest groups were established, often including members who were well outside of the area of immediate impact. As with the Spadina Expressway, the impacts of St. James Town reverberated across the city.

The St. James Town Community Action Project was established to organize opposition to Meridian as they continued to plan for redevelopment in West and South St James Town. In the latter, David Crombie was accused of selling out to development interests in approving more high rise development. There are literally hundreds of letters from citizens
across the city objecting to more high density development in this area. It appears to have been an issue which city dwellers felt strongly about - viewing St James Town as not just a neighbourhood fight but development which was blighting downtown and their city. In addition to those from individual citizens, community organizations also expressed their opposition. One of note came from the Elizabeth Fry Society signed by lawyer Jane Pepino, later to be strongly associated with the pro-development side. A Tenants Union was formed at 6 Howard Street in an attempt to preserve this one single family house building from the ever encroaching St James Town.

Organizing activity in the area east of downtown was very active as citizens fought to preserve what remained of an area the whole of which had been threatened by renewal. Some of these initiatives included the establishment of the North Jarvis Community Organization to fight the widening of Wellesley Street, which later developed a plan to "beautify midtown". Regent Park residents became active in a number of initiatives, pressing for improved services and developing a Community Improvement Association. The South of Carlton Community Action Group organized to preserve housing south of Carlton.

A variety of other land use issues and protests developed and citizens groups were formed to: save old city hall, save Toronto Island homes, in opposition to the proposed Metro Centre development (the railway lands) and adult only buildings. Groups organized to oppose the expansion of the Toronto Island Airport, to preserve and restore Enoch Turner Schoolhouse (the site of the first public education in Ontario) and to keep St. Lawrence Market.

Expressways battles continued. As previously described, the Spadina fight continued. There was strong opposition and a determined movement to stop the Scarborough expressway. (Relatively another group had formed to oppose the Pickering airport). "Citizens to Save Street Cars" mobilized as the Toronto Transit Commission made tentative plans to replace street cars with buses. Other campaigns for public transit and bicycle lanes were organized by various community action groups.
Grassroots Publications and Alternative Press

There was notable citizen action around the creation of an alternative press. For some participants, this was accompanied by a sophisticated analysis of the role of the media in highlighting or suppressing issues. Related to concerns about municipal governance, many reformers believed that the way in which city council was covered, marginalized the reform issues. Relatedly, between 1970 and 1972, reform councillors produced "City Hall", a biweekly publication with articles and commentary by Sewell, Crombie, Jaffary, and Kilbourn. City Magazine was published by James Lorimer and continued for a number of years, with a focus on urban and city issues. Pollution Probe published "Whose City?", a newsletter which focused on land use and urban reform issues.

For other organizations, a newsletter or community paper was a way to stay in touch with their membership and report on issues and events relevant to their mission or cause. The Riverdale Review was one of a number of local community newspapers, the Annex also produced one as did many other resident/ratepayer organizations.

A number of attempts were made to sustain an alternative weekly newspaper. To this end, the Toronto News appeared for a brief period. The Toronto Citizen was born of this same zeal, intended as a local alternative biweekly paper. It was supported by Sewell and Lorimer among others, but it encountered financial difficulty and ceased publication after serious labour problems.

A newsletter called "Organizing" attempted to focus on strategy and report local initiatives. Downtown Action also produced a newsletter with a similar focus.

Community 'Action'

More generally, a wide range of "Community Action" groups were organized. While their focus varied, in most cases these spanned traditional neighbourhood boundaries and were issue-based. Overlapping membership and shared goals among these groups must be noted,
although not to suggest that participation and membership was not broadly based. Rather it appears that the leadership of many groups were the same group of highly committed and largely middle class activists.

The Ontario Association of Architects established a Toronto based "Urban Action Committee, the function of which was "to present an objective professional viewpoint on matters affecting the future design of the city. ... to establish a close rapport with citizen and civic groups" (Jerome Markson, letter, dated November 11, 1970).

A group called "Action for Downtown" organized, inviting people to join together in analyzing issues and reinforcing the work of other organizations (neighbourhood) to create a focus of attention on the downtown as a whole. Their initial forum was sponsored by "the Enjoy Toronto More people", with no additional information provided about who those people might be.

Perhaps related to the above named initiative, the "Downtown Action Project received federal Local Initiative Program funds to provide services to community groups downtown. They offered "title-searches on properties, corporate research, ... information on land assemblies, developers, zoning" ("Whose City?", Pollution Probe, March, 1972)

The areas of Don Mount and Don Vale (Cabbagetown and Riverdale) whether because of the intensity of the threat which they survived or as a function of who tended to live there, became strongly associated with social action. These were the areas which elected Sewell and Jaffary in 1969 and which have continued to support reformist councillors and members of parliament. "For Ward Nine" represented issues in Ward Nine, as did the Riverdale Community Organization in Ward Eight. More specifically, the following groups were also established: the Greater Riverdale Organization (GRO), the Riverdale Youth project, the East Don Urban Coalition, the Riverdale Community Education and Research Foundation and the Donvale Community Coalition. Each of these groups was quite active, with its own membership and agenda at least for a limited period of time.
Pollution Probe led a developing environmental consciousness. There were a number of other environmental groups also established.

**Universities**

Universities were sources of movement leaders, some of whom have been previously mentioned. The organization "Praxis" was established in 1969 by a number of university faculty who wanted to be more actively engaged in their communities.

Students were involved in many of the organizations described here, as well as in national, provincial and local student movements. At the University of Toronto a student movement focused on opposing a student union building arguing in its place for a non-spatial "campus as campus centre" (Leckie, 1996).

The University League for Social Reform was established at the same time that the Spadina Expressway battle came to a head. Barry Wellman, Steven Clarkson, Howard Buchbinder and Jim Lemon were among those involved. Alan Powell and Eilert Frerichs co-ordinated the project's activities which included a speaker series and conference. The "league" was responsible for producing a number of publications including a book edited by Powell (*The City*, 1972). The series of Saturday workshops from which the chapters in this book were drawn included papers given by most of the prominent reformers and urban thinkers of the time. Focused on "The New City", papers were given by Larry Bourne, William Kilbourn, Colin Vaughan, Lloyd Axworthy, Wilson Head, Jim Lorimer, Jeffery Sack and Hans Blumenfeld among many others.

**Churches**

Churches, both local clergy and more marginally, the institutions themselves, were involved in these social movements. Neighbourhood churches served as organizing centres and clergy were active in opposing expressways and urban renewal. Their involvement was noted in newspaper headlines, "United Church Group asks halt to all big-city expressways" (Toronto Star, Feb.17, 1970). "Interchurch", the Centre for the Study of Institutions and Theology,
Downtown Churchworkers, and the Student Christian Movement (SCM) were but some of the church-based groups organized to support reform initiatives. The latter group was especially active over a prolonged period, organizing everything from housing for discharged psychiatric patients to running a book store.

**Organized Labour**
There are contentious views about the role labour played in this period of reform. I will comment later on how construction workers supported Cadillac Fairview and Greenwin in their redevelopment of Quebec/Gothic and it was essentially along this line that there were opposing views - construction unions supported development - while others involved in organized labour tended to support the objectives of reform.

The Metro Labour Council sponsored a number of initiatives directly related to urban reform. The Labour Council with the NDP took a strong stand and supported the reform movement contrary to the interests of the construction unions. The Labour Council took strong positions on public transit and on citizen participation (Lemon, 1996, Leckie, 1996)

Lemon (1996) notes a connection between the church and organized labour pointing to the Canadian Methodist tradition which yielded some of Canada’s foremost social thinkers and reformist political leaders. These connections and historical tradition were significant in validating a social position for the churches and labour in this period of reform. While Frerichs (1996) suggests that the institutional church took few risks in supporting citizen movements, they also importantly took no action to constrain their clergy from assuming very public activist roles.

**Ethno-racial Issues**
Although immigration had been steadily increasing, it is not surprising to note that immigrants were primarily involved in fighting rights and equity issues rather than those which involved land use and local government reform. The Portuguese Canadian Congress and the local Portuguese Social Service Centre were however, active on issues of equality
of rights and citizen participation. They were also involved in community organizing, especially in Kensington, as the market provided both homes and shops to many members of the Portuguese community.

Similar organizing efforts were undertaken within the Chinese community because of the direct threat posed by urban renewal. City Hall and hotel development had already forced 'Chinatown' west to Spadina. Alexandra Park, the threats to Kensington and Don Mount and urban renewal in the area then described as Trinity Park would have wiped most of what is now home to the Chinese community in downtown Toronto. Organizing efforts were also underway within Toronto schools which established Chinese Parents Associations. These groups tried to ensure resources for English language instruction as well as resisting the blatant British colonialist style which required Chinese children to adopt "pronounceable, English names" (Leckie, 1996).

The Toronto Indian Alliance was established to represent the interests of Metis and non-status Indians. They reported on social and housing conditions and published a "Community Bulletin".

**Education**

Education reform was part of new social equity concern which gained momentum in this period. Many of the urban reformers, who had been involved in land use battles, began to express a concern for social equity issues including an awareness of the privilege associated with many of the urban neighbourhoods which were being saved and with a need for limits on speculation and gentrification. In inner city schools parents and teachers has begun to grapple with the impacts of highly differentiated incomes and urban poverty (Leckie, 1996). "Mothers on education" was founded to bring these issues to public attention. The group organized and supported a low income mother to run for school trustee. Other groups were established focusing on school board/education reform including community use of schools, parent councils, and the Chinese parent’s association.
Social Equity
These following organizations or protest groups are further evidence of this shift from land use issues to those focused on broader social goals:
- many reformers begin to participate in the Metro Social Planning Council and the organization was 'radicalized' and the Board of Directors 'taken over',
- student movement group opposes building a student union building - instead proposes "campus as campus centre",
- a daycare coalition is established which demands work place and subsidized daycare,
- various local anti-poverty groups are established, eg. Trefann Court anti-poverty group, a provincial anti-poverty organization, Just Society, and the Lawrence Heights Public Housing Group. A poor people's conference is organized.

Various initiatives were also undertaken to secure tenants rights, including a tenant organization and the Landlord Tenant Advisory Bureau.

Community Switchboard and the Development Education Centre are but two of a burgeoning number of groups whose mandate was education and information provision.

Many "establishment" social service organizations including the Children's Aid Societies and the Family Service Association began to hire community organizers to work with their clients. As well, these widely disparate and very encompassing citizen actions were occurring alongside a massive increase in both number and diversity of social service organizations.

As indicated, these citizen actions are intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive. Most noteworthy is the already mentioned shift in focus away from 'spaces' to income and equity issues as well as an increasing formalization in these emerging structures. While the organizing basis of the 'movement' groups, which I describe in the following section, tended to be decentralized, informal and small, there is evidence in the groups just described of an increasing use of incorporation and other formalizing practices. This may only relate
to the fact that for the first time, government funding became available to support some of these initiatives, although this was only likely to be a factor for those groups active after the election of the reform council in 1972.

**Structuring of the Analysis: Multiple Actions, Two Movements**

The preceding chapter described a range of changes proposed for Toronto’s urban spaces. Although broad in the sheer amount of space on which these redevelopment proposals would impact, the kinds of life practices to which these changes were oriented were quite narrow and specific. In general, the new urban spaces were segregated by function and proposed increased uniformity *and order* in the spaces of the city. In contrast, I would suggest that interesting cities are mixes of interesting spaces, spaces which surprise or are noteworthy, spaces which cause people to congregate. Contrast a walk through a new suburban subdivision - anywhere - with a walk down St. Denis in Montreal, a mews in London, the Ramblas in Barcelona, 6th Ave in Manhattan, Queen Street in Toronto. These spaces hold our interest and engage us - for different reasons - but each because of a combination of the spaces themselves and the vitality which derives from the large numbers of people who occupy the space. Urban environments of this type are markedly different from the kind of development which was taking place in Toronto in the late 1960’s and early 70’s. Even as planners noted the vitality associated with such spaces ("the heterogenous jumble" of Yonge Street), they, in concert with developers, proposed their re-development to more orderly and uniform land uses.

It was at least the contention of some of those who protested the re-development of these downtown spaces (Lemon, 1996; Frerichs, 1996) that more uniform land uses are quite directly related to different life practices. The description of what those were is difficult, because there was no *one set* of life practices of all downtown dwellers, they were multiple and diverse. But, they had something in common, which might be best described as an appreciation of diversity, a tolerance - and more than that - a regard for life practices which were other than there own. It was, for example, during this period that James Lorimer, an
urban activist, wrote *Working People* (with Myfanwy Phillips). The book is a study or description, an appreciative one, of Lorimer's working class neighbours and the events on their street and in their lives. It is not judgmental and nor is it a middle class-based analysis of the behaviour and events of 'others'. The book and Lorimer and Phillips' uncritical enjoyment of their neighbours' difference is reflective of, or the unifying feature of the life practices of those who lived downtown. They, and their families were prepared for, interested in and accepting of people and life practices which differed from their own.

The neighbourhoods which sustained these life practices were downtown, where one block of houses would include those which were 'white-painted', painstakingly restored, divided into 'bachelorettes', occupied as a co-op house by students, maintained by an immigrant couple who rented rooms, divided into flats or apartments - for young working people and/or older people, retired or unemployed, or occupied in a more as-is fashion by a working-class family. The list could obviously be extended, the point is that these neighbourhoods were encompassing of this diversity and still functioned as neighbourhoods. Residents chatted over garden fences, had a beer on a neighbour's porch, and used the same, local streets and shops and restaurants. Their children went to the same schools, played in the same parks and often had the same babysitter. A wide range of non-monetised interchanges occurred naturally and without external brokering, because of city and neighbourhood spaces which as Gehl (1987) suggested made it possible for these social interactions - non-monetised interchanges - to take place without prior or explicit planning.

The spaces proposed for Toronto were segregated by both function and the expectation of who they were to serve. Vision - such as it was - focused on the downtown. The city centre was to follow the urban models to the south: tall commercial buildings - *monuments* to the service industries - banks and insurance companies largely - who built them; expressway access to the downtown for a suburban workforce; high rise apartment towers serving singles (Yonge and Eglinton) and the almost poor (St James Town) or the poor (Moss Park) supported by a marketplace which was to resemble the regional shopping mall even if located right downtown. In the suburbs, acres of subdivisions of single family homes were to serve the needs of most middle class families. In place of the local amenities which support
residential neighbourhoods in the central city - community and recreation centres, libraries, shops, and theatres - a network of arterial roads and 'linking' freeways were to lead the suburbanite to the sprawling regional shopping mall. I previously cited research reported by Gehl (1987) which suggested that social interchanges are much less likely to occur in the context of a shopping mall than in other marketplaces, and even more, when these interchanges do achieve, they are isolated, 'one off' encounters. A conversation with a stranger in a shopping mall does not have the same potential to be developed, over time. In contrast, local shops provide spaces where neighbourhood residents get to know those who work there and shop there, the latter aided and further supported by the likelihood of other encounters with the same people in other local contexts. The suburban residential communities offered or perhaps threatened a reduction in the breadth and extensiveness of these casual, but important interchanges.

Families who wished to continue to live downtown were considered to be anomalies and were expected to see the wisdom in relocating to high rise apartments. Along the entirety of the subway line, the expectation was that high density development would occur, and neighbourhoods such as the Annex, High Park or Bloor West Village were to eventually resemble Yonge and Eglinton. The incursion of high rise development had at least begun in most of what are now, treasured, Toronto neighbourhoods of old homes. These developments, even though downtown, would have had all of the restrictions on varied and local life practices which a relocation to the suburbs promised. Neither set of residential spaces provide anything like the well in San Vittorio Romano (Gehl, 1987) which I described in an earlier chapter. In suburban neighbourhoods, people drive into their garages, recreate in their backyards and drive to work and the mall. Much has been written about the problems of establishing connections between neighbours in high rises.

Downtown, residential re-development was to have been enabled by a significant amount of 'slum' clearance. Neighbourhoods such as Riverdale (Don Mount), possibly Cabbagetown (Don Vale), Kensington, the remaining homes in the area identified in 1944, as Trinity Park, and of course stubborn little Trefann Court would have been cleared. Commercial
development would have continued as well, at an intense pace, with the likely redevelopment of most of that "heterogenous jumble" which is downtown Yonge Street. Yonge Street would have been dominated by the sheer blank walls of an inward facing Eaton Centre accompanied by extensive parking. Smaller Yonge Street stores may not have survived the decrease in street level activity, creating a further impetus for more high density development. Both Bloor and Yonge (the streets the subway lines follow) would have been redeveloped at high density for both commercial and residential uses.

Expressways would have cleared a path west through Mount Dennis in York, to Etobicoke (the Richview); a second path just north of Dupont right across the city (the Crosstown); a third from the ‘401’ through the Annex down Spadina (the Spadina); fourth, along the lakeshore through Riverdale (Don Mount) and across Scarborough (the Scarborough); and finally from the ‘401’ through the Black Creek lands (now Black Creek ‘Drive’) and down Christie through Seaton Village to the lake (the ‘400’ extension). Map 2 (provided earlier) shows the areas affected by the expressways, on an earlier city map marking out those areas perceived to be "blighted" or in decline. As I have previously indicated, these development issues are interrelated, and the combined impact is of enormous magnitude. Expressways concentrate vehicle traffic and generate even more expressway demand. As expressways gobble downtown land and destroy downtown neighbourhoods, the city centre becomes associated only with workplaces from 9 am to 5 pm, and a process of urban decay sets in, exacerbating the flight of the middle class. This in turn, creates even more expressway demand as less and less of the downtown workforce live in the city centre. As well, land adjacent to expressways becomes genuinely "blighted" and significantly devalued.

The experience of expressway development in Chicago or Washington among many other cities, reveals how expressways "blight" adjacent neighbourhoods, they become cut off by expressway development - almost trapped. The virtue, claimed by Sam Cass, Metro’s Commissioner of Transportation, of no home being farther than three quarters of a mile from an expressway (as cited by Citizen’s Concerned to Stop the Expressway) is indeed a dubious one. Neighbourhoods and communities are bisected by expressways and small residential
pockets remain of what were extensive, loosely connected neighbourhoods. Prior to
expressway development, these neighbourhoods had sufficient density, heterogeneity and
through traffic that they retained the capacity and vitality to ensure their ongoing "unslumming" (Jacobs, 1961). The presence of 'eyes on the street' noted by Jacobs (1961) and Newman (1974) occurred by virtue of the structure of the neighbourhood and required no special planning. When these neighbourhoods are consumed and bisected by expressways, what remains are small and isolated groups of houses in neighbourhood no longer desirable. Property values decline. The insularity of the neighbourhood often leads to its further deterioration and increasing use by those who value the lack of visibility - prostitutes, drug dealers etc. Thus, begins a circle of real blight - contrasting rather sharply with the blight noted by the planners of the day which had more to do with the age of the building and its proximity to local shops. This may not have happened in Toronto's remaining neighbourhoods - but it does describe what has occurred in many similar circumstances. At very least, Toronto, with the eradication of its seemingly endless neighbourhoods of houses, would have been a very different city. Downtown neighbourhoods would have supported (or not) the life practices of different population subgroups than those who fought to retain particular kinds of downtown spaces and have remained downtown to use them.

As Toronto residents began to see the cumulative potential of each large or small
development proposal and began as did Jack Granatstein on Marlborough or Gus Dixon in
trefann to feel the threat of the personal impact, concern, fear, anger and indignation began
to supplant an earlier complacency. Or, as the citation which began the previous chapter
suggests, it was not complacency which required supplanting - what was required was the
realization that a revolution was indeed occurring - the mask which had suggested only a
replay of the previous scene, had begun to slip - revealing a new scene - both surprising and
disheartening.

Citizens had watched urban renewal in Moss Park and Regent Park, high density high rises
constructed at Yonge and Eglinton, on Jameson Avenue, north of High Park, in the Annex,
up Avenue Road and even in Rosedale. Expressway plans and alignments were being
debated. The Don Valley Parkway, Highway 401 and the Gardiner expressway had been built. Why suddenly - (or was it sudden?) did people begin to take action and what was the nature of the action that they took? How did it start, how did it build and what were their goals? Who was involved and why? These are among the questions which this discussion of social movements will focus on. While in the preceding chapter, I have tried to sketch out in very broad terms the cumulative claims being made on the urban spaces, I will focus now, specifically on the dramatic expansion of certain kinds of interchanges between and among friends, neighbours and city residents as they did two things - mounted alternative counter claims against the urban spaces being planned for them - and made claims for an alternatively structured state which would, in the future, better balance and represent divergent interests, including those of citizens.

The preceding and brief recounting of citizen action initiatives and the very focused citizen movements which opposed the re-development proposals which were discussed in Chapter Seven can, I believe, be seen to be represented in two broad social movements. It must be emphasized that this was an era of citizen action. Many of the initiatives just described waxed and waned for brief periods from about 1968 to 1973/4, others were active for extended periods, still others only emerged at the end of this time. Thus, I wish to clarify that not all of those actions described in the previous section were a part of the two general movements which I am about to describe and characterize. Rather, a wide range of small-scale, informal and more formalized, non-monetised interchanges between citizens, that focused on diverse issues including land-use and politics, came together, with sufficient intensity and similarity of purpose, that a ‘social movement’ was effected. While for some a ‘movement’ in this broad sense was a directed goal, for others, participation was more specific and problem or issue focused. Very few of the ‘actors’ who were interviewed for this study foresaw (then) the extent of the changes which were effected. In this sense, I characterize a ‘movement’ as a broad thrust for change, rather than as an orchestrated endeavour.
I suggest that these multiple and diverse struggles can be categorized as two movements - one of which fought the Spadina expressway, the other coalesced around issues of citizen participation and municipal reform. Alternatively, these can be described as movements oriented to two things: 1) counter claims for the protection of certain kinds of spaces and 2) claims for a reformed state.

The goals and membership in these movements overlapped and both processes and outcomes were debated. There were some reformers whose interests were only narrow - their own home or street - and others whose interests were only broad - political opposition. The danger - or one of the dangers in this type of analysis - is that simplification and singularity are valued at the expense of complexity, multiplicity and interrelatedness. What transpired in Toronto and was sustained over about a five year period was all of specific and general, local and global, and highly complex. The explanations and analysis offered here do not supplant a multitude of other inquiries into this period of urban reform. This analysis may add one small sliver of new ground which in combination with others may improve our understanding of what contributed to this intense citizen action. Also important is what we might make of it in today's context, especially in view of the current changes proposed for the city by the provincial government. It is my intention that this discussion and analysis provide a different lens through which we view the 'expressions of citizens' in all their varied forms. I suggest that these citizen actions can be seen as both a process and outcome of cumulative and ongoing non-monetised interchange. I will return to this claim.

Thus, I will explain my proposed structuring and examination of this period of citizen action, in a context of there being other, valid explanations and accounts of the urban reform 'movement'. As indicated in the previous chapter, each of the development proposals which did not proceed, was either stopped completely by citizen protest or was substantially modified in response to the claims of citizens for the preservation of certain kinds of spaces. Thus, each protest - from Marlborough to Kensington might be considered a discreet action or protest. The movement which began to "Stop the Spadina expressway" can be seen, I would suggest, as the culmination of all of these smaller, local efforts. "Stop Spadina" was
from its outset different in form. The name given by Powell and others to the movement - "Stop Spadina, Save Our City" (SSSOC) - was intended to convey a broader focus. "It was not just a battle over the expressway, it was a battle to stop the developers" (Powell, 1996). Hence, the fight over the Spadina was not about just one expressway or even about the expressway system - it was a fight to avoid the "gutting of neighbourhoods" (Powell, 1996). We were "fighting for our lives" (Granatstein, 1996). "The goal was to stop the expressway, but it was much more than that, we had a very powerful sense, coming from Sewell's work, of preserving neighbourhoods against high density development, in which there would be no place for families and children; we wanted diversity" (Frerichs, 1996). These varied but powerful descriptions summarize the breadth attributed to the Spadina Expressway fight. Into this one battle was focused the concentrated energy, frustration and rage, and optimism which in varying degrees had affected those involved in many of the smaller struggles.

The Spadina battle must also be understood within the larger political context - this was the period of the Vietnam War and of widespread citizen protests. And, as with the actions against American involvement in Vietnam, many of these protests were actions against governments whose political, economic and social practices were being newly and closely scrutinized by a watchful and proactive public. While the government practices being objected to in Toronto were of a minor scale compared to others especially in the U.S., the mood of the time supported citizen action against oppressive governments, and this was very much a factor in the enthusiasm and breadth of perspective of those engaged in the Spadina fight.

A focus on the Spadina movement enables a description and analysis of the actions and participation of those who were directly affected (who lived in the affected neighbourhoods and whose concerns were limited to this interest) and those whose interests were broader. The concerns of the latter group included the paradigm of growth, the reliance on private cars, ecological devastation, the profits of the development industry and/or the lack of interest by municipal politicians in the concerns of the citizenry. For some, the Spadina
movement was a vehicle for a series of alternative claims for a state and social structure which would be less oppressive, more encompassing, with 'better' ecological and social practices, in short a critique based on the mood of the time.

The critique of the state served to focus the second large and more general 'movement' of the time. This movement was, I suggest, catalysed by the development which would have required the demolition of another 100 or so houses on Quebec and Gothic Avenues. The protest which resulted was ultimately, not about this development at all. John Sewell, a newly elected reform alderman, also figured prominently in this fight. Sewell identified a city councillor as having, and not identifying, a conflict of interest as he voted to increase permissable zoning densities in the area. The councillor's wife had owned some of the property now permitted re-development at a higher density. This significant but small(ish) breach and how it was handled by City Council served to coalesce citizens and citizen groups who had experienced many, many other illustrations of Council favouring developers' interests over those of citizens. There appears to have been no local political ethos of respecting citizen views let alone encouraging them or ensuring their articulation in city policies or processes. And, until this point, there had been very little citizen interest in the city. Likely resultant from the interplay of many factors, a citizen interest began to be present. People across the political, social and economic spectrums began to object and sought to 'reform' local government. This is the second large 'movement' on which I will focus, which is somewhat arbitrarily separated from the preceding one.

These two movements can be directly related to the notional spheres of human activity with which this work began - they are differing expressions of non-monetised interchange concentrated, although loosely organized, in the realm of civil society. The first, the Spadina battle, was a direct action, with a broad outcome - and an intention to influence both other spheres (marketplace and state) and claim urban spaces to support particular life practices. The second 'political' movement was not so much a claim against a sphere - but might be seen as a reassertion of the 'public' interest in the supposedly public sphere of the state.
The battles over how urban spaces were to be used were claims for certain life practices which were perceived to be threatened. Existing downtown urban spaces enabled 'localness'. Downtown residential neighbourhoods had a high level of 'institutional completeness' which residents explicitly valued (Granatstein, 1996; Lemon, 1996). They appreciated being able to walk - to local shops, bars, restaurants, cultural activities, often to work; their children attended local schools and played with other kids in the local area. Although as Wellman points out, neighbourhoods are no longer synonymous with community, many of those living in Toronto's downtown neighbourhoods reported that their neighbourhood was one of the communities in which they participated and which sustained them (Lorimer and Phillips, 1971; Granatstein, 1996; Lemon, 1996; Nowlan and Nowlan, 1996). The 'actors' in Stop Spadina (and all of the more specific land use battles) saw a direct attack on the spaces which supported these life practices. In this sense, Stop Spadina was an action against both the marketplace and the state. It was a claim against the state because of the state’s implicit and explicit support of the marketplace. Many working class communities such as Trefann Court expected that "you can't fight city hall", they did not perceive themselves as having a right to make such a claim against the state. This differed from the expectation of middle class and more privileged neighbourhoods and residents groups such as "Avenue Bay Cottingham" or the "Annex Residents' Association". These citizens expected to have their interests represented in the public sphere and Stop Spadina was their collective claim that the state acknowledge these interests. They also 'claimed' against the marketplace, in the sense that, in most of the land use battles, the developer represents market or economic interests. Even though, with respect to expressways, the state was the developer, there was every suggestion that this infrastructure development was driven by a market view of urban growth. There were also other stories (Yorkdale) which reinforce a view of significant 'comingling' between the marketplace and the state in proposing expressway development and particular alignments which appear to serve market interests.

People's spaces were threatened as were life practices which were valued. There was no apparent 'public' that appeared receptive to an expression of these concerns. Worse, the 'public' in the form of the local state, derided both citizens and their concerns. The groups
which provided a strong initial thrust for reform appeared to be those sufficiently sophisticated to be surprised that *they* weren’t being listened to. These were the issues at the heart of the second, political movement which was powerful, but probably engaged fewer people because its outcomes were less tangible. It was focused on reform of the state - on creating a new ethos at city hall - by creating structures which enabled the participation of citizens, by electing councillors which had a broader vision of the city, who could say "no" to developers, and who saw themselves as representing the people of their wards at City Council. As well as change in the political structures, the bureaucratic structures of the state required a changed ethos in which bureaucrats would solicit and respect public opinion and political decisions. Although this movement sought to ‘reform’ local government, as the discussion which follows reveals, there was considerable controversy over the direction such reform should take. For some, reform meant a more representative and responsive Council - for others increased control and power would be transferred directly to citizens.

In further detailing each of these two encompassing movements I will describe who participated in them, their roles, how they described and considered the goals of the action or protest, the structures, organizations and groups which formed as part of the larger protest and the actions they took. Following these reflections on the periods of protest, I will consider from our current vantage point, the lasting outcomes and impacts of these reforms.

In Chapter Four, I described some basic elements of social movement theory. While a precise delineation of what constitutes a ‘movement’ is itself not critical to this work, more generally, social movement theory provides a useful backdrop against which the scope and nature of these actions and activities might be considered. I previously suggested that social movements were a source of social change and of social protection (particularly for groups who may not receive the sanction and support of the state or dominant economic sphere). I inquired about ‘what needs get met and for whom’ as a result of contemporary social movements? These are useful considerations against which the current data will be examined.
Stop Spadina, Save our City

The first concerted citizen action to halt the Spadina expressway came as the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto completed its initial preparation of the Spadina alignment south of Lawrence Avenue. The portion of the expressway north of Lawrence Avenue to Wilson, with an interchange at the "401", had been complete since 1966. Some have suggested that Metro had moved hastily to complete this portion of the expressway because Simpsons and Eaton's were ready to proceed with the Yorkdale Shopping Centre and wanted to ensure good access from the Highway 401 and downtown (Nowlan and Nowlan, 1970; Powell, 1996). Metro had proceeded with the expressway in spite of not having prepared detailed plans to solve major traffic problems at the expressway's south end. Original Spadina Expressway plans had relied on the Crosstown Expressway to funnel away some of the Spadina traffic. With the Crosstown removed from the plan, a satisfactory alignment had yet to be defined. As indicated in the previous chapter, the Spadina began and ended 'nowhere' and most importantly there was no resolution or even concerted planning for the problems at the south end of the alignment. It appears that having rushed to accommodate Eaton's, the planners expected to develop the expressway to downtown whether or not it 'worked'.

Thus, Metro was proceeding, but slowly, with the Spadina. At a point critical to the interests of this story, in 1969 spending on the Spadina reached its authorized limit triggering a request by Sam Cass, Roads and Traffic Commissioner to the Metro Transportation Committee for an additional 23 million dollars, to add to the 76 million dollars already spent. The decision was held pending a review of the expressway to be undertaken in January and February, 1970. Metro residents, beginning with those in the expressway’s path, began to consider how to respond. The Annex Ratepayer's Association organized a pivotal meeting at Huron Public School in the fall of 1969, just following the temporary suspension of activity on the Spadina. In the preceding years, various deals to enable the Spadina had been reached with ratepayer groups, conducted largely behind closed doors, with resultant re-routing of the alignment, tunnelling, mazing streets, an 'as necessary' approach to
accommodating objections in order to obtain support. More or less was conceded in these private negotiations subject to the strength of the ratepayer organization. The Annex Ratepayers had supported the expressway plan and had received only minimal concessions.

In 1969, however, the turnout at Huron School was large and those attending were concerned about the expressway if not yet opposed. Concern was heightened by the lack of detail available from Metro. The Spadina story is complex, the alignment and approvals by Metro are themselves a bewildering array of approvals and reversals, partial commitments and unclear statements (Nowlan and Nowlan, 1970). I will not attempt to describe these here and will offer in summary form some of the key points and activities in the developing citizen opposition to the expressway.

Following the meeting at Huron School several actions were taken. Nadine and David Nowlan, who had recently purchased a house near to where the Spadina would hurtle south, agreed because of their skills, to take on the project of researching the facts, background and issues related to the expressway. David Nowlan was a professor of economics at U of T as well as an engineer and transportation planner. Nadine Nowlan held a Master's of Social Work and extensive research ability. Their small book, The Bad Trip was researched and written over a four month period, expressly to aid the Spadina fight - to gather the evidence and make it widely available to the public. The book was priced at $1.25 and 10,000 copies were sold. The editing and publishing of the book was undertaken by another Toronto author who had a small publishing house. Dennis Lee was also a Spadina opponent. The acknowledgement in the book conveys even more about the circumstances of its writing: "Many friends and others we had never before met, freely gave us their ideas; they provided encouragement and chicken soup. This book is theirs too." Although researched and written by the Nowlans, the book was a collective enterprise which the Nowlans (1996) describe as a primer to prepare the citizen's objections to the Spadina. Meanwhile, as research and analysis of the plan is being undertaken by the Nowlans and supported by others, a wide range of other activity is also underway.
The Annex Ratepayers is taken over in a fight over support for the Spadina. It becomes the Annex Residents' Association and formally opposes the expressway.

Others began canvassing the Annex community about the effects of the Spadina. This initiative tied in with other issues affecting the community at the time. The University of Toronto had plans to build west of Spadina and had recently purchased and demolished neighbourhood homes causing residents on adjacent streets to organize against the university. The University's governing council had supported the Spadina Expressway (Powell, 1996) which made the university doubly an enemy. Linkages were fostered between the Kensington, Sussex-Ulster and Annex Residents' Associations all of which were affected by the University's development plans and by plans for the Spadina. Neighbourhood and community meetings were organized, letter writing campaigns undertaken and students and residents were mobilized. These neighbourhoods became the focus of discussion and action.

Many of those who emerged as significant organizers in the Spadina battle indicate, similar to the experience of the Nowlans, that they had recently moved into the area which was to be impacted by the expressway (Jacobs, Frerichs, Lemon and Powell, 1996). All played significant roles in sustaining the expressway opposition. It is interesting to note that David Nowlan, Powell, Lemon and Frerichs were all employed by the University of Toronto (U of T), the first three as professors, Frerichs as chaplain. Frerichs (1996) comments on the importance of this institutional base, saying that it provided them with credibility and for some, their position linked them with others who became partners and allies in the fight against the Spadina and all that it stood for.

Powell was, as he describes it (1996), an "advocate sociologist". As a professor of sociology at U of T, he taught a course entitled "Power and Strategy in City Politics". The organizing and strategizing for "Stop Spadina" became a natural 'lab' for students working with Powell. The availability of a large cadre of students was of significant benefit in organizing large scale protests. Students supported the SSSOC campaign and many also organized to object to the University's development plans which directly threatened student housing.
As indicated, there were a number of quite discrete elements to the Spadina protest. Stop Spadina Save our City (SSSOC) engaged in a wide variety of activities, involving for some events, thousands of protestors. It was well organized, and utilized a range of strategies to engage and impact on the media, politicians and the citizenry. SSSOC organized a horse and buggy parade down Spadina to draw public attention to the speed at which vehicles would likely move as a result of the lack of planning for traffic flow at the expressway’s southern terminus. The group met with Saul Alinsky, a widely regarded and contentious American community organizer, to seek process advice for the Stop Spadina campaign. SSSOC also consciously used a strategy of impacting on Toronto from the outside, playing on the provincialism of the city and its high regard for outside experts. These experts, when they were in town, would be invited, with media in attendance, to comment directly on the Spadina or on other elements of Metro’s transportation or development plans, or, simply on what they liked about the city. American and British politicians, planners and academics could generally be counted on to admire Toronto’s downtown, streets of houses rather than high rises, and the City’s public transit. Thus, this ‘outside’ opposition to expressway and development proposals was used by SSSOC organizers to fuel media and citizen opposition.

SSSOC worked with other Stop Spadina groups in organizing a massive and sophisticated fund raising campaign to support the legal end of the expressway battle. A local gallery owner supported the initiative in which prominent local artists donated numbered prints of their work to finance the Stop Spadina campaign. The organizing and execution of this fund raising activity was in itself a major event - absorbing thousands of hours of donated time and generating significant revenue.

Jane Jacobs was a frequent advisor to the SSSOC and her influence is apparent throughout the Spadina campaign, in newspaper interviews and articles, an appendix to the Nowlans’ book and in meetings with politicians. The Nowlans, particularly Nadine, provided intensive and ongoing research for Stop Spadina and played a critical role in the fund raising initiative. In addition to his role in writing The Bad Trip, David Nowlan was a chief witness at
hearings on the Spadina and contributed in an ongoing way to identifying key decision points in the approvals process and in strategizing for anti-Spadina action.

The Spadina Review Corporation provided the third major element of the citizen response. Spadina Review was organized by a number of people, most notably, James Lemon and Colin Vaughan. This was the legal arm of the Stop Spadina fight and the group hired J.J. Robinette (a well known and very highly regarded Toronto lawyer) to represent them at the upcoming Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) hearings. Robinette was among the legal elite, in fact many commented that he was the lawyer one would have expected to be on "the other side" - that of the developers and planners. He was also expensive, hence the sophisticated fund raising campaign. His work was supported, as was nearly every other aspect of the legal arm of the Stop Spadina fight, by Jeffery Sack, a young lawyer who believed that citizens needed more control of the planning process. Sack was described by many as instrumental in presenting a strong case against the Spadina at the OMB hearings.

I will briefly describe the decision points toward which the Spadina campaign was directed. However, to reiterate, the campaign was larger than just Spadina, the key informants to this study who were Spadina opponents all report a myriad of other protest and citizen action activities during the period of opposition to the Spadina. The organizing for these other activities used the same forums as did the Spadina: meetings of local resident and ratepayer organizations, and its parent organizing body the Confederation of Ratepayers and Residents Association (CORRA) and other issue focused groups. In other words, the actors in the Spadina movement were engaged in battles on more than one front - all directed toward the same and related aims - stopping urban renewal and expressways, preserving downtown neighbourhoods and reforming local government.

The decision to which much energy was directed was that of the Ontario Municipal Board following extensive hearings on the Spadina. The Board's decision was itself controversial in that the Chair, J. A. Kennedy found the social cost of the Spadina to be "cruel" in terms of the disruption to established communities and damage to the environment. His view was
not supported by two members of the Board, whose decision carried, thus affirming the Spadina. The citizen campaign had been lost - at least at this stage.

Perhaps one of the most significant things about Stop Spadina was that at each stage where the loss appeared to be real and final, a new strategy to continue was forged. The citizen energy which was focused on this campaign cannot be adequately described. Hundreds of people acted every day - alone and with others - connected by invisible and next to invisible threads of chats on the street, telephone calls and informal strategy meetings. Thus, the actions were not centralized or highly structured, there was plenty of opportunity for people to contribute to "Stop Spadina" in ways which met their needs and utilized their skills. Informal networks were the source by which the disparate activities and groups were co-ordinated.

Nadine Nowlan (1996) comments that many of the pivotal Spadina players were academics and highly educated, while the movement itself was widespread and diverse. It was critical that "there were people well able to articulate the issues" (David Nowlan, 1996), and the Nowlans credit this with surprising the bureaucrats with the extensiveness of citizen expertise. The "citizen was revealed as technocrat" (Nadine Nowlan, 1996) and thus was able to match the bureaucrats on their own turf.

The decision of the Ontario Municipal Board was appealed to the Ontario Cabinet under Premier Bill Davis. On June 3, 1971, Premier Davis stood on the steps of the legislature and made his anxiously awaited and oft quoted statement:

We must make a decision as to whether we are trying to build a transportation system to serve the automobile or one which will best serve people. If we are building a transportation system to serve the automobile, the Spadina Expressway would be a good place to start. But if we are building a transportation system to serve people, the Spadina Expressway is a good place to stop. (Premier William Davis, Ontario Legislature, June 3, 1971).
The Spadina had been stopped by a "courageous premier", as newspaper headlines blared (Hamilton Spectator, Kitchener Waterloo Record, Windsor Star, June 5, 1971). The 'win' was attributed to Davis' courage but also to the power of the citizen's movement. These views were proclaimed by newspaper headlines in Ottawa, Oakville, and St Thomas. As well, the victory was seen to represent a fundamental change in philosophy - a change in the life spaces and life practices supported by the city. The Financial Post declared "The City does not belong to the automobile" (June 7, 1971), while the London Free Press proclaimed a "Major Shift in Philosophy on Cities" (June 4, 1971). Other cities also took note: "Shutdown of new Toronto expressway shows its not too late for closure here" (Montreal Star, June 7, 1971).

By some, Davis was criticized for his decision which was described as crass electioneering. If it was, it was based on the breadth of opposition to the Spadina. Over 60 citizen groups were registered with Metro as opposing the expressway (Globe and Mail, Feb.24, 1970). Other indications of the breadth of public response were letters and petitions with signatures varying from 150 to 400, public meetings with 400 to 600 hundred people attending (Time Magazine, Feb.16, 1970) and massive numbers of letters to the editor of all of the Toronto daily newspapers. By some, these numbers were dismissed as the organizational tactics of a few, claiming to represent many. While there is no absolute way to determine the truth of these claims, the Annex community is home to almost 20,000 people, if even only this group opposed the expressway, the opposition would be significant. Davis' decision, coming as it did before an election, offers some indication that the provincial conservative government took seriously the opposition to the Spadina.

Following this apparent victory, there ensued what was in some ways the worst of the Spadina battles; it was covert and extended almost 10 years more. It was made worse by the fact that most people thought the battle had been won. Metro had not yet conceded the fight and continued to extend the expressway south to Eglinton Avenue. It did this in ways which maximized its 'expresswayness' contrary to what had been approved for the remainder of the alignment to Eglinton. Metro also stalled and evaded on the transfer of a three foot strip of
land at the foot of the expressway which Premier Davis had promised to the City of Toronto as insurance against the expressway plan again coming to light. (Newspaper articles describing the continued fight with Metro are reprinted in Appendix D.)

In a complicated manoeuvre to ensure the extension of the ‘400’ south, the province built this expressway extension and was then to swap this land on which Black Creek Drive had been built, for the three foot strip at the foot of the Spadina. The province thus ensured that Black Creek Drive (the 400 south, but only to St Clair Ave. pending a review) could proceed without an Ontario Municipal Board hearing. With respect to the Spadina, the swap was to ensure that the province, rather than Metro, held the land required to continue the Spadina until it could be appropriately transferred to the City. This transfer was to be effected by a series of lease agreements which would protect against Metro expropriating the land from the City of Toronto. David and Nadine Nowlan (1996) report that whether advisedly or accidentally this already very complex agreement transferred the wrong piece of land, useless to preventing the continuation of the expressway. Another citizen’s group, "Citizens to keep the Spadina promise" was organized to monitor these very exhaustive and extended agreements. On Premier Davis’ last day of office, years after his original statement stopping the Spadina, the strip of land was transferred to the City of Toronto in a 99 year lease. In spite of "Citizens to keep the Spadina promise" and years of citizen vigilance, Davis’ successor, Premier Frank Miller raised the spectre of a renewed Spadina with a different alignment almost immediately after taking office. The still vigilant Stop Spadina group immediately asked Davis to intervene and request that Miller respect Davis’ earlier position on the issue. And, there the Spadina expressway fight and the expressway, did end.

In summary, Stop Spadina in all of its various forms, lasted from 1969 to 1984. Its most intense period from 1969 to 1971, involved CORRA, its estimated sixty plus ratepayer/resident groups, student groups, a Yonge Street businessmen’s organization, technical strategy groups especially on the legal challenges, the Metro Labour Council, hundreds of small interest - focused citizen groups and other non-allied citizens who joined protests and gave money.
Reform of the State

The other major movement which I have characterized as a political movement oriented to municipal reform, began slightly earlier than the Spadina battle. However, like with Spadina, the movement was catalysed by a particular event. In this case, it was the "Ben Grys affair", which involved Councillor Grys approving density changes to enable high rise apartments on Quebec and Gothic Avenues, even though his wife had a direct interest in some of the affected properties. The issues which surfaced with the Grys incident were broadened to include a public concern about: the nature of the relationship between City Council and developers, the ethics of Council, as well as its permeability and visibility - were its deliberations open to scrutiny, did the 'public' have a place at city hall? Also like Spadina, this was never a single 'movement' but was unified by the replication of similar issues occurring across the city. All of these citizen appeals to the 'state' (Toronto and Metro Council) to intervene, to act according to citizen interests in stopping developers, were being rejected by both local City Council and by Metro Council. Thus, these 'actions' connected informally and were directed to the same broad end. The goals of these protests were not unanimously agreed to, nor were they specific. Different notions prevailed of an appropriate solution to the problem of unresponsive, insensitive, unrepresentative local government. Local government was seen to be controlled by the development industry and was described as the "old guard" or an "old boys network" (Nadine Nowlan, 1996; Lemon, 1996). Among the hundreds of small and not so small citizen groups established between 1968 and 1974, there was general agreement that what was being fought against was this sort of local government.

Organized citizen action was again diverse and decentralized. The impetus for action came from almost every encounter with planners and politicians. Nadine Nowlan describes attending meetings considering the future of the Spadina expressway in which Metro councillors would berate and chide deputants particularly if they seemed lacking in confidence (Nowlan, 1996). I have previously recounted the circumstance in which residents of Trefann Court were advised by the Commissioner of Development, Walter Manthorpe that
their proposal, which was supported almost unanimously by the area residents, reflected "a lack of real knowledge and information" (as cited in Fraser, 1972:98). These were far from isolated incidents. The Mayor of Vancouver referred to citizen complainants without university degrees as "hamburgers". Lorimer (1970) cites several illustrations of citizens being treated without respect and with a belief that however well intentioned, they could not have answers to the issues because 'answers' required complex, technical proficiency. Toronto's Mayor Dennison likened citizen's groups "to a rabbit running around in a swamp - from the tracks you'd think the place was full of them, but there's only one" (Toronto Star, November 20, 1971), after suggesting that the Spadina expressway was halted by a small group acting against the wishes and interests of the majority.

Sewell comments on the ways in which citizens and citizens' groups were routinely discredited as per Dennison's comment.

Most of the developer based politicians ... used to talk about giant conspiracies which arranged for opposition to development, but of course that was never the case ... In development fights every community starts from scratch, and the most encouraging aspect of the numerous struggles was the abounding energy and vitality of communities throughout Toronto. The culmination of the fights in 1971 was probably Quebec/Gothic, and no less than 700 people showed up at City Hall to do battle in its final stages" (1972:88).

In contrast to the suggestions that opposition and demands for reform were generated by conspiracy, there is interesting evidence that the development industry itself was well acquainted with trumped up support. The Bad Trip reprints some of Ron Haggart's "Toronto Daily Star" columns, one of which was entitled "The Strange Case of the All-Alike Letters". Haggart describes his investigative work in linking a large number of pro-Spadina letters printed in all three of the Toronto daily newspapers to Webb and Knapp, the developers of the Yorkdale Shopping Centre. "Webb and Knapp's interest is that the Spadina expressway and its all important cloverleaf connection with Highway 401 will feed traffic into the 25 million dollar plaza. And Webb and Knapp's design and construction contract with the T.Eaton Corp. can be cancelled 'if the venture is frustrated through inadequate road facilities not being available'" (Haggart, Toronto Daily Star, March 1, 1962, as reprinted in Nowlan
and Nowlan, 1970:98). In a similar vein, high rise tenants were urged (strongly), by the developer of their buildings, to support that developer's other projects. The Toronto Star describes a meeting at City Hall attended by construction workers and the employees of Cadillac and Greenwin to urge Council to approve Cadillac/Greenwin's plans for Quebec/Gothic (Toronto Star "700 jam City Hall", Feb 29, 1972). The intimidation in both of these examples must be noted. When employers and landlords request such participation, there is inevitably an element of coercion involved. There is no record of this being noted by City Council, there is every indication that this was seen as bona fide evidence of support for these projects.

This contrasts sharply with a study reported by Lorimer (1970). Prepared by the Bureau of Municipal Research, the study found that 100 per cent of the politicians interviewed indicated that they did not believe residents' or citizens' groups to be representative as they purported to be. Sixty per cent of the councillors believed that these groups act contrary to the public interest (1970:65) I will return to a more complete consideration of what these 'movements' amounted to, who they were inclusive of and how my characterization of two movements fits with other perspectives on Toronto urban reform. Before doing this, I will continue to describe this political movement oriented to reform of the 'state'.

Sewell's *Up Against City Hall* (1970) demonstrates over almost 200 pages his attempts to have the views and interests of citizens taken seriously at City Hall. In part, it may have been the futility of this struggle that caused him to reject the notion of 'politician as leader' in favour of 'politician as delegate'. Sewell had no anxiety about the expertise of "the people" in making the decisions which would affect them. He believed that it was his job to organize the citizens' meetings as forums for debate and discourse. Then, when people got together and decided what was best for them (if Sewell disagreed), they were right and he was wrong" (Fraser, 1972:173). Sewell's position was at one end of the reform continuum. Other politicians, such as Karl Jaffary were also interested in what he described as "people power" (Jaffary, 1996), but in a more tempered way, without abandoning the roles associated with elected representatives. Jaffary saw the need for an accessible government which
worked with the citizenry, rather than a local government which effectively transferred
decision making power to local citizen’s groups. This debate is replayed by citizens’ groups
themselves as various organizations attempted to delineate what kind of state they wished to
create. In an unsigned and undated essay entitled "The Great Debate - Summarized" this
issue is articulated as follows:

In the last municipal election, people in Toronto seemed to have decided who the 
"enemy" is: the land industry and their henchmen on City Council. The old 
aldermen, by and large, were not seen as being representative of the new needs 
and aspirations of the community and its neighbourhoods; they did not listen and 
clearly failed to understand the new mood which had come into the City. Hence 
the election of a number of reform aldermen and a reform Mayor. [dating this 
piece just after the 1972 municipal election]

But the essential issue which was debated to some extent in the election has not 
changed: where should power lie in this City? ....

CORRA’s long standing call for the creation of ward councils and the 
decentralization of government and the devolution of its power from City Hall 
into neighbourhoods and communities, means really that we associate ourselves 
with John Sewell’s position...

On the other hand, many of us are calling for a City Council to be much more 
active in policy formation, in making decisions etc. We want them to caucus, to 
develop common positions, and, almost to have a platform... (undated and 
unsigned, papers of Ellen Adams, Archives, York University)

This piece may have been written by Ellen Adams who was intensely active in all of the 
citizen protests of the day. Adams was very active in CORRA (Confederation of Ratepayers 
and Residents Association) which expanded to represent and support over 50 
resident/ratepayer associations. In addition to co-ordinating local struggles, CORRA focused 
on larger issues and questions such as this.

Sewell’s position on citizen power and even the more traditional notions of representative 
democracy ran far from the view held by Mayor William Dennison. Dennison believed that 
citizen participation threatened the efficiency and power of government and it was during this 
Mayor’s last term of office that the movement to elect a reform council began in earnest.
Dennison had been involved in city politics for 35 years. He had roots in the New Democratic Party (NDP) and identified himself as being working class. In spite of this, he voted in favour of development projects in almost every instance.

In the 1969, municipal election, John Sewell and Karl Jaffary ran for alderman in the newly created Ward Seven. Each had a history of involvement in the ward. Jaffary, as a resident of Don Vale, whose home and neighbourhood may have been affected by urban renewal, had become active in the residents’ association. He was an NDPer interested in party politics at the municipal level. Sewell also lived in the ward and had his political roots in Trefann Court. There was only one incumbent in the ward thanks to another fight over the structures of the state which had taken place during the spring and summer of 1969, immediately preceding the election. I will deviate briefly to describe the “movement” against strip wards.

Council had proposed to amend the ward boundaries in the City of Toronto. The existing wards were to be replaced by long thin wards running from the traditionally poorer sections of the city south of Bloor to include the more affluent neighbourhoods to the city’s northern boundary. Activists were concerned that this would negate the representation of downtown neighbourhoods as the views of poor and working class neighbourhoods would be dwarfed by the overpowering voices from the northern half of the wards. Even those for whom this wasn’t a concern argued that representing a ward with this range of diversity would be difficult. The fight over these ward boundaries was supported and sustained by CORRA and its local associations and also by many of the same citizen’s groups which were opposing expressway plans and development proposals. Council’s decision was successfully appealed at the Ontario Municipal Board and in place of these strip wards new ward boundaries reflecting the traditional Bloor street dividing line were brought into place.

Sewell and Jaffary ran successfully against incumbent Oscar Sigsworth in the new Ward Seven. This same election saw David Crombie, William Kilbourn, and Ying Hope elected to Council. These three aldermen usually voted with Sewell and Jaffary on reform issues.
Art Eggleton was also elected to the 1970-72 City Council and as when he later became Mayor, Eggleton tried desperately to stay on safe middle ground. He sometimes supported reform issues.

This was the first ‘reform’ at City Council, the election of people who were acknowledged to support ‘other’ than growth and development practices. There was a consciousness on the part of the electorate that they were supporting something new and a consciousness by these reformers that they were to chart a new but undetermined and likely not unanimously chosen course. Their work and divergent views are well documented and critiqued by Sewell (Sewell, 1972, 1996).

As David Nowlan (1996) describes it, municipal reform was not just about electing reform aldermen. The ‘state’ in its pre-1972 Toronto configuration was comprised of old guard politicians and a bureaucracy which was dominated by a view that civil servants were rational, technocratic experts who were in the best position to make the key civic decisions. Change in the structures of the municipal state had to overcome old guard politicians, a paradigm of growth and an arrogant technocratic bureaucracy.

The disinterest of the state in the views of the citizenry was not limited to that of elected politicians. I have already reported the views of Development Commissioner Manthorpe to the residents of Trefann. Manthorpe’s expressed view is shared in a more considered manner in a 1970 paper presented to the Annual Conference of the Institute of Public Administration of Canada by Commissioner of Planning Wronski:

As I see it, what is being proposed by today’s citizen groups is a whole new level of government. The neighbourhood is organizing, often with the help of public funds. It is appointing its own experts, preparing its own studies, advocating its own conclusions and demanding a veto power over the decisions of its elected representatives. It is even demanding Miss Arinstein’s last three levels of participation, viz: partnership, delegated power and citizen control. For civil servants this is a dilemma which leaves many in a state of utter bewilderment. They are identified with the politician. Their expertise, their research their advice are all tendered to him. The civil servant’s responsibility has been so far to the elected official as representative of the total community. If the elected
official chooses to listen or to be intimidated by the local faction in contradiction to the public servant, the latter feels not only personally betrayed and rejected, but also believes that the good of the total community, which, he always maintains, is best guarded by and known to him, has been surrendered for the benefit of the few. [my emphasis] (as cited in Fraser, 1972:282).

Wronski’s comments give some evidence of the strength of bureaucratic feeling about citizen participation. Lorimer suggests:

"City politicians are quite aware of the threat posed to them by political organizations of people who have until now been completely unorganized...they know that success by one or two citizens organizations might destroy the "you can’t fight city hall" attitude and encourage other groups to spring up... So the politicians and bureaucrats are fighting back... All (the people’s) letter protests petitions, briefs delegations, representations, meetings demonstrations, and pickets produce nothing" (Lorimer, 1970:158)

Wronski reports correctly (in a context which is highly self serving, fear mongering and irrational) that what was being demanded by some citizens groups was almost a new level of government in which politicians would serve, as Sewell described the role, ‘as delegates’. This view never came to dominate the view of municipal reform although the position and demands of the citizenry continued to become more clearly articulated. While in the late 60’s there was pressure against, in the early 1970’s reformers began to articulate a vision of what they wanted instead.

During this period there were various attempts to organize and structure the reform activities at City Hall. One of the first and weakest organizations (if it can even properly be described as an organization) was the Civic Action Party (CIVAC) established prior to the 1969 election by David Crombie and others. Caulfield describes CIVAC as "a naive confection which politicians seemed to join shortly before elections and forget about shortly after. While it claimed to be a gesture toward "reform" civic politics, it was an impotent political alliance which served mostly as a public relations gimmick for candidates who sought to give themselves a vaguely progressive sheen."(1974:20) Appropriately, especially given Caulfield’s caustic view, CIVAC had not gained much currency and it required nothing like party loyalty from its members. As well, partisan political parties were making their first incursions in municipal politics. Some candidates like Jaffary ran under the banner of the
NDP or other established political party. This however, did not establish a platform or agenda for their activities as councillors, so traditional partisan activity did not meet the need for a reform ‘position’ or platform.

City Hall was under threat from within by the reform councillors elected in 1969 and there was a strong bureaucratic and political resistance. Reform councillors and active citizens groups made the actions of City Council more visible. Citizen action itself caused increased press attention which in turn helped fuel citizen interest. By early in 1971, with the Davis cabinet decision proclaiming victory on the Spadina, the reform agenda and citizen participation was at an all-time high. This was the context in which Community Organizing '72, (CO'72) was launched.

Citizen demand for reform had expanded significantly since 1969 and interest in a reform platform and/or party of greater rigor than CIVAC, was growing. There was a desire to confirm a party-like position for those running on the reform ‘ticket’ which both could and did cross partisan political boundaries. Organizers were also conscious of 1969 election results in which reformist votes were split - in some cases permitting old guard politicians to sneak up the middle. These interests and agendas were the basis of CO'72. It was well organized and ran its campaign across the City of Toronto, endorsing candidates for city council who subscribed to its mandate. CO'72 ensured that no more than two reformers ran in each ward, some ward organizations shared resources and although there were no strongly unified positions, these candidates were at pains to keep their divisions to themselves. CO'72 made a conscious decision to not run a candidate for mayor, instead focusing on the election of reform candidates in each ward. The CO'72 campaign began with a rally attended by over 400 people at St. Lawrence Hall (Globe and Mail, December, 1971).

On election night, December 4, 1972, eleven of the 22 seats on City Council were won by reform aldermen elected as part of CO'72. All five reform incumbents were re-elected, joined by reformers from all but 2 of Toronto’s 11 wards. Seven of these eleven had placed
first in their wards entitling them to a seat on Metro Council as well as at the City. The Globe editorial the next day pronounced "Through the snowstorm to a new Metro" (Globe and Mail, December 5, 1974).

The leader of this new reform council was Mayor David Crombie. Crombie was not a member of CO'72 and nor was he endorsed by them. He was however, loosely perceived by the electorate as a reformer and when he decided to run for Mayor he was swept along on this broad reform campaign. Crombie had a strongly conciliatory style and while he did over time prove himself to be less in favour of radical reform, he represented especially later in city politics, compromise. Quite apart from the merits of David Crombie as reformer or Mayor, CO'72 was very successful and Caulfield (1974) gives this organization credit not only for electing the reform council it intended to, but in creating the organization which enabled Crombie to slide to power on its coat tails.

CO'72 had a public presence and was at least minimally, formally constituted. It had literature, it raised and distributed funds, and identified spokespersons. It had organization-wide goals and strategies. To this extent, it was ‘formalized’. CO'72 might, however, be better described as a semi-formalized network of activists. Its meetings were held away from the public eye and there is no indication than other than in raising funds, it sought public participation or input. In this way CO'72 typifies the organization of the reform movement in Toronto. In almost every case, the activities are organized and strategies developed by many small sub-groups. The co-ordination of these activities, to the extent that it occurred, happened informally.

With the 1972, municipal election this second broad movement might be seen to have come to an end, the ‘job’ of reform had largely been done. Activism continued and other organizing initiatives were begun which continued over an extended period. However, most citizen reformers were satisfied that councillors had been elected who would implement the changes which citizens had demanded.
Citizen involvement and participation had caught on as the issues of the day. Forums such as the conference of the Institute of Public Administration where Wronski presented his previously mentioned paper, a symposium at York University on citizen participation and many others continued to focus attention on this issue. The newly elected reform Council made funds available to support citizen groups and similar funding also began to be available from the federal government. A 'new age' had begun, with a new local paradigm successfully challenging the "urban growth machine" (Molotch, 1976). Change which favoured citizen participation was ironically the force which caused citizen participation to begin to wane. Perhaps 'wane' is overstatement. As Tilly suggests, 'movements' are in response to something and in this context it was to be expected that this period of social movement would end. As I shall further discuss, citizen's had met their objectives - the Spadina had been stopped, as had urban renewal and the steady incursions of high rises into residential neighbourhoods. So, rather than suggesting that participation waned, rather citizen participation and organizing for municipal reform and social protest came to an end. I suggest that citizen activism -utilizing the instruments of power and involvement which social movements had made theirs, continued significantly over the next five or so years. Citizens were very involved in working with the reform council to implement many of the changes which I describe under the heading 'Lasting Impacts'.

However, at the next municipal election it was readily apparent that the period of 'movement' had come to an end. Anella Parker of CORRA comments on the 1974 municipal election: "What campaign? There is barely any election. It is difficult to play a role in a non-event." (as cited in the Globe and Mail, October 3, 1974). Frerichs, as Chairperson of CORRA explains that "we have achieved what we wanted to achieve", we wanted political decision making to happen in the neighbourhoods. This has happened. (as cited in the Globe and Mail, October 3, 1974). The Toronto Star comments in 1975, on the intensity of the 1972 reform period, "an undercurrent of citizen advocacy was rising in Toronto. Ratepayer and resident groups were springing up everywhere" (Toronto Star, June 14, 1975).
A Decentralized Movement

What do we make of this reform and of the processes utilized? Was it an expression of power or influence or pressure? Do these distinctions matter? These are issues I consider here. "Citizen participation in Canada has rarely been interpreted as having anything to do with power" (Fraser, 1972:256). Trudeau's assumption was that it had to do instead with communication and James Draper in his introduction to a book on citizen participation suggested that "it means the involvement of more people in dialogue (as cited in Fraser, 1972:256). "The phrase (citizen participation) only has meaning when a central bureaucracy or decision making body gives up some of its power to a community" (1972:257).

Fraser differentiates between citizen participation and citizen pressure and then claims on the basis of this distinction that people in Trefann gained real influence (power). Stop Spadina on the other hand was a manifestation of citizen "pressure" which after its 'application' - in this case - to the state, those exercising it have no more power than before (Fraser, 1972:258). This is a very narrow consideration of "Stop Spadina", almost technical, given the breadth of aspiration suggested by key informants to this study. It also of course requires the subtle differentiation between power and influence. The Stop Spadina movement, even narrowly considered had influence. Metro appears to have continually discounted citizen access to and influence at the province (Nadine Nowlan, 1996). As well, as Lemon points out, power is also the experience or history of having power (or influence). In the final analysis, the Spadina experience, whether participation or pressure, power or influence, helped create an empowered citizenry, who continued, in their struggle for municipal government reform, to act as if they had power. Both Lemon (1996) and David Nowlan (1996) point to the importance of this history in supporting and generating a citizen interest and belief in the value of opposition to the current provincial government’s amalgamation plans. As well the question of the influence of the City on Metro and its adjacent boroughs must be considered. Neither Metro nor the suburbs lost 'power' as a result of the Spadina decision but the City of Toronto and its residents demonstrated that they were capable of mounting a fight and persevering which undoubtedly impacts on how one views an opponent in any future struggle.
Perhaps these distinctions and specifications about the nature of power are of greater significance in other contexts. In this case, the Spadina decision seems to have done three things:

1) stopped the expressway and served as a banner for other land use fights, many of which were also won.

2) focused media, council and citizen/public attention on the issue of urban spaces, the claims to these by citizens versus developers and the response (and responsibility) of the state

3) mobilized the citizenry through the creation of a wide range of formal and informal non-monetised interchanges.

Each of these actions influenced not only the outcome of the Spadina fight but were important in the articulation of a broad citizen goal for municipal governance reform. Nor do I mean to suggest that these movements were separate or linear or that urban reform can be narrowly attributed to Spadina. Rather, they were intensely interrelated and synergistic.

The timing and relative simplicity of the Spadina issue, its figurative and literal "concreteness" made mobilization easier, its success and the attention it received helped delineate the more subtle governance issue.

With respect to the third point above, it is clear that the citizenry was mobilized. It is hard to attribute the success of that mobilization to any particular circumstance. Clearly it occurred because of the interplay of many complex factors so while negating the attribution of cause, there remain noteworthy factors which appear to be associated with its success. The 'movement' activities and organization were disparate, informal and diverse. As one of the few formalized reform initiatives, CORRA was significant. It helped to elect a reform council, and to ensure debate on a reform position. Even in this case, however, much of the organization, strategy and work of its varied initiatives were only loosely co-ordinated and structured by CORRA. Much of the real work happened at a grassroots informal level and CORRA co-ordinated these grassroots positions and issues. Started in 1968 by a number of citizen activists, among them Colin Vaughan, CORRA was a major organizer of support against the Spadina as well as on many other smaller land use battles. By 1971, the
organization had expanded to include 65 residents/ratepayer associations which were active (most with monthly meetings and attendance which varied from 10-12 to 60-100 people at monthly meetings). Even the smallest neighbourhoods had begun to organize their own associations in order to give residents opportunities for local action and participation. CORRA was both an initiator and catalyser of neighbourhood organization. Whether the possibilities and utility of this was strategized or occurred spontaneously is not revealed. It clearly proved an effective way of giving voice to local geographic ‘neighbourhood’ and thereby involving the whole community in the struggle. As Wellman points out, communities of interest were the primary basis of people’s social networks. There was often no ‘natural’ reason for "geographic proximates" to interrelate. That they did - for whatever reason - because of the threat to their specific local spaces, or because the initiative for doing so came from a conscious strategy to mobilize neighbourhoods, was a tremendous source of power and diverse citizen energy. These local associations were powerful claimants for all the spaces of the city - not just those in their neighbourhood. Caulfield notes that of the fourteen reform candidates for council in the 1972 election, six "had cut their municipal political teeth" in CORRA (1974:12).

The movement had many leaders, many of whom served as key informants to this study. While they were not obviously directive, there were at least two identified strategy groups which reported a conscious and reflective intention to mobilize and focus citizen activity. One of these is reported to have met every week: "we met every Sunday evening in JC’s basement, there weren’t many of us [provides list], we would plot strategy". A second group which may have been more particular to the Spadina battle met often - at someone’s home or frequently at the ______ tavern, as the tavern owner supported the citizens’ movement. This group too planned and strategized about the movement - decision points, issues and progress.

In summary, the ‘movement’ was in fact many movements that seem to have come together in two of broader focus - Spadina and the reform of the local state. Some participants had particular interests, others including those strategists discussed above, had broader
expectations for change. For this latter group, there was a consciousness of both goal and process. In all cases, the interchanges between people were those which I have described as non-monetised and the groups and institutions mobilized were those of civil society. The full extent of these structures, associations and interchanges, as I described them in Chapter Four appear in the stories of this citizen protest. For some, the directness of the claim made against the state is conscious and explicit. It had two components - the "reining in" of the marketplace in the persons of developers, and state 'reform' to prevent such an escalation of market power, with its attendant subsuming of citizen interests to those of the market.

**Lasting Impacts**

Key informants to this study all identified the reform movement as generating impacts which are 'visible' in the city today. In some cases, this visibility is in the form of preserved buildings and neighbourhoods - urban spaces - and these of course have implications for life practices. But, as well, urban reform - a reformed state - also introduced measures which directly impacted on life practices, through the expression of alternative public interests and values. I will first describe those impacts related directly to an alternative public ideology and then those related to land use.

"Democratized Politics"

Lemon (1996) used the above phrase in describing the impacts of reform. In considering the phrase, one must reflect briefly on democracy in local government. Democratic governments must obviously and at minimum respect the wishes of an electorate at a predetermined interval. That being said - it is clear that we expect more and that Lemon meant more. In Toronto, the local 'state' has meaning. Its activities and policy directions are reported and I believe I can safely say, noted by the 'citizenry'. Clearly not all citizens attend to issues of local governance, but what was gained through the reform movement and has even expanded is the trend I noted above, the development of more formalized citizen groups organized according to interests. These groups follow local politics and make the needs and interests of those who they represent known at the local level. Perhaps not everyone’s needs
or interests are represented in this way. But, a list of deputants appearing before a City of
Toronto or Metro Committee on an issue of importance - the current provincial proposals
for the creation of a Toronto ‘megacity’ or social service grants - demonstrates a breadth of
interest. Well over one hundred individuals and groups deputed at a city council meeting held
recently to discuss the provincial plans to transform the federation of municipalities which
comprise Metro Toronto, into a single megacity. Council chambers are not infrequently filled
to capacity. The actions of Council - for example the recent policy to ban smoking in bars
and restaurants - become matters of public debate and discourse.

At election time, acclamations to council especially in the City of Toronto are rare. Citizens
participate in election campaigns. Unlike in many cities, especially those in the U.S., most
wards in the city are canvassed ‘door to door’ on behalf of the candidates. All of these
examples illustrate "democratized politics". This level of citizen activity and scrutiny was
not present before the period of reform discussed here. It can be attributed, I suggest, to a
number of initiatives including a system of block wards, where both candidates and voters
can articulate the issues of the ward and a "changed council" which even to its non-reformist
members adopts the now dominant paradigm of valuing citizen expression. This ‘input’ has
varied names and the extent to which it is regarded also varies but it would be political or
bureaucratic suicide to treat it with contempt.

Electoral spending rules were introduced which require public disclosure of large campaign
contributions. This has reduced the direct connections to the development industry and made
citizens that much more essential.

Nowlan (1996) suggest there is a new ethics in Council which is both formal and informal.
There are conflict of interest guidelines and requirements for financial disclosure. This is not
to suggest that city council is removed or protected from the gritty business which Lorimer
(1972) describes as controlling and determining the value of land. The very fact that council
is local and accessible - generally considered to bepositives for citizen access, make it open
to persuasion and influence from the development industry. Nowlan (1996) comments on the
blatancy of the influence pre-reform "process my permit and we'll have dinner". This was so much the norm that it would not immediately strike anyone as wrong. Now it would. Sewell (1996) suggests that increased public scrutiny which has continued from the era of reform mitigate these influences. People know the importance of watching. Leckie (1996) attributes the lasting nature of the impacts on City Council to an expanded political consciousness. More people are aware of the decisions politicians make. This has at least two important implications - they are more stringent in their political choices and are thereafter more watchful.

A very tangible change at the City which likely sustains citizen interest was the creation of citizen representation on important city boards and committees. This was perhaps the compromise in the debate over Councillor as representative or delegate, with the latter more traditional approach the clear winner. Citizens do however, continue to have direct representation in a number of important areas. On an annual basis, the city advertises in the daily papers for citizen representatives explaining application processes, roles and responsibilities and terms of office. A brief training session is mandatory for all applicants. These structures are threatened by the previously mentioned provincial 'megacity' proposals.

**Zoning**

For the most part, zoning changes will be described as they affect the life spaces of the city. Several require specific mention. Shortly after the 1972 election, City Council introduced a 45 foot holding bylaw downtown. This immediately held off much of redevelopment including that planned for Yonge Street. Of longer lasting consequence was a Central Area Plan which specified not only zoning and density limits for this area but also a vision of what the ongoing character of the central area was to be. This included a mix of density, the preservation of house-form neighbourhoods downtown and strict limits on high rise development. It perhaps most importantly emphasized a downtown which was a 'centre' but not just of industry or workplaces or as in 'shopping centres', but for all of these things, as well as for 'homes' of varied forms. The presence of homes, varied home spaces has important implications for a continuing civil society. It is from and around these home spaces
that relations with others are built. It is the presence of people in the city centre across the 24 hour day that help to retain the centre as a public and social space. All of these elements combine to reproduce a civic culture which has a basis in civil society. Relations are not only those which are monetised in spite of the pressures from that sphere.

Density was recognized to be of value, contributing to lively social and public places and spaces, safe streets and parks and cost effective public transit and other services. Density was to be achieved through diversity - both of spaces and of life practices. As the comment of Karl Jaffary, which was reported in the previous chapter, reveals, the ‘centre’ should be a space in which many different people pursue their interests and activities - which in aggregate, creates the loose bounds and attachments of community.

**Downtown and Diversity**

Classifying the impacts arising from reform is difficult as they are not separable and discreet. They are synergistic - contributing together to the sustenance of each. Cohen (1996) articulated the interrelatedness of ‘downtown’ and ‘diversity’. "After 1974, there was a better articulation of downtown neighbourhoods with diverse populations, including families - these were the values of our city". To articulate the policies of Council which supported downtown diversity would be beyond the present scope although a matter of some interest and importance. I will describe the most noteworthy.

David Nowlan (1996) points to the increase in the population of downtown, which he advises, came as a direct result of City of Toronto policies to intensify residential land uses downtown. Nowlan also points out that Toronto was one of the only cities in North America in which the number of people living in the central city increased and that this increase has had many positive impacts on the life of the central city. Among other benefits an increasing population has provided a stable tax base from which revenues the city has been able to spend money on infrastructure maintenance and on social and community programs. As well these policies have ensured an adequate density of people living downtown which is essential to services such as subways and schools and to vibrant businesses and neighbourhoods.
Both Metro and the City independently and in response to citizen demand created funding programs and services oriented to ensuring ethno-racial access. School boards adopted locally appropriate policies and funding formulas were amended to ensure enriched funding for inner city schools. This ensured English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction, breakfast programs and other services which supported the diversity of the population. In this sense the changes introduced by City Council over perhaps the 8 to 10 years following the 1972 election were of surprising thoughtfulness. Recognition of the importance of diversity in the life of the city centre was also accompanied by policies and programs progressively introduced which supported and sustained this diversity.

The spaces of ethnic groups have been, post 1972, treated as resources of the city and supported by limits on redevelopment and special area designations which supported special uses, differential hours of opening and above all mixed use. Although often mocked, the city’s use of signage which identifies the street as well as its location in "Little Italy" or "Chinatown", might be more generously viewed as an acknowledgement of the importance of ‘owned’ spaces. Even as members of a so-designated ethnic group objected to the signs (which were usually supported at least by local business) other city dwellers might recognize a "claiming" of space.

Neighbourhoods are critical to diversity and as Caulfield (1994) notes, a process of gentrification has taken place in some of Toronto’s neighbourhoods. I will comment more fully on this but I must note here, that there are many neighbourhoods which are not heavily gentrified and which still support diversity. The Annex, especially east of Spadina still provides significant student housing of all forms and levels of quality. A huge area west of Dufferin Street, from the lake to the city’s northern boundary supports varied and diverse communities including what remains of Toronto’s ‘working class’, a large Caribbean community, earlier Italian and Portuguese immigrants, Poles and eastern Europeans, an expanding Filipino community, skid row and incompletely gentrified Parkdale, and the rows
of "not very substantial" houses which were spared the further extension of Highway 400. These as well as many other Toronto neighbourhoods, remain diverse with all of the attendant variation in repair and decoration.

Perhaps even more importantly, apart from diversity of exterior decoration, the houses of Toronto's downtown neighbourhoods continue to house the "lodger" families which "blighted" urban neighbourhoods twenty-five years ago. People still rent rooms and divide houses into apartments. All of these physical space possibilities support diversity in who lives in these neighbourhoods, and an accommodation of these differences is part of the "critical life practices" of the residents of the city centre. It seems possible that the value of local casual interchange is enhanced, or of more value, because it offers this diversity. In a suburban residential development, homes are marketed and sold to people who share certain characteristics, among them likely, income, family size, tastes and values. In this circumstance, not only is there little in the way of spatial support for conversation with a neighbour a block away, but more than that - there is little reason to seek out these interactions. If suburb dwellers already have non-local social networks of friends and colleagues, others related to our interests and self-definition, if neighbours offer nothing different, nothing to enrich the networks we already have, why bother? This may be one element of many which suggest that downtown neighbourhoods remain of significant value in sustaining local non-monetised interchanges.

Housing

Obviously critical to intensification and sustaining the vitality of downtown neighbourhoods were housing policies. If neighbourhoods were so enthusiastically fought for, there was something about their quality which required preservation. In 1972, Councillor David Rotenberg advised Council that the City could never have a housing policy as it lacks the authority, which is in the hands of senior levels of government (Globe and Mail, April 12, 1972, "5500 units lost, Sewell declares family housing situation critical"). In spite of Rotenberg's pronouncement, the City of Toronto developed a range of sophisticated housing policies and programs including its own non-profit housing company, CityHome.
Non-profit housing by CityHome, special purpose private non-profits, and housing co-operatives were different in style and substance from the ‘projects’ which the provincial government continued to build in the suburban boroughs. While all of these non-profit units are in high demand, those built by the province are often associated with a range of social problems, alternatively, the city units are in most cases well integrated into existing neighbourhoods.

Infill housing increased density and permitted the small scale and ongoing redevelopment of neighbourhoods which has helped to ensure their vitality. In several instances ‘infill’ was a larger strategy which involved creating new urban neighbourhoods. St. Lawrence, described below is the most well known of these, but also developed was the Bathurst Quay neighbourhood, a description of which began this work, and Frankl Lambert which provided vacant land for a number of housing co-operatives and private developments. These three areas of the city alone have provided thousands of new downtown housing units since 1972. A much more recent venture similar in scale to St Lawrence, Ataratiri, would have reclaimed under-used and derelict industrial lands west of the Don. Ataratiri faltered because of cost of the required environmental clean up. I mention Ataratiri because a suitable deal could not be arranged with the province and there was minimal public reaction when the plan was shelved. A project the scale of St. Lawrence or Ataratiri could only proceed with a strong and visionary Council (which Toronto still had) supported by such citizen strength that other levels of government are moved to lend their support. This was what stopped the Spadina Expressway and what built the St. Lawrence neighbourhood. (These factors also all appear to be in play with respect to a widespread local opposition to the provincial government’s plan to create a single megacity, however, like with Ataratiri, it appears as though citizen support of local government policy will be insufficient and the province will determine the outcome.)

St. Lawrence

The St. Lawrence neighbourhood is in a sense the expression of the goals and interests of the urban reform movement and more particularly of the city’s housing policy. One of the
explicit planning goals for St. Lawrence was economic stratification and the social stratification which comes from offering different tenure types and building forms, a commitment to housing residents across the life cycle and continuing to meet changing housing needs within the neighbourhood. The goals for St. Lawrence specifically cited the value of a mixed residential neighbourhood (translated into non-profit housing co-operatives, municipal and private non-profit rental accommodation and market townhouses), streets conducive to traffic flow and pedestrian use (both adults and children), accessible public transit, and a vibrant commercial, service and shopping area, recreational facilities and interior and exterior open space for both private and public use (City of Toronto Housing Dept., 1974:107-110).

**Impact on Other Cities**

Alan Powell, one of the leaders of Stop Spadina, consulted with citizens groups and sometimes City Councils in Montreal, Calgary, Vancouver, Hamilton and Fredericton. The ripples of the expressway fights, he suggests were felt in Japan and in London. The Montreal Star headline cited earlier certainly suggests that other cities watched Toronto reform with interest. Local American politicians have come to study Toronto’s safe, clean streets and marvel at residential neighbourhoods downtown. More recently a connection has been made and noted not between growth and prosperity but between prosperity and ‘liveability’. A recent paper prepared for the Toronto Board of Trade makes this connection as have others - in order for a city to attract high value jobs - it must be able to offer an attractive urban environment with extensive urban amenities, nice neighbourhoods, safe streets and a social and public life. It is at least ironic that those urban features claimed to be "essential" to economic growth now turn out to be not so desirable for business in the contemporary economy.

**Civil Society and ‘Social’ Life**

One of the most significant legacies is the least tangible. There are social or public practices which Torontonians have preserved. These include not only the retention of public spaces but also the habit and expectation of their use. This is not an impact which could be ordained
- it has not been created by government policy or bureaucratic fiat but derives from all of the other impacts - a safe, vital, downtown and all of the factors which sustain that, and a local government which continues to encourage the involvement of it's citizens and which itself is sustained as a 'public' realm. It is less clear how this latter element occurs. In the context of the current debate about the impacts of a 'megacity' it is of critical importance.

As I have indicated elsewhere in this chapter, local and casual non-monetised interchanges appear to be sustained by urban neighbourhoods. This is not a claim that they are not supported in some suburban communities, rather it is intended to point to Toronto as an anomaly with respect to other downtowns, other centre cities in Canada and in the U.S. and to speculate that some of the difference, some of what has kept Toronto neighbourhoods alive, derives from the legacy of this period of reform. And as Lemon argues (Interview, 1996) the active involvement of citizens and neighbourhood based organizations has helped to create a civic culture of involvement in the activities and interchanges of civil society. This 'culture' has been supported by intensification and housing policies which have ensured the continuation of diverse downtown neighbourhoods of families and others and by zoning policies which have created streetscapes which encourage pedestrian activity and local shops. In addition, reasonable levels of social spending and services have avoided (until recently) the creation of a permanent underclass and have sustained local neighbourhoods through establishing local amenities (community centres, parks, pools, day cares, summer camps). Activities associated with civil society have also been directly funded and supported by the local city council. And while the non-monetised relations in our local communities may not, as Wellman (1996) indicates, provide our most intense social support, they are likely significant as a basis for 'connecting' with others, for the exchange of views, as part of a public or 'civil' discourse, and for engaging with others to solve problems or bring them to the attention of others.

**Life Spaces and Life Practices**

In this section, I will relate these 'forms of interchange' - the life practices which they represent and are supported by them - to the spaces of the city. First, a citation included
earlier seems worthy of repetition. ‘Built form’, is seen as a reflection, a crystallization of "the public realm, shared social values and long-term cultural goals ... [It has] explicit social content...[and] a responsibility towards communication... and the explanation and dramatization of certain social meanings" (Jencks, 1985:31) This certainly seems to describe Toronto before and after the reform years.

High rises and expressways were indeed a "crystallization" of the public realm of Toronto City Council in the 1960’s. With its ethos of "growth is good", uncritical support of the development industry and the dismissal of the ‘citizen’ and his or her views in favour of rational, technical planning, certain social meanings were dramatized at the expense of others. These others - the valuing of citizen participation, a low rise, dense and diverse downtown, neighbourhoods of downtown houses, families downtown and mixed land use - were the values which have been expressed or "dramatized" in Toronto in the years since reform.

Family spaces have been preserved. And in addition to the consequence of families sharing downtown space with others as described above, families are often strongly connected to their neighbourhood. Wellman points out that this comes from reduced mobility, children force a ‘localness’ of playmates and schools and care-givers. People who have the full-time care of small children often do not have equal access to ‘communities of interest’ (those which we form according to our interests, diverse roles etc. which most often include work colleagues or associates). For people in these circumstances and for children, their networks are more likely to be locally centred. Thus, the presence of families downtown, given their increased reliance on local networks, contributes to on-going vitality of downtown neighbourhoods, not that they are only family centred, but that families help to stabilize neighbourhoods and build connections among neighbours.

A word must be said about what kinds of families. As Caulfield (1994) suggests, the downtown neighbourhoods spared the wrecker's ball in 1970, now generally house a different social group. Even then, it was clear that urban professionals led the reform battles.
In the ensuing 25 years, they have taken over more of these desirable and preserved urban spaces. High rise apartments have become the urban spaces which have continued to be affordable to those with lower incomes. Gentrified houses have put whole neighbourhoods out of reach of those with working class incomes. The present real estate slump and low interest rates have reversed some of what Caulfield noted. A house purchase is now considered affordable to a family with a combined family income of less than $50,000 per annum. Nonetheless, the reform movement was led by urban professionals and they and their families are, *with others*, the uncontested winners of the urban spaces which were preserved. It must be noted however, that the "with others" is sufficiently significant so as to mitigate against too-sweeping generalizations about this group and their role in protecting the spaces of the city for themselves. Their life practices are sufficiently encompassing that the diversity, vitality and mixed use which they valued have also favoured and sustained others.

**Centre and Centredness**

The issue of how any of these preserved life spaces and life practices have contributed to maintaining the centre of the city has been touched on only by implicit reference. As Habermas noted the public and private need a relation to each other to be meaningfully expressed, they are defined *against* each other. In Toronto, a meaningful centre *has been retained* and this owes much to the preservation of certain urban spaces and life practices which were the specific focus of this period of reform. As I previously discussed in Chapter Five, a vibrant city centre appears to be related to its use by diverse groups of people, the intensity of that use, use across the 24 hour day and for a variety of purposes. All of these features of course then depend on the centre supporting a wide range of activity - living, recreating, shopping, socializing and working - these describe the life practices found at the centre of the City of Toronto. The public spaces of the city continue to exist adjacent to, rather than removed from, private spaces. The centre of the city offers private home spaces on public streets, adjacent to a wide range of public spaces. The public spaces associated with politics and governance are located in the city centre, as are a wide range of ‘public’
services, institutions and amusements provided by the state to the ‘public’. While the public spaces have remained public, private spaces have not retreated to the exclusive “plantations” described in an earlier chapter or the hyperstylized, restrictive and private pseudo-new town described by Soja as occupying parts of California. In Toronto, and in downtown Toronto, the private remain houses on public streets, sustained by public amenities such as parks and libraries and schools and community centres which continue to be used by the whole community - not just those with insufficient incomes. While Toronto is not without some of these more encompassing privates which offer security primarily through exclusivity, the norm in the central city is a house with a front porch - on a grid street, with expressways limited to those built prior to 1965, except for that odd spur of the Spadina. To recall another citation from Chapter Five:

The more the city as a whole is transformed into a barely penetrable jungle, the more he withdraws into his sphere of privacy which in turn is extended ever further; but at length he comes to realize nevertheless that not the least reason why the urban public sphere disintegrates is that public space has been turned into an ill-ordered arena for tyrannical vehicle traffic. (Bahrdt as cited in Habermas, 1962:158-59)

This has largely been prevented, there remains a public sphere -currently under a new threat of amalgamation but present in both its spatial and representative senses. Public and social space remain, perhaps helped by the mediation of front porches perhaps by a history of public discourse, by the presence of the direct relation of public to private which Habermas suggests and also by, as suggested earlier, the ongoing mediation between the groups using the spaces. The central city has not become ‘just’ a marketplace, rather it has been preserved by numerous and varied demands on the spaces of the city and by the active juxtaposing of all of the spheres of society in the centre.

In Toronto, spared the blighting impacts of high density high rises and downtown expressways, the centre remains the point of convergence of a variety of life practices - marketplace and workplace, private (home) space and public space and such civil society as has spatial representation. It also provides ‘space’ of a less tangible nature, for the multiple and ongoing expressions of civil society which occur in homes, neighbourhoods and on street
corners, in schools and at meetings of city council. The centre continues also to be the focus of the activities of a variety of forms of the state; it is public/social space - the space of demonstrations, public celebrations, anonymous urban conviviality; it is also economic headquarters, containing those vaguely described workplaces and the showpieces of the marketplace as well as private, home space.

Diversity has ensured that no one life practice, or no one type of space has dominated the city. The city, the centred city, continues to be a vital centre providing the spaces - both physical and metaphoric to sustain diversity. Ethnic groups have stayed and been sustained, sometimes fighting for 'space', the rich and the not-rich have continued to live in juxtaposed city spaces, and hundreds of groups, marginal and elite, claim the city as theirs. Urban subcultures have their city spaces - in the central city - and they share a range of public and social spaces which remain the 'property' of all in both practice and theory. I try not to present this sharing as equitable and harmonious, it is not. The middle class and the police question the possibility of reinstituting vagrancy laws, presumably to spare themselves the nuisance of the panhandling-homeless. A policeman is charged with manslaughter in the killing of a black man in a city where blacks get shot by police many times more frequently than do whites. The largely white Anglo-Saxon fire department in the City of Toronto successfully resists an affirmative action hiring plan. This is a city which suffers tension and disparity - but the actors are not physically separate, they continue to share social space. In Toronto the marginalized have not been confined to their "urban reservations" and the middle class to gated communities. I believe this to be a significant and enduring expression of the demands for and of urban space during this period of reform - shared spaces require mediation, negotiation and concession - in other words, an ongoing engagement by all of the users with each other. A small vignette illustrates this engagement. An upper middle class woman was accosted by a panhandler at dusk while passing across an alleyway, downtown. The panhandler asked for money and rather than simply fleeing, the woman stopped. The request - or demand which was persistent but not hostile was not for some change, but for nine dollars. The woman after some inquiry offered five dollars, the panhandler reiterated his request for nine... While this interchange is clearly not representative - that it takes place
is symbolic of mediation. The sharing or more correctly the *shared ownership* of space supports an ongoing and iterative process of mediating the needs and interests of the various user groups. This is *why it’s important*, the centre is not only a literal space which serves as a mediating place, but there remains at least for *now* in Toronto, a sense of entitlement to social or ‘societal’ space. This space, ‘public’ space is contested and struggled over, but no one group has been removed from the floor of the agora.

**Conclusion**

Toronto residents were part of a broad social movement which reshaped their city. A range of reform issues were undertaken but most activity can be categorized as stopping “block busting developers” (Kilbourn, 1984:311) and the extension of the Spadina expressway and reforming the local state. The social movement which intensified just prior to the 1969 municipal election made claims for ‘land use’ and by implication, for the life practices sustained by them. City Council was reformed, resident’s associations, community centres and other city services were established many of which continue to give voice to neighbourhoods. Thus, although our communities are now less likely only geographic (Wellman, 1979), geographic community - neighbourhood - remains important in shaping both the social and spatial life of the city. Toronto remains a city of neighbourhoods, now much less active neighbourhoods than 25 years ago - but in which people have retained an identity and connection based on their shared sense of space. Like the bigger sharing of ‘centre’ space discussed above, the sharing of neighbourhood space also requires mediation. This shared sense of space is likely part of the basis for the opposition to the amalgamation proposed for Toronto and its suburbs. Neighbourhoods remain one of the ‘binding agents’ of the city.

The collective history of ‘citizen as actor’ also binds and shapes the city. This history and ‘practice’ of citizen involvement and action is also likely a factor in the speed of a citizen response to the current issue of amalgamation. Lemon (1996) talks of the "strength of the collectivity". This was experienced first hand by many people still resident in the city today.
Even for those not experiencing it directly, that history continues to shape the city’s collective experience. A city has a culture shaped by the practices, experiences and expectations of those who live there and these are of course shaped by the structure and form of the city and the life practices occurring within it. This is not the tautology it might appear but reflects, as cited earlier, Soja's socio-spatial dialectic - "not implying a resurrection of geographical determinism - that the socially produced spaciality of society also conditions and shapes society" (as cited in Lagopoulos, 1993:262). The physical spaces of the city, the life practices supported by them and engaged in, and the history of these spaces and of the citizens who live there and their individual and collective experience all combine with other forces of production and reproduction to structure the city. It is in this sense as Bourne (1982) suggests, that the city is a spatial mirror of society.

Toronto also continues to experience directly the shaping of the city by many of the reformers and activists who rose to prominence during this period. This period of urban reform has had a profound influence on Toronto and more generally it continues to shape the Canadian discourse on urban development.

In an earlier chapter, I asked how our production and reproduction of space reproduce social (societal) life. The examination of Toronto from 1969 to 1974 reveals intense struggles over the spaces of the city. And the relation of these spaces to the sphere of a dominant marketplace seems almost too clear. The spaces being produced in mid to late 60's Toronto would assuredly have supported the reproduction of a different social life than did the spaces sustained and produced under the guidance of a reformed local City Council. As Sam Cass did, so too will I seek guidance from Chicago and Los Angeles. Because these U.S. cities made the very choices rejected for Toronto, it seems more than speculative to suggest that some aspects of their current 'social' life derive at least in part from the choices which were made about city spaces. This is not to say that had Toronto proceeded with high rises at the expense of downtown neighbourhoods, and with the inner and outer expressway rings that it would have ended up with the decaying downtown, stratified society and array of social problems associated with many American cities. There are other differences besides space.
One of which, as Lemon (1996) points out, is our different collective tradition. Even if the 'other' city spaces had triumphed we would have been different, but at the risk of being repetitive, one of the ways in which we were and are different is that this stronger collective tradition took hold in 1969. Another factor differentially influencing the Canadian city is a finer line between civil society and the state (Lemon, 1996). He suggests that in American politics, the two spheres have a primarily oppositionary relation. Civil society orchestrates 'demands' which are made against the state. In Canada, Lemon suggests, especially at the local level, the people in each sphere are more alike, there is more overlap in their functions and their views. Local Canadian politics are more 'local'. A similar point was made earlier in acknowledging the strong relationship between the state and the civil society. For example, during this period of urban reform, the federal government introduced funding programs which must be credited with sustaining some of the citizen action which occurred during this period, and after the election of the first reform council, funding and support for citizen participation and citizen action was provided by the local state. Nadine Nowlan (1996) advises that the success of the battle over the Scarborough expressway is related to City Council providing financial support to those opposing it. This support has continued and become institutionalized as the City of Toronto and later the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto developed various grants programs specifically directed to non-profit organizations and groups including funding for "innovative" projects. Similarly the co-op movement which has become a powerful force in citizen action of all kinds was until recently, directly sustained by federal programs.

Correspondingly, the development of the elements and structures of civil society helps to ensure their ongoing reproduction. The St. Lawrence neighbourhood illustrates this point. St Lawrence is comprised of housing co-operatives - each with their own board of directors, meeting rooms and structures which encourage participation. The non-profit housing which operates in St. Lawrence has similar structures to support these non-monetised interchanges. Housing co-ops go even further in supporting and sustaining a culture of non-monetised interchange by sharing property management services and even maintenance on a voluntary basis among the members of the co-op. St. Lawrence has the shared public and social spaces
of most other downtown Toronto neighbourhoods, a library, school and parks. It has its namesake, St. Lawrence market, which is a public building with small stalls of vendors. These features and many others actively promote the interchanges of civil society. These are a heritage of reform but also contribute in an ongoing way to a generation's experience of relations-in-space which in turn and over time help to shape the social form of the city. The point is a simple one - civil society is self-reproducing - the creation of a culture which includes and expects non-monetised interchanges has a collective history, practice and experience of these interchanges. They become a cultural expectation rather than a social oddity.

In a similar vein, Caulfield describes as "critical social practice", the life practices of Toronto's downtown dwellers. His extensive interviews of downtown dwellers continually affirmed that living downtown was not just a matter of spatial convenience. Caulfield describes these views in detail, but what resonates in terms of this research is that the views, although not explicit about non-monetised interchange or civil society, reflect and value interchanges of this type - the kinds of interchanges and relational life in a social sphere, civic life, community life. Caulfield notes "[t]hey believe the built environment of suburbs undermines community life, ... [these factors] add up to a critique of a setting for everyday life which fosters homogeneity and isolation, one that they believe contrasts sharply with old inner city neighbourhoods" (1994:190) and "that walking is not just more convenient than driving but is qualitatively different, that the intensity of human activity bred by density and mixed land-use is a desirable feature of daily life" (1994:195). "[Respondents'] generally understood that settling in an old inner-city neighbourhood was not just a personal housing choice but was linked to a wider socio-political context; in this respect, respondents clearly sensed the social nature of their residential activities (1994:223). These illustrations from Caulfield's work certainly express Jenck's view of built form having explicit social content and dramatizing certain social meanings. Inner city neighbourhoods have been preserved and sustain these critical social practices which are explicitly based outside of the marketplace - they imply not only critique but life practices which by their nature and form establish and reinforce non-monetised relations.
[T]he genius of capital is ... a relentlessly parasitic capacity to appropriate and saturate social life ... But this capacity is not ineluctable; it is not a structurally foregone conclusion. Rather it is the dialogical tension between capital’s rapacity and cultural resistances that is often central to the construction of urban forms. (Caulfield, 1994:229)

Human agency, what Caulfield describes as cultural resistances, finds its forms in the structures of civil society. Their structural presence in so much of the form of the city readily enables the expression of these "cultural resistances". That the social movement which effected reform 25 years ago "has ceased to be especially effective" (Caulfield, 1994:225) is not a surprise. What is important and which Caulfield did note, is the ongoing presence of civil ‘actors’ who are supported by spaces, structures and history, to be in a state of readiness.

In the final chapter, I review my proposed three part model to examine its utility as a way of ‘seeing’ more clearly, through the creation of these notional realms, the realm of civil society comprised as it is of non-monetised interchanges which I have suggested are obfuscated and diminished by a social order increasing dominated by the values of the marketplace.
Endnotes, Chapter Eight

1. Gehl (1987) establishes just how significant these seemingly casual encounters are as a basis of social interchange.

2. I refer to the fact that the residents of downtown Toronto are those who engage in what Caulfield described as "critical life practices" (1994), they are purposeful about living downtown, conscious of its particular attributes and choose it and an accompanying lifestyle as an expressed alternative to other life practices which might be typically associated with suburban life.

3. Hagerstrand's model of time-geography, an example of which was reproduced in Figure 4, is useful as a tool to understanding how all of land-use, temporal period, social structures (represented by both their spatial locations and the constraints he identifies, particularly authority constraints) and human agency all come together to create what we describe as the Toronto urban reform movement.

4. I use this term advisedly so as not to limit these expressions to those defined as 'social movements'. The 'expressions of citizens' is intended to convey the breadth of the interactions and interests which emanate from civil society which include the influence of citizens on the state or marketplace but also the myriad ways in which citizens provision themselves - with support, interchange, networks, resources and services outside of the marketplace and state.

5. In focusing on the Spadina, I hope to uncover the issues and motivations which underpinned the majority of the citizen protests, but in a more narrow and focused review. The scope of this work requires some such a delimiting and that which is proposed has the possibility of broader discovery and a minimal downside.

6. I note the presence of families for their community and 'social' engagements are frequently acknowledged (Wellman, 1996, Rose, 1993) to be more local as the presence of children tends to involve more time at home and in the local community as children use local parks, attend local schools and play with other children on the street - this latter activity also often forging new neighbouring relations between the children's parents.

7. Based on a mortgage of $135,000 at 6 per cent per annum and utilities and taxes, a family would be spending less than 30 per cent of their gross income on housing costs, which is the limit established by banks as a precondition to mortgage financing. Small houses in the east and west ends of the central city are available for about $150,000.
CHAPTER NINE
MEDIATIONS

"A city is composed of different kinds of men; similar people cannot bring a city into existence" Aristotle (in Sennett, 1994)

This dissertation makes a contribution to social inquiry and social knowledge in several ways. First, I have developed a reconceptualization of our social structure which moves beyond the false dualisms of the concepts of public and private which are inadequate to describe our social structure and the range of human activity which occurs within it. A third ‘social’ realm corrects for this problem and creates a conceptual "boundary" in which we can see the activities and life practices related to civil society.

These new ‘boundaries’ enabled a renewed study of the period of urban reform in Toronto from 1968 to 1974 - and a subsequent inquiry at two levels, first about the juxtaposition of and mediation between the spheres of state, marketplace and civil society and even more specifically, an examination of the life practices which were threatened, proposed and ultimately preserved by this period of reform. This examination of life practices and non-monetised interchanges acknowledged the urban form - the spaces of the city - not just as backdrop but as ‘shaping context’, providing "a spatial mirror of the structures of society" (Bourne, 1982) and also in turn impacting on those structures. The study explored the complex interrelationship between the built form - our urban environment - and human life practices, the relationship between structure and agency, in the context of urban space.

In addition to the substantive issues which this study addressed, it also established a methodological process which was useful in this present inquiry and will I believe have merit for future inquiries oriented to exposing particular life practices - social knowledge - which becomes lost to view through our social constructions and the limits to inquiry suggested thereby. As Simmel indicated, the creation of a conceptual boundary enables purposeful examination which can in turn legitimate previously ignored life practices. This was a major goal realized by this research.
While this research inquired, at one level, into the relationship between environment and behaviour, at another it inquired into another domain of long standing interest - the relationship between structure and agency. In this latter area, I have not argued for the dominance of either structure or agency but rather, through postulating a sphere of civil society as the aggregate or culmination of non-monetised interchange, and a 'social' sphere which builds on the work of Hannah Arendt (1958), I have delineated boundaries essential to an increased awareness of the mediations which occur between and among these realms and the state and marketplace. I have argued that our understanding is improved if we take account of the reciprocal influences between these spheres of life practice and each of human agency and the built environment. Thus, the dissertation research has brought to light the *often but not always subtle and wide-ranging mediations* which characterize the relations between the spheres or realms of life practice. Specifically, the research draws attention to the significance of a range of non-monetised interchanges (civil society) which structurally, are poorly acknowledged and yet which have significant potential as a sphere of life practice and alternative life practice (alternative to dominant social values including a market ideology), as a sphere of mediation between and among the marketplace and the state and as a sphere of social discourse.

I have examined how we conceive of our society and in turn how those conceptions influence what we see and have regard for. This inquiry was grounded in Chapter One with a brief 'story' about non-monetised interchanges and their varied forms and expressions. I have suggested that they are important while unacknowledged.

In Chapters Two and Three I reviewed the implications of what I have suggested is a two-part view of western society which acknowledges the economic marketplace and the state. I suggested that although the family is acknowledged, its primary roles increasingly relate to consumption and the support of the structures of the capitalist marketplace. Non-monetised interchanges meet important human needs and offer an alternative to the increasing dominance of monetised exchange. By not valuing and accounting for the activities of civil society we exclude significant members of our population, including much of the work of
women and as Hannah Arendt claims, as the marketplace dominates, we permit the expression of 'man's' excellence, to be demonstrated almost exclusively through "labouring". I trace the ideological origins of our two-part world view and demonstrate the continuing impacts which derive from ideological suppositions which are implicit and which underlie our social structure.

In Chapter Four, I suggest and delineate an alternate conception of our social structure which would through the creation of new boundaries, enable us to see better and more accurately the life practices which constitute civil society. I argue that the economic marketplace is, as Simmel suggested, only one form of exchange by which people meet their needs. The non-monetised interchanges of the civil sphere therefore adjoin the marketplace as the other significant 'social' (societal) way in which people meet their needs. I also acknowledge the roles of the family and the state.

In Chapter Five, I establish the theoretical ground for linking this reconceptualization in 'space'. Life practices, which include all of the relations and exchanges between people and their expressions and actions do not exist in conceptual form, but rather play out in how human spaces are structured and re-structured. Thus, the built environment, especially the urban built form, provides an ideal opportunity to explore how life practices shape and are shaped by the structures and forms of society which are manifest in the city.

Through a case study of a period of urban reform in Toronto, the basis for which I establish methodologically in Chapter Six and detail in Chapters Seven and Eight, I examine directly the strong non-monetised expressions of citizens and their aggregation as a social movement and consider the possibilities of civil society as a sphere of life practice which mediates between and among the marketplace and the state. As Figure 3 revealed, these interchanges which are expressed in civil society are one of the means by which the expressions of individuals and families are collectivized and represented. Thus, civil society has potential
in contributing to the creation of a social discourse. The ways in which life spaces, the spaces of the city, contribute to and support these non-monetised interchanges was also enabled by the case study.

In developing the methodological approach to this work, I suggested that the value of the re-conceptualization could be evaluated as part of an iterative process whereby the case study in addition to the purposes described above, would also reveal whether the boundaries through which it was examined were ‘right’ - the best way of establishing the category of inquiry, or bringing to light those life practices which I wished to be better reflected. This task is undertaken here. In concluding this work, I also offer some reflections on how we might understand the ‘movement’ which arose during this period in Toronto and further, on the possibilities of cities as sites of governance which are better structured to give voice to citizens and a ‘public’.

The Value of the Boundaries Made and Implications for Future Research

Boundaries are, as Tester (1992) said, the pre-condition of existence. They do however only bring to light what is actually ‘there’, so one requires the ‘right’ boundaries in order to ‘give light’ to certain social practices. The two part model fails to give adequate light to civil society and the non-monetised interchanges which constitute it. The sphere of civil society requires further elaboration and inquiry to explore it as an alternate ‘public’ or as contributing to a ‘societal’ discourse.

More generally, I believe that this research points to the importance of acknowledging the significance of our social constructions and developing inquiries which ‘deconstruct’ or bring to light other obscured features of contemporary social life. This research has explored how our social constructions shape our understanding of life practices. It has not provided definitive answers or a ‘new’ analysis of urban reform. It has raised questions, and contributed to a discourse about the interrelationships between the spaces of our cities and our life practices and more broadly how these life practices might be seen as mediations
among and between notional spheres of human activity. Two things stand out - boundaries are revealing of the life practices within them and like the shift away from the narrow and false ground of objective and empirical research, there is no objectively constituted reality. Each attempt to explore it must be constituted and rationalized according to its own purposes and interests - this also applies to the boundaries we propose. Each reveals difference, and understanding is forged by a broad spectrum of inquiry not limited by one set of boundaries.

To reflect briefly on the proposed reconceptualization, I suggest that much of the evidence of its value is reflected in the discussion which followed from its explication in Chapter Four. That is, necessarily, the discussion of its value which included a juxtaposing of civil society with other spheres of life practice with a goal of delineating its features. The reconceptualization, or any purposeful creation of new boundaries or categories, brings new things to light. In this case, behaviours or life practices associated with non-monetised interchange were, I believe usefully categorized so that we might understand them as the 'building blocks' of the broader 'social actions' which are how we more typically understand civil society.

In considering any weaknesses associated with the reconceptualization, one element comes to the fore. I argued the importance of situating civil society alongside the marketplace in a 'social' sphere. I believe that this is both conceptually accurate and of ideological importance. It did however, in the context of this research, pose an analytic difficulty. Analyzing the mediations among the spheres required a direct analysis - civil society to each of marketplace and state - as Cohen and Arato (1992) suggested. Therefore, this overarching 'social' realm was not frequently referenced and as a category specifically and methodologically oriented to bringing certain life practices to light - it was not of value. While I believe that it might be possible to expose life practices at this broader 'social' level, this inquiry was focused more specifically on those occurring within civil society.

Although not of analytic value in this specific case, the placement of civil society in a 'social' sphere with market exchanges may, through deliberate and conscious efforts to enter
the idea into the social discourse, offer the possibility of a reconstruction through our use of language (by referring to and therefore acknowledging a 'social') and hence another practice countering the hegemony of the marketplace.

The utility of the construction of a 'social' realm combining civil society and marketplace would appear to be of analytic value for further inquiry related to the informal economy. Although only briefly considered here, the 'situating' of informal economic activity directly across and between monetised and non-monetised interchange suggest the applicability of this construction for research in this area.

Related to future research suggested by this inquiry, I examined in briefest form the possibilities and limitations of the family as a sphere of life practice. While for the purposes of this research the representation of the family as, or in the private sphere was not problematic, this issue suggests itself as worthy of further inquiry. A more direct examination of the family's capacities and limitations - its possibilities as a sphere of life practice - would require better conceptual definition from its entanglement in a 'private' which itself, as discussed, is a muddied and not very distinct concept.

**Toronto: Urban Life Practices – Spaces For and Of Civil Society**

The discussion which emanates from the case study is related to reflections on real life practices in an urban city as these life practices relate to the issues of economic hegemony, the decline of the nation state, and "the cultural logic of late capitalism". (This project itself is a product of this same cultural logic, on which I will comment further at the conclusion of this chapter.) In summary, I will look concretely at some elements of life practice in Toronto and reflect on their origin and importance in the period of urban reform and their meaning post-reform.

I wish to comment on what was important in the life practices and spaces of Toronto pre-reform. Although Toronto was a big city by the late 1960's, many of its values were those
of a small town. Whether sensibly and rationally in an ‘modern’ era, it had retained local, parochial and paternalistic forms of government. These were same elements which gave local governments such effective control and permitted elected representatives to express disdain for the views of the citizenry. This was the climate in which certain life practices were threatened by the transformation of the urban spaces in which they were ‘located’.

Many key informants to this case study referred to movement claims to "reflect and express the diversity of the city". This is the ‘movement’ or side of this movement which it is easier to square with the analysis constructed here - the urban reform movement as a reflective consideration and fostering of alternative ‘life practices’. However tempting, there are other perspectives of the movement which do not support a notion of it as ‘alternative’ or even significantly reflective. There remains another analysis which suggests that the ‘movement’ (remembering that it was not just one) was an expression of a local, white, middle class seeking to protect not spaces of difference but spaces which protected ‘private’ life. Both the state and the marketplace were implicated in encroaching on these spaces and therefore both were to be opposed. The resistance viewed this way is not political or social, ‘societal’; but personal and private. As Offe (1985) describes it - a resistance to the deepening and broadening of bureaucratic and institutional intrusion into private life.

**Life Practices and Meaning: Post-Reform**

The previous paragraph offers a credible view of the reform movement which is supported by the research data. It is problematic because it does not square with what resulted from the social movements which I have described. Their meaning - post-reform was more socially construed, the spaces and life practices which were to be preserved promoted civic and ‘social’ engagement, centrality or a focus on the ‘centre’, reduced the power of the economic sphere and strengthened and expanded the sphere of the state. As I described in the previous chapter , the interest in land use and space was almost immediately followed by strong expressions of interest in issues of social equity. How then do these analyses fit together - one which suggests a white, middle class, movement protecting spaces essentially of privilege, spaces of private life. And another analysis which reveals a movement appearing
to claim against an expanding marketplace and a weak state, which deliberately re-
constructed a highly participative and interventionist state, which retained these private
spaces and alongside them created ‘spaces of contention’ - those which purposefully sustained
alternative life practices. Must one of these perspectives be false or wrong?

It seems plausible that there were multiple ‘movements’ oriented to different but compatible
ends - in demonstrating this, boundaries are again revealing. When the boundaries or
categories focused on what was being opposed - then ‘movements’ were apparent which were
broadly ‘against’ each of the land uses I described in Chapter Seven. These multiple
movements I suggested could generally be characterized as the two movements which were
the focus of Chapter Eight.

When the inquiry is about what life practices were being preserved the response seems less
about diversity than about preserving the urban privilege of downtown families who liked
to walk to local shops and enjoyed renovating what could become elegant downtown houses.
They wished to retain for their own and their family’s convenience, particular kinds of city
spaces. In short, there was nothing radical about these downtown families, nothing
suggesting that they had visions of spaces as representative or notions of mediations among
the spheres of human activity or of the state playing a more direct hand in the production
of space. Nor were they apparently conscious of the possibility of downtown as the space
of diversity. They simply wanted their neighbourhood, their life practices which were largely
and conventionally liberal, preserved. Many of these reformers were mobilized by their
surprise (perhaps indignation) that local government was so unwilling to hear them. As Offe
describes and delineates ‘actors’ in the ‘new social movements’, these actors fit well with
his description of "elements of the old middle class" (1985:832). The expressions were of
human agency, rooted in civil society but they were largely without a political or ‘public’
sensibility. Perhaps these ‘reformers’ of whom there were many, might be seen to have been
the foot soldiers of others who were engaged in a more conscious and more political
struggle.
The majority of the key informants to this research fall into this latter category. They were people with a broad awareness of the structures of the state, they fit with Offe’s description of the new middle class, of whom he says "they do not rely for their self identification on either the established political codes (left/right, liberal/conservative etc.) nor on the partially corresponding socioeconomic codes (such as working class/middle class, poor/wealthy)" (1985:83)\(^2\). They are further characterized as well educated and economically secure, often working in the human service professions or the public sector - (this describes more than half of my key informants\(^3\)); this describes those who were the widely acknowledged leaders of this movement.

Offe describes another group dominant in ‘new social movements’ - peripheral or "decommodified" groups - students, housewives, and those who are retired, unemployed or marginally employed. "They can afford to spend considerable amounts of time on political activities, something they share with the often flexible time schedules of middle class professionals" (1985:834). These aspects too, we have seen in the movements oriented to urban reform in Toronto.

Offe argues that these ‘new social movements’ and those who comprise them, demonstrate ‘agency’ and resistance to the “blind dynamics of military, economic, technological and political rationalization” (1985:853) but he grounds them firmly in the values of modernity rather than in the post industrial or postmodern, again he says:

> The rise of the new sociopolitical movements would thus appear to be the result of a provocation that consists in the more widely and clearly visible internal contradictions and inconsistencies within the value system of modern culture, rather than the result of a clash between the ‘dominant’ or some ‘new’... values. The values of the new social movements are based on a radicalization of modern values rather than as a comprehensive rejection of those values. (1985:853).

This description of the "new social movements" seems particularly appropriate to the movement(s) which have been discussed here. The ‘citizen action’, or urban reform in Toronto resulted from provocation and the threat of losing important life spaces and as this brief discussion has demonstrated, they expressed both dominant values and what might be
described as a "radicalization" of those values. There is little evidence of this a movement which demonstrated values which countered the fundamentals of modern society.

Offe concludes his argument by commenting further on the modern nature of the new social movements, suggesting that their being rooted in modernity is underlined by their assumption that the "course of history and society is contingent and can be changed by people and social forces". At work is "the modern critique of further modernization" (p. 856), which effectively summarizes what was critiqued in these period under discussion.

Local vs other 'public' governance

In the midst of globalization, increasing monetization of every aspect of human life, and a declining state, I conclude that localities appear to continue to matter. In contrast to the powers of the nation state, those of the local state are less in decline. The local state may by virtue of its size and 'localness' may be better able to represent diversity in the expressions of the public realm. And, a public discourse may be possible because so many local issues have direct and tangible impacts. As well, the local is the space of lifeworlds and life practices which must be mediated or conflict. Many U.S. cities provide ready evidence of a lack of mediation, while in Toronto there continues to be appreciation of diversity of life practice and (at least for now) an ability to mediate among these interests. In addition to what appears to be an enduring 'public' civil spaces provide the ground for alternate expressions and may also serve to legitimate them.

In the period of urban reform in Toronto, and through its tangible and manifest impacts on local structure and form which remain evident today, a new 'local' culture was forged. I believe that this was important, not just for Toronto, but for what it signifies about the importance of 'locality'.

Pickvance suggests:

Every locality bears the mark of the past and this produces distinctive effects on current processes. In addition, the current processes themselves interact in novel
ways in particular localities. More generally, there is both academic and impressionistic evidence of local diversity: voting patterns continue to show indelible local effects, the competition for jobs between localities has led to the stressing (and creation) of local distinctiveness, and local councils pursue very different policies in many spheres (Pickvance, 1990:1)

As Pickvance’s comment reveals, local diversity derives from multiple sources and is itself reinforcing. Toronto, as it appears today did not derive from the urban reform movement, but there is significant evidence of this period of reform shaping city spaces, structures and life practices which have been continually reproduced and which constitute the city today.

Isin (1992) suggests a different configuration of the city, one which directly counters this view of possibility and the expression of agency. His perspective is of the city as a corporation. The advantages, the possibilities of localities may flow from the city. But to postulate them broadly as possibilities is to ignore the political and legal configuration of the city, as it exists as a corporate entity of another state structure (the province). The current difficulties of the City of Toronto and by implication the region of Toronto stem from this latter fact. The advantages of ‘locality’ are Aristotle’s claim of there being ‘natural’ advantages, and these presuppose the existence of rights accruing to city states. In contemporary Ontario, we are vividly reminded that these rights are not conferred as a result of some ‘natural’ process, and they have not accrued to the City of Toronto or to its citizens. In spite of the stark realities of Isin’s reminder, the current debate over the future of the City of Toronto also evidences the appropriateness of the scale of the city for a broad ‘social’ engagement. In contesting the mega-city there has been a breadth of citizen response and activism unseen since the events described here of the reform movement of twenty-five years ago. While the city as a "natural" aggregation, or state may be evident, it is a structure of the state unlikely to be empowered in the current political era.

**Summary and Conclusion**

This research has explored the idea that the our society is socially constructed and our discourse and understanding is consequently conditioned by these constructions. I have
postulated that human interchanges are increasingly dominated by economic exchange, that the dominant construction of society legitimates the realms of the marketplace and the state and that the latter is of declining significance. These forces combine to create a circumstance in which we ‘do not see’ civil society and the non-monetised interchanges which I suggest constitute it. The further reflection which has emerged more clearly as a result of this research is that this civil sphere, whether a product of modernity or post modernity, ‘corrects’ for some of the problems associated with the ‘public’ sphere as represented by Habermas and others. Appropriate boundaries bring the sphere of civil society into sharper focus. This sphere represents the small non-monetised interchanges by which people provision themselves and represents ‘social’, non-economic interchanges. Civil society expresses human agency and by so doing may be significant in the shaping of our political and social structures - as a sphere encompassing of diversity which represents ‘societal’ interests to a narrowed bureaucratic state and an expanding, global, post industrial marketplace. In addition to the roles civil society plays in mediating between the realms, it is also associated with providing a ‘space' which sustains alternate life practices.

The relations between these spheres, and the life practices supported by them, are expressed and represented in the physical and social spaces of our society. Through these relations and their representations in space, our society reproduces itself. These relations are particularly visible in urban city space, where the life practices of people (their lifeworlds) can be seen juxtaposed against these representative realms. Differing perhaps from the decline associated with the nation state, these urban ‘localities’ are reaffirmed in economic terms as the ‘new’ economic regions, in global terms as the world’s population urbanizes, and as spaces in which the social structure is reproduced. Significant to the arguments made herein, cities also appear to be important and appropriate to the fostering of human agency. It seems possible that in the city, at the local state, a ‘public’ discourse remains significant without some of the limitations which this review has suggested.

Human agency is expressed through a public discourse but as well through the mediations afforded by civil society. I suggest that while we have evidence of the power of ‘agency’
we have inadequate explanations about what contributes to its quiescence or emergence. Agency, or the capacity of citizens to modify their social structure, is expressed through the sphere of civil society which itself must be constituted by the small and non-monetised interchanges between people which contribute "to (re)creating of human subjects with(in) forms of power" (Pile, 193:131).

Another element of this research stands out and is appropriate as a concluding comment. Leaving aside all of the subtle questions of whether this period of reform in Toronto was 'urban', was an expression of individual values - a defense of the private sphere, what the possibilities may be for the city, and for civil society, whether this is properly understood in the context of modernity or post..., this period of citizen activity was an expression of the power of human agency. Agency was expressed by the formation of human intention, the demonstration of will and collective action and the achievement by these human 'actors' of their 'ends' or goals *and*, all of this took place without recourse to the marketplace.
Endnotes, Chapter Nine

1. This is of course the sub-title of Jameson’s book, fully entitled Postmodernism or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism. I use the sub-title here because it has a meaning which can be derived through the common meanings of the words (what Hegel called sense certainty). By this use I intend to draw attention to a profound shift impacting not only the realms of production but also of reproduction. All of this might be described as the ‘post-modern’ but many other different things might also be invoked by the term. This very fact of using a term to invoke a multiplicity of things might be seen as part of this same postmodern cultural logic - terms are used without regard for conventional meaning sometimes as an intentional counter-hegemony to these conventions.

2. This corresponds to my descriptions of the movements enjoying broad and non-partisan support.

3. Four of the key informants to this study, who were activists in reform hold doctoral degrees, while seven more hold advanced professional degrees.

4. Local refers to the City of Toronto particularly, although it is not precisely the political boundaries which are significant as other neighbourhoods such as those in York and East York (adjacent to the city) were also active in some aspects of the reform movement.

5. This is a term which I borrow from Habermas, used here because it so completely explicates the point that represented in the city is the whole world of life, life practices and the mediations between the life practices of the whole society.
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APPENDIX A

Sample interview outline

For politicians:
Generally, I'm going to ask a number of open ended questions which probe the period of urban reform in Toronto between 1968 and '75, I'm looking for the 'story' of the Toronto Urban Reform movement as you experienced it.

1) Begin by asking a number of questions that inquire about the role you played in the urban reform movement:
You ran for election to City Council in 1972 (Ward 7 / Sewell), what were you doing prior?

1.1) Tell me how you came to run, when, how/where did you decide?
1.2) What did you want to accomplish?
1.3) Did you have a particular constituency or group on whose behalf you were running?
1.4) Who were the people who supported you?
1.5) Who managed your campaign?
1.6) What was your relationship with (other activists) like?
Did you have the same goals? interests? styles? How did you work together?
1.7) Was a seat on city council an effective way to achieve what you wanted? Please describe.
1.8) Why didn't you run again?

2.) Next series of questions focus on what was at issue in the city: To refresh your memory - I've noted some of the development issues - Toronto Islands, Spadina expressway, Scarborough expressway, extension of the 400, Quebec-Gothic, St Jamestown, Trefann, Summerhill Sq, Kensington,
2.1) Were there any other issues, particularly any discourse that wasn't just about development?
2.2) Over this 5 year period that ended as you left Council, describe what you thought was happening in the city?
2.3) How would you characterize the opposing sides? What was at issue?
2.4) Did you conceive of what was happening then as a "movement", a force for social
change? How did you characterize it? How did others?

2.5) Who (what kinds of people?) participated on the reform side? why? What did they want?

2.6) How would you describe the changes that took place in the city over this period? How would you classify or characterize what was at issue?

2.7) Did the reform movement get what it wanted? Was it an organized ‘movement’ with a reflective and collective sense of what it wanted?

2.8) Were there things that happened in the city which you think resulted from the social protest even if they weren’t directly linked?

2.9) Were there any lasting impacts?

3) One of my questions has to do with whether social movements, civil society can effect the dominant spheres- the state and marketplace - was there any lasting reform at city council? Created a permanent rupture with the old boys network? Is there a parallel with the developers scandal in York over past few years with the Grays-Gothic affair in Toronto?

3.1) Was there any lasting impact on the development industry? Is there more consciousness now about meeting citizen demands?

4.) Was the movement of the day politically focused? ecologically focused? or was it more narrowly self interested (I don’t want to lose my neighbourhood)?

5.) Is there any issue emerging now in the city that could make you run for council again?

6.) Wrap up by asking a few background questions:

6.1) What kind of law do you practice?

6.2) Did you participate in the Days of Action?

6.3) Do you participate in ‘civic’ life? Community boards, volunteer work, political party involvement? Please describe.

6.4) Do you live in the City of Toronto, downtown?

7.) Is there anyone who was active at the time that you think it particularly important that I talk with?

8.) Anything else you want to mention?
APPENDIX B

Sample letter to key informants

Dear

I am a doctoral student at the Faculty of Social Work at the University of Toronto. As part of my dissertation research, I am examining the urban reform movement which was an active force in shaping Toronto during the period 1968 to 1974 (and beyond).

I am writing to inquire whether I might be able to interview you as a part of this research. Generally, I am interested in the role you played in the urban reform movement. My intention, in simplest form is ask you to tell the ‘story’ of the urban reform movement as you experienced it; how it was organized, who participated and why, the goals and outcomes which you sought and attribute to the movement; and other attributable outcomes not consciously sought by the movement. I am interested in your general impressions on the forces which contributed to this period in Toronto’s history and observations about its lasting impacts. I will also ask about the extent to which you see the movement as having had an impact on the state (in its municipal form) and on the marketplace (altering the possibilities for development, changing the development review process, emphasizing local sustainable communities, increased support for public transit etc).

I intend to use the interview data in both individual and aggregated form and would thus require your consent to use your name in association with the interview data. We can discuss any specific restrictions you might have on how the interview material is to be used.

The interview will last between 1.5 and 2 hours and can be scheduled at your convenience over the next two months. I am attaching an abstract of my thesis so that you might better understand how this research fits into the overall dissertation. I appreciate your consideration of my request and I will call you in the next week to determine your willingness to participate. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Lea Caragata
APPENDIX C

Sample consent form

I__________________________ give my consent to being interviewed by Lea Caragata as part of her research on the urban reform movement which took place in Toronto between 1968 and 1974. I understand that the interview in combination with others will be used in her doctoral dissertation and as possible, published. I consent to my name being used in conjunction with the material from this interview in whole or in part.

I understand and consent to the interview being taped.

Lea Caragata and I jointly agree that at any time in the course of the interview I may choose not to answer a question or speak off the record and such requests will be honoured.

I understand and consent to the retention by Lea Caragata of the interview tapes and transcriptions for three years following the completion of her doctoral dissertation.

Signature

Date
York will appeal to Premier

to prohibit Spadina extension

York Council will appeal to Premier William Davis to block any form of extension of the Spadina Expressway.

Council last night also decided to ask Transportation Minister Gordon Carton to call an emergency conference on transportation problems in northwest Metro. York would like him to clarify a letter dated July 31 in which he said the borough that extension of the expressway south to Eglington Avenue would cause chaotic conditions.

In the letter, Mr. Carton said the proposal of a joint Metro provincial technical committee's recommendation road to Eglington from the existing terminal of the one-lane expressway at Lawrence Avenue could not be considered an extension.

In the appeal to Premier Davis the borough is trying to block Metro transportation committee's recommendation that the road be considered by Metro roads and traffic department. The recommendation will be submitted today to Metro executive committee.

York Mayor Philip White said in view of the mounting objections from the executive committee that will have to call for public hearings.

Mr. White said some transportation committee members have expressed the view that if a public outcry developed, the committee should call the public meetings. He said it would be irresponsible to proceed with the project without at least one public hearing.

Alderman Ben Nobleman said Metro can expect a picket line of housewives if construction proceeds. "Some people will even lie down in front of the construction equipment," he said.

Council has warned Metro that opening such a road will saturate the residential area south of Eglington between Oakwood Avenue and Bathurst Street with traffic. To prevent this the borough is prepared to introduce a pattern of one-way and dead-end streets through the residential area.

Borough traffic co-ordinator J. W. Price said in a report to council that cancellation of the expressway last year by the province has forced traffic into residential side streets north of Eglington. He said that three major north-south traffic routes in the Spadina corridor-Westmore Avenue, Dufferin Street and Bathurst—are currently used at maximum capacity.

Mr. Price suggested the road proposal is based on plans for the expansion of Yorkdale Shopping Centre at Dufferin and Highway 401 in North York. He said it is reasonable to assume that the existing two-mile section of ex-

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York's delegation to meet
Mr. Carton include members of the Board of Control and aldermen Nobleman, Peter Bosa and Cyril Townsend. Mr. Bosa is the only council member favoring the road.

That metaphorical dike Premier William Davis built to hold back the crunching grindle of the Spadina Expressway into downtown Toronto springs the most distressing leaks.

Apart from the querulous yapping of a few Metro politicians to disturb the peace since Mr. Davis Horatius-ed at the bridge 15 months ago, there has been as follows: the recommendation of the joint Metro-provincial transportation planning committee to make "interim use" (with flush-away disposable concrete?) of the Spadina Expressway ditch by building a four-lane mini-expressway from Lawrence Avenue to Eglington Avenue: the approval given by Metro Transportation Committee to the recommendation (with a stage-whispered admonition from Roads and Traffic Commissioner Sam Costo to—shh!—not call it an expressway), and a curious letter to Borough of York from Gordon Carton, Minister of Transportation and Communications, saying that allowing one-third of an expressway to be built (the mini-expressway could contradict his Premier's stand that no expressway should be built.

Now there is York Board of Control and the alarming chip, chip, clipping from the chisel of North York Controller Paul Godfrey. The Board goes on record as saying it is opposed to the mini-expressway and then slips into a "but if..." configuration. But if the road is to be built, said the Board, the borough must plan now to handle the traffic that will spew off the Eglington end of it. But if Trickle, trickle, a little more water through the dike.

Controller Godfrey, bagging victory, proclaims to a Trinity Square audience that the mini-expressway will be paved to Eglington by the end of the year. Asked if Metro has the $1.5-million to do the job alone without provincial help (thus avoiding having to go to the Ontario Municipal Board for approval), Mr. Godfrey replies: "Wait and see."

Enough. The people of Toronto and the Borough of York most certainly do not want to wait and see their communities further smothered by the automobile. They were assured once before this would not happen. The Globe and Mail suggested a fortnight ago that Premier Davis may be, as before, the only man to stop all this. He still is; and he can stop it only by throwing his considerable weight behind the public transit services that should replace expressways.
Most Metro members back Spadina extension

A majority of Metro Council support the proposed four-lane extension of the Spadina Expressway south to Eglinton Ave. W., a Star poll showed last night.

Twenty of the 38 politicians are in favor. Seven are opposed. Five want to hear more arguments before deciding and seven could not be reached for comment.

Metro Alderman Tony O'Donohue said in an interview he will put a motion on the agenda for the Feb. 11 Metro Council meeting to include in the 1975 budget the capital cost of paving the roadway from Lawrence Ave. to Eglinton.

The paving and the approaches to Eglinton can be completed this year, O'Donohue said, noting that tenders were drawn up in 1969 and are still available.

The interrupted Spadina Expressway is six lanes wide where it now ends at Lawrence Ave. W. Adding a four-lane arterial extension south to Eglinton and a similar extension of Highway 403 to the Gardiner Expressway were among alternative proposals put forth Wednesday in the final report of the Metropolitan Toronto Transportation Plan Review.

Transit planner Richard M. Soberman suggested studying the two highway extensions to alleviate traffic congestion in Metro's northwest.

However, O'Donohue wants to dispense with Soberman's call for a study of the Spadina extension.

"I would like to move on it fast," O'Donohue said in an interview.

The day after the $1 million report was released, Transportation Minister John Rhodes said if Metro Council formally requested the two extensions, he would ask the government to proceed.

But Rhodes did not favor extending Highway 400 any further south than St. Clair Ave. W.

All three York Borough members on Metro Council last night opposed the Spadina extension. Mayor Phil White and Controllers Douglas Saunders and James Trimbee supported at the Metro level of Toronto Aldermen Colin Vaughan, Michael Goldreich, William Kilbourn and Dan Heap.

A meeting with Premier William Davis to protest the extension was demanded last night by a York Bor-