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The Politics of Truth: A Case Study of Knowledge Construction
by the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1957-1988

by

Susan Lee McGrath

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

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The Politics of Truth: A Case Study of Knowledge Construction

by the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1957-1988

Susan Lee McGrath Ph.D. 1999
Faculty of Social Work
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Abstract

This dissertation is a case study of knowledge construction by the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (SPCMT) from its incorporation in 1957 to 1988 when the author became affiliated with the organization. An interactive and heuristic inquiry of texts and key informants has been conducted within a critical theoretical framework.

The study assumes a three part model of society: civil society, the state and the economy. Civil society is defined as a crucial area of activity in which individual and collective actors contest the determination of needs and the allocation of resources. The Council is positioned as an association of civil society with a mandate of knowledge construction.

Drawing on the work of Jürgen Habermas and Michel Foucault, the research traces the power relations in the process of knowledge construction and connects the interests of those who
create the knowledge with the method and outcomes. A classification of three kinds of knowledge construction is utilized to analyze the major research works of the Council: positivist, interpretive and critical. The study locates these approaches as sequentially dominant for a period of approximately ten years each commencing in 1957. The forces of influence that contributed to the different eras of knowledge construction are traced.

The study describes how the economy and the state have shaped the norms and resources of civil society and how a practice of resistance has developed. The tensions and contradictions among the three spheres are explored. Strategies that support the pursuit of an emancipatory approach to knowledge construction are identified. The research will be of particular interest to academics and activists who study and work with voluntary associations and organizations committed to social and economic justice.
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This research is dedicated to the memory
of my brother-in-law Lee MacDonald,
an enthusiastic and intuitive practitioner
of a caring society.
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Chapter I: Introduction and Methodology

Introduction

I have spent all of my adult working life toiling in paid and unpaid roles in the sector of society popularly known as the voluntary, non-profit or third sector. The concept of civil society has recently been revived to describe this sphere of activity which is seen as a critical area of activity, a "domain in which individual and collective actors contest competing interpretations of their collective needs and normative orientations as well as the distribution of scarce social resources" (Honneth 1991:vii). It includes intimate relationships, voluntary associations, social movements, and forms of public communication (Cohen and Arato 1992:xii). My interest is in the voluntary associations, particularly those which have become structured into organizations committed to participating in the contest of norms and needs determination and the allocation of social resources.

The Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto is such an organization. It was formed in 1957 out of the then Toronto Welfare Council and throughout its history has been managed by a volunteer board of directors. Its mandate has always included a commitment to the social well-being of the residents of Toronto. It has relied primarily on voluntarily donated funds for its revenue base. Social research has been its primary function and so I have conceptualized the Council as an organization committed to research and knowledge formation as its primary strategy for participating in and influencing civil society (McGrath, 1996). This study is focussed on the knowledge creation capacity of the Council over time. A capacity for knowledge creation is considered at the core of a vibrant civil society and this research is an inquiry into who creates the knowledge, what is created and how is it used (or
misused).

My own involvement with the organization began in 1988 when I volunteered my time for the Child Poverty Action Group, a project of the Council. In 1989, I was elected to the Board of Directors of the SPCMT serving until 1996, including a two year term as President. In 1997 I worked for the Council in the role of Senior Program Director with responsibility for managing the agency's programs and staff. It is an organization that has contributed to my own constitution of self mainly through critical debate and difficult decision-making with respected colleagues.

This research is a critical examination of the Council from 1957 to 1988. The period of my own direct involvement will not be included as part of the analysis although I recognize it informs my approach and understanding of the organization. I am deeply committed to the importance and value of voluntary associations as public spaces for citizens to participate in the contestation of norm formation and resource allocations. This study is an exploration of how such organizations function and what contribution they appear to be making. It is an exploration however, that is expected to show the strengths and the limitations. "The reality of history is mixed and messy" (Taylor 1985:182).

Consistent with the approach of critical theory which is the overall frame of my research, this study is intended as an emancipatory project which will inform the practice of the Council and similar voluntary associations of Canadian civil society. I draw on the work of two critical theorists Jürgen Habermas and Michel Foucault, the former who views modernity as an unfinished product, and the latter who is considered the most influential proponent of postmodernism. This tension between structuralism and post-structuralism is present
throughout the study and is never resolved. The structural analysis of the field of political economy has been an important source for my own understanding of the broader power relations in our society and Habermas's concept of civil society or lifeworld is central to this study. Foucault's analysis of knowledge and power relations as localized phenomena have been crucial in my efforts to try to make what I thought was familiar, more visible (Chambon, 1999).

This study is particularly relevant in the current social context. The responsibility for social policy and programs is being devolved from federal to provincial governments and in Ontario on to local municipalities and voluntary associations. As the focus for social well-being shifts to the local, the social planning organizations which have historically been committed to social well being are becoming increasingly vulnerable. The pattern of defunding and/or absorption of social planning organizations by United Way agencies which has been a trend across the United State since the seventies (Brilliant, 1990) has been occurring here. The topic of my study is vulnerable. It is my hope that this research will shed understanding on that vulnerability and provide some directions for the future.

Foucault defines his critical approach as "seeking to give new impetus, as far and wide as possible, to the undefined work of freedom" (Foucault 1984:46). I study in the hope of creating new impetus for this work of freedom.

Epistemological Approach

The claim of epistemology to be value neutral has been well challenged particularly by feminist theorists (Code, 1991; Reinharz, 1992) who contend that "mainstream epistemology, in its very neutrality, masks the facts of its derivation from and embeddedness in a specific set
of interests" (Code, 1991:X). Knowledge is not a hidden, inert entity waiting to be discovered by a selected group of knowers. Reason is a product of the social mind, which is, in turn a product of social interaction (Sjoberg et. al., 1991:36). The dominant epistemology of the Anglo-American mainstream and its claims to occupy a neutral, transcendent place outside the epistemic struggles and responsibilities central to people's lives and the hierarchies of power and oppression have been unmasked (Code, 1991; Foucault, 1979; Habermas, 1972).

Philosophical beliefs about knowledge and authority inform and are informed by social conceptions of what it is to be a good knower and about how knowledge confers expertise. Some knowledges are legitimated, others suppressed, selected knowers are viewed as authorized and the social-political implications are widespread (Code, 1991:XI). The tension between knowledge and power and the process of subjectification are themes that are struggled with throughout this research.

The approach of this research is that knowledge can be empowering. Knowledge is not something we can have, but a process, "a personal, circular, contradictory process of knowing, of inquiry" (Rowan & Reason, 1981:136). It is a purposeful process. We create knowledge as a way of understanding ourselves, the world around us and our interaction with that world. It is essential to understand the nature and the construction of social institutions that create inequality, in order to change them.

Awareness of the role of the researcher is a critical component of any study. Moustakas (1981:217) cites an unpublished manuscript of Carl Rogers who argues for the recognition of the importance of the role of the scientist describing research as "the personal search of a disciplined, open-minded individual which discovers and creates new knowledge".
He goes on to advocate for an approach that keeps the scientist as a human being in the picture at all times and recognizes that "science is but the lengthened shadow of dedicated human beings".

As a researcher, I need to be aware of the shadows that I bring to the research process as a white, middle-aged woman who has been raised and educated in the geographical context within which my research takes place. I come from a working class family and with the opportunity and benefits of education have moved into what is considered the middle class. My political, economic and social ideology could be classified as socialist/feminist. I have a strong orientation to the values of social and economic justice and bring a rich history of experience in community change organizations and processes. I believe that a democratic state requires and includes an active, participatory civil society and I have been an active member of the civil society of the Greater Toronto Area all of my adult life. I write this not as an apologist but to identify my place in the research process. I write about what I know that I may understand and know it better. I believe that the knowledge created will also inform the understanding of others interested in the associational life and processes of Canadian civil society at least as practised in urban settings.

The premise of this research is that human nature and social reality are not fixed. The social order has been constructed by human agents, and although social patterns emerge (and there are many we are not even aware of) these patterns can be revised (Sjoberg et. al., 1991:35). People have the capacity to initiate social change and to understand the social change process. True human inquiry should also be based firmly in the experience of those it purports to understand (Rowan and Reason, 1981:113). A critical source of information is
people, as individuals and organized groups, who are actively initiating social change designed to address the inequalities of our society. They also have a right to participate in decisions that claim to generate knowledge about them (Heron, 1981).

**Design and Method**

The research method most appropriate to address the issues being raised is the naturalist paradigm of inquiry, to be distinguished from the positivist paradigm. Within the naturalist paradigm (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:37), the inquiry is recognized as value-bound and there must be value-resonance among the choices of a problem, paradigm, theory and context if the inquiry is to produce meaningful results. The relationship of the knower to the known is not independent but interactive, each influences the other. The naturalist paradigm recognizes that there are multiple, constructed realities that can be studied only holistically, and inquiry into these realities will inevitably diverge, raising more questions than it answers. Prediction and control are unlikely outcomes although an important level of understanding can be achieved. All entities are recognized as being in a state of mutual, simultaneous shaping so that it is impossible to distinguish causes from effects.

The overall design of the research is a qualitative case study (Stake, 1995; Orum et al., 1991; Patton, 1990). It is highly personal research which encourages the researchers to include their own personal perspectives in the interpretation. The interaction between the case and the researcher is presumed unique and not necessarily reproducible for other cases and researchers. "The quality and utility of the research is not based on its reproducibility but on whether or not the meanings generated, by the researcher or the reader, are valued" (Stake, 1995:135).
Multiple perspectives of activities and issues are sought out. It is not necessary to resolve contradictory testimony or competing values; these may help to understand the case. The case study is recognized as being subjective, relying heavily on our previous experience and our sense of worth of things. Triangulation is used to minimize misperception and the invalidity of the conclusions. This research is an interactive, heuristic inquiry with analysis of text and oral contributions in the context of a critical theoretical framework. An accurate but limited understanding is sought which may not be able to generalize to other cases.

The case report is described using ordinary language and narratives, so the report may be read something like a story (Stake, 1995:134). The story of the Council is told chronologically starting in 1957 and ending in 1988, organized into theme areas according to the dominant form of knowledge construction.

The case study has been chosen as the primary research method because it provides "a richness and depth to the description and analysis of the micro events and larger social structures that constitute social life" (Orum et. al., 1991:5). It has a long history in social science research (Orum et. al.. 1991:6). The purposes of a case study - the analysis of change in a phenomenon over time, the analysis of the significance of a phenomenon for future events and the analysis of the relation among parts of a phenomenon (Reinharz, 1992:164) make it particularly relevant to this study.

Several fundamental lessons can be conveyed by the case study and make it particularly relevant to this inquiry:

1. Grounding of observations and concepts about social action and social structures in natural settings studied at close hand.
2. The use of multiple sources and over a period of time, thus permitting a more holistic study of complex social networks and of complexes of social action and social meanings.

3. It can furnish the dimensions of time and history to the study of social life, thereby enabling the investigator to examine continuity and change in lifeworld patterns.

4. It encourages and facilitates, in practice, theoretical innovation and generalization. (Orum et. al., 1991:6-7)

In terms of validity, the case study provides a clear advantage over other methods of investigation. Although it must rely on a good deal of judgment by the researcher, it permits the researcher to assemble complementary and overlapping measures of the same phenomena. A variety of data sources are used to assess the nature of particular events as well as the motives and interests of the actors.

Three sources of information have been used in this study: the literature on social theories particularly critical theory including the perspective of a modernist, Habermas, and a post-modernist, Foucault, and contemporary theories on the social sector or civil society; the historical documents and publications of the SPCMT for the period of 1957 to 1988; and, interviews with identified key informants. These various data sources have been used to cross-check and validate observations as well as claims based on these observations. This technique is called the triangulation of sources (Orum et. al., 1991:19) and has been used effectively in feminist research (Reinharz, 1992:147).

With the assistance of critical advisors and key informants such as John Gandy, Marvyn Novick and Christa Freiler who have extensive, personal experience with the Council,
I have moved back and forth among the bodies of information being generated by each process. It is a process that Lincoln & Guba (1985:108) identify as member checks: the referring of data and interpretations back to data sources for correction/verification/challenge. The intent is to create a holistic, integrated understanding of the phenomenon. I have also moved back and forth between the data collection process and the theoretical framework as a method of interpretation of findings that initially may have been unclear or appeared to be conflicting.

The supervising committee has provided a check and a challenge to broaden perspectives that may have been constrained by my experiences and sources at different steps along the way. This validation technique is debriefing by peers (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:109). The systematically talking through of research experiences, findings, and decisions with professional peers has been an important guide and support.

Data Analysis

The primary research question is, "How does a voluntary organization of people situated in and apparently committed to the normative concept of civil society, use its capacity for research and knowledge construction to try to achieve its goals?" This case study is an examination of the practice of research and knowledge construction by the SPCMT, an organization of civil society in the Greater Toronto Area. The findings may have relevance to the practice in other urban settings across Canada and could be of interest to all students of civil society. The path of inquiry raised three broad questions that have guided the research. Who participated in and directed the process, what kinds of knowledge were created and how the knowledge was utilized?
Recognizing that knowledge creation is a social construction, who gets to create the knowledge is critical. Of primary interest has been, who participated in and directed the process of knowledge creation, at what stage in the process and how? A key issue is, does the type of knowledge created change as the actors who create it change? The working assumption is that it does and a framework or classification of knowledge forms has been used to analyze the knowledge forms created. The Board of Directors and the staff of the Council are the primary focus of analysis in addressing the question of who influenced the knowledge construction process. A related question has been the identification of the intended beneficiaries of the research and their participation in the process. The organizational linkages and coalition relations of the Council particularly with its funders have also been tracked. The linkages with the state and the economic sphere have been examined.

The second area of questioning has been what kinds of knowledge were created and in what forms. The publications produced by the Council during the period of study were reviewed and critical research documents were selected for further analysis. The guidelines used to select these documents were:

a) the study was initiated by and under the direction of the Council;
b) significant organizational resources were committed to the study (each project selected took a minimum of three years to complete with continual staff and volunteer input);
c) there was public awareness and response to the study which could include media coverage, utilization of findings, and perceived impact on the social problem being addressed.

The more detailed analyses included an examination of how the social problems were constructed and what were the assumptions behind these constructions. The research
approaches and methodologies have been identified along with changes in the social science
disciplines the SPCMT has drawn on over time.

The third area of examination has been how the knowledge was utilized. This inquiry
has included consideration of what forms the knowledge was put in, who the knowledge was
directed at and what influence if any it is recognized as having. Indicators of influence on the
public discourse and public decision makers has been sought through media documents and
key informants. The distribution and accessibility of the knowledge created were also
monitored.

The relationship between social research and public policy is tenuous given the
political nature of policy formation. Social research is but one, and often not a very significant
or powerful factor, in a whole sea of advice, information, judgements, data, prejudices and
existing policies which influence the emergence of what we loosely term social policy (Gilbert,
1983:229). "The major effect of research on policy may be the gradual sedimentation of
insights, theories, concepts, and ways of looking at the world" (Weiss, 1977:77). The
enlightenment model proposed by Weiss (1977) sees a role for research as social criticism.
Research provides the intellectual background of concepts, operations, and empirical
generalizations that inform policy. This model also encourages policy research analysts to
become advocates for their ideas rather than letting the facts speak for themselves. The object
is the construction of knowledge that will in turn generate new practice (Friedmann
1987:173). The research will examine the changing practice of the Council and attempt to
identify points of influence, to understand the dynamics of knowledge infusion.

The contemporary practice of voluntary social planning by the Council in 1989 when I
joined and continued during my tenure was based on declared values of social and economic justice and drew on participatory research methods consistent with the "social mobilization" approach to planning (Friedmann, 1987). This seemed far from the rational, technical orientation of practice in 1957 described by Wills (1989, 1995). My interest is in how the practice changed over time.

Drawing on Habermas (1972), Park (1993) and Neumann (1997), a classification of three kinds of social science knowledge constructions has been utilized to analyze the practice of the Council: positivist, interactive and critical. The research studies were examined to identify consistencies with these different approaches.

Positivist, objective or instrumental knowledge is grounded in the natural sciences with assumptions of objectivity and value-neutrality. Positivism sees social science as "an organized method for combining deductive logic with precise empirical observations of individual behaviour in order to discover and confirm a set of probabilistic causal laws that can be used to predict general patterns of human activity" (Neumann, 1997:63). It is associated with specific social theories such as structural-functional, rational choice, and exchange-theory frameworks. Positivist researchers prefer precise quantitative data and often use experiments, surveys, and statistics seeking rigorous, exact measures and "objective" research (Neumann, 1997:63).

Interpretive, subjective or interactive knowledge comes from human beings sharing a life together - speaking with one another and exchanging actions against a background of common experience, tradition, history and culture. It is predicated on connectedness and inclusion and accomplished essentially through conversation (Park, 1993:6). Subjective or
interpretive social science is related to hermeneutics, a theory of meaning which emphasizes a detailed reading or examination of text, which could refer to a conversation, written words, or pictures. True meaning is rarely simple or obvious but reached through a detailed study of the text, contemplating its many messages and seeking the connections among its parts (Neumann, 1997:68). Interpretive researchers often use participant observation and field research requiring many hours of direct personal contact with those being studied. The subjective or interpretive approach is "the systematic analysis of socially meaningful action through the direct detailed observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social worlds" (Neumann, 1997:68).

Critical knowledge is "a kind of knowledge that comes from reflection and action, which makes it possible to deliberate questions of what is right and just" (Park, 1993:6). In this form of investigation, people look at social problems in the light of what they wish to achieve as self-reliant and self-determining social beings. It suggests a structural analysis which leads to action and the involvement of those affected by a problem in the development of strategies to address it in a process of reflection-action-reflection (Park, 1993:6-9). Versions of critical social science are called dialectical materialism, class analysis and structuralism and are often associated with conflict theory, feminist analysis and radical psychotherapy. Critical social science is tied to critical theory first developed by the Frankfurt School in Germany in the 1930s and its contemporary advocate is Jürgen Habermas. Critical researchers criticize the interpretive approach for being amoral, passive and overly concerned with subjective reality. On the other hand, critical social science is "a critical process of inquiry
that goes beyond surface illusions to uncover the real structures in the material world in order to help people change conditions and build a better world for themselves” (Neumann, 1997:74).

The documents were examined in the light of the classification of the three approaches to knowledge construction in social science in a chronological order beginning in 1957. Although all three approaches can be found throughout the study period, it is argued that there are periods of time during which the practice is dominated by one approach over the other. While these periods are not totally discrete and there is overlap, eras of practice committed to the positivist, interactive and critical approaches to knowledge formation have been identified. Beginning in 1957 with the positivist approach, and concluding in 1988 when the critical approach is paramount, each era lasts approximately ten years. The forces that influenced these shifts, the interests that are connected to each form of knowledge creation, and the changing practice of voluntary social planning are the further findings of this research.

**Document Analysis**

The organizational documents of the Council to approximately 1974 are stored in the City of Toronto archives in Toronto City Hall. Subsequent documents including some historical materials are stored at the current offices of the Council. The library of Council publications has recently been catalogued and is also maintained at the current offices. I am particularly grateful to the Council's archivist Mary Micallef and librarian John Puusa for their ongoing support and assistance.

A major limitation to the research has been the apparent loss of the minutes of
meetings of the Board of Directors for the year 1971 and for the years 1976 to 1984 inclusive.
The year 1971 was a critical year in the history of the Council and this loss is truly unfortunate. It would appear the minutes were pulled for some reason prior to the material being sent to the City of Toronto archives. The binders of the 1976-1984 minutes appear to have been accidentally dumped during a move from one office to another. It is with some consternation that I have had to recognize that the organization that I view as committed to knowledge creation has been so careless with its own records.

Two groups of documents have been examined: organizational documents and publications.

Organizational Documents. The Board Minutes for the years 1957 to 1975 (excluding 1971) and 1985 to 1988 have been examined along with the minutes of the annual general meetings. The documents, particularly the annual reports, have varied considerably over time in terms of the type and amount of information contained in them. I have had to rely on the annual reports for the years of the missing board meeting minutes. Board membership has been analyzed in terms of gender, organizational affiliations and employment or areas of expertise when known. The analysis has sought to identify the organizational structure and priority setting processes, key decision makers, inter-organizational linkages and research priorities. Annual budgets have been monitored.

Publications. Internal and external lists of the Council's publications for the years 1957 to 1988 were examined and analyzed. The publications selected for further analysis were those from research projects initiated by and under the direction of the Council, to which significant organizational resources were committed, and which appeared to have an impact on the
broader community. A more detailed analysis of methodology, content and findings, and apparent impact was conducted on the selected research publications.

Analysis of Interviews

Key activists on the Board of Directors and among the staff who appear to have had significant influence within the organization and on the major research projects were identified through the document analysis and in discussion with key informants such as John Gandy, Marvyn Novick and Christa Freiler whom I know to have extensive experience, insight and valuing of the work of the Council. Interviews were held with those who were currently available. The four board members included two former Presidents Larry Hebb and Eilert Frerich, the longest serving Board member Jim Lemon, and John Gandy, a Board member who had been a staff member and long-time volunteer.

The four staff members interviewed included the longest serving Executive Director Ed Pennington (1976-1988), and Marvyn Novick who served as program coordinator and senior program director from 1970 to 1982 and continues as an advisor to the Council to this day. Christa Freiler and David Thornley worked as program directors during the eighties on several of the major research projects of the era. The writings of former Executive Directors Doug McConney, John Frei and George Hart were also reviewed.

Semi-structured, open-ended interviews were guided by the following themes or questions.

(1) What was your relationship to the Council and your understanding of the role and function of the Council in the broader community?

(2) What were the main forces of influence, internal and external, on the decision-making
processes and practices of the Council? What was the relationship between the Board and staff in determining organizational policies and priorities? What was the relationship with the two major funders the United Way and the Regional Municipality of Toronto?

(3) What were the major research contributions of the SPCMT and what apparent influence did the research have?

Probing questions specific to the era and research most familiar to the key informants were also developed.

Approval for the protocol for the involvement of human subjects in the research was granted by the Office of Research Services of the University of Toronto in February 1997.

Conclusion

This dissertation is a qualitative case study of the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto for the period of 1957, when it was formed, to 1988 when I became affiliated with the organization. The organization has an historical commitment to research as the foundation to its approach to responding to social needs and problems. The focus of this study is the practice of research or knowledge construction. Knowledge is viewed as a social construction directed by human interests. The research seeks to explore the relationship between interests and the method and kind of knowledge formed. A classification of social science research methods (positivist, interactive and critical) was used to analyze the process and content of the major research documents of this period. The case study approach has enabled the examination of the different interests behind the different approaches to knowledge construction.
This research has drawn on interactive and critical social science methods. The interactive, heuristic inquiry of texts and key informants has been conducted within a critical theoretical framework. This framework is presented in Chapter II.

Although the organization was formed in 1957, it comes out of a long history of community organizing to address social need in Toronto. In order to better understand the themes that emerged in this research, their philosophical and historical roots were traced back to the late 1800s. These are presented in Chapter III.

The case study report is presented as a narrative beginning in 1957 with Chapter IV. Although there are elements of all three methods of social science research throughout the years of practice of the Council, it was found that certain approaches dominated certain periods of time. The Council moves through "eras" of the positivist, interactive and critical approaches to knowledge construction. Chapters IV to VI present these findings. The tone or style of the narrative changes with each of these chapters. Chapter V which traces the interactive era is longer and more descriptive than the other two which tend to be more precise and concise, both presenting processes of knowledge construction which tend to be more coherent and hierarchical. Chapter V describes a period of transition between the interests and practices of the positivist approach and those of the critical approach to research and knowledge construction. Chapter VII presents the conclusions of the research.

Because we have no "true self", Foucault asserts that "we have to create ourselves as works of art." He advises us to study the discursive practices by which the self establishes the
"truth" of itself in the relation it has with itself (Poster 1993:66). By examining the discursive practices of the Social Planning Council, I seek to understand the truth(s) of the organization and how those truths have been created.
Chapter II: Conceptualizing Civil Society and the Practice of Knowledge Construction

Introduction

This chapter outlines the conceptual and theoretical framework used in this dissertation to study the practice of voluntary social planning by the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. The primary concern of social planning is how knowledge should properly be linked with action (Friedmann, 1987:73). Most of the literature on social planning (Friedmann, 1987; Rothman and Tropman, 1987; Perlman and Gurin, 1972; Kahn, 1969) assumes that government and public institutions are the locus of activity. The term social planning itself has fallen into disuse, largely replaced by the concept of social development that still maintains a macro focus with an emphasis on the harmonization of economic and social objectives within a wider, development process (Midgley, 1995). Within the voluntary sector, organizations with mandates similar to the SPCMT are the Ontario Social Development Council (OSDC) at the provincial level and the Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD) at the federal level. The practice of social planning or social development by voluntary organizations in local communities is an area of activity that has had little critical examination.

The conceptual framework for this analysis has four components. First, a three part model of society: the state, the market and civil society is assumed. Second, civil society is defined as a crucial terrain of activity. Third, the SPCMT is conceptualized as a knowledge creating organization of civil society. Finally, Habermas' (1972) model of the relationship

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1 The concept of social planning has been examined primarily in the planning literature (Boothroyd 1991; Friedmann 1987; Cox et al. 1987; Midgley and Piachaud 1984; Kahn 1969) but there has been little examination of the practice of voluntary social planning organizations in Canada. The exceptions include: Lemon 1993; Wharf 1992; Patriquin 1991; Wills 1989, 1995).
between human interests and forms of research has been used to create a model of knowledge construction with which to examine the work of SPCMT over time.

This analysis draws on the work of two major social thinkers, Michel Foucault and Jürgen Habermas. I do not presume expertise on the work of either but draw on aspects of their work that seem useful in this analysis. Both can be considered critical theorists (Mulally 1997) with significantly different areas of focus. Habermas is a proponent of modernity arguing that the rational potential of the modern age has yet to be achieved, it is an unfinished product (Passerin d'Entrèves and Benhabib, 1997). Foucault is regarded as the leading proponent of post-modernist thinking with the focus shifted from the hope of universal norms to the microdynamics of power that shape individuals and groups (Chambon, 1999).

These perspectives are in tension if not contradiction with each other and reflect the fact that the Council is itself a site of contradictions, of competing truths. It is a nexus of power relations where the authority of the state, the money of the corporate sector, and the autonomy of voluntary associations collide.

**Three Part Model of Society**

This research assumes a three part model of society with the state, the market economy and civil society each occupying a separate sphere. This approach recognizes civil society, or what is sometimes referred to as the "social", as a sphere of activity, allowing for a fuller conceptualization of each of the three sectors including the function and influence of each. The role of civil society is lost in the two part political/economic analyses which are usually used to examine society and in particular the Canadian social welfare system (Brodie and Jenson, 1991; Esping-Anderson, 1990; Jensen, 1989; Moscovitch and Drover, 1981). A
political economic approach to society ignores the "social" relegating it to the private, intimate sphere of the family and informal relationships, which are deemed not to be part of the public venue and to have little or no relevance in public institutions and decision-making.

Many analyses of the formation of the Canadian welfare state draw on theories of political economy and class mobilization (Brodie and Jenson, 1991; Esping-Anderson, 1990; Jensen, 1989; Moscovitch and Drover, 1981). However, the class analysis and elite-conflict approach to welfare state analysis is limited by the underlying assumption that the only relevant players are class actors. It suggests rigid and inflexible roles and does not address the complex and changing interaction between state and society that is being considered by state theorists (MacKinnon, 1989; Block, 1987; Jessop, 1990; Cohen and Arato, 1992) or the rising influence of social movements (Offe, 1985; Carroll, 1992; Leys and Mendell, 1992).

The underdevelopment of the Canadian welfare state has been attributed to the nature of capitalism in Canada, what Jensen (1989) calls "permeable fordism". The formation of the welfare state was based on brokerage politics between bourgeois parties with little ideology, not on a partisan cleavage between labour and capital which was characteristic of European countries. The working class in Canada never occupied a privileged position in the policy bodies of the state. The framework for social security in Canada, the Marsh Report, had few political roots and was largely ignored. Federalism was the political issue so the focus was on national identities not class ones.

In the absence of a well developed welfare state, the provision of care falls to the family. As the traditional caregivers, women are expected to remain in the home caring for children and dependent relatives. Women who also work outside the home may receive
temporary relief from voluntary community-based associations, again primarily organized and managed by women. The contribution of women’s organizations to the formation of social programs and services has been documented in a limited way and is confined mainly to the social work literature (Baines, 1988; Prentice et al., 1988; Mitchinson, 1987).

Bellamy and Irving (1986) and Moffatt (1996) have identified a number of individuals, whom they regard as academic and voluntary sector pioneers in the formation of the Canadian welfare state. The use of voluntary associations by women as a form of political influence has been identified by Wills (1995) and Cohen (1989) and the impact of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women on Canadian public policy has been recently documented (Vickers et al., 1993).

These informal support systems, community-based services and public advocacy activities have not been well recognized as part of a public welfare system since they have been relegated to the area of the "social". The obscurity relates to the gendered nature and to the mixed funding of these activities - a blend of volunteer activity, charitable donations, user fees, municipal grants and provincially and federally funded programs. Keeping caregiving out of the public sphere and in the private sphere, facilitates reductions in public support and increased reliance on charitable dollars directed to what the donors consider to be deserving recipients and worthy causes.

The feminist claim, "the personal is the political!" has challenged the public/private perspective which kept the oppression of women hidden within patriarchal social structures. The private/public blurring is currently under critique because the focus is shifting from the politicization of matters that had been previously regarded as private and require a public
response such as violence against women, to an almost voyeuristic interest into the private lives of public figures. The sexual mores of political leaders are more closely scrutinized than their public policies (Elshtain, 1993).

In his analysis of late capitalist societies, Claus Offe (1984) uses a systems approach identifying three interdependent but differently organized subsystems: structures of socialization (such as the household) which are guided by normative rules; the commodity production and exchange relationships of the capitalist economy; and the welfare state, organized by the mechanisms of political and administrative power and coercion. The welfare state is "a multi-functional and heterogeneous set of political and administrative institutions whose purpose is to manage the structures of socialization and the capitalist economy" (Offe 1984: 13) thus rejecting the narrow and conventional understanding of the welfare state as the provider of social services of other prominent theorists such as Titmuss. The welfare state has had a role in guaranteeing the survival of privately-controlled exchange processes in addition to its social support role.

It is this need of the welfare state to pursue many goals that is its fundamental source of weakness. Using a critical systems approach, Offe (1984:13) draws attention to the mutual interference and conflict ridden interactions between the socialization, economic and political subsystems of late capitalism. The three sub-systems are not in harmony with each other and the inability of the state to separate its function from the other two threatens its viability. It is the dependency of the state on capital (and capital's constant threat not to invest and assumption of the right of veto over state policies) that makes the welfare state self-limiting. Because the welfare state is committed to giving preferential treatment to the capitalist
economy, there is a high probability of planning failures within other policy areas (Offe, 1984:21). This is exactly what is occurring in Canada. The fiscal responsibilities of the state have priority over its social responsibilities. Economic expenditures (particularly debt financing) have priority over social expenditures.

Offe's analysis remains a political economic one with civil society marginalized as the socialization sphere with apparent little influence on the state and the economy. His analysis does help us to understand the relationship between the state and the economy and broadens the definition of the welfare state. The actors of the economy are as dependent on the state for support as are the actors of the social although only the social security role of the state is up for public debate not the economic security role.

Habermas conceptualizes civil society as "lifeworld" with three structural components: culture, society and personality (Cohen and Arato, 1992:428). Culture represents a shared understanding by actors of their situation. When actors co-ordinate their actions through intersubjectively recognized norms, they form a social group. As individuals grow up within a cultural tradition and participate in group life, they internalize value orientations, acquire competencies, and develop individual and social identities. The concept of the lifeworld socially integrated through normatively secured or communicatively created consensus is theoretically similar to that of civil society in the three part model.

By using a systems approach to place the state and the economy as sub-systems distinct from each other and from the lifeworld, Habermas suggests a functional interdependence of the state and the economy coordinated without reference to the orientations or norms of actors of the lifeworld. The media of interaction of the state is power
and of the economy is money. There are public and private spheres within the lifeworld with which the economy and state have input-output relations structured exclusively in terms of interchanges of money and power, which also structure state-economy relations (Cohen & Arato, 1992:429-30). Habermas' ideal conceptualization of the lifeworld and the system of state and economy is presented visually in Figure 1.
Figure 1: Habermas' Ideal Relationship Among Three Spheres of Society
Habermas' conceptualization of the private includes the family of the lifeworld and the economic subsystem. The public includes the citizen role of the lifeworld and the administrative state. Welfare state capitalism represents the movement of the state into the economy because of the instabilities inherent in capitalism thus blurring the separation of state and economy. The realignment of the economy/state relationship is accompanied by a shift in the relations of those systems to the private and public spheres of the lifeworld. In the private sphere, the individual as consumer becomes more important than the role of worker, and in the public sphere, the role of citizen becomes the role of social-welfare client. This gives rise to what Habermas described as the inner colonization of the lifeworld as presented in Figure 2.

**Figure 2:**
Habermas' Colonization of the Lifeworld by the State and the Economy
Fraser (1989:130) explains that money and power no longer remain the media of exchange between the political and economic systems and lifeworld but increasingly penetrate the internal dynamics of the lifeworld. Rather than the economic and administrative systems being subordinate to the norms, values, and interpretations of everyday life, they begin to determine them. Instead of the roles of worker and citizen being the channels of influence of the lifeworld on the systems, the newly inflated roles of consumer and client channel the influence of the system to the lifeworld.

Cohen and Arato (1992:700) suggest that Habermas offers a hierarchical conception of the three media. "The medium of money represents the most abstract and automatic form of functioning, followed by the medium of power (with its multiple codes, lower level of circulation, dependence on action, etc.) and in turn by generalized forms of communication such as influence and reputation (which still substitute for ordinary language communication)".

It is the colonization of the lifeworld that leads to new forms of social conflict specific to welfare state capitalism and the emergence of new social movements in a conflict zone at the seam of system and lifeworld. The new social movements represent contestations of the changed roles and identities induced by the system and are to be distinguished from the traditional class struggles (Fraser, 1989:130). The purpose is to emancipate or decolonize the lifeworld from the influence of the system integration mechanisms of the state and the economy; to replace (some) normatively secured contexts by communicatively achieved ones; and, to develop new, democratic institutions capable of asserting lifeworld control over state and (official) economic systems (Fraser, 1989:131).
Fraser provides a feminist critique of Habermas' analysis pointing out the failure to theorize not only the patriarchal, norm-mediated character of the economic and administrative systems but also of the domestic sphere. Women experience subordination and domination in all spheres and the lack of recognition of the role of child-rearer (in addition to worker, citizen) helps to obscure this fact. The channels of influence are multidirectional, private patriarchy and public patriarchy reinforce and influence each other. New democratic institutions that enable the lifeworld to assert control over the state and economic systems must be developed by a sphere that is itself emancipated and democratic.

Habermas' framework of society with the modifications of Fraser and Cohen and Arato provides not only an insightful conceptualization of the existing status of welfare state societies, but also the importance of communication as a mechanism of influence within civil society or lifeworld and into the spheres of the state and the economy. His theory accounts for the declining influence of individuals in the state and the economy as they move from the role of citizen to client and from worker to consumer.

A three part model of civil society, the market and the state is needed to fully explore the activity of people in association with each other and the relationship between this sphere of activity and the other two. In this research, the financial capacity of the economic sphere and the legislative capacity of the state are important influences on the capacity of actors in the lifeworld or civil society to create and communicate knowledge. This influence is particularly felt when the knowledge created is critical of the impact the state and the economy are having on the day to day life experiences of citizens and workers. In the next section, the sphere of civil society is examined more closely.
Civil society as a crucial terrain of activity

In this research, civil society is defined as a crucial area of activity, a "domain in which individual and collective actors contest competing interpretations of their collective needs and normative orientations as well the distribution of scarce social resources" (Honneth 1991:vii). A contemporary civil society is "a sphere of social interaction between economy and state, composed above all of the intimate sphere (especially the family) the sphere of associations (especially voluntary associations), social movements, and forms of public communication" (Cohen and Arato, 1992:XII). The sociological variant of civil society is "a space or arena between household and state, other than the market, which affords possibilities of concerted action and social self-organisation" and civility as "the equable treatment of others as fellow citizens however different their interests and sensibilities" (Bryant, 1993:399). The SPCMT is a voluntary association with an historical commitment to social well-being achieved through research which is usually communicated publicly.

Civil society provides the public sphere for discourse and deliberation which can be critical of the state and thus should be distant from it - thus questioning the view that the democratic state is sufficient. There is also a normative component, the "equable treatment" which acknowledges and respects differences. The distance between civil society and the other two spheres and its autonomy as a space of public communication are issues raised in this analysis of the experience of the Council.

While a three part model of society is a useful heuristic tool for understanding different spheres of interests, its limitation is that it intimates these are discrete areas of activity which they are not. Habermas' concept of colonization attempts to address the levels of intrusiveness
among the spheres. A major limitation of the model is its failure to recognize the different experiences of gender and race in the roles of citizen, worker, consumer, and client. The private and public subordination of women is obscured (Fraser, 1989).

The model not only fails to identify the inequalities that occur within civil society but its potential for domination within the larger society. Gramsci defines civil society as "the political and cultural hegemony which a social group exercises over the whole of society, as the ethical content of the State" (Bobbio, 1988:84). "Hegemony aims not only at the formation of a collective will capable of creating a new state apparatus and transforming society but also at elaborating and propagating a new conception of the world" (Bobbio, 1988:93). The hegemonic forces that have dominated Canadian society have been the political and corporate elite (Kornberg & Clarke 1992; Brodie & Jensen, 1991) and have resulted in a limited, patriarchal, welfare state (Ursel, 1992; Esping-Andersen, 1990).

What Gramsci's work would suggest, and is supported by this research, is that there is an ongoing struggle for the domination of civil society and its institutions. Civil society is the site of the exercise of hegemony and resistance. This research attempts to examine these practices.

There has been renewed interest in civil society in the past twenty years. Tester (1992) traces the pattern of turning to the concept of civil society in times of turmoil and crisis to try to explain how society is possible and why individuals agree to external controls. In the 17th and 18th centuries philosophers like John Locke, Adam Ferguson and Jean Jacques Rousseau were trying to come to terms with the political crisis, intellectual enlightenment, technological development and the increasing urbanization of social life. In the 19th century, philosophers
and sociologists wrote about civil society "offering different ways of avoiding a pit which, to
them, promised to be a collapse of civilization into chaos and a complete barbarization of
human existence" (Tester 1992:7).

The same rationale applies today in the face of technology, individualism, economic
globalization and dislocation, bloody nationalism, ecological destruction and persistence of the
"isms" - classism, racism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism, ageism. In its original
conceptualization, civil society represented the ideal society, the possibility of the beautiful.

There was little or no doubt that the voluntary associations of
independent, mannered (polished) and civilized individuals were
actually occurring, and could be made to occur for the indefinite
future, if only the representations and requirements of civilization and
reciprocity could be made to have an even greater part to play in the

The spread of the concept of civil society introduced the age of modernity, and
although the "ideal" has never been achieved, it is being revived. Tester (1992:25) writes,
"The founding statements of civil society were attempting to understand the possibility of
society at the dawn of modernity, we are trying to confront the possibility of society in the
twilight of modernity".

Civil society has also become part of the post-modernist questioning of what is the
proper mode of constituting society, whether in terms of private individuals or of a shared
public sphere. The idea of civil society touches on and embraces the major themes of the
Western political tradition articulating elements of both community and individualism. The
idea is being extensively debated particularly among intellectuals of the left and critics of the
former socialist states of Eastern Europe and of postindustrial Western societies. The recent transformations of East European politics and societies without civil war has fuelled the interest of not only academics and professionals but those who Seligman (1992:4) describes as the "reading public".

Part of the appeal of civil society is the disillusionment with the state and the economy and the limitations of each sector to bring about change particularly in their internal structures. Pressure for change and adaptation rarely comes from within large systems such as government and the economy. The goal of government is to remain in power and the goal of the market economy is to make a profit. Neither of these processes is guided by inherent normative values of the public good. Government (at least a democratic government) is guided by popularity determined by a constant process of poll taking. The focus is on short-term not long-term benefits.

The market also has no conceptualization of the public or common good. It is inherently competitive, unstable and morally blind (Heilbroner 1986:324). Transactions are based on economic exchanges not moral obligations. There is considerable tension between the political and economic sectors. Heilbroner (1992:114) points out that the internationalizing tendency of capital continues to outpace the defensive powers of individual governments thus encroaching on the political independence of nations.

The business community has mobilized considerable resources to influence public policy to move closer to a free market approach with reduced expenditures, reduced taxation and de-regulation. The Business Council on National Issues (BCNI) which represents one hundred and fifty of the most powerful companies that operate in Canada, (the ownership is
usually foreign) has been labelled the "shadow cabinet" (Langille 1987) because of the extent of its influence on federal policy. The C.D. Howe Institute and the Fraser Institute, conservative business think tanks, have been prolific in the production of books and documents on public policy, economic and social. Both are non-profit organizations and can issue tax receipts to their corporate members for their donations; it is an organizational structure more consistent with associations of the social sector or civil society. Members of the corporate sphere are moving into the sphere of civil society in order to increase their influence on public opinion (McGrath, 1997).

The concept of civil society has an appeal in this tension between the political and the economic. Self-interest is the premise of the free market system but does not work as a principle of social order. The opposition of market freedom to state power is supplanted by an appeal to a moral order outside both state and market. This was expressed in the early sociologists' notion of 'gemeinschaft', or Habermas' more recent conception of the 'life-world' and has now found resonance in the concept of civil society (Taylor-Gooby 1991:161-2). Keane (1988:25) even calls for the foundation of democracy on the institutions of civil society rather than the state.

The legitimacy of the state as a value neutral arbitrator of competing public interests is no longer valid. The exposure of the patriarchal state by the feminist movement and the ecological destruction of industry by the environmental movement have made citizens more critical and less trustful of government and business. A socialist perspective looks to civil society as a source of political influence to maintain some form of welfare state. It was the inability of local communities and organizations to respond to the impact of the Great
Depression that stimulated the development of the Canadian welfare state. During the growth of the state and the economy in the post World War II period there was little interest in civil society. The concept is being revived in a period when the economy and the state are viewed as problematic.

The SPCMT as a Knowledge Organization of Civil Society

Civil society is not a passive network of institutions but the context and product of self-constituting collective actors (Cohen & Arato, 1992:XVIII). Foucault’s studies of objectifying and subjectifying practices encourage the consideration of events, phenomena, and techniques embodied in the social or civil society which exert influence. The concept of the social is not a global abstraction but a series of methods, techniques, and practices which have effected a particular form of social cohesion (Hacking, 1986:159). This case study is an effort to examine the practices of power and influence within the social sphere of Canadian society.

In this research, social planning organizations are viewed as part of Canadian civil society with capacities of organization, knowledge construction and communicative action. A fully democratized, accessible and developed civil society requires some system of local mechanisms that provide independent public spaces where its members can come together, have opportunities for discourse, create knowledge and publicize their findings to the rest of society. They need to be secure places which means some form of public recognition and funding. They should be highly visible and accessible to all members of the community especially those who are socially or economically marginalized. This research is intended to shed light on how intentional actors come together to construct knowledge in order to
influence other actors in the community. "The way in which people comprehend and make sense of the social world has consequences for the direction and character of their actions and inaction" (Purvis and Hunt 1993:474).

In 1994, the SPCMT identified itself as having the following mandate.

The SPC is an independent, community organization dedicated to research, planning, policy analysis, public education and advocacy which promotes social and economic well-being for all the people of Metropolitan Toronto. The SPC derives its mandate from the community through its own membership base of organizations and individuals, and from issues for research, community education and action which community members bring to the SPC.

This research is interested in the capacity of the SPCMT to create knowledge recognizing that "the creation of knowledge is an important site of resistance and struggle" (Hall et al., 1993:XXII) and a source of power (Foucault, 1980). I examine how the SPCMT as an association of civil society has conceptualized and constructed knowledge in order to have influence. The targets of this influence, whether its own sphere of civil society or the state or the market are part of the analysis.

The idea of knowledge is a powerful evaluative term imposing legitimacy and credibility on the particular claims associated with it (Wright 1992:5). This research assumes that there are interests behind the knowledge claims of the Council and seeks to re-attach "the severance of knowledge from interest" (Habermas 1972:303). It seeks to make visible the forces of influence that contributed to the creation of the knowledge forms and what influence in turn these knowledge forms had. There is a complex reciprocal relationship between knowledge and power.
Foucault (1980:93) writes:

There are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterise and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse. There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates through and on the basis of this association. We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth.

Foucault defined his approach to history as genealogy, “a form of history which can account for the constitution of knowledges, discourses, domains of objects etc.” (Foucault, 1980:117). Discourses constitute “the formation and transformation of things said” (Foucault, 1991:63). We are encouraged to examine the relations of power that produce the discourses that are accepted as truths. This inquiry attempts to identify the techniques and tactics of the exercise of power that create ‘truths’. It is in the daily struggles at a grass roots level that we can locate “the fine meshes of the web of power (Foucault, 1980:116). Foucault urges us to pay attention to the local - to critically examine day to day practices in order to make the exercise of power visible.

Power is not always negative or repressive but is a productive network which runs through the whole social body inducing pleasure, forming knowledge and producing discourses (Foucault 1980:119). This research attempts to trace the shifting relationships of power and knowledge. Foucault (1979:28) advises that an analysis of power-knowledge relations should include "the subject who knows, the objects to be known and the modalities of knowledge". This study attempts to incorporate these perspectives. The intent is to study
power at the point where it is in direct and immediate relationship with its object or target, “where it installs itself and produces its real effects” (Foucault, 1980:97).

The SPCMT is viewed as a site of knowledge or truth production within civil society. Through the analysis of organizational texts and knowledge products, and consultation of the knowledge workers and decision-makers of the organization, the study seeks to make the process of truth or knowledge production more visible and the exercise of power more transparent. Exposing the productivity of power, will hopefully expose the opportunities of new possibilities of knowledge and power production.

**Three forms of knowledge construction**

Foucault (1988:7) defines knowledge as “a means of surviving by understanding”. It functions "as a protection of individual existence and as a comprehension of the exterior world". We create knowledge so that we can better understand the meaning of our own experience and identity, and the complexity of the society in which we live. It is a process of understanding who we are and determining how we want to be. Knowledge should help us to understand our current experience and to develop alternative ways of living that respond to the issues identified. There is a potential for creating new social forms and structures.

Foucault (1980:85) calls for the emancipation of historical knowledges, to render them “capable of opposition and of struggle against the coercion of a theoretical, unitary, formal and scientific discourse”. We are to pay attention to “local, discontinuous, disqualified, illegitimate knowledges against the claims of a unitary body of theory which would filter, hierarchise and order them in the name of some true knowledge and some arbitrary idea of what constitutes a science and its objects” (Foucault, 1980:83). It is through the re-
appearance of local popular knowledges that criticism performs its work. The intent is to establish “a historical knowledge of struggles and to make us of this knowledge tactically today” (Foucault, 1980:83).

From a different perspective, Habermas (1972) also critiques the positivist claims about knowledge, reason, and moral and political values. He challenges the propositions: that knowledge on the hypothetical-deductive model is the only genuine form of knowledge in both the natural and social sciences; that this form of knowledge is value-free in the sense that its validity is not dependent on the prior acceptance of any normative commitments, or at least none with any moral or political content; that the domain of values and norms is taken to fall outside the scope of rational discussion (White 1988:26).

Social theory has not been very critical of scientific knowledge (Wright 1992:4). Recent critiques (Megill 1994; Code 1991; Taylor 1985) have contributed to the identification of the value systems and power structures inherent in empirical research methods. Scientific knowledge has always contained, and always hidden, specific cultural values and commitments (Wright 1992:29).

Habermas' critique is directed primarily against the claim that the validity of science is independent of the normative commitment of the scientist. The concept of the possibility of theory-neutral observation has been systematically criticized with the result that the idea of a privileged foundation for knowledge now appears incoherent (Wright 1992:27). What we see is guided by what we are looking for. Knowledge is socially and culturally constructed according to the interests of those who construct it.

Habermas (1972:308) argues that the different sciences or forms of knowledge
construction reflect specific human interests. "The approach of the empirical-analytic sciences incorporates a *technical* cognitive interest; that of the historical-hermeneutic sciences incorporates a *practical* one; and the approach of critically oriented sciences incorporates the *emancipatory* cognitive interest".

This attachment of cognitive interests to knowledge formation was a critique of traditional philosophy as the guardian of the concept of truth, of the ideas of reason and freedom, goodness and justice. For philosophers, these ideals were to be realized through the power of reason alone to think the absolute, independent of the material conditions and historical forms of social life. For Habermas, the idea of reason is the idea of a form of life which can be fully actualized only in an emancipated society and on the basis of communication free from domination. The philosophic form of reason as pure theory, self-sufficient and divorced from practice, is ideological (McCarthy 1978:106). Habermas has continued to develop his theory of communicative action (1996; 1990; 1987; 1984) which provides a transparent and participatory process for universal norm creation within the larger society.

These three knowledge forms have been adapted to form a three part model of knowledge construction with which to analyse the work of the SPCMT. The classification also draws on the work of Park (1993) and Neumann (1997) and was presented in Chapter I. The three types of knowledge formation are: positivist, interactive and critical. While all three approaches can be identified at any one time in the practice of the Council, each seems to have

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ii. This is a modification of Park (1993) who reframes Habermas' three knowledge forms as instrumental, interactive and critical knowledge.
Conclusion

This chapter has presented the conceptual and theoretical frameworks with which the case study of the Council is approached. The analysis assumes a three part model of society which includes civil society in addition to the more traditional duality of the state and the market. Civil society is defined as a crucial terrain of activity where members of society form voluntary associations in order to communicate publicly their shared views of how society should be organized. The concept has a long history in social and political thought especially in periods of social turmoil. Social planning organizations and in particular the SPCMT are defined as associations of civil society. They are associations which use their capacity to create knowledge as a source of power and influence in the process of social change. The underlying assumption of this thesis is that knowledge is a social construction and there is a constant struggle in society to create knowledge which will be accepted as truth. The process of knowledge construction or truth making and the interests connected to it are the focus of the study. The analysis draws on the work of social theorists Michel Foucault and Jürgen Habermas. The next chapter presents a brief overview of the history of the SPCMT and the social, political and economic forces which appear to have had the greatest influence in its formation.
Chapter III: Philosophical and Organizational Roots of the Council

Introduction

This chapter briefly examines the historical context of the Toronto Social Planning Council in order to identify the significant forces and events which contributed to its formation in 1957. The philosophical and organizational roots are traced back to the 1880s when citizens deemed to be the civic leaders of the city of Toronto began to mobilize resources to respond to the presence of large numbers of poor families in the city. An early tension between the primacy of philosophy versus technology as the basis for knowledge construction and action is traced. This historical review allows a better understanding of the power relations and the strengths of the competing interests that existed when the Council was formed in 1957.

Poverty and Charity: The Origins of the Toronto Social Planning Council

The Council's origins lie in the charity response to poverty in Toronto in the late 1880s. The SPCMT evolved from organizations created to plan and coordinate the expanding field of social services. In its own "History of Organization for Coordination and Planning in the fields of Health, Welfare and Recreation in Greater Toronto" (TWC, 1955), the Council identifies the first organizational structure as the Associated Charities formed in 1888. Toronto was a rapidly growing industrial and financial centre inhabited primarily by people of British extraction who were devoutly Protestant and politically conservative (Lappin 1965: 159). Industrialization, urbanization and immigration meant that the numbers of the poor were increasing and "slum" areas were expanding raising the concern of the social and political establishment. Toronto adopted the model of Great Britain in developing Charitable Organization Societies (COS), local projects run by middle-class, religious reformers designed
to rescue and uplift the poorer classes and stop the spread of crime, disease and dependency (Wills 1995:14).

Two distinct social movements and social work practices evolved based on the different religious beliefs in how salvation was to be achieved. There were those who believed in the social gospel, that salvation was to be accomplished in connection with others, and those who believed that salvation was a personal responsibility. The social gospellers adopted a structural analysis of social problems, they believed a new social order could be achieved that would eliminate poverty and inequality and sought to humanize the political economy of urban-industrial capitalism (Valverde 1991:18). These early social reformers were the first practitioners of the community development and social policy advocacy practice areas of social work.

Those who believed that salvation was an individual responsibility put their efforts into the moral reform of the poor. Social problems were defined as moral problems and justified what Valverde (1991:20) has described as "unabashed interventionism" into the personal lives of the poor. These moral reformers with their emphasis on changing the behaviour of individuals and families were the early practitioners of what evolved as the casework field of social work.

Technology was not to be just a new methodology or practice form but threatened to displace the philosophical principles of social and economic justice advocated by early social reformers and social work educators such as E.J. Urwick (Moffatt 1994). Urwick, the first president of the Welfare Council of Toronto and District in 1937 which was the predecessor to the current Council, was deeply concerned about the domination of the scientific method in
social work. In 1944 shortly before his death, he wrote to his friend and colleague Harold Innis,

I despair of a return to the same atmosphere in which Adam Smith quite naturally combined the moral sentiments with his scientific thought about economic forces. The whole trend to-day is to exalt the rationalist scientific approach and to discard the philosophical. I am not thinking only of the worship of the physical and mechanical sciences, but rather of the attempt to make ethics, philosophy, sociology, etc. conform in method and language to the physical sciences - with disastrous results (cited by Burke 1996:130).

Technical expertise and efficiency in social work and a bureaucratic ideal were displacing the traditional deference for the goals of personal connection and community integration (Burke 1996:131). Urwich regarded social science and social casework as inadequate knowledge bases to inform the social worker. During his tenure as Director of the Department of Social Service, the forerunner of the current Faculty of Social Work at the University of Toronto from 1928-1937, he advocated a comprehensive education that included social philosophy and was anchored in philosophical principles (Moffatt 1994).

The Influence of Social Work Educators at the University of Toronto

Social work educators at the University of Toronto are a constant presence in the history of the Social Planning Council. The core mandate of each of these organizations it to create knowledge for the benefit of the community, one as a public institution, the other as a voluntary association. The historical context of the field of social planning is linked to the formation of social services and the perceived need for coordination and rational decision making in the allocation of resources. The development of the practice of social service
planning is located within social work knowledge. For these reasons, the continuities and discontinuities of the relationship between the two organizations are tracked throughout the study beginning with a brief history of the school of social work.

In 1897, Mary Richmond addressed the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in Toronto, arguing "The Need for a Training School of Applied Philanthropy". Formal training was considered essential for the professionalization of social workers. Delegates at a 1913 conference concluded that only through formal training would scientific knowledge of individual and social conditions be disseminated and would problems of low status and low pay be remedied (Hurl 1983:1). In 1913 members of the elite Social Science Study Club and practitioners from the Social Workers Club approached Sir Robert Falconer, President of the University of Toronto, to request a course of formal education for social workers. Falconer agreed but the Board of Governors said no, claiming there were no funds. Mrs. H.D. Warren a well-known businesswoman. and philanthropist, active in many social services and community organizations but opposed to women's suffrage donated the funds to pay a Director and thus a Department of Social Science was formed in 1914 (Hurl 1983).

The Department of Social Service was an attempt to institutionalize the Victorian ideal of service within the expanding structure of the university. The university preached to their young, mainly male, students that the ultimate expression of their own citizenship could be found in self-denying service to others - social service was constructed as a distinctly masculine obligation. The first curriculum of the Department of Social Service drew heavily on Urwick's Department of Social Science and Administration at the London School of Economics with the emphasis on the need for principles over techniques, and academic
education over vocational instruction (Burke 1996:90). The emphasis was on social sciences with only two of the sixteen courses offered dealing with technique, in contrast with American schools of social work. The skills of social work were to be developed primarily through field placements with local agencies (Burke 1996:91).

Founded on the social philosophies of progressive and Fabian thinkers, the Department exhibited a strong reform orientation and a concern for social betterment. It also attempted to create both a balanced and Canadian approach by the inclusion of studies on local social problems and on the methodologies associated with the various practice specialities and came more under the growing influence of the American tradition by the mid-1920s. The emphasis on social reform was shifting to an interest in individual as opposed to social casework and "by the mid-1920s, the school was beginning to experience the tensions between individual-oriented casework and reform-oriented community work which continue today" (Hurl 1983:40).

Despite the male orientation of the school, the early graduates were almost all well educated women who were to have considerable influence in the development of social services in the 1920s and 1930s. The first graduating class formed the Social Service Alumni association which filled the void of a professional organization and actively sought to have its members sit on the boards of directors of social agencies (Burke 1996:106).

After the Second World War, social welfare could no longer be perceived simply as a voluntary masculine responsibility worked out at the community level. The growing complexities of public welfare services required the ability to work within a bureaucratic system. The idea of progress with its admiration for order and technological expertise began
to undermine the altruistic spirit. Urwick lamented the loss of commitment to the "qualifications of the good citizen, and of the good society, whose marks will be universal trust in the goodwill of all, and security for the onward march of each towards a fuller life in conscious co-operation with all" (Burke 1996:140).

Urwick was director of the Department of Social Science, now the Faculty of Social Work at the University of Toronto from 1928 to 1937 and was a founding member of the Toronto Welfare Council (TWC) in 1937, the forerunner of the current SPCMT. He believed that one of the primary purposes of social work was the development of social intelligence among citizens (Moffatt 1994). Urwick supported the formation of the TWC while successfully resisting efforts by Harry Cassidy to set up a social research institute at the University of Toronto. A community-based organization was more consistent with an interactive approach to knowledge formation than the positivist approach favoured by social science researchers and so strongly opposed by Urwick.

The Coordination of Social Services: Regulating the Regulators

Social order was a driving motivation for the early organizers of the Associated Charities. The first President and benefactor was Professor Goldwin Smith, described as "a dour patrician moved by a deep concern that the smoldering discontent of the impoverished masses in Toronto would someday erupt and vent its accumulated fury on the wealthy and the privileged" (Lappin 1965:330). Private charity was the price to be paid by the establishment to maintain the status quo and quell the threat of socialism.

The Associated Charities were to provide "a clearing house through which individuals and groups could check before providing any type of assistance or service, in order to avoid
duplication of effort and waste of funds" (TWC 1955). However, the payments were to be closely controlled and monitored. The Associated Charities was the beginning of a string of organizations established to supervise the allocation of charitable dollars to ensure that they were being spent efficiently on what were deemed the most appropriate services and programmes.

The early charities were the primary source of material assistance to the poor and a constant concern of coordinating bodies was the need to control the distribution of aid. The London philanthropists of the 1860s who pioneered modern methods of philanthropy and social work constantly denounced indiscriminate alms-giving as unscientific and backward (Valverde 1991:19). The fear was that the poor were becoming "pauperized" by dependence on abundant charity. The aim was to cut down on actual aid and maximize the thrift and self-reliance of the poor through education and moral reform (Valverde 1991:159). The federations of agencies were coordinating bodies created to regulate the services that were in turn designed to regulate the poor.

The "scientific charity" response to poverty had a two pronged attack: the coordination of philanthropic organizations and a casework approach to individuals and families in need of help (Lappin 1965:330). The principle of rationality as the criterion for judging social phenomena was shared by the businessman (sic) and the professional social worker (Lappin 1965:335).

In 1918 the Federation for Community Service in Toronto was formed. Drawing on the model established in Cleveland in 1913, the financial federation brought social service agencies together in association with each other and with the business community. It was
supported by the business sector which was committed to the efficient raising and allocation of charity dollars and the social work administrators of the agencies who were attracted by a more secure funding source and committed to improving the quality of services. The Federation was an attempt to coordinate all charitable effort on a community-wide basis (Wills 1995:39).

The federation introduced practices that persist to this day in the current form of a federated fundraiser, the United Way: the preparation of an overall budget for anticipated needs, methods of budget control for the agencies, widespread use of volunteers to solicit money, and the requirement that participating agencies not solicit money from anyone who has already contributed to the campaign (Wills 1995:40). The structure of Toronto’s Federation for Community Service was intended to give the agencies overall control of the organization with their representatives exceeding the number of associate members from the business organizations on the central committee. However, the budget committee was limited to only the businessmen and it was here that the decisions on allocations were made, a crucial location when the fundraiser did not meet its fundraising targets during the recession of the early twenties. Tensions between the federation and the agencies increased along with calls for the formation of a council of social agencies to protect the rights of the agencies to be heard and to be directly represented by their own board and staff (Wills 1995:51).

**The Child Welfare Association 1918-1937: An Era of Social Activism**

There were two associations of agencies already in place when the Federation was formed in 1918: the Neighbourhood Workers Association (NWA) of family agencies formed in 1914 and which evolved into the current Family Service Association, and the Federation of
Settlement Houses which included agencies that served immigrants and poor people, the modern day equivalent is the Toronto Association of Neighbourhood and Settlement Services (TANSS). There was no organization representing the interests of the agencies in the field of child welfare within the federation, so in 1918 the Child Welfare Association was formed. The association attracted women activists and placed social reform goals as its priorities. It became active in the policy work of the federation. The federation was increasing in size and influence and was dominated by the business elite of Toronto including J.E. Atkinson, publisher of the Toronto Star and W.C. Laidlaw, president of the then Laidlaw Lumber Co (Wills 1995:63).

There were deep divisions within social work in the politically volatile thirties. The social action and political activism practices of the women leaders of the Child Welfare Council were not supported by other social workers who were attracted to the more rational approach of social planning as a strategy for social reform. These workers were adopting scientism as their practice guide, social change would evolve as a result of an "objective" study of the "facts". Social planning was seen as a politically neutral activity, decision-making would be guided by a rational planning process rather than the highly conflictual social action approach. The apparently non-confrontational, non-partisan, rational planning style was supported by the business dominated Federation for Community Service.

Pressure for the formation of an umbrella association of agencies persisted throughout the twenties and thirties. The Federation did not include Jewish and Catholic agencies nor the

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iii The subsequently established Atkinson and Laidlaw Foundations continue to be active in funding social programmes and issues.
municipal welfare programmes and the Federation board was dominated by the business community. A 1925 "Social Audit of Toronto Welfare Agencies" conducted by the Family Welfare Association of America recommended the creation of a community-wide Council of Social Agencies. The concern was that matters of important social policy of community-wide concern were falling between the various sectional and sectarian councils and a proposal for an organization separate from the Federation of Community Service with its own board and staff was put forth (TWC, 1955).

Wills (1995) describes the struggle over the formation and control of the new organization as one of gender and practice. In 1937, the social service agencies in Toronto voted to create a new council of social agencies rather than expand the mandate of the existing Child Welfare Council which was disbanded. The social action, community organizing approach of the women-led Child Welfare Council was replaced by the Welfare Council of Toronto and District (TWC) with Edward Urwick, Director of the Department of Social Science at the University of Toronto as the first President. Urwick was more philosophically allied with the women of the Child Welfare Council but as already noted, the pressure of the scientific approach to social sciences was to be overwhelming. Social planning based on knowledge of the social sciences to rationally determine need and allocate resources was becoming the preferred strategy to respond to perceived social need.

The Toronto Welfare Council: A Community Capacity for Knowledge Construction

The formation of the TWC recognized the need for an organization in Toronto dedicated to knowledge construction about social issues and the use of that knowledge to influence the general public and decision-makers. Formed in 1937 with a provisional board, a
full board was in place in 1938 and incorporation took place in 1940 (SPC 1955). The purpose of the TWC according to its 1940 incorporation papers was:

To promote the welfare of the community by affording facilities for co-operation, co-ordinating the efforts and promoting the efficiency of persons, corporations and organizations engaged in social welfare activities in the said City of Toronto and surrounding district, and to endeavour to create public opinion and to make possible the expression thereof in all matters of social welfare.

A more detailed list of purposes developed in 1938 refers to the Council's mandate "to study common problems", "to collect the fullest information as to the existing resources in the community", "to conduct such surveys as seem necessary"; "to facilitate cooperation between public and private welfare services"; "to create and express public opinion in matters of social welfare"; "to promote social legislation". The shifts in language and emphases reflect the different interests of the various constituencies. The membership of the TWC were the social service organizations in the Toronto area who saw the Council as their organization. The Council was mandated to operate in three areas.

First, as the association of social agencies in Toronto it had a responsibility of coordination of services which, given its membership, was basically a role of self-regulation. The emphasis on coordination and efficiency of not only the agencies but of "persons" engaged in social welfare. The Council was not only to become active in evaluating the competence of agencies in managing their funds but took on a human resource management role by setting salary guidelines for agency staff. The role of regulator of the social service system became a source of tension and contributed to a major confrontation between the Council and the community in the late sixties.
The second function of the Council was the identification and examination of social problems which is defined as a determination of needs and resources. It was an activity framed in terms of the interests of the agencies. The information gathered was to assist the agencies in their own planning and resource allocation and contribute to their efficiency. Data on social welfare issues was to be gathered using scientific methods such as surveys. There was great confidence in the capacity of researchers to identify a problem and the solutions and to work with the agencies on implementation.

The third area of responsibility includes the creation of public opinion and the promotion of social legislation. This mandate distinguished the organization as a public advocacy organization, a function distinctive from its service coordination and community needs activities. The public education and policy advocacy role of the Council, its most controversial, persists as a source of conflict between the Council and its voluntary and government funders. The first policy position on the need for a social minimum incited opposition from business and government, powerful opponents who exerted their influence over the Council, setting a network of power relations that become a constant feature of the social welfare system in Toronto.

The Practice of Knowledge and Power

In 1939, the TWC released its first major study. The Cost of Living was a detailed report itemizing the expenses of day to day living incurred by different sizes of households. The report was sub-titled "Study of the Cost of a Standard of Living in Toronto which Should Maintain Health and Self-respect". The report set a standard for each of the identified areas of family spending: shelter, nutrition, clothing, operation, health, recreation, insurance and
savings. A committee of health and social agencies and the departments of health and public
welfare of the city and the province was established to oversee the project and a sub-
committee was formed for each of the areas of family spending.

There was practically no information on the cost of living available in Canada at the
time. Each sub-committee "consulted every available source of information on the particular
division of family life with which it was concerned" and did its own pricing (TWC, 1939:3). One source of information was the detailed records of expenditures kept by forty families who
had been identified by the agencies and agreed to participate in the study. These families were
visited by volunteers at regular intervals to assist them in the recording.

The report identified three reasons for undertaking the study. Agencies wanted to give
competent advice to families about managing income. "Progressive employers" urged the
agencies to determine what prevailing wages could provide. "The general public" were
identified as wanting information "to judge the wisdom and effect of the proposed legislation
which would establish a minimum wage for men" (TWC, 1939:1). The report sought to
challenge the prevailing myth "that some families get along very well on a low wage, and that
the ability to manage is the most important factor" citing "evidence of harm resulting from the
low standard of living made necessary by inadequate income" (TWC 1939:1).

The research assumed the concept of a social minimum, a level of well-being below
which no member of the community should fall. Its origin lay in the Fabian 'Doctrine of
Minimums' (Wills, 1995:92). It was assumed that the incomes required to sustain individuals

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iv The Fabian movement was a socialist movement originating in Britain and noted for its total
commitment to the democratic process and unequivocal support for social welfare services (George & Wilding,
1985).
and families would come from wages earned primarily by men. The focus of the research was to determine incomes required by different sizes of households to ensure health and self-respect. The "subject" of the study was the low-income family whose well-being was determined by the wages of the male worker. Poverty and social need were to be addressed by the participation of the male family head in the labour market and the effective management of the household budget by women in the home. The study determined that the minimum weekly cost of the barest necessities for a family of five was well above the average wage of agencies' clients. Full time employment could not guarantee a decent standard of living.

Kay Gorrie had been hired as the first executive secretary of the TWC in 1937. A woman had been hired because the Council's limited budget meant it could not afford to hire a man. Shortly after the Cost of Living report was released, Gorrie resigned due to ill health brought on by overwork. In 1940, she was replaced by Bessie Touzel, one of Canada's most respected social workers. She was a graduate of the University of Toronto School of Social Work and had worked with the Toronto Neighbourhood Workers Association. Touzel came to the TWC from the Canadian Welfare Council who hired her after she had resigned in protest as chief of staff in the Department of Public Welfare for the City of Ottawa. The Ottawa Public Welfare Board had fired forty women social workers and replaced them with male inspectors under orders to root out the 'chisellers' on the relief rolls (Wills, 1995:84).

It was after Touzel came that the cause of inadequate levels of public relief was taken up by the Council. A study of the level of food allowances required to sustain a nutritious diet for those on relief was commissioned by the City of Toronto at the urging of the Council. The rates proposed were consistent with the Council's commitment to a social minimum but were
deemed extravagant by the Board of Trade which was concerned about keeping tax rates down, a view shared by the provincial government. The TWC’s position became caught in the postwar hysteria that regarded every social ideal as part of a perceived communist threat. Social workers in Toronto including Touzel were publicly accused of communist sympathies forcing the Community Chest to come to the defense of the TWC (Wills, 1995:97-101).

The Cost of Living study was updated in 1944 under the direction of Albert Rose who had been hired by Bessie Touzel as Director of Research. The revised version was widely popular particularly among labour organizations. The postwar period was a time of rising labour militancy and the red covered booklet, renamed the Red Book, came under attack by the corporate supporters of the Community Chest. The opposition was led by Edgar Burton, chief executive officer of Simpson’s department store and chairman of the board of the Chest. Striking Simpson’s workers were using the income schedules of the report to argue for higher wages. The Chest directed the TWC to withdraw the Red Book. Since 1944, the Council had been functioning as a department of the Chest and was unable to oppose the directive (Wills, 1995:102).

The attack questioned the validity of the Council’s research as well as the interpretation of the findings. The nature of the study was deemed to be inappropriate of a local Welfare Council. It was seen as under the jurisdiction of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics or the Canadian Welfare Council. Accusations of adherence to communism, of questionable research practices, and of operating outside its mandate, were frequent strategies used by those opposed to the work of the TWC.

In November of 1947, less than a month after the Chest demanded the withdrawal of
the Red Book, Bessie Touzel resigned as the Council's executive secretary. She had tired of the constant criticism and underlying conflict between the Chest and the Council. She left for a position with the CWC, her departure seriously eroding the reform role of the Council. In 1948, Rose left for a teaching position at the University of Toronto School of Social Work (Wills, 1995:104).

Touzel's work and influence was not limited to the Council. Throughout her tenure there, she remained an advisor to Leonard Marsh who was preparing the federal government's social policy framework for the post-war era. The principle of a social minimum was adopted by Marsh in his 1943 report to the Canadian government's Committee on Post-War Reconstruction. The Marsh Report was the basic blueprint for the Canadian welfare state (Wills 1995:22).

In 1948, the Toronto Trades and Labour Council formally requested that the TWC study be updated and reissued. A representative citizens committee including labour and Chest appointees was established and in 1949, the Cost of Living study reappeared as the Guide to Family Spending in Toronto. The title reflected the shift in philosophy. Rather than a measure of the adequacy of incomes required to maintain health and self-respect, the new publication was a guideline for family responsibility in budget management. The shift was from a collective response to family well-being through policies that maintained adequate incomes, to individual responsibility for effective management of the family income. The onus was on women to manage within the family income not on government or employers to ensure adequate income levels. The new format was more technical and less accessible to the public. The original intent of a tool for citizens to evaluate public policy was abandoned. The new
guide was used primarily by caseworkers in agencies working with low-income women (Wills 1995:105).

The 1949 study was updated in 1952 and it was not until 1964 that a new study was initiated by the then SPCMT. The 1964 *Guides for Family Budgeting* stated on the cover that it was prepared for the use of social and health agencies of Metropolitan Toronto. It was primarily "intended for use by community social agencies in counselling families and individuals on money management" (SPCMT, 1964:2). The guides were also offered as a reference for governments and voluntary organizations providing financial assistance to assess the adequacy of programmes and as a reference for agencies in setting equitable fees for service.

Although the orientation of the budgeting guides shifted, the methodology persisted. The market basket approach to determining income needs with its more inclusive recognition and detailed calculation of the value of goods and services required to sustain individuals and families was maintained by the Council. The methodology is responsive to local differences in costs such as housing. It persists today as an alternative to the more restrictive calculations of "poverty lines" as percentages of median incomes intended to cover only the most basic needs as promoted by neo-conservative groups such as the Fraser Institute (Sarlo, 1992).

**Conclusion**

In the 'progressive era' of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries amidst what Wills (1995) has described as "a volatile stew of new and sometimes radical ideas" about social reform, the profession of social work emerged. The history of the Council parallels the history of the profession of social work. The origins of the SPCMT have been traced to the
charity response to poverty in the city of Toronto. The early organizations were elite driven service responses to the increasing numbers of poor people. The field of social work evolved during this period and the emerging Toronto School of Social Work was influential in establishing the Toronto Welfare Council in 1937.

The TWC was the first formal recognition and establishment of a community-based organization committed to research and knowledge construction intended to influence the public and decision-makers in developing social welfare policies and programmes. The members were local social service agencies and initially the new organization was under the influence of social workers who adhered to the Fabian approach to social welfare. The fundamental values included faith in research as the foundation for progressive social reform and a commitment to the humanitarian ideal of a social minimum below which no citizen should fall (Wills 1995:80).

However, it was a contested terrain. The early history demonstrates the power of the funder in controlling the content and form of the knowledge created. Through its presence at the Board table of the Council and its power to determine funding allocations, the corporate dominated UCF exercised its influence over the Council. The corporate sector did not support policy positions that would increase wages or taxes. Poverty was to be addressed through social services that they regulated through their control of the charity funding system.

The threat of withdrawal of funding was not the only strategy used to discipline the Council. Accusations of communism (or whatever the perceived radical ideological orientation of the day), flawed research practices and operating outside its mandate are used again and again throughout the history of the Council to undermine its status and influence in the
community. The United Community Fund saw the TWC as its planning arm to ensure the most efficient allocation of charitable dollars.

The waning days of the TWC marked the solidification of the empirical social welfare tradition in Canada. Social reform was to be based on social research not the social gospel. Professionally trained secular social workers replaced community church workers. The problems of urban industrial society were technical matters to be solved by professionals. Research was a politically neutral activity to be used as a basis for planned change by concerned citizens and governments (Irving 1992).

The scientific or positivist paradigm had become inextricably linked with material progress, Western economies and states pursued technology and bureaucracy as the keys to economic and social development. The fields of business and social work, the first firmly anchored in the scientific paradigm and the second steadily settling into it, dominated the early history of the Council. Wills' (1995) research, which concluded at 1957, traces the systematic domination of social reform agencies in Toronto by businessmen and social workers (predominantly male) committed to incremental change processes determined by rational social planning. Social activists (predominantly women) in organizations such as the Child Welfare Council who successfully used political activism as a strategy of change were increasingly marginalized from positions of leadership and influence. This domination was secured over time, during which these opposing factions were compelled to collaborate in what Wills has described as A Marriage of Convenience. According to Wills, the struggle between the competing perspectives was "won" by the rational, efficiency side over the cooperative democratic side in the formation of the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan
In 1957 the Community Chest and the Toronto Welfare Council, which had maintained close connections since 1944, were dissolved to form two separate bodies: the United Community Fund and the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. Cross appointees to each other's executive and nominating committees would ensure a strong presence of the funding body at the Council board. The case study narrative begins in 1957.
Chapter IV: The Era of Positivist Knowledge Construction: The SPCMT 1957-1969

Introduction

The scientific method was the dominant paradigm of knowledge construction in the Western world in 1957, the year that the Toronto Welfare Council became the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. Science and technology were the hope and promise of the future in the post-war fifties and sixties. These were the “Golden Years” marked by an explosion of economic growth powered by technological revolution. The United States was the model of a capitalist industrial society (Hobsbawm 1994).

Canada’s “branch plant economy” (Laxer, 1991) based on American investment was booming and the Toronto area was the primary beneficiary. Canada’s pre-eminent holding company was the Toronto-based Argus Corporation which controlled Massey-Ferguson, Domtar, Canadian Breweries, Dominion Stores, St. Lawrence Corporation and B.C. Forest Products. Through a system of interlocking directorships, Argus executives E.P. Taylor and W.M. McCutcheon controlled a large part of the Canadian economy (Lemon 1985:120).

The responsibility for Canadian social policy development after the war was in the hands of senior bureaucrats who had close affiliations with the voluntary sector social welfare organizations and the corporate sector (Haddow, 1990). There was little political momentum for the implementation of the social policy blueprint written by Leonard Marsh during the war. The primary focus of the government in the post war era was to support the corporate sector to ensure economic growth through a series of policies formulated by CD Howe, a member of the Canadian Liberal government cabinet from 1935 to 1957. The tax concessions, accelerated depreciation allowances and tariff manipulations carried out by Howe and his civil servants
benefited the expansion of Canadian industries such as aircraft, electronics and steel (Mahon, 1977). Industrialization provided jobs for the returning soldiers and helped to keep the Liberals in power until 1957 when a minority government headed by John Deifenbaker was elected.

Toronto was one of the fastest growing cities in the western world, a population increase stimulated by immigration and a post-war baby boom (Lemon 1985:113). The ethnic map of Toronto was changing dramatically, by 1961 35% of the residents of Metro were foreign born, most coming from eastern and southern Europe including Italy, Poland, the Ukraine, Hungary and Germany. Changes in immigration policies in the sixties brought people from Portugal, the West Indies, South Asia and China resulting in Toronto defining itself as the most multicultural city in the world (Lemon 1985:114).

"Boomtown Toronto" further stimulated its own economy through the development of a massive infrastructure of roads, water and sewer lines which in turn facilitated private development. The Argus Corporation was a major benefactor with its construction of suburban Don Mills with single family homes, shopping centres and high rise apartment buildings for lower-income families (Lemon 1985:122).

Technology was not only pursued by the economic sector but also by the social sector. Social sciences sought to achieve legitimacy by rooting their research paradigm in that of the physical sciences and the US was leading the way in this sector too. The natural science or empirical approach to knowledge construction has been the dominant paradigm in the social sciences and social work. The evolution of the discipline and profession of social work has been marked by a desire to be scientific (Irving, 1992). The demonstration of a commitment to
the empirical, rational model has been part of the strategy used by social workers to legitimize the profession (Moffatt 1996; Wills 1995; Swift 1995).

Natural sciences produce knowledge under the methodological dictate that strictly externalizes the object of inquiry and separates it from the investigating subject. In an attempt to achieve legitimacy, traditional social sciences sought to model the positivist or technical approach. The appeal of naturalism is that it provides a kind of disengagement from the world by objectifying it. Scientific arguments "derive their force from the underlying image of the self, and ... this exercises its hold on us because of the ideal of disengagement and the images of freedom, dignity and power which attach to it" (Taylor, 1985:6). Being a knower is a position of power.

This chapter tracks the early years of the SPCMT from 1957 to 1969. Although rational and technical methods of knowledge construction were never abandoned by the Council, it was in this period that the organization was primarily committed to the positivist paradigm. The organizational structure of the new SPCMT and the relations of power and decision-making are examined. There are interests served and not served by rational planning strategies. Two of the major studies of the period are analyzed and the implications of these knowledge forms are explored.

The Organization of the SPCMT

On May 7, 1957 at a celebratory dinner at the Great Hall in Hart House, the Toronto Welfare Council became the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. Hart House is located at the centre of the campus of the University of Toronto, named after a member of one of Canada's pre-eminent corporate families, the Masseys. The Great Hall is an impressive
room of vaulted ceilings, rich wood panelling and stained glass windows, and is lined with paintings of the esteemed men who have served as Master of Hart House\textsuperscript{v} over the years.

The TWC Board of Directors had approved a resolution to change the name of the corporation at a special meeting held after the annual meeting of the United Community Fund at the Royal York Hotel a week before on April 29. The notice given to the members did not comply with the requirements of the Corporation Act and subsequently a letter was sent to all members on May 17 to inform them that if there were objections to the application of Supplementary Letters Patent, they were to call the Executive Director by May 31. There were no objections, and the application went forward (SPCMT 1957a).

The name change of the organization reflected the shift in philosophy to the apparently objective processes of the scientific approach. The term welfare is dropped in favour of the term social planning. The new organization was to put the emphasis on rational planning processes rather than the contested notion of welfare or wellbeing. The term welfare was also becoming a pejorative term used to describe social assistance programmes and the new organization sought to distance itself from this connotation. A major study on needs and resources in 1963 observed that there was general confusion about the concept of welfare and the balance of responsibility between government and voluntary groups for the provision of welfare services and that "to some the concept of 'welfare' seems to be a threat to the concept of 'charity'" (SPCMT 1963:10). The early founders of the Council were committed to social services as the response to social need and to maintaining the provision and management of

\textsuperscript{v} In 1997, the President of the Board of the SPCMT Margaret Hancock was appointed Master of Hart House, the first woman to hold the position.
such services within the voluntary sector.

The function of the Council was "to get broad community understanding of health, welfare and recreation needs and problems" (TWC 1953). The focus was on the management and development of social services of interest to this broad community. At the inaugural meeting of the SPCMT, Florence Philpott, the Executive Director, announced the goal of the newly formed SPCMT is to have "an orderly plan of community services in Metropolitan Toronto". This was to be accomplished by building and developing programmes "based on facts and good research" (SPCMT 1957a).

The organizational structure of the Council was similar to all non-profit agencies, a model adapted from for-profit corporations with shareholders. In the non-profit sector, the shareholders are the members and the board of directors volunteer their services. They are entrusted with the management of the organization by the membership. Through the new organizational structure, the SPCMT disentangled itself from the complex inter-organizational linkages that it had with the United Community Fund (see Appendix A).

The by-laws and procedures were drawn up with three main purposes:

a) Maximum flexibility in the operation of the Council;

b) direct flow of reports and recommendations to the Board of Directors from the various study groups and committees; and

c) the broadest possible participation in Council activities by many community interests and groups (TWC 1957a).

There was a tension built into the organizational structure. The SPCMT sought to be open and participatory but the control of the organization was placed with the Board of
Directors. It was given the responsibility of coordinating all aspects of the Council programme including the approval of all applications for membership (TWC 1957a). The membership annually elected a forty-five person board, expanded from the previous thirty-eight of the TWC. Membership could be organizations or individuals and the limit of 10% individual members of the TWC was dropped. Organizational members could appoint two voting representatives with only one to be a paid staff. The SPCMT sought to secure substantial participation by laymen (sic) in Council affairs. The control of the organization was shifted from the agencies to individuals, the Board and committees were to be predominantly lay groups. Workers in the field were viewed as having a self-interest which laymen did not.

There were only two standing committees: the executive and nominating, all other committees which were established from time to time were responsible to the Board and existed at the pleasure of the Board. Both committees had considerable influence in the organization. In the early years of the organization, all activities were reviewed by the Executive Committee and sent on to the Board (or not) with recommendations. The committee served as a gatekeeper to the Board.

The nominating committee practices were changed from that of the TWC, a matter of significance for the future. Previous nominating committees were drawn from existing board members who presented a slate of candidates to the annual general meeting for ratification by the membership. It was a practice common in most non-profit organizations that exists today. The result was a self-perpetuating board. In an attempt to address the goal of promoting broad participation, the nominating committee of the new organization was to be made up of four Board members and five from the membership at large. The committee would be
presented to the annual meeting of the membership assembly so that the membership would know a year in advance who was responsible for nominations. Two weeks before the annual meeting, the nominating committee was to advise the membership of the names of people they were proposing to place in nomination. Ten voting members in good standing could then suggest other names to be placed in nomination (SPCMT 1957b). In practice, the nominating committee's recommendations continued to be ratified by the membership at the annual meeting until 1970 when the terms of the nominating committee were used to challenge the Board of Directors.

The SPCMT maintained the agency membership sections or divisions of the TWC. Agency members were grouped according to their primary service: Family and Child Welfare, Health, Old Age, Recreation and Informal Education. This was an attempt to promote coordination and collaboration within service sectors and facilitate sectoral planning. The Council also continued to provide some direct services: the Christmas Bureau, Information and Referral Services, Volunteer Bureau, Personnel Classification and Social Service Index. Personnel classification was an annual review of job descriptions and recommended salaries for workers in the social services system. It served as a guide to agencies in their staff management and budgeting processes. The index was a confidential record of individuals and families receiving material benefits from the various agencies eg. food vouchers, rental assistance, emergency relief. It was intended to ensure that there was no duplication of effort and prevent people from getting support from more than one agency. All of these services combined to place the SPCMT in a position of organizing and/or maintaining detailed information about the social services sector and the people who provided the services (paid or
unpaid) and the people who received them.

A new Area Councils Committee was created. It was an attempt to integrate the local organizations that were already in place in some areas such as North Toronto, Etobicoke and Hillcrest-Parkdale into one organizational structure, the SPCMT. The area councils were seen as opportunities for citizens and their organizations to assess their own communities, express their concerns over broad issues and marshal their forces toward solving community problems (TWC 1957b). The proposed relationship between the area councils and the central SPCMT was based on a model developed by the Community Chests and Councils of America (1956) which supported the incorporation of neighbourhood planning processes into the central planning of the Community Welfare Councils. The Council saw the area councils as branches responsible to the Board of Directors.

The emerging area councils however, sought greater autonomy. They wanted to assess their own community needs in cooperation with the Council's Research Department and were concerned about "rule by the Executive" and "downtown" services. A Council staff person noted, "There is much restlessness in the Areas, which can be diverted into constructive work if we are sure of our direction" (TWC 1957c). The SPCMT plan was to establish five area councils throughout the Metropolitan area: Etobicoke, Lakeshore, North York, Scarborough and Toronto. The development of the area councils and their relationship with the SPCMT became a constant organizational tension between top down centralized planning processes and local grass roots initiatives.

The five main functions of the Council were: central services, inter-organizational planning, community planning and research, consultation to member organizations and
community groups and research. Research and fact-finding were to underlie all activities of the Council. The plan was to create “a Research Department which will command the respect and confidence of the membership, the university, government departments and other interested groups” (TWC, 1957a:5). The ambition of the Council was to create the model of knowledge development in the social welfare sector.

The newly formed SPCMT sought to establish itself as the centre for the research and planning of human services in the Toronto area and the provider of services that were cross sectoral such as the volunteer and information and referral bureaux. The new organization shifted the responsibility for community planning away from the agencies into the hands of concerned citizens. The concerned citizens on the first Board were the corporate elite of Canada.

**Corporate Control of Canadian Social Welfare Organizations**

The system of interlocking board directorships which enabled Wallace McCutcheon to exert influence in the corporate sphere was also used to dominate the social sphere. At the first board meeting of the SPCMT after the celebratory annual meeting at Hart House, Arthur Pigott, a small businessman and the previous President of the TWC was appointed to a newly formed staff position, Vice-President and Assistant to the new President, Wallace McCutcheon (SPCMT 1957b). It was a move orchestrated by McCutcheon and his colleagues who were seeking to limit the influence of social workers and small businessmen (Wills 1995:131). Six top-level insurance executives and the treasurer of Argus sat on the board with him. William Anderson CBE, FFA, FSA, President of the North American Life Assurance Co. was appointed Vice-Chairman.
The board was dominated by "big" businessmen. There were only four "agency" representatives, the most senior staff of the New Mount Sinai Hospital, the Catholic Children's Aid Society (CCAS), the YMCA and the Medical Officer of Health for East York. The SPCMT could claim to have representatives of health, education and recreation services and the Catholic and Jewish interests. There were eleven women, nine of whom were not identified as being employed and were identified by their husband's names e.g. Mrs. JSD Tory. These women were part of the same socio-economic sector as the men on the Board.

There were close government ties. The bureaucratic staff of the municipal and provincial governments sat on research task forces. In the sixties, the position of Advisory Board Member was created. These included the Director of the School of Social Work, several Metro Commissioners, senior provincial bureaucrats and the Executive Director of the UCF.

The influence of McCutcheon and his corporate colleagues was exerted throughout the then organized social sector. At the time of his appointment to SPCMT, McCutcheon was already President of the Board of the Canadian Welfare Council. Haddow (1990) describes the CWC Board of Governors of the fifties and sixties as a veritable Who's Who of the Canadian business and social establishment. In his 1957 CWC presidential address "A Layman Looks at Welfare", McCutcheon argued for "the need which exists in modern industrialized society for substantial public welfare measures, along with all we can do through voluntary services" (Splane 1996:27). McCutcheon considered himself an enlightened businessman and was seen as a counter to the strong and sometimes extreme opposition to growing public social expenditures voiced by business organizations such as the Canadian Manufacturer's
Association and the Canadian Board of Trade (Splane 1996:26). McCutcheon saw public welfare as inevitable but worked hard to ensure that it evolved in the image of corporate Canada through his active participation in the CWC, the Ontario Welfare Council and the SPCMT. The charity model was the preferred approach to social welfare provision, with government assuming a residual role. One of the most powerful businessmen in Canada was directing the key non-governmental social agencies in the country.

The ties between the corporate world and the Canadian state during this period have been documented (Clement, 1977), the ties with the social policy sector have received less attention. The involvement of the corporate sector in the CWC is identified by Splane (1996) as a deliberate organizational strategy to exert influence on government. The national voluntary organization which was to advise the federal government on social welfare policies sought out the Canadian corporate elite to carry the message. There were other extensive inter-organizational linkages with government at the staff level. George Davidson left the position of Executive Director of the Canadian Welfare Council to become the first Deputy Minister of National Welfare in 1944. The Executive Director of the Canadian Welfare Council from 1946-1963 R.E.G. Davis, had numerous working contacts with senior political and corporate leaders (Splane 1996).

At the SPCMT, McCutcheon worked to maintain the focus for social programmes in Canada's major urban centre on privately funded, local non-governmental organizations. McCutcheon and his colleagues who were executives of major Canadian insurance companies, ensured that motions of support for a state run health insurance programme were defeated at the board tables of the SPCMT and the CWC (Gandy, personal communication, 1997). The
SPCMT had cross board appointments with the newly formed United Community Fund (a federated fundraiser now known as the United Way). Both boards were in the firm control of the business elite of Metro Toronto.

Control of the SPCMT also provided an opportunity to influence local urban planning policies that supported private development interests. Issues of tax reform and urban land use were to be avoided by the Council (Novick, 1990). During the fifties, the Argus Corporation was developing "Canada's first corporate suburb" (Sewell, 1993:79). Don Mills the highly profitable suburban development was changing the nature of urban planning unfettered by local public critique. The SPCMT Needs and Resources study (1963:41) identified the rapid rise in the cost of land as part of the cost of housing, but failed to note that the company of the chair of the study, Wallace McCutcheon, stimulated and benefited from the spiralling land costs, even at public expense. Despite earlier promises to sell at cost, EP Taylor and his Argus Corporation sold land he had purchased for $500 an acre to the school board for $6000 per acre (Sewell, 1993:94).

Control of the social sector had other benefits besides influencing the formation of social policy and urban development. Involvement in the social service sector provided businessmen with a reputation of being "good corporate citizens", was a form of staff development providing ambitious junior staff with experience in the management of service systems and facilitated contacts with the corporate elite. The Board of Directors of the voluntary sector's primary fundraiser persisted as an attraction for local businessmen.

The United Community Fund

The formation of the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto marked the
formal separation of the TWC from the federated fundraiser the Community Chest which in the 1957 re-structuring became the United Community Fund (UCF). Since 1944, the TWC and the Community Chest had been under one organizational structure called the United Welfare Chest. There were extensive inter-organizational linkages including only one executive committee from 1952 to 1955 (TWC, 1955). Although the relationship was supposed to be a partnership of planning and fundraising, it was the fundraising side of the organization that was dominant. The extensive demands put on the research and planning staff of the Council to support the campaign and budget departments of the Community Chest became a constant source of tension for the TWC staff and board. The research agenda of the organization was being largely defined by the Community Chest. The TWC successfully argued that the planning needs of the newly formed and rapidly expanding Metropolitan Toronto required a separate body.

Although officially an autonomous organization, the SPCMT continued to rely on the UCF for its funding and in turn the Fund continued to place expectations of research support on the Council. In 1959 the UCF allocated $250,000 to the Council (less that its request of $274,251) along with a series of requests directed at assisting the Fund in the allocations process. The Council continued to recommend priorities for all fields of social service, and in the 1959 UCF report was asked to keep in mind the difficulties the Fund was having in raising increases in its annual campaign objective. The report also expressed concern that the salary proposals of the Council's Personnel Classification Project were beyond the capacity of the agency allocations and proposed a review of the relationship of the Personnel Project and the UCF (UCF, 1959). The increasing demands of the social services sector were beyond the
campaign capacity of the Fund and there was pressure to constrain expectations and expenditures.

As a funder, the UCF was interested in research on programmes and services which would facilitate the allocations process. The 1959 report requested special studies on vocational counselling and job placement agencies and rehabilitation and sheltered workshop programmes. The Council was also asked to review the fee structure for settlement houses and study the feasibility of a central bursary programme for agencies financed by UCF (UCF, 1959). These research projects would be in addition to the projects already planned by the Council and had no separate funding attached to them. The Council may have separated from the Fund organizationally, but the latter still expected to influence the research agenda of the Council. Marvyn Novick (1990:6) who worked at the Council as Senior Program Director in the seventies, described the relationship between the Council and the UCF in the late sixties.

The SPC was expected to provide research and coordinate services as the planning arm of the UCF, and issue public report on social needs within ideological boundaries that were acceptable to UCF leaders. Those boundaries avoided discussions of poverty and the role of the economy in creating family and personal stress. Proposals for policy changes were limited to the identification of needed social services.

In the fifties and sixties, the Fund was the primary funder of the agencies. In 1961, member agencies of the UCF relied on the UCF for 52.1% of their funding with government providing only 8.2% of their annual income (SPCMT 1962:19). This compares with a sample of community agencies in a 1996 study initiated by the Council (Metro et al., 1996) showing government funding representing 74% of their 1995 income with UW providing 4% (these were not all UW member agencies). The balance of agency revenues came from fees for
service and agency based fund raising. Over time, governments replaced the Fund as the primary funder of local social service agencies.

**School of Social Work at University of Toronto**

Another constant influence on the Council, particularly in the early years, was the School of Social Work at the University of Toronto. In 1937, Edward Urwick, Director of the then Department of Social Science, was the first President of the newly formed Toronto Welfare Council and brought a commitment to moral responsibility based on the social gospel. In 1957, Charles Hendry, Director of the renamed School of Social Work and trained in the American system, introduced a practice based on science and rationality. Hendry was director of the School from 1951 to 1969 and maintained close connections with the Board and staff of the SPCMT. He had spent eighteen years studying and practising social work in the United States and was strongly influenced by American social science and liberalism. He adopted the American position that "unbridled good was implicitly imminent to social scientific research" (Graham 1994:152). John Frei, (1980:21-23) Executive Director of SPCMT in 1969, paid tribute to Charles (Chick) Hendry for having an insatiable striving for innovation in social planning. Hendry "studied systematically the vast scope of knowledge needed to develop this new discipline of social sciences". Frei attempted to humanize the approach by focusing on the use of language describing Hendry as "a dedicated artist who could express in a beautiful language any scientific or technical advice which he could write almost as a poem".

In his role as director of the school, Hendry was responsible for promoting the reputation of social work and raising funds for the school and social development projects and "deliberately sought to mesh the worlds of business and government with the world of
academe" (Graham 1994:161). The Board table of the SPCMT in the late fifties provided Hendry with the opportunity to establish connections with corporate leaders in Toronto and Canada.

The connections between the SPCMT and the School of Social Work at the University of Toronto were multiple during this period. Faculty consistently sat on the board of the SPCMT and were active in task groups and in the supervision of students on placement at the Council. In his last annual report as Executive Director in 1969 (SPCMT 1969), Douglas McConney commented on the number of students working at the Council describing it as a "teaching centre" for social workers similar to a "teaching hospital" for physicians.

**The American Influence**

In setting up the SPCMT, the Board and staff drew on the experience of American social planning organizations. At the dinner at Hart House, telegrams of congratulations from Welfare Councils in Cleveland, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Detroit were read and an American social planner Lyman Ford was the guest speaker. The SPCMT continued to look to the Americans for advice and direction in establishing its practice.

The Americans brought a model of institutionalized welfare services run by professionally trained social workers. Alfred Kahn of the Columbia University school of Social Work was a frequent consultant to the Council. Kahn (1959) did not support a residual approach to welfare but promoted a social structure in which so-called welfare services would be part of basic institutional arrangements. Kahn (1959:15) believed that social work should be "devoted to manning social welfare services and new arrangements for meeting need through other institutional arrangements". Social problems were defined in terms that elicited
service responses and social workers as case workers were required to practice in them. It was a strategy that promoted the development of the social service system and the profession of social work.

In 1957, the Child Welfare League of America was contracted to conduct the first major research project of the newly formed SPCMT. In the Children's Institutions Report released in 1960, American studies were presented as the norm against which the Toronto agencies were compared. In the Needs and Resources study (SPCMT 1963), Toronto was compared only with American cities in an examination of per capita voluntary donations to federated fund-raisers.

In 1967, Kahn was invited to Toronto to be guest speaker at the AGM and to present what was described as The Kahn Institute. Four hundred and sixty-nine people attended the luncheon to hear Kahn speak on "Organizing Services in Complex Urban Communities" which was also the title of the subsequent two day institute. The institute was co-sponsored by the SPCMT, the Toronto School of Social Work and Community Programmes Branch of Ontario Dept. of Education. The planning committee included representatives of major agencies (FSA, CAS, Council of Catholic Charities and the United Jewish Fund) and bureaucrats in education, health, and the provincial Department of Social and Family Services.

The focus of the institute was social service planning, Kahn was in the process of writing his book on social planning (1969). Kahn did call for allowance for diversity and for local options and was "not interested in a technology which is value-free" (SPCMT 1967a:2). He saw values as locally defined and was concerned about humanizing the urban environment. There were calls for training in social planning and community development as part of social
Looking to American experts for guidance was a practice of the voluntary sector planning and fundraising system. In the fifties and sixties, the CWC had a division called Community Chests and Councils of Canada (CCCC) to provide organizational support to community chests and planning councils across the country. In 1955 the membership was fifty-four Chests and twenty-four Councils. The division was organized around the needs of the fundraising agencies with only one of seven sub-committees focused on the Councils (CCCC, 1955). Biennial conferences were arranged to coincide with those of the United Community Funds and Councils of America in order to facilitate participation at both. The 1958 Canadian conference (now renamed Community Funds and Councils of Canada to emulate their American partner) was held in London, Ontario immediately prior to the American conference in Cleveland, "across the lake in one hour" (CFCC, 1958).

The Division organized annual week long training sessions for the staff of planning councils and community chests. In 1967, Roland Warren was brought to Geneva Park in Ontario to run an advanced seminar for Council staff attended by SPCMT staff (SPCMT 1967a). The development of the practice of social planning in Canada was under the direction of American "experts" committed to a rational planning process. Kahn concluded his 1969 text on social planning with a quote of Daniel Bell about the era of the post-industrial society. "Goals are less and less set by old pressures and pressure groups; more and more by the invitation of pure learning and research knowledge. Information as it accumulates provokes intervention." This belief in the purity of the knowledge created by objective research methods which was to overcome the conflicts of the past, guided the knowledge construction of the
Knowledge Forms Created in this Period

Two major studies were launched by the SPCMT during the early years. In the spring of 1957 just prior to being re-formed as the SPCMT, the Toronto Welfare Council approved as part of its 1957 workplan, a study of children's institutions in Metro Toronto. The impetus came from a 1951 TWC study, Toronto Survey of Family and Children's Services. Children's Institutions in Metropolitan Toronto (1960) was the first major research study of the newly formed SPCMT. The Child Welfare League of America was hired to do the study and two of its staff identified as being experienced in survey work were the primary researchers. The consultants worked in close collaboration with the staff of the Family and Child Welfare Division of SPCMT and under the direction of a large committee which included representatives of the agencies participating in the study along with representatives of most of the existing social services serving children. The study took three years to complete with the report being released in May of 1960.

In 1960, the Council initiated the Study of Needs and Resources for Community Supported Welfare. Health and Recreation Services in Metropolitan Toronto. The study was described as a community self study and was under the direction of a thirty member community-wide committee chaired by Wallace McCutcheon with two co-chairs. Charles Hendry was a member. Metro Toronto, the Atkinson Charitable Foundation and the United Community Fund were joint funders. Florence Philpott, Executive Director of the Council, headed up a large research team that included SPCMT and agency staff and Toronto School of Social Work faculty. In addition to the general committee there were five workshop
committees and ten technical committees. The project had three phases. A series of background papers were prepared by the technical committees in consultation with agencies, organizations and government departments. The second phase was a series of five workshops which were consultations with community groups on the information from the background papers. Each workshop was under the direction of its own committee. These committee reports then went to the general committee which prepared the final report. Originally scheduled to be completed in 1962, the final report was released in November 1963. The report was to guide the planning of social services in the Toronto area for the next five years.

Both studies were detailed examinations and evaluations of social service systems. The purpose of the *Children's Institutions in Metropolitan Toronto* study (1960) was to identify and evaluate the institutional facilities required for children and youth in the area. The study included the programmes, staffing and fee structure (SPCMT 1960:4). Fourteen agency programmes including three run by the Catholic Children's Aid Society of Metro Toronto (CCAS) and four by the Metro Toronto Children's Aid Society (CAS) were reviewed. The research approach was "an institutional survey" which focused on a detailed analysis of the programme and case records of selected agencies and included interviews with agencies who were major sources of referrals to institutions.

The apparent success of the experience of the study of children's institutions, helped to launch a much more ambitious examination of the whole social service system. *A Study of the Needs and Resources for Community-supported Welfare. Health and Recreation Services in Metropolitan Toronto* (SPCMT, 1963:4), was intended to provide "an analysis, assessment, and projection of the community's requirements during the next five years in the fields of
welfare, health and recreation that will be a guide to voluntary agencies and organizations, government departments, and citizen groups in planning their programmes. Services were broadly defined to include public health, housing, child and family welfare, corrections, recreation and immigration services. The entire social service system was the target for change. A major objective of the study was "a deeper and more general understanding of the social services" (SPCMT 1963:5). The focus was on adequacy, geographic allocation, improved systems management and funding. The SPCMT was expected to provide leadership in research and facilitation of processes to create improved service systems. The assumption behind the study was that "people change their ways when they themselves see the need for changing" and so it was decided that those concerned (agency boards, government departments and the staff of each) should undertake the study rather than an outside expert (SPCMT 1963:4).

Both studies were highly technical, detailed reports reliant on professional expertise in their construction and methodology. Those who would actually use or need the services being planned have no presence. In the children's institutions study, there was no involvement of parents either on the committee or as contributors to the research. The study identified the concerns of the community and defined the community as boards of directors, executives, social workers, other professionals and civil leaders (SPCMT 1960:9).

The Children's Institutions in Metropolitan Toronto study (1960) involved a detailed analysis of the individual records of the children in the institutions identifying age, gender, religion, IQs, educational status, marital status of parent, and referral source. The information was presented in aggregate forms with no "picture" of the children as individuals. What could
have been an exposé of the neglect and maltreatment of children in institutions was instead a report of administrative and professional issues with recommendations for improved management, service expansion and development of staff training. The plight of the children was obscured with detailed, technical descriptions and language. The active participation of the agency staff in the process no doubt contributed to the sanitization of the report, but there was also a normalization of the process. Local social service workers were calling on their experienced American colleagues to help develop a better service system. Children and to a lesser extent their families were the objects of the system, to be studied and analyzed, but not consulted.

The quality of life of some of these children must have been horrendous, but there was no moral outrage in the report. The use of corporal punishment, the withdrawal of food and the denial of parental contact were carefully identified as "questionable methods of discipline" (SPCMT, 1960:116). The per diem rates in some institutions were identified as being insufficient to cover daily food requirements. Staff to child ratios of 1:10 for child care workers and 1:25 for case workers were proposed without any indication of the current practices. There were recommendations for staff training and development and expectations of compliance with organizational rules. Recruitment of younger workers (age 25-45) was recommended. It appeared that large groups of children were under the questionable care of aging houseparents with little or no professional training. The legitimacy of the organizations that allowed these situations to develop to continue in the field of institutional care was never questioned, the focus was on management practices and staff development.

The Needs and Resources study not only excluded the potential users of the service
system from the consultation process, it essentially recommended a separate service system for the poor. "The basic requirements for the maintenance of health and well-being are a responsibility of government. This includes housing, food, shelter, medical care; and security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, and old age" (SPCMT 1963:75). There were no details about the definition of basic or recommendations about specific social policies. The concern was that public assistance should be sufficient to meet basic requirements of the poor and agencies should not be also providing material aid to individuals and families, a supplementation described as "wasteful in terms of time and effort" (SPCMT 1963:77). The study recommended that casework and counselling on budgeting and management to help families to make maximum use of the assistance be provided through public assistance programmes "to eliminate the need for other agencies to become involved with families served by public departments" (SPCMT 1963:77). The poor who relied on public assistance or welfare were to have their own service supports funded by government and separate from those of the general community - in effect a two tier social service system.

Not only were the structural causes of poverty not addressed, the undeserving poor were not to be users of a social service system that was being directed towards the needs of the broader community. The voluntary sector was seeking to set up a service system that could be seen to benefit those who would be asked to fund it. Recreational services were a major component of the service system being proposed.

In the absence of a structural analysis, the response to need in both studies was framed in terms of social services. Although increasing child population, high cost of living, urbanization and suburbanization, inadequate housing and unemployment were identified as
factors contributing to the need for institutional care in the children's study (SPCMT, 1960:17-23), none of these issues were addressed in the recommendations. In the needs and resources study, the need for services by individuals and families was attributed to fate, "life is not fair...catastrophe is no discriminator of persons" (SPCMT 1963:16).

In addition to the recommendations for increasing the number and quality of children's institutions, there were extensive recommendations for the expansion of psychiatric and psychological services and community services such as protective services in CASs, casework in family service agencies, homemaker services, foster home services, adoption services and services to unmarried parents.

There was little critical examination of the limitations or failures of the existing social service system. The analysis and recommendations of the children's study were made in a detailed and neutral manner which carefully avoided laying any blame. Although the report concluded that up to 65% of the children in the institutions were inappropriately placed and the criteria for admission to institutional care were undeveloped, it recommended that children's institutions be expanded. Institutions were the only alternative for unwanted children who were perceived to be "maladjusted", for which there was no agreed upon definition.

The needs and resources study traced the need for services to a Judeo-Christian tradition that we are "our brothers' keepers" and a recognition by the early voluntary associations that more than material assistance was needed to alleviate distress among the poor. "A modern city's network of community-service organizations is the means by which its citizens attempt to meet basic welfare, health, and recreational needs" (SPCMT 1963:14). The
Needs and Resources report walked a careful line between recognizing the contributions of Christian and Jewish organizations while calling for more secular services. Religious groups were major providers and funders of social services at the time and wielded considerable influence. The future services were to be managed by trained social workers guided by rational decisionmaking.

There was a theme of moral judgement. Community services to unmarried parents were “geared to helping the mother plan for herself and the baby, make a permanent decision about the baby, and deal with personal problems which may be at the root of her behaviour” (SPCMT, 1963:29) (emphasis added). Social problems stemmed from the behaviour of individuals who were to be treated by professional caseworkers. The primary role of women, at least married women, was mothering. The need for day care services for mothers of young children who were working because of financial pressure was recognized. Women were to be mothers inside the home unless their paid labour was required to meet the needs of the family. Working mothers were preferred to public assistance.

Both reports identified the need for trained social workers. Professional workers were required to carry out the functions of services and social casework recognized as the basic method of helping people with many kinds of problems. The needs and resources report identified a shortage of professionally trained workers and an inadequate deployment and use of volunteers. The need for undergraduate degree courses and technical courses in social welfare was recognized. The Toronto School of Social Work was called upon to provide a programme of courses in social work for workers already in the field and the Council was asked to give recurring seminars and institutes on current trends and developments in social
welfare and social work. The Council was also asked to provide a programme of basic courses for volunteers and to advise agencies and governments on the appropriate use of volunteers.

Although the focus was on the development of the social service system, the overall emphasis was on efficiency. The final Needs and Resources report was almost 300 pages long with 151 detailed recommendations about specific service sectors and particular focus on the planning and financing of the service system (38 recommendations each). The chair of the finance planning committee of the Needs and Resources study was Harry Edmison, a financial officer with Argus Corporation and colleague of Wallace McCutcheon. A constant refrain of the report was the limitations of the capacity of the voluntary sector and government to fund services. There was an emphasis on the "limits to the economic resources available" (SPCMT, 1963:166). The committee did not anticipate that needed financing would be available, "in the years ahead the financing of all our social services will be characterized by the need to allocate scarce financial resources among many needed services" (SPCMT, 1963:177). The committee raised concerns about the danger of United Appeal agencies approaching government, foundations and service clubs for funds warning that competing drives for funds can create further uncertainties and confusions. The resources for social services were finite, and agencies were expected to adapt through efficiencies of operation and management.

The importance of planning and coordination was emphasized. The current system of services was described as "a crazy quilt". Extensive recommendations were made in each service sector to achieve the "best pattern" of direct services. Social planning was the strategy "to promote effective, well-balanced programme of welfare, health and recreation" (SPCMT 1963:133). Planning was about the efficient allocation of limited resources. The Needs and
Resources study (SPCMT, 1963:154-5) established two guidelines for service priority determination:

a) Over-all balance in services - with consideration of geography, major groups eg. youth, families and children and older persons, and types of services;

b) Efficiency in operation (emphasis added).

A centralized planning system in the form of a Needs and Resources Commission to be managed by the SPCMT was to be set up to determine service priorities. The commission was to be made up of an equal number of representatives of government and non-government services and the priorities were to guide the funding allocation for government and voluntary dollars. Annual five-year projections of both needs and resources with yearly revisions and extensions taking account of financial considerations were to be prepared. Agencies were in turn to develop five year budget and programme plans drawing on the identified priorities and guided by the financial resources available.

The need for research was supported since "to make decisions that are grounded only in tradition, hunches, or personal interest is a waste of time and money, and this is doubly so when, as at present and in the foreseeable future, needs so clearly outrun resources" (SPCMT 1963:148). The research called for was "operational research" which was intended to address problems identified by administrators or policy-makers. A "strong advisory committee" to the SPCMT research department was recommended "to support the research workers in maintaining the objectivity and autonomy necessary for effective work" (SPCMT 1963:149) (emphasis added).

The Needs and Resources study recommended that the coordination and management
of the service system remain in the voluntary sector. The SPCMT was expected to facilitate and support the different service sectors through processes of coordination. In addition to sectoral planning, an urgent need for effective co-operation among agencies, long-range planning, research through a central planning organization and an effective system of priorities were identified. The Social Planning Council was called upon to provide the leadership in the processes of coordination, planning, research, and priority setting. Specific recommendations were made about the future structure, staffing and inter-organizational linkages of the Council. It was to be the centre for a comprehensive community planning process, a process which would lead to a uniform, standardized service system. The users and providers of the service system were to be closely monitored to ensure adherence to the planning priorities and efficient management.

The Council was to carry out the increased responsibilities with no increase in funding by the United Appeal. The report called for the contributions of the United Appeal which were currently 90% of the SPCMT's financing, to be matched through increases from the Corporation of Metropolitan Toronto, user fees, foundation grants and an expanded Council membership.

The reluctance by the UCF to adequately fund the Council directly to provide coordination to the system also contributed to the shift of the management of social services to government which was becoming the primary funder. The Council did not have the capacity to effectively manage the system and its mandate to do so came under close scrutiny in the late sixties. The practice of voluntary social planning as social service planning began to be challenged by the poor and marginalized who were not being well served by it.
Maintaining the Stratification of the Social

Both studies focussed on the need for efficiency of social services and on the managed expansion of the system by professional staff. Technical and rational processes of knowledge construction were used to create proposals for social institutions and structures which primarily served the interests of those who controlled the knowledge construction process rather than those whose needs were to be met by the institutions. The business sector, the agencies, the SPCMT and the University of Toronto all benefited from the recommendations of the studies and were positioned to maintain control of the social service system.

The populations who were subjects of these studies, those deemed to be deserving of social services, were objectified by the research process. Records and agency staff were the sources of information used to create the profiles. Those for whom the services were being planned did not participate in the study. There was no attempt to give even the appearance of consulting the users. It was not necessary. Experts in the field of health, welfare and recreation services decided what the needs were, and civic leaders, primarily businessmen, determined the resources that would be available to respond to those needs. A rational planning process determined priorities to guide the matching of needs and resources.

The comprehensiveness of the studies, both in breadth and depth, the time taken to complete them and the resources committed to them gave them a sense of legitimacy. The media response to the Needs and Resources study was enthusiastic. A "Blueprint for Progress" (Globe and Mail, 1963) was the headline of the editorial of the conservative Globe and Mail newspaper upon release of the Needs and Resources report in November of 1963. The committees’ recommendations were viewed as "highly reasonable" and commended for
"introducing order into our welfare, health and recreation services and closing the gap between needs and resources". The editorial supported the expectation that governments "assume financial burdens which properly belong to them but which they have so far evaded" and the introduction of discipline to the whole field of services (Globe and Mail 1963).

The Toronto Star editorial (1963), headlined "Metro's crazy welfare quilt" focussed on the need for order and efficiency claiming "the multiplicity of agencies - enough to make the welfare applicant giddy - is inefficient". The derogatory reference to people on social assistance contributed to the depiction of poor people as getting more than they needed or deserved and reflected the lack of awareness of the public of the experience of people on social assistance, an awareness not enlightened by the report. The Star highlighted the systemic changes supporting the amalgamation of the welfare services which were distributed among the then 13 local municipalities and the re-distribution of services to the burgeoning suburbs.

The reports constructed selected vulnerable populations as objects to be surveyed and controlled. The neglect and abuse of children and the poverty of those on social assistance were obscured. Public stereotypes of the poor receiving more than they deserve were reinforced. The most poor and vulnerable were to be hidden from public view. "Maladjusted" children were to be institutionalized and people on public assistance were to have their service needs provided by the public system, not the private, voluntarily funded system. Access to the voluntary social services was to be controlled.

The Needs and Resources study recommended that the Social Service Index, a confidential registration of families and individuals known to community health and welfare
agencies and closed in 1959, be re-instated. The service was deemed confidential but was available to all the social agencies in Toronto. The objectives of the Index were to prevent duplication, to provide more effective service, and to promote economy of effort and expense in the provision of services \( \text{SPCMT 1963:137} \). The concern was that needy families may be receiving assistance from more than one service and it was the professional social worker who should be deciding whether or not a family was receiving the appropriate amount of resources or not. The determination of need and deservedness was to be in the hands of the professional expert, access to the social service system by poor people was to be limited. Surveillance of the lives of the "poor" was a necessary function of an efficient system.

A new norm in social service provision was established, a norm which would reduce the visibility and priority of the poor. Social services were no longer to be conceptualized as welfare programmes for the most poor and vulnerable but now included health and recreation services. Social welfare programmes were to compete for funding with health and recreation programmes which were being re-designed to serve the needs of the burgeoning working and professional classes. Family counselling services were to be re-distributed to serve the expanding suburbs populated primarily by working people. The expansion of social services to include a broader range of services and serve a larger population group could be supported if plans included significant expansion in funding. However, the commitment was to fiscal restraint. Poor people, who were the focus of the early Charitable Organization Associations, were marginalized in the new service system.

Toronto was the fastest growing urban centre in the post war era, and management of the expanding social needs was a major issue for governments and the corporate sector. The
SPCMT was at the centre of this process; it provided a forum for the corporate leaders, government bureaucrats and social work administrators to meet and institutionalize the public and private response to need. The studies of the early sixties created a framework for social service provision based on the rationalization of limited resources determined by the corporate sector and the management of services by professional social workers.

The demand for services could not be sustained by voluntary dollars and there was increasing pressure on governments to assume funding responsibility for health and welfare services. Subsequent to the Metro children's study, a provincial wide study of children's institutions was conducted under the auspices of the Ontario Welfare Council and the provincial government brought down the Children's Institutions' Act which imposed standards and regulations on institutions caring for children. Services provided to children in institutions were to be funded and regulated by the provincial government.

In 1966, the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) was put in placevi. The legislation was developed by federal and provincial bureaucrats who formed the Public Welfare Department, a division of the CWC. The Ontario participants would have been well aware of the Toronto study. CAP had a cost-sharing mechanism with the federal government matching approved provincial expenditures on social welfare programmes dollar for dollar. The province of Ontario in turn cost-shared the programmes with the municipalities. The government of Metropolitan Toronto with its rapidly expanding population base, responded with some enthusiasm to the opportunity for service development. The funding provided for social

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vi In 1963 a minority federal Liberal government under Lester Pearson had been elected. With support and pressure from the CCF, a programme of social reform was initiated.
assistance, supplementary programmes such as child care and resources for planning. The
investment of federal, provincial and municipal dollars secured social services as the public
response to need and provided provincial and local government with planning resources.
Attempts by the SPCMT and other voluntary sector organizations to qualify for planning
dollars under CAP were unsuccessful. Control of social service planning was in the hands of
the funders and as the balance of funding shifted from voluntary dollars to public funds, so did
the locus of power. What evolved was described by Robarts (1977:354) in a major study on
Metropolitan Toronto as "a collection of programmes aimed at a variety of wants and needs".

The Practice of Social Planning

The practice of social planning by the SPCMT during this period was based on the
American models of rational planning processes as advocated by Kahn (1969) and Perlman
and Gurin (1972). Social planning was to be a distinct area of practice from economic and
land-use planning although the technical processes were to be similar. The purpose of the
SPCMT was to promote an effective, well-balanced programme of health, welfare and
recreational services for Metro Toronto and District (SPCMT, 1965). Social planning was
social service planning guided by technical, apparently comprehensive processes under the
direction of planning experts. The recipient of service was not part of the planning process;
their needs were determined and advocated for by their agents, trained social workers.
Planning was required to strike the balance between needs and resources and needs were
always assumed to exceed available resources. Rationalization through an apparently objective
process of priority setting was required. The services created had to demonstrate efficiency
through effective management and coordination. Rigorous research using objective technical
methods would guide the decision making processes.

The centralized, expert driven processes also contained elements of democratic participation (Kahn, 1969). The SPCMT required its board and committees to be constituted primarily by lay people rather than agency representatives. During this period, the lay people involved were primarily white, male, corporate leaders. There was however, growing pressure from the local area councils and citizen groups for a greater say in the planning of their community. Urban planning and community development were parallel practices of community organization that were having increasing influence on the practice of SPCMT.

During the war and immediately after, there was great interest in Toronto in a well planned urban environment with the focus on local neighbourhoods. The 1944 "Neighbourhood Plan of Toronto" identified seventy-eight city neighbourhoods which encouraged the formation of local citizen groups who wanted to have a say in what was going to happen in their neighbourhood (Lemon, 1985:104-6).

Social planning issues were included in the process and promoted by social workers such as Murray Ross and Albert Rose who were committed to community organization and were active in the Community Council Coordinating Committee which was committed to assisting the development of neighbourhood groups (Wills, 1995:118). The Toronto Welfare Council repeatedly made attempts to secure Chest funding to support citizen groups in local areas and were consistently turned down. The Chest was suspicious of community organizing regarding social action as an example of an unacceptable left-wing stance (Wills, 1995:123). Rose left the Council to join the School of Social Work but remained active in local planning and housing issues. He was active in the Metro Toronto Branch of the Community Planning
Association (1958) which in the fifties was focused on urban renewal and housing.

The belief in citizen participation in planning was sustained by subsequent social work staff of the SPCMT erupting in 1969 into a public confrontation between the Council board and staff over the future of the Council (Lind, 1969). The practice of centralized, elite and expert driven social service planning was about to be challenged.

Conclusion

In 1957, the newly formed SPCMT was firmly under the control of elite members of the Canadian corporate sector. The research agenda of a voluntary association of the social sphere was being set by the economic sphere. The organization was committed to social reform, but it was a reform process that was guided by economic principles. Technology, rational planning and efficiency were to ensure a cost-efficient social service system reliant primarily on charitable dollars. It was a system that was highly intrusive, with those using the services under close scrutiny and objective study. The Council’s studies did see the meeting of basic needs as the responsibility of government. However, there were no recommendations for specific social policies to meet the undefined needs of the poor.

The use and reliance on so-called objective, rational planning processes reinforced the existing power relations within the social sector during the fifties and sixties. The interests of the corporate sector and the social work sector coalesced around the identification of social services as a response to need and the demand for skilled social workers to efficiently manage the developing social service system. The focus on services diverted attention away from a political/economic analysis and proposals for changes in the existing structures. The response to social dislocations was directed at those who suffered the dislocation and the knowledge of
social science was called upon to solve what were defined as social problems not economic problems.

The corporate model of hierarchy and elite domination was maintained in local community structures. The social service system was being managed by local businessmen. The profession of social work was legitimized as the knower of the social services system and became the technical expert to manage and provide services. Rational planning processes created the illusion that allocations were being made according to objective criteria rather than subjective views of deservedness.

The capacity to know was in the hands of a few. those who receive services were not perceived as knowers. In 1969 a board member and business executive explained why poor people should not be on the board, "I am afraid that those who are supported are so self-conscious and so self-centred in their own concerns that they just have no perspective on the total situation." Apparently oblivious of the limitations and bias of his own perspective and position, he confidently claimed that poor people would certainly have "a totally distorted unilateral look at things" (Lind, April 15, 1969).

Confidence in the scientific method was the ideological link between the corporate sector lead by Wallace McCutcheon and social scientists such as Charles Hendry. In business, technology promised efficiencies and increased productivity which meant more profit. It was this expectation of efficiency that they brought to the social planning table. In the social welfare sector, efficiencies meant that costs could be constrained to accommodate the limits of charitable donation which was the preferred method of funding social programmes and lessened the pressure on taxation.
Being at the table of the boards of directors of the major non-governmental social agencies in Canada, enabled the business sector to "regulate" the development of the social welfare system in Toronto and Canada and to speak out in the legitimized voices of civic leaders on urban issues that served their own interests. The social welfare blueprint for Canada developed by Leonard Marsh was marginalized and its plan for comprehensive social programmes was replaced by more modest, residual programmes, some in the form of local social services funded primarily through voluntary dollars and managed by the local business elite.

During the "golden years" of the post World War II economy, the message for social spending was there were limited resources. Manufacturing jobs and local activity on social services weakened the pressure for the state run social programmes. Unionized workers were negotiating their benefits at the bargaining table and those who were left out of the economy were cared for through local charities. Industrialization and immigration made Toronto the largest and most rapidly expanding city in Canada. Setting the trend for the future development and control of social welfare services was a major accomplishment of the corporate sector.

The emphasis on technical expertise to manage the social service system and the expansion of services to manage social need created a demand for trained staff and opportunities for expansion of the profession of social work and the School of Social Work at the University of Toronto. There was a dramatic increase in the number of trained social workers and social work educators during the fifties and sixties (Graham 1994). The Toronto School of Social Work under the direction of Hendry was shifting to the American model of
direct practice and away from the British model of social welfare policy and administration developed by Urwick. Hendry was more concerned about recreation, leisure time, science and technology than poverty. Canadian historian James Struthers described him as the product of an historical era in which the promise of post-war affluence was misread as its fulfilment (Graham 1994).

The affluence was not wide spread and by the end of the sixties the Council was in turmoil. The conflict within the SPCMT reflected the conflict within the larger society. Control of the social by the corporate sector was being challenged by the emerging social movements: associations of people concerned about civil rights, peace, poverty and the rights of women. In Toronto, locally organized groups mobilized to secure places at the board table of the Council.
Chapter V: The Era of Interpretive Knowledge Construction: The SPCMT 1968-1980

Introduction

The second approach to knowledge construction is described as interpretive, subjective or interactive. It is concerned with the uncovering of meanings people attach to actions, and the social rules that guide people's behaviour and interaction. Interpretive social science seeks to improve communication and understanding between people, both within a particular cultural context, and also across cultural boundaries. The aim is to promote interaction and understanding and so inter-personal communication is the form of political practice (Ife, 1997:130).

The era of interpretive or subjective knowledge formation at the Council was launched in the late sixties. It was a period when the objects of study in the fifties and early sixties resisted and attempted to assert themselves as subjects or agents. The poor and marginalized organized to influence the direction of the Council and the UCF. This chapter documents their efforts at agency and the opposition that is mobilized against them.

The year of 1968 was a year of world wide student radicalism from the USA and Mexico in the West to socialist Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The radicalism was largely stimulated by the extraordinary outbreak of May 1968 in Paris, epicentre of a Continent-wide student uprising. The explosion of student unrest erupted at the very peak of the great global boom. Economic discontent was not the focus of the students radicalism but their challenges to authorities stimulated radicalism among other groups. The European student rebellion sparked a wave of working-class strikes for higher wages and better conditions (Hobsbawm 1994:298-301).
The mid-1960s to mid-1970s witnessed a massive outpouring of citizen participation in North America, and Toronto was a site of activism around issues that included the Viet Nam war, urban renewal and pollution. Enthusiasm was fuelled by Pierre Trudeau's call for citizen participation in public affairs during an appearance in Nathan Phillips Square in June 1968 (Lemon, 1985:151).

The activism of the sixties was a challenge to the authority of social, political and economic institutions and to the positivist methods of knowledge formation. The positivist research paradigm ignored the fact that humans gain social knowledge through interaction as co-members of society (Park, 1993:5). The sense of disengagement hid the way in which an individual is constituted by language and culture and which are maintained and renewed in communities (Taylor, 1985:8). New methods of knowledge formation that included the voices of the increasingly diverse communities were being demanded. The use of the natural sciences to understand human life and social action was no longer plausible (Taylor, 1985).

This chapter traces the challenge to the hegemonic influence of the economic sphere over an association of civil society. It tells the story of the mobilization of groups of citizens to speak out against the power and authority of the corporate sector over the Council and to the methods of knowledge formation that maintained the domination. The major research project of the Council during this period was a study of the changing nature of the suburbs of Metropolitan Toronto, the impact of these new urban forms on family life and the lack of services and resources available particularly for vulnerable groups. The project was called "Suburbs in Transition" and produced two major reports that reflect a shift to a more participatory method of knowledge creation. The documents are analyzed to identify what
new discourses are created when the objects of study participate in the creation of knowledge about themselves.

**The Challenge**

Resistance to the social service model of social planning and the corporate domination of the SPCMT Board emerged internally in the fall of 1968. Wilson Head had been hired as Director of Research and Development in 1965 following in the footsteps of two other illustrious Black men, Dan Hill and John Gandy. Head had been born and educated in the US securing his doctorate at Ohio State in 1958. He had a variety of work experiences in direct services and community organizing. In 1959 he moved his young family to Windsor to avoid the racial discrimination he had experienced in the southern and northern states (Head, 1995). His last position in Windsor prior to coming to Toronto was Director of Social Planning for United Community Services (later called the United Way). After three years at the council, Head was appointed Associate Executive Director (SPCMT, 1968a), and in the summer of 1968 travelled to Europe.

Upon his return in September 1968, he wrote a seven page internal memo that helped to launch a review of the Council's roles and functions. Head was critical of the current direction. The Council was accused of propping up a destructive welfare system that had failed to make any impact on the glaring economic and social imbalances and inequalities in society. He called on the organization to stop pretending that people would be helped if existing programmes are spruced up with better staff and more facilities. It was not enough to be against abuses; the essence of planning was an action programme. The Council should define it positions on critical social problems, then go to work to achieve its objectives. He
challenged it to be an effective force for constructive social change and not an organization interested primarily in its safety and therefore largely impotent (Lind, 1969).

The memo was originally written for a staff workshop that was held on a Saturday. Someone sent the report to John Yerger, Executive Director of the UCF and by Monday Head was having to defend himself against accusations of being a communist. Yerger was a rude and arrogant man who felt his position entitled him to direct the work of the Council and all other agencies receiving money from the UCF. He was opposed to any proposals for democratic participation in the social service system. McConney was caught in the middle between a staff who supported a change in policy direction and a funder who wanted to maintain the status quo. McConney shared the view of Yerger and the board members of the UCF and the Council that the professional and business community knew best what was good for underprivileged groups in society (Head, 1995:280).

The memo sparked a responsive chord in the Board about their own role and influence. At the October board meeting, Harry Wolfson, the newly elected President, asked that the Board be relieved of much of the "rubberstamping" of Executive Committee decisions and devote itself to discussions of policy and priorities for SPC programming. Board members expressed concern that the Council was in the role of a "firefighter", involved in a lot of projects but "there did not appear to be any pattern based on a concept of the Council's approach to social planning" (SPCMT, 1968b). In the face of a challenge to the direction of the Council, the Board moved to re-assert its control and role as decision-maker. The Board devoted their November meeting to a discussion of the Council's programmes, role and function.
Two papers from the American United Way Staff Conference of April 1968 (Hunter 1968; Martin 1968) were circulated for discussion. Both expressed commitment to rational, systematic and planned approaches to solving the problems of urban communities. David Hunter, Executive Director of the Stern Family Fund in New York, supported the community action approach which challenged communities to attack their problems in a rational and planned way. He argued for the need to challenge the current system, that responding to a need with a direct service deals with symptoms - not causes. He was critical of the "snobbery and parochialism" of current planning structures and identified the demand for urban democracy by "new kinds of people and groups" who were seeking influence (Hunter, 1968). He urged a goal oriented approach to planning.

Carl Martin, Executive Director of the Community Council of Vanderburgh County Indiana, proposed innovation in planning which he defined as "orienting ourselves to marketplace values". He identified knowledge as "the most important stock in the trade today" and the key person in any community as the one who had "the latest dope." He advocated "rationality and relevance" in planning - "identify goals and fund only those programmes that will lead to those goals" (Martin, 1968). Rather than a community action approach, Martin called for centralized decision-making and moral authority.

The two papers presented the competing approaches to community-based social planning which were emerging within the Council. Although both called for rational, planning processes, the location for each was different. The participatory, urban democratic approach that addressed the causes of social problems was the position advocated by Wilson Head and other staff within the Council. The centralized decision making by moral elites committed to
marketplace values resonated with the Board and the UCF.

The opposing perspectives met head on in the urban renewal projects that were being initiated by politicians and developers in Toronto. Glenn Drover was hired as a planning consultant in the fall of 1968 to work on housing and urban development issues. The Council had just received funding from Health and Welfare Canada to conduct a developmental survey of the Don Planning District. Drover was a graduate of Trinity College of the University of Toronto and had completed his MSW at the School of Social Services at Fordham University (McConney, 1968).

In January 1969, the Board received a report "Urban Renewal Policies and Procedures" from the Inner City Renewal Committee. Drover helped to produce the report which was critical of the urban renewal taking place in the city of Toronto. It identified "no clear statement of public policy as to what urban renewal is for except that it is to eliminate conditions which are for one reason or another regarded as undesirable." The report was critical of a highly educated, middle or upper middle class that was making decisions that affect people whose "circumstances, values and problems are very different." The work of Jane Jacobs was cited to support the critique. The report called for citizen participation in urban renewal and the "rehabilitation of families as well as rehabilitation of structure."

Concern was expressed that "more dependent families will resist a move to a strange area, particularly the suburbs" (SPCMT, 1968c). These were families who relied on services in the central city. Urban renewal in the city of Toronto and the growth of the surrounding suburbs were issues that kept getting pushed on to the agenda of the Council during the end of the sixties and throughout the seventies.
"Planning or Chaos" was the topic of guest speaker Senator Maurice Lamontagne, chair of the Senate Committee on Science Policy, at the 1969 annual general meeting of the Council (SPCMT 1969b). Head table guests at the March luncheon meeting included Charles Hendry, who had just retired as Director of the School of Social Work and Albert Rose, a planning and housing advocate and current member of the Council's board, who now held the position. Douglas McConney gave his final annual report. After six years as Executive Director, he was moving to Vancouver to be Associate Executive Director of the United Community Services, a federated fund raiser. McConney was clearly someone who had the confidence of the corporate fundraisers and his leaving created concerns at the UCF. They relied heavily on the Council for trend reports, agency reviews and campaign support and expected that these services would be continued to be provided. The appointment of the new executive director was of great interest to the fund. McConney submitted his resignation to the Board in February to be effective on May 31.

Lamontagne spoke to the dominant perspective of the Council's Board of Directors, a commitment to rational planning processes to address the social problems of the day and a belief that the alternative would be social chaos. The dualism of Lamontagne's presentation reinforced a simplistic analysis that there were two opposing forces, those of the rational, knowing planners and those who supported social disruption and turmoil.

After lunch the slate of directors for the Board for the coming year was presented to the membership for ratification. For the first time in the history of the council, a nominee was proposed from the floor. Mrs. Suzanne Polgar, a social assistance recipient and organizer of a group known as The Just Society, was nominated to the Board of Directors. The nomination
was within the guidelines of the bylaws and would have necessitated an election by the members. John Crispo, an economist at the University of Toronto and a current and often critical board member, withdrew his own nomination to make space for Mrs. Polgar. Crispo's act avoided a confrontation and he knew there was a mechanism to enable his continuing involvement. He was subsequently appointed to the Advisory Council, a body of community notables including politicians and government bureaucrats, which enabled him to participate in board meetings. Mrs. Polgar became the twelfth woman on a board of forty-five directors and the only low-income member.

The conflict within the Council moved into the public purview in a series of three articles in the Globe and Mail in April 1969. Prior to the annual meeting, John Sewell, then a resident of the Don Planning District who had been actively trying to organize low-income residents to fight unwanted expropriation and urban renewal, spoke out against the Council. He accused it of working against the best interests of the inner city poor and subverting local initiative in favour of City Hall. The articles were an expose of the trouble within the organization and were basically sympathetic with the positions of the staff, Wilson Head and Glenn Drover.

Drover wanted the Council to make sure his study on the Don District, a site of major urban renewal with projects like Trefann Court, was put to use by the people of the area. He wanted to hire development consultants who would ask the people what they wanted and help them get it. The "full scientific know how and prestige of the Council" would be used to back up the efforts of groups like the Trefann Neighbours and Tenants Association (Lind, 1969).

Harry Wolfson, the current President of the Board was adamant in his rejection of a
community development approach as part of the mandate of the Council, "It's not for us to go in and activate the people to become aware of their social needs" (Lind, 1969). Wolfson supported the traditional work of the Council in coordinating social services, evaluating programmes, preventing overlap and exposing sore spots. He believed that the Council should advise government on urgent social issues but opposed pushing what he viewed as "radical reforms." When asked about the social action ideas of some of the staff, Harry Edmison, still on the Board and with Argus Corporation, replied, "I hate to see them get too doctrinaire and just go around dissipating their energies" (Lind, 1969).

Head directed his critique directly at the Board pointing out that the cream of Toronto's voluntary welfare establishment had failed to make a significant impact on the most glaring social ills of society. He recommended that board members ought to be selected for their ability to devise social policy, not merely for their business acumen, their philanthropic reputations or their status in the welfare establishment. Board member Stephen Berger, an executive with Amcan Holdings Ltd., in turn suggested that professional planners who live, eat and sleep their jobs, experience a "professional deformation" that requires the correction of a non-professional board.

The articles were particularly critical of the Council's relationship with the United Community Fund describing it as a favoured offspring that despite its feeble attempts had never been able to cut the umbilical cord (Lind, 1969). Much of the work of the Council directly supported the UCF. It continued to produce annual reports on trends and guides to allocations, annually reviewed one-third of the agency organizations and reported on applications for the Capital Campaign. The Council also received 82% of its funding from the
UCF and its vulnerability was clear. The UCF was responsive to the established volunteer agencies and the community's big donors and was not supportive of groups pressing for fundamental reforms. A board member acknowledged that the Council was risking a budget cut if it actively promoted social reform (Lind, 1969).

The conflict which involved several different players was now in the public view and launched a period of dramatic change. These pressures were coming from within and without the Council. Corporate control was being challenged. Symbolically, in February, the Council had sent its condolences to the wife of Wallace McCutcheon on the death of her husband.

**New Staff Leadership: Frei and Novick**

Board members were not happy with the newspaper articles, they had expected their good works to be presented in a more positive light. Wolfson was described as a "bull moose" and identified as a major obstacle to change. The immediate task facing the Board of Directors was the appointment of a new Executive Director. Head was an obvious candidate. He had served as associate and he was supported by the staff. While there may have been some support for Head on the Board, any possible consideration of his appointment was ended by the UCF. Grant Ross, UCF President, told the Board that funding for the Council would be cut off if Wilson Head was named Executive Director (Powell n/d). The matter was dropped and the Council continued its search for a new ED.

A staff request to have representatives on the selection committee had been rejected by the committee. John Crispo raised the issue of staff participation at the April Board meeting and in a narrow 9-8 vote, the Board approved the appointment of two professional staff to the selection committee for the new executive director.
In May 1969, Dr. John W. Frei was hired as Executive Director for what was expected to be a three to four year term as he was already in his sixties. A short-term appointment provided the organization with "a period during which major questions about the Council's purposes and programme could be clarified." (SPCMT, 1969c)

John Frei had begun his career as a professional engineer and became a senior executive in the major automotive enterprise of Czechoslovakia. He was a victim of the Stalinist purges in Czechoslovakia in the late forties and fled Europe settling in Montreal where he started a new career. Frei was in his fifties when he was granted a MSW from McGill University and prior to coming to Toronto was Executive Director of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies (Novick 1990).

Frei was the consummate consensus candidate. His success as a businessman would appeal to the corporate members of the board. The academic and professional constituents would appreciate his technical and analytical skills and his breadth of knowledge of contemporary literature on social planning and social and organizational change. Frei was a friend of Hendry, they shared a belief in the promise of social science. He was also an experienced administrator who supported citizen participation and community development. Most importantly, he offered rational, planning strategies for managing organizational and systemic change.

Frei did not come alone. He soon brought to the Council a young social worker who had worked with him in Montreal. In 1970, Marvyn Novick began a twelve year affiliation with the SPCMT. His first responsibility at the Council was to organize grass roots committees in the areas (SPCMT, 1970a). Novick's orientation to social development was a
persistent influence in the Council in the seventies. He stayed on long after his mentor Frei, who was replaced in 1972 after only slightly more than two years. By the late seventies, Novick was Senior Programme Director. Except for a year of study in the PhD programme at the School of Social Work at the University of Toronto, he held the position until appointed as Dean of Community Services at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute in 1982.

The Just Society

The theme, Just Society, was part of the successful 1968 federal election platform of the Liberals lead by Pierre Trudeau. It marked the beginning of an era of widespread citizen activism much of it funded with federal dollars. It was a strategy claimed by some to impose social order through government control (Loney, 1977). In Toronto, three social assistance recipients formed the Just Society Movement (JSM), an organization of low income citizens involved in action for change in areas of concern such as welfare and housing. As the movement began to grow, a number of professionals were attracted to its ranks (Buchbinder, 1972).

The movement attracted a number of activists who identified themselves as Just Society Associates. Academic activists included Stephen Clarkson who was on the Board of the Council in the late sixties. Clarkson was a Professor of Political Economy at the University of Toronto and had been an unsuccessful candidate for mayor of Toronto in 1968. The academic activists formed their own organization called Praxis, described as a research institute for social change. They provided research and community organizing on a contract basis. In addition to Clarkson, members of Praxis included Howard Buchbinder and Gerrie Hunnius. Buchbinder was (and remains) a Marxist. He was highly critical of the social service
system regarding it as a means of supporting inequality, "an agent of the capitalist state apparatus" (Buchbinder, 1981:348).

The JSM began to mobilize against social organizations which were not seen as being responsive to the needs of poor people. In the fall of 1969, members of JSM presented a brief at a meeting of the Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers (OAPSW). The brief was critical of social workers accusing them of being "adversaries rather than advocates for the poor, the oppressed, the outsider" (Buchbinder, 1972:140). The profession of social work was called upon to "stand for human dignity, equality, and justice against the economic and bureaucratic machineries" (Buchbinder, 1972:140). The JSM felt that the OAPSW had become a protector of the status quo and had retreated into professionalism away from the poor and oppressed sectors of the community.

At the meeting, the supporters of the Just Society sat on one side of the room and the membership of the OAPSW sat on the other. John Frei was the guest speaker and after the Just Society presented their position, he took it upon himself to lecture the "radicals" about due process. The membership of the OAPSW did not participate in the discussion, either then or subsequently (Buchbinder, 1972).

In May of 1969, the Ontario Welfare Council (OWC) (the provincial equivalent of the SPCT) had invited young and poor people to participate at its annual meeting and two youths and two poor people were elected to the Board of Directors. In July, the UCF ordered a special review of the OWC to determine whether the Council was an appropriate agency for the continued support of the Fund. The JSM saw this action as an attempt by the Fund to prevent the election of poor people to decision making boards. In October, the social work
members of the JSM held a press conference calling for a public accounting of the Fund for its "undemocratic totalitarian control" over the OWC (Buchbinder, 1972). JSM members began to attend meetings of the Fund's allocations committees but were viewed with suspicion and thwarted in their attempts to scrutinize the proceedings.

Galvanized by the responses of Frei and the UCF, the JSM focused its organizational efforts. The United Community Fund was identified as responsible for keeping the private social agency structure away from the problems of poverty and inequality and the Social Planning Council as the organizational means to "point up this dynamic" (Buchbinder, 1972). A campaign to challenge the corporate control of the Board of Directors of the SPCMT was launched.

**The 1970 AGM: A Watershed Event**

The Board attempted to contain the public critique. At the January (1970) meeting, two resolutions were passed. One was a bylaw amendment to create a rotating board as opposed to the current arrangement of all of the positions being up for election each year which left the board vulnerable to a takeover. The proposal was that board members serve a term of three years with a staggered implementation so that one-third of the board positions would be up for re-election each year. The second resolution addressed the form and mandate of the nominating committee. The committee was to include two representatives of the area councils, two from the UCF, three Council board members plus two from the Executive Committee. The nominating committee would no longer have the power to withdraw nominations, but could indicate whether they approved or disapproved (SPCMT, 1970b). The Board was manoeuvring to maintain control of the organization while maintaining an apparent democratic
process.

All new memberships of the Council had to be approved by the Board of Directors. At the February meeting, the Chairman of the membership committee reported a total of 637 members, 297 were renewals and 340 were new. The Just Society had been mobilizing its constituents.

What had begun from a group of "professionals" affiliated with the Just Society Movement grew into a process which included hundreds of people. The participants represented many groups and individuals, all with concerns about the operation of the social welfare system. It had spread far beyond the project of one group or movement (Buchbinder 1972:147).

The pressure from the staff and the public questioning by the media propelled the Council into what it considered "an exhaustive self-evaluation process in an effort to redefine its goals and priorities" in 1969. The SPCMT 1969 Annual Report went on to describe what it called "frank discussion" around community needs and expectations and the Council's relationship with established agencies and the UCF. The report prepared for the annual general meeting on March 18, a box lunch affair at the St. Lawrence Centre Town Hall, recognized that "Canada is in the midst of a social revolution characterized by unrest, dissent, alienation and an explosive reaction to inequalities amongst various groups within the population" (SPCMT, 1970). However, President Harry Wolfson, an economist, questioned the role of the SPCMT in what he viewed as "militant social action".

It may indeed well be that other organizations should engage in social action, and that the SPC should concentrate, in the main, on the research and planning of our complex social development structure. For unless the Council performs such essential and constructive tasks, the indispensable social services could deteriorate into chaos; and, should such an unfortunate calamity befall us, those who are in constant need of help
would be the first to suffer. The time has not yet come when a general affluence throughout the entire society might eliminate the need for social services, (if indeed their need would ever disappear!) (SPCMT 1970).

The role of the council according to Wolfson was "to follow closely further development of these trends, to evaluate them, using modern methods of research, assess their importance and priorities and decide successively upon needed action which must be initiated in participation with the people in the areas served by the SPC" (SPCMT, 1970c)(emphasis added). The response of the corporate dominated board to pressures for social justice was to reframe the pressure for change as a threat to the very people who would benefit from demands for greater social and economic equality. Wolfson argued for the SPCMT to maintain its commitment to the existing social programmes and to call on the scientific method of planning as a method of rationalization of the conflict. Those who are demanding change are portrayed as a threat to the social order. The pressure for change was a "social revolution" and the activities were cast as "militant social action". The Board persisted in its adherence to the traditional liberal approach to well-being - social services are the response to ameliorate the difficulties of capitalism.

At the annual general meeting in March at the St. Lawrence Hall, the minutes of the previous meeting and the Treasurer's Report were approved but the report of the Nominating Committee was challenged. Objections were raised to the procedures followed in preparing the slate of board of directors and in preparing and issuing ballots with the nominating committees's endorsement of forty-five of the eighty-two candidates. The ballots were not secret, each had a number which identified the name of the person marking it.

After raucous debate a motion to declare the ballots void, to convene another meeting in 30 days to be held in the evening, and to set up a special committee to arrange how to conduct the
meeting and arrange balloting was carried. A committee of seven members to be chaired by Margaret Campbell, a lawyer and local politician, was established. Three members including Howard Buchbinder were appointed from the membership and three others were to be appointed by the Executive of the Council (SPCMT, 1970g).

On April 6, Campbell's committee, known as the Special Committee, reported to the membership on its progress and indicated they needed more time to adequately complete their work. In the meantime the number of individual memberships continued to climb. The Special Committee had determined that all membership applications received by April 21 would be recognized and entitled to vote at the reconvened meeting. By April 21 the number of individual members of the Council reached 1071, an all-time record and more than twice that of the previous year. Supporters were being mobilized on all sides, new members included Mrs. John Yerger (wife of the Director of the UCF) and Mrs. Harry Edmison (wife of the Argus Corporation Executive and SPCMT board member). The number of organizational memberships had declined from 166 to 154. The Council was in the control of the lay public not the agencies.

The Special Committee developed new forms for the nomination of directors to the board with the background information to be completed by the nominee in twenty-five words or less. All members received an alphabetical list of board nominees with the background information along with formal notice of the meeting ten days in advance of the date. Eighty-six names appeared on the final list of candidates for election to the forty-five positions on the Board of Directors. Only twenty-three of the previous board stood for election. Most of the corporate executives and social elite withdrew. They were not accustomed to an electoral process to be a volunteer and the organizational conflict would have turned many off. Those who declined to stand included Harry
Edmison, Stephen Berger and four developers.

The annual general meeting was re-convened on May 13, 1970 at Convocation Hall of the University of Toronto with Frank Buckley, a vice-president, in the chair. Registrars and clerks were hired to help manage the issuing and counting of the ballots. Margaret Campbell reported on the cooperation within the committee and the membership agreed that the nominating and balloting process would take place according to the direction of the committee. A special resolution to set up a rotating board which required a two-thirds majority was turned down. A motion that a meeting of the general membership be called to thoroughly discuss the question of the funding of the Social Planning Council was carried. The election of board members was held with 656 ballots cast. It was after midnight when the new Board of Directors was announced (SPCMT, 1970d).

All of the previous board members who had stood were re-elected including the President Harry Wolfson and the Vice-president Frank Buckley. Three academics were re-elected, one, Kim Lambert was from the School of Social Work and an expert in quantitative research methods. He was joined by two colleagues David Cowley who was experienced in community development work and Rita Lindenfield who was cross-appointed to the Department of Psychiatry and worked at the Clarke Institute. Two labour representatives including Terry Meagher Secretary-Treasurer of the Ontario Federation of Labour returned to the board and were joined by a third labour activist. The presence of the UCF was strengthened. The Chairman and Vice-chairman of the Board of Trustees of the United Community Fund along with two directors kept their seats and were joined by Grant Ross, chairman of the Executive Committee of the UCF.

Six of the ten new candidates who identified themselves as members of the Just Society
and/or Praxis were elected. Included were Stephen Clarkson, Howard Buchbinder and Karl Jaffary, an alderman with the Reform group on Toronto city council. Suzanne Polgar stood again and was re-elected. Of twenty-nine new candidates who identified themselves as social activists, low-income or a member of a minority group such as a Native or a person with a disability, only two were elected. One was Bruce Kidd, a popular athlete, and the other a male social work student. Suzanne Polgar remained the only low-income person on the Board (SPCMT, 1970d).

Ten of the board members had signed a brief presented at the annual meeting which declared their commitment to social change not social control and these constituted the "reform group" on the Board (Buchbinder, 1972).

A group that got its candidates elected was the membership of the area councils. Each municipality in Metro: East York, Etobicoke, North York, Scarborough, Toronto and York had a locally organized voluntary social planning group that had committee status with the Metro SPC. These area governing committees circulated a memo to all members of the Council asking for support for their candidates stating "each of them has been elected by their respective Area Governing Committee and without your support we will be deprived of direct representation on the Metro Board of Directors" (SPCMT, 1970d). Both sides on the contestation for the board responded, all of the area representatives were elected.

A board meeting was held a week later to elect the officers. Frank Buckley was elected President. He was a local businessmen with linkages to the Catholic agencies serving as a director of both the Council of Catholic Charities and Catholic Family Services. He had been an active SPC board member. Four Vice-presidents were elected, Bruce Kidd was the only new member included. The constitution of the Executive Committee was changed. It was now to include all six
representatives of the Area Councils and six members to be elected by the Board making it a sizeable committee of eighteen. Nominations were held for the six board positions with thirteen candidates put forth including Howard Buchbinder, Laurell Ritchie and Suzanne Polgar of the Just Society. The election was scheduled for the following week (SPCMT, 1970e).

None of the Just Society members were elected to the Executive Committee even though Suzanne Polgar withdrew in favour of Buchbinder. Jack Barrow, Chair of the UCF Board of Trustees and CEO of Simpsons-Sears Ltd. was successful along with three academics including both members of the School of Social Work, Cowley and Lambert. A union member and a senior federal bureaucrat, both previous board members, were elected. The Just Society and its supporters were successful in creating a presence on the Board but the former board with its close ties to the UCF was still in control.

At the May 27 board meeting, a Constitution Committee was struck to deal with the outstanding issues around the nomination and election of board members. Karl Jaffery, alderman, lawyer and associate member of the Just Society was appointed chair. After some discussion it was decided that the by law amendments were to be put in the context of the role of the Council which was to be the focus of planned board/staff meetings. The board was committed to holding a membership meeting in the fall to which it had to report. There was considerable tension about how detailed the presentation to the membership about the future of the Council should be versus the membership defining the future of the Council. At this meeting, the Board received the resignation of Wilson Head who left the Council for an appointment at the newly formed York University (SPCMT, 1970f).
Challenging the United Community Fund

Early in 1970, a small group of Toronto activists organized to create public awareness about the pending hearing by the Senate Committee on Poverty in Toronto. The group consisted of a minister, two active members of the Association of Women Electors, an active member of the Liberal party and a social worker. The group was concerned about the lack of responsiveness of the social agencies to questions of poverty and the activism of grass roots groups and concluded that it could make a vital contribution by opening up the workings of the UCF to the community. The group felt the UCF needed to make itself more accessible and accountable to the community at large (Buchbinder, 1972).

A letter from the group's chair, Rev. Clifford Elliott of the United Church, was sent out in March asking for support from community groups as sponsors of a forum to re-examine the goals and operations of the UCF to make sure it was meeting the needs of the community. Strategically, the UCF agreed to participate with Elliott's group in planning the format of the meeting which was scheduled for May 21, just one week after the SPCMT annual meeting.

A week before the meeting, the UCF sent out a confidential thirty page memo to all executive directors of the seventy-eight Fund agencies suggesting that the agency's interest would be "well served" by sending four representatives to the forum. The attendance by the agency representatives would ensure that the audience would be dominated by people whose interest was tied to the UCF. The memo identified questions that might be asked at the meeting and suggested answers to the questions (Buchbinder, 1972).

The UCF succeeded in controlling the public forum but the questions about its accountability were still in the air. The holding of a public forum which questioned the role of the
Fund was itself a major achievement.

The Council Re-structures

The struggle around the appropriate roles and functions of the Council continued over the summer months. At the orientation meeting for board members held on June 10, Frei presented a detailed twenty page report accompanied by five appendices. In the face of challenge to the authority and function of the Council, Frei responded with a proposal for rational social planning processes that incorporated participant input. Frei had great confidence in science and rationality to impose social order on the organization and the community.

In reporting on the main tasks of the Council, Frei identified ten areas of activity. The first and the one that consumed most of the staff resources was work for the UCF and the agency system. The work included a revised Report on Trends and Priorities (which was distributed upon request to all Councils in Canada); evaluation of agencies for allocation of funds; triennial evaluation of agencies; special reports on several agencies who asked for special allocations; evaluation of agencies requesting admission to the UCF (Frei, 1970a).

The second major area of activity was work done for the six Area Councils. SPC staff provided consultation and secretarial service to the Councils which were emerging as entities in their own right. Since October 1969, regular meetings of the representatives of the Area Councils had been held in an attempt to improve communications between the Area Councils and the staff of SPCMT. The Council had only four workers available for the six local organizations, and there was tension around the allocation of staff resources.

"Problems of Poverty" was listed as an area of activity but the curt commentary read, "While some work has been done in this field, it has been without a systematic study or method of
approach" (Frei, 1970a:4). The power relations behind the lack of attention to the issue of poverty were ignored and the problem identified as the absence of a scientific approach. The contestation around the area of poverty and the differences in approach between the Board and some of the staff was played out around a planned report to the Senate Special Committee on Poverty. Preparation of the report involved extensive discussions among the staff resulting in the report being re-written three times. The report was discussed by the Executive Committee who made final changes and it was sent to Ottawa. However, the additions and some of the wording in the last version were not accepted by the staff and they succeeded in having the appearance of the Council at the Senate Committee cancelled (Frei, 1970a).

The Council was streamlining its areas of activity. In 1970 the Information and Referral Service was established as a separate organization at a different location with 50% funding from the Metro Government and 50% from the UCF. Plans were also being put in place to establish the Volunteer Bureau as a separate agency. The Council was to focus on social planning which was still a wide range of activities including development and coordination of services, research, consultation to various organizations and groups and providing organization and secretariat support to emerging groups. The research projects were all externally funded and had become an important source of revenue for the Council (Frei 1970a).

Frei waded into the fray between the Council and the UCF with a nine page position paper to the UCF which was also undergoing a re-examination. He proposed the development of a priorities system for the allocation of funds given that social services were increasing and a stagnation in fund raising had occurred "all over this continent" (Frei 1970b:1). Frei's recommendation was the development of "a process of continuous study and evaluation of the
social service structure, and the establishment of a system of priorities for the best possible
distribution of available funds" (Frei 1970b:1).

Frei sought to bring order to the relationship between the Council and the UCF. He
identified two concepts of planning, domestic, which he attributed to Funds and Chests and,
general, which was the area of responsibility of Councils. Detailed descriptions of functions and
activities were intended to demarcate the respective areas of responsibility. The proposal was a
separation of powers over the social service system between the two agencies. The UCF was to
focus on the raising and distribution of funds and the management practices of the agencies. The
Council was to evaluate the ecological, socio-cultural and political environment to identify
influences on the work of the social services and the social welfare of the population. General
Planning was to form a base for Domestic Planning with both operating in a cooperative feedback
system.

Frei proposed a detailed and comprehensive methodology for information gathering which
would lead to the production of an annual report of community priorities. There were to be eight
sources of data including a survey of clients' perception of needs which was to be based on a
stratified random sample, UCF's Survey of the Opinion of Donors, Area Social Planning Councils,
citizens' groups and social service agencies. The clients were to finally have a say but through a
carefully controlled process, a "stratified random sample" that constrained and confined their
input. The poor and the people who received services were to have an opportunity for input -
along with everyone else in the community. As one of eight sources, the client input would be
marginalized. The Council was to be at the service of all the people and all were deemed to be
equally deserving without attention to need or capacity.
Frei's strong support of the UCF and the commitment of the Council's resources to the priority setting process for the allocations of resources were not well received by the staff or the membership. Over Frei's concerns that there was not enough time or staff available, the Board called for an informal meeting of the membership so it could be involved in the discussion of ongoing issues. On September 24, 1970, almost 300 people gathered at St. Lawrence Hall to express their views about the future of the Council. Stanley Burke of the CBC chaired the meeting. The members expressed concern about the purpose of the Council, the definition of social planning, the lack of a social action role, access to information, the participation of people with needs, organizational support to poor people, positions on public issues and funding. The issues had been articulated in a brief developed by the reform group of the board and named the Cowley Report in recognition of the work of David Cowley, board member and member of the faculty of the Toronto School of Social Work.

An official membership meeting which had been promised at the annual meeting was held on December 16, 1970 and the following motion was passed:

That our direction be that of social development and social change achieved through working and providing a voice for citizens at the local (grass roots) level, generally by (i) organizing or working with low or no income groups, such as the working poor, pensioners, the unemployed etc. (ii) working with agencies and rate-payers groups etc. That the Metropolitan Toronto Social Planning Council provide the necessary components of staff research and finances to carry out the new direction (Buchbinder, 1972:153).

The policy decision by the membership was referred to the President's Committee on Policy which was established to guide the direction of the Council. At the December board meeting, the staff also submitted a position paper for consideration by the President's Policy
Committee which was consistent with the position of the membership.

The staff argued that the primary purpose of the Council should be to make a specific contribution to the development and sustenance of a healthy quality of life in Metropolitan Toronto and that it should move away from being a "Council of Social Agencies". They urged the Board to re-structure the Council to fulfil more effectively the emerging roles of social policy analysis and research, and social development. The staff argued that the Council had a responsibility for the ongoing monitoring and analysis of social policies as they develop along with the systematic study of the effects of programmes. Social development was defined as "working with groups in the community to assist them to plan and to use constructively their potential power, making effective use of factual analytical information and other resources." The social development function was to strengthen, directly or indirectly, the capacities of groups to carry out social planning, not to replace them or to plan on their behalf (Staff of SPCMT, 1970).

The staff were beginning to articulate a practice of social planning that would support the interests of marginalized groups such as the Just Society. Social policy analysis provided a structural framework of knowledge creation that allowed an examination of how social policies and programmes were or were not serving the people they were intended for. Social development put the resources of knowledge creation at the use of the marginalized groups. Implications of this shift for the organizational structure and staffing were identified. The existing departmentalized structure was considered too rigid and the Area Council structure unsuitable. These practices would also require professional skills that the Council did not currently have. The staff were pushing for changes in the Council that supported the minority position of the Board and challenged the approach of the Executive Director.
An Organization for All the People

The organization continued to struggle with the new directions, writhing with the internal turmoil. The activity was being closely monitored by the UCF. On February 1, 1971 just six weeks after the Council membership meeting, Grant Ross, President of the UCF sent a letter to Frank Buckley, President of the Council calling for a "self-analysis" by the Council. The Council was to report by April 15 on how it measured up to the criteria used in the admission of new organizations to the Fund. The report was to assist the review committee of the Fund to determine if the SPCMT continued to meet the standards of admission of the UCF (Buchbinder, 1972).

On February 24, 1971, the Board of Directors adopted the policy statement of the President's Committee. At the annual meeting in May, the new mission statement was adopted (Hebb, 1973b).

The long-range policy of the SPC is to provide Metropolitan Toronto with a strong, independent volunteer-directed and volunteer supported social planning body which helps the total community to identify its needs in order of priority and helps the community to take action to bring about constructive social change in accordance with such priority. The goal is the enhancement of the quality of life for all people in this community (emphasis added).

In an attempt to accommodate the competing interests, the organization adopted a pluralist approach claiming to represent all of the people of Toronto. The focus on the "total community" failed to recognize the disparities in needs and capacities. The formal statement was politically safe giving the agency a chameleon identity that made it appear to be all things to all people.

Buckley sent a copy of the policy statement to Ross in March. A few days later, Ross was
quoted in the press as indicating that the report had "cleared the air" as far as the intentions of the Council were concerned (Buchbinder 1972:156). The air may have been clear but the UCF was not taking any chances on the future control of the Council.

At the 1971 annual general meeting in April, Chairman Frank Buckley defended the Council against allegations that it had done nothing during the past year. As the Council tried to contend with competing visions, it was not satisfying any of the constituent groups. Two slates of candidates for the Board of Directors were presented to the membership. One was a reform slate and the other was a slate endorsed by the UCF that included a "token" group of reformers (Kidd, Jaffarey and Cowley) and representatives of major agencies dependent on the Fund (Buchbinder 1972). The UCF slate was elected. The connection between the Fund and the Council was tightened.

The inclusiveness of the policy position provided some flexibility for the staff. The policy statement called for the formation of a standing Board/Staff Committee on Policies which was to guide the Board in identifying policies and programmes for implementation. Although a motion to allow the staff to have positions on the Board was not approved at the 1971 AGM, their influence was being incorporated into the institutional structure.

Frei sought to get greater control over the allocation of staff resources with the introduction of a functional accounting system which allowed for the control of the cost of each project or service performed by the Council. The system required that staff complete time sheets indicating how their time was being used. The information was to be used to prepare job descriptions and the reorganization of the administrative structure. Through the accounting system, surveillance of the staff was intensified and the information provided by them was used to
re-organize and re-structure their jobs and work environment.

The internal re-structuring was complete by the fall of 1971. Three areas of activity were identified: Community Review, Consultative Services and Social Development. Community Review was the community research area intended to generate data about social issues and needs and produce social maps and planning aids. The urban development studies such as the Don District Study, were developed under this group. Annual reports on social need in Metro with a review of significant planning, policy and programme options were to be produced. A component of public education was included in the form of pamphlets, workshops and forums. The UCF trends report would be a project of this group.

Consultative Services were supports to the agencies that included organizational development, reviews of service systems and funding patterns. Service providers and funders were served by this working group. A 1972 report to the Board outlines twenty different projects in the Consultative Services area including the Community Day Care Committee formed in May of 1971. This coalition was to evolve into an advocacy coalition and become independent of the Council.

Social development was the third area of activity. It was under the direction of Marvyn Novick and was intended to accommodate the pressure for support for marginalized community groups. In addition to providing and securing support resources to enable community group development, two other priority planning areas were identified: income security and human resources development, and housing environments. Issues related to income maintenance, unemployment insurance, redefinition of work and social mobility for the poor were identified as part of the workload under the former, and quality of housing planning, the available housing
stock for low-income populations, and the creation of liveable social environments were part of the mandate of the latter. Most of the activity took place in the areas of housing and community groups. Income security was not to emerge as a significant issue for the Council until 1978 and was to define the work of the eighties. It took until the late seventies for the context to shift sufficiently to enable a more critical approach.

The support to community groups was facilitated by the federal announcement of the Local Initiatives Programme (LIP) in November of 1971. Originally created as a winter works job creation programme, it became the major financial instrument for the innovation of community services in Metro Toronto (Novick, 1973). The programme was extended five times. In August 1972, the Council Board approved the Storefront Project which was "to serve as a rational planning instrument enabling community groups to become full and active partners in the social planning operations of this community" (Hebb, 1973:4).

Rational planning and democratic participation were inherently contradictory approaches to practice. The former assumed a top-down, technical approach and was anchored in the positivist knowledge form. Democracy assumed a bottom-up, participatory approach that resisted positivism and required a new knowledge form. The organization was under pressure to contain both. The UCF supported rational planning while vulnerable groups in the community were demanding access to the resources of the Council.

The SPC had a visible presence in the community serving as a community secretariat to assist groups in applying for LIP funding. By the end of 1973, over eighty community services had been established with the support of LIP funding. As the programme was drawing to an end, the Council organized a community task force to secure alternative funding to sustain the services.
The focus was on the provincial government. It was argued that the LIP initiated services were filling important gaps which were in fact a provincial responsibility. The UCF and the Metro Council were collaborators in planning for the stability of the services developed.

The staff call for a focus on social policy was not formally recognized within the re-organization; however, the previous emphasis on social services and the UCF was balanced by the emphasis on social development. In the re-structuring, the Council did negotiate an agreement with the UCF about respective responsibilities. While the SPCMT retained responsibility for the identification of needs and trends, the reviews of agencies and UCF funded services reverted to the UCF. By the fall of 1973, the trends report was named the Community Social Audit and was to focus on "social issues in structural terms rather than as community pathologies" (SPCMT, 1973).

The Council was moving away from being a "supervisor" of the agencies to being an organizer and facilitator. It was through the agencies that pressure for increased social policy activity arose. In June 1972, the Metro Agencies Action Committee (MAAC) was formed (Pearl and Barr, 1976). It was an initiative proposed by the Social Action Committee of the Board of the Family Service Association. The Council facilitated the organization of agencies providing services to families and youth to form an action mechanism to influence the quality of social policies and programmes in the community. Their initial concern was the need for financial aid for secondary school students in order to remain in school. Changes to the General Welfare Assistance Act were proposed. Social welfare reform had been a longstanding issue for the Council starting with the Toronto Welfare Council. However, it would be in the eighties that social policy and particular social welfare policy would dominate its agenda.
There was increasing pressure on the Council "to be more visibly committed and concerned in relating to topical issues and policy directions" (Hebb 1973:2). In 1973, the mandate of the Board Policy and Programme Committee was expanded to include the potential adoption by the Council of publicly stated positions in major social policy areas or on more limited and contemporary social issues. The Board would have final decision making, but the mechanism for a higher public profile in social policy areas outside the needs of social services was in place.

**Changing Leadership**

As soon as the re-structuring was completed in the fall of 1971, Frei was informed that his services as Executive Director would no longer be required. It had been planned that he would be an interim director and the Board was anxious to put the period of turmoil behind them. In January 1972, George Hart was hired as Executive Director. Hart also came from Montreal where he had served as Executive Director of the Federated Appeal of Greater Montreal and the Montreal Council of Social Agencies. He was a seasoned administrator, and a WASP with close affiliations with the federated fundraising community. The Council had made a number of accommodations to the pressure for support for community groups, but Hart's appointment would keep the overall direction within the value framework of the UCF.

Hart was faced with maintaining and securing adequate funding for the Council. The UCF did not meet its campaign target for 1973, and the allocation was reduced. Hart worked unsuccessfully with Metro and provincial bureaucrats to try and secure federal funding for voluntary social planning under the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP). Fees for service for assistance to groups outside the core activity of the Council were implemented (SPCMT 1973b). Hart was successful in doubling the grant from Metro Council to $30,000 in 1973.
Again the UCF became a target of public scrutiny, this time by a group identifying themselves as the Committee of Concerned Citizens (CCC). The group called for essential social services to be funded by government not through voluntary dollars and proposed a boycott of donations to the UCF with the funds directed to self-help groups such as food cooperatives. A public forum was called for October 10, 1973 with the panel including John Sewell and Margaret Campbell. While there was some sympathy within the Board for the views of the CCC, the strategies were not supported and the Council Board decided to support the UCF. President Anne Barstow wrote a letter to the editor critical of the CCC’s approach.

The UCF again "stacked" the public forum. A confidential letter was sent to all of its funded agencies asking them to send two representatives each to the meeting to support the funder. The consensus of the SPCMT Board at their Oct. 24 meeting was that the CCC had "come off badly" although Henry Labatte, Executive Director of the YMCA, described the CCC "still as a threat to the community" (SPCMT, 1973c). The Council may have taken a community development approach, but social change was still to be within the constraints of the corporately dominated UCF.

Hart was not a strong supporter of the three part working group structure of the Council and the relative independence of the groups. In a report to the Board on future directions and dimensions in January 1974, he expressed concerns about "departmentalization, we-they attitudes, inadequate communication, and the locking of resources into entities" (Hart, 1974:9). Hart did not support ongoing funding for the Storefront and the tension between him and Marvyn Novick erupted in 1975. Hart fired Novick alleging insubordination, Novick had attended a community meeting without Hart’s permission (Novick, personal communication, 1997). However, Hart
underestimated the support for the community worker and the potential for coalition building among apparently disparate factions within the Board.

**The Urban Reform Movement Spreads to the Council**

The mid-sixties in Toronto marked the beginning of a decade of citizen participation initiated by opposition to urban renewal schemes that were dislocating residents (Lemon 1985:51). Public sentiment coalesced to challenge the authority of developers and planners to fashion the city to their liking (Sewell 1993:137). The mobilization of residents of Trefann Court to insist on input into the renewal planned for their neighbourhood in the late sixties marked the successful opposition to the wishes of municipal politicians. The 1969 municipal election saw a small but vocal reform contingent elected to city hall including John Sewell, David Crombie, Karl Jaffary and William Kilbourn (Lemon 1985). Jaffary was elected as a member of the board of the SPCMT in 1970.

The urban reform movement became linked with the pressure for social planning in addition to land-use planning. Albert Rose wrote a book in 1972 about Toronto focusing on two major themes. He argued that physical planning and physical development had dominated the programme, budgeting and financing of metropolitan-wide activities in the Toronto area to the neglect of social planning, social development, and the social and human concerns of a substantial proportion of its residents. His second theme was that the central city in the Metropolitan Area of Toronto was experiencing serious neglect at the hands of the Metro Council.

The City of Toronto is in grave danger of becoming a deprived municipality - not so much with respect to its commercial image, nor the face it presents to visitors and tourists, but with respect to the quality of the environment provided for its less affluent citizens. True, the City continues to go forward in a vast building programme under private
auspices. But as a consequence, poor, low-income families and single elderly persons are being denied the possibility of independent living in the costly areas beyond the City boundaries, and they are even in great danger of being denied access to the central city itself" (Rose, 1972:xxiv).

Rose distinguished between two forms of traditional citizens' organizations, the "charitable agencies" or organizations founded by upper- and middle-class persons to assist families and children and newcomers and associations of neighbourhood property owners or "ratepayers' associations", and the neighbourhood groups scarcely known before 1965 that organized to participate in local government and look after neighbourhood interests. These groups formed in response to plans for urban renewal and had leadership from long term residents and from the newer residents who were part of the gentrification of the downtown area: a mix of "scholars, lawyers, engineers, architects, and urban planners." By 1967 these groups had become "formidable forces" influencing urban policy (Rose 1972:169). The issues included concerns such as public versus private transportation. "Stop Spadina" was an example of an effective protest movement that stopped the construction of a major north/south highway through the mid and downtown area (Newbury, 1989).

The SPCMT become a focal point of sixties' urban activism in Toronto as young social workers and academic activists demanded that the SPC direct its resources to work with community groups addressing the issues of poverty and the destruction of working class neighbourhoods through urban renewal rather than serve the UCF and its agencies (Novick 1990:7). Urban activists who had enjoyed success on land-use planning issues, re-directed their efforts to social planning issues and the Council. With the help of Marvyn Novick, they began to ask questions about being socially healthy, not just about physical structures (Frerich, personal communication, 1997).

The core organization was the Confederation of Resident and Ratepayer Associations
(CORRA) which worked with the reform caucus in place at Toronto city council (Lemon 1985:152). In an alliance with the Metropolitan Toronto Labour Council which had formed through the city reform process, a "coup" was staged at the SPCMT in 1974. A group of activists lead by Eilert Frerichs were successfully elected to the Board. Labour had provided staff resources to the urban reform movement (Ranachan, personal communication, 1997) and already had a presence on the Council in Louis Lenkinski who was elected to the 1974 Board Executive. Connections were also made with several board members who like Marvyn Novick had a history of Jewish socialism (Frerichs, 1997). A "reform group" was re-established within the Board only two years after the UCF attempt to eliminate it from the Council.

Another Executive Director

Larry Hebb was elected President of the Board in 1975. Hebb, a lawyer with a leading Toronto firm, had been endorsed by the UCF in 1971 based on his professional credentials. He had been active in the area council in North York and stood for the SPCMT council in 1971 oblivious to the power struggle that was taking place (Hebb, personal communication, 1997). Hebb was an effective conciliator respected by all constituents. He was committed to the organization and recognized that Hart did not have the confidence of key constituents. Hart had to go.

The September 1975 SPCMT Newsletter announced that George Hart had left the employment of the Council in June "after disagreement between Mr. Hart and members of the Executive Committee and Board of Directors on some administrative matters" (SPCMT, 1975). Marvyn Novick was reinstated. In an apparent slam at Hart and his supporters, he later wrote that the directions set by John Frei for the SPC "were too firmly embedded to be uprooted by minor characters seeking to restore the ethnic hegemonies of less tolerant eras in the history of Toronto"
John Frei who had continued as a consultant to the Council was appointed interim executive director. The organizational turmoil referred to as a "revolution" (Pennington, personal communication, 1997), of course raised concerns within the Fund. The UCF again ordered a review of the Council's membership. While trying to hire a new executive director, the Council under Hebb's leadership was again defending itself to the Fund (Hebb, personal communication, 1997).

The Council hired Edward Pennington who had been Executive Director of the Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District and the Social Planning Council of Greater Niagara. He had just returned from Australia where he had not survived an organizational dispute within the Australian Council of Social Service. It was a tough political experience that served him well in managing the turbulent environment of the Council (Pennington, personal communication, 1997).

Pennington was a social worker trained at the University of British Columbia and had extensive links with the social work profession. He had been President of the Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers, on the Executive Committee of the Canadian Association of Social Workers and active in the International Council of Social Welfare. He was on the Board of the Canadian Council of Social Development from 1979 to 1988 (Pennington, personal communication, 1997). He was a trained administrator without any apparent strong ideological positions. Despite his local experience, he was seen as an "outsider" and was brought in to "calm the place" (Pennington, personal communication, 1997). His goal was to create a rigorous programme planning process that could stand up to public scrutiny and re-establish the credibility of the Council. He sought to give Novick as much freedom as possible to pursue both community development and research activities. Pennington was to be the administrator and
Novick the director of programming.

Pennington set about reorganizing the staff of the Council. The position of Senior Programme Director was created with responsibilities to give leadership to programme development and direct and undertake activities in broad areas of social welfare planning or research (Pennington, 1976). Marvyn Novick was appointed to one of the two newly created positions. One of his first activities was to initiate a major study of the distribution of human services in the suburbs of Metropolitan Toronto. Agencies in the Jane-Finch community had requested that the Council conduct research on local needs. Novick and a staff person drew straws to see who would go. Novick 'lost' the draw. His subsequent work drew attention to the fact that the suburban areas of Metropolitan Toronto were experiencing significant social problems. Novick wanted a much larger investigation.

**Metro's Suburbs in Transition**

This three year study launched in 1976 resulted in two major reports. Part I: Evolution and Overview, a Background Report, was released in April, 1979. Marvyn Novick was the Project Director and John Gandy was Project Committee chair. Gandy had been a senior staff at the Council in the early sixties who was passed over when Douglas McConney was hired. Gandy became a member of the Faculty of Social Work at the University of Toronto and was one of the activist academics who joined the Board of the Council in the mid-seventies. The project committee members included University of Toronto geographers John Hitchcock and Jim Lemon, labour activist Mike Lyons, Eilert Frerichs, and Pat O'Neill, a community activist. Part I was a 300 page document, with extensive detail: 55 enclosures (maps), 37 figures and 24 tables.

The report documents the resistance to proposed changes in the physical development of the City of Toronto in the sixties and seventies such as proposed expressway developments and
large-scale construction of high-rise apartments, part of a distinct urban trend across North America. The resistance contributed to a culture of citizen participation in land-use planning in the city.

The ferment which resulted gave rise to a rediscovery of urban issues in the City of Toronto. Through the emergence or renewal of resident organizations, self-help groups, and public interest coalitions, the City underwent an extensive period of review and reform. The political environment was transformed, the planning process re-shaped and re-directed, and a sense of participation came to develop at local levels of community life. In this process, the City of Toronto began to articulate its preferred forms of future development - preservation of neighbourhoods, human scale physical development, deconcentration of downtown functions into sub-centres, mixed-use and heterogeneous residential environments, and integrated neighbourhood services (SPCMT, 1979:3).

There was frequent reference to the "urban region" which included areas outside of Metro such as Peel, Halton, York and Durham regions - what is currently referred to as the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). The report was critical of the "insensitivity of the province to the needs of Metro and other municipalities in Ontario" (SPCMT, 1979:8) by failing to support the inclusion of social objectives in official urban plans. The efforts of the Council to promote an active local government role in the co-ordinated planning and provision of social programmes in Metro were cited. The Council's major background report in 1976 "In Search of a Framework" documented trends in the financing and delivery of community services in the City of Toronto. The report noted the fragmented and often inconsistent patterns of social provision where there was little active planning at the local level. The Council supported the Robarts Commission in 1974 in recommending that Metro Council have a mandate to plan and co-ordinate human services. In its policy statements on the Planning Act Review and the Metroplan process, the Council called for the need to include social principles and objectives in future forms of urban planning. In June 1978, SPCMT helped convene a major seminar to promote the inclusion of social objectives in
The Council's New Suburban Communities project had three major elements.

a) Developmental Work. Consultation and planning assistance to suburban resident groups, community and inter-agency associations, and service funders with an interest in suburban development - supplementary to the local planning bodies in Etobicoke, North York and Scarborough.

b) Background Report. Part I, an introductory description, exploratory in nature, of changing social trends and patterns of new suburban areas in particular, and of Metro in general.

c) Policy Report. Part II, provide policy, planning and service recommendations arising from the background report and subsequent feedback and consultations (SPCMT 1979:10-12).

Information and data resources for the project included:

a) a review of literature on post-war urban history and review of Metro post-war service and planning reports.

b) demographic analysis of social distributions within Metro using 1976 census data

c) mapping of selective community service and resource patterns

d) 108 exploratory interviews with 228 respondents in individual and group sessions: 98 in their role as residents, 73 local community service workers, 42 borough wide service providers, 18 officials or interested parties. Residents interviewed included primarily ratepayers, OHC tenants, elderly, single parents, youth and recent immigrants. Local community service workers included a public health nurse, a school principal, a clergyman, youth and community service police officers, a CAS worker, a plaza manager, persons
working with the elderly, and neighbourhood service workers. Certain social groups were identified as having special adaptation difficulties (adolescents, mothers with young children, immigrants, elderly) and the interviews were designed to include a special focus on these groups (SPCMT, 1979:13-14).

In this research project, the populations affected by the recommendations of the study were allowed to speak for themselves. The interviews were theme focussed but open-ended in order to explore a broad range of issues and concerns. Respondents were able to focus on what was of special interest to them. The local communities selected for resident and service worker interviews were based on the two Metro Minor Planning Districts in each suburban municipality which had either experienced the most rapid growth rate from 1971-76, or contained the most units of publicly assisted housing stock. These districts were assumed to be in higher states of transition and diversity (SPCMT, 1979:14). Information, analysis and perspective drawn from the developmental work of the Council including public forums, panels, and meetings with social action groups were also considered.

The project chose Metro Minor Planning Districts for the local unit of study and focussed on the suburban areas with high levels of population growth from 1951-1971. There was considerable detail in explaining and justifying the selection of data and urban planning forms for study, the mapping process (much done by hand), and the limitations of the data.

The Council was taking a new direction in its approach to human services from that of the 1963 Needs and Resources study. As part of its redirection process, it initiated a major review of its programmes called "Aiming at the Eighties" (SPCMT, 1978). The report on human services development argued that human services coordination should ultimately be based on the recognition that "needs cannot be readily isolated from the total life situation of the person, group,
or community for whom a particular social benefit is intended." The mere presence of a service in the community could not ensure that a social benefit had been provided, "a human service programme becomes a fully conferred benefit only when it is readily available, and appropriate in character, to the conditions of the person, group, or community for whom it is intended" (SPCMT, 1978:7-9).

The contention of the Council was that social benefits were fully conferred only when appropriate service relationships had come to be established and maintained over time between the sources of social benefits and the subjects of social benefits (SPCMT, 1978:29). The report also noted "the alternative to the concept of discreet and specialized needs is the concept of relational needs" (SPCMT, 1978:29). A new discourse in service planning was being developed and it provided a frame for new methods of research and knowledge creation.

The Suburbs report advocated a new approach to planning, not to just add to what already existed, but to examine what was there. The survey of literature was not limited to urban planning but included sociology, social ecology and social development.

Differences in power relations were recognized, "In the absence of locally-based voluntary agencies and social interest groups, the environmental needs of minorities without collective forms of economic or political influence will receive limited priority" (SPCMT, 1979:31). It was not just the absence of service agencies in the suburbs that was viewed as problematic, but the absence of voluntary associational life that could create political influence.

In an extensive and thoughtful historical section, the Suburbs report examined the factors that contributed to the formation of the suburbs and the impact of the suburban form on individual and family life. The physical form of the suburbs and the single family home were portrayed as the ideal environment for the raising of children. "The unique achievement of the post-war suburbs
was to create mainstream human settlements with an implicit emphasis on child welfare" (SPCMT, 1979:54). The report was exposing how land-use planning and the formation of the suburban physical structure was contributing to the post-war emphasis on the nuclear family and child rearing and the gendered nature of roles in the family.

Detailed mapping of population growth and density, housing and social service development presented visual forms of the extensive changes that had occurred in the Metro area from 1951 to 1976. Important social development trends of the Metro area were identified: large scale immigration, emergence of public and private service economies, active family formation and child bearing, entrenchment of trade unionism, relative price stability and sustained economic growth and the Toronto urban region as the industrial and financial engine of the Canadian economy (SPCMT, 1979:59).

The study noted that the call made by the 1963 Needs and Resources Study for planning for social needs of residents went unheeded.

There never were, nor are there now, provincial or federal government programmes to help finance the operational needs of needed community services to accompany the large scale settlement of new populations into rapid growth urban areas. The financial burden was invariably placed on the limited revenue resources of municipalities and the voluntary sector (SPCMT, 1979:77).

Significant differences in the approaches of the City of Toronto and the suburbs to urban planning and citizen participation were cited. At the time of the report, the City of Toronto had forty-eight neighbourhood planners often working in site offices in local communities with local residents to address physical and social development planning issues. There were no neighbourhood planners in the suburbs.

The concept of life cycle was used to analyze the changing nature of the population and
the implications for planning. Detailed maps showed the considerable variations in the density of populations of children and seniors across Metro neighbourhoods. The amount of information was often tedious and sometimes not easily accessible.

A significant finding was that "the post-war Keynesian framework for the supply of financially accessible family housing within Metropolitan Toronto has broken down for the present generation of average-income families with young children" (SPCMT, 1979:118). Families seeking affordable ground level housing had to move to the suburbs, because it was not available in Metro. Large scale forms of apartment development in the suburbs meant increased numbers of residents living in rental accommodations. Publicly assisted housing units also enabled families and individuals from modest income backgrounds to settle in the suburbs (SPCMT, 1979:121). The high concentrations of publicly assisted housing in certain suburban areas along with the absence of community services resulted in "the creation of high need communities living in limited states of social integration with the general community, with serious and pressing human problems which are largely unaddressed" (SPCMT, 1979:127).

The report challenged the traditional view of the family that was synonymous with the suburban image.

Metro's suburbs no longer consist of homogenous family groups. There is a diversity of size and composition, age of adults and children, marital patterns, and roles of women, in suburban families of the seventies. The demand that suburban zoning preserve neighbourhoods in their original form clings to a set of historical images outside the realm of current social realities. These zoning policies only serve to exclude increasing numbers of children and elderly from suburban neighbourhoods. Some of those to be excluded in the future are living in these neighbourhoods today (SPCMT, 1979:148).

The report was critical of the lack of responsiveness of public services and policies to the new needs of children, youth, and families particularly immigrant families. There was a call for
services to evolve into "flexible family environments" able to accommodate the continuity and diversity of family experience consistent with contemporary social realities that included economic instability and labour market transformation (SPCMT, 1979:156). The study looked at job supply distribution across suburban districts to find that the lowest areas of job availability was in Scarborough where rapid public transit linkages were least developed.

The population of young people 10-19 years, was identified as the largest age group in most suburban districts of Metro. The suburban response to the dominant presence of youth in their midst was one of unease and tension. The increase in one parent families and the apparent lack of a secure male or female parent relationship was identified as a problem for youth. The study mapped the apprehension patterns and recorded juvenile offences for all of Metro - highest in the Scarborough area. The type of offences were not described but there was a reference to a Scarborough report identifying shoplifting as the most frequent juvenile offence.

The report claimed "an urgent need for stable job creation programmes to restore a sense of the work ethic among unemployed suburban youth" (SPCMT, 1979:210). Community employment for youth was identified as a means to fill the gaps in current services for those in need. The LIP programme seems to have benefited primarily the inner city. The report warned that the suburbs could experience serious forms of disruption in the eighties similar to that experienced by American cities in the sixties.

The report looked at the vulnerability of some women. In the final section, "Life Cycle Dependence: The Elderly and Solitary Parents of Young Children", these two groups are identified as having common environment needs. (A solitary parent is defined as an adult age 16 and over caring for at least one child 12 and under.)

It is in these two life situations - agedness and solitary parenting - that the social inequalities borne by women in general are most acutely
experienced. They are highly dependent upon frameworks of community support particularly with respect to mobility, access to community services, home support, continuing education, opportunities for social contact and community integration, and access to part-time work (SPCMT, 1979:219)

The report was critical of OHC housing, a major source of accommodation for single parents living in the suburbs. Local stores were at a distance. In winter, walking was often hazardous and wind tunnels around housing developments were risky for parents with young children and the elderly. Public transit involved long waits, poor connections, transit oriented to downtown with difficulties moving across suburban municipalities. Grocery shopping required the use of taxis, an additional expense. The need for a para-transit strategy in the suburbs which would include all individuals with special mobility needs was identified. While the suburbs provided opportunities for social contact for seniors eg. clubs, excursions, crafts and leisure activities, there were serious limitations in home help and home support services. As women entered the work force, volunteers for home visiting and transportation were less available. The suburbs appeared to be more receptive to providing non-profit housing for the elderly than for families with children.

The report concluded, "The era of suburban and metropolitan innocence in Toronto is over. Stable post-war images of urban life in Metro, with clear social distinctions between the City and the suburbs, and the belief that Metro would sustain continued population growth into the indefinite future, no longer correspond to the social realities of what exists today or to the conditions which will have to be faced in the coming decade" (SPCMT, 1979:233).

The Response to Suburbs

The response to the release of Part I of the study was immediate and intense. David Lewis Stein, a journalist at the Toronto Star and a friend of Marvyn Novick, accepted the report and
was critical of Metro politicians for the absence of a Metro social plan (April 8, 1979:A4). Stein called for the direct election of politicians to the Metropolitan government.

There was little coverage by the Globe and Mail, in fact an April 14 article in the Globe (Margaret Daly, 1979:5) quoted Chairman Paul Godfrey condemning the carefully orchestrated leak to the press as "phoney, bush-league kite-flying." The paper described "an often bitter hour-long debate" by the social services committee with some members wanting to shelve the document for its sensationalization of suburban problems. The report was depicted as "a direct attack on Metro's social services staff" by Chairman Godfrey - a neat trick of re-directing the focus. Metro politicians seemed to be as upset at learning about the report from the newspaper as they were about the contents. A suggestion was made that the Metro Council either tell the SPC what to research in the future or cut off its funds.

Suburbs received extensive coverage from the Star using the theme of "Suburban Nightmare". On April 9 the front page of the Toronto Star read "Metro's 'dream' suburbs called nightmare of social problems" (Janice Dineen, 1979). The boroughs were described as having inherited all the problems normally associated with the inner city - poverty, unemployment, racial tension, drug and alcohol abuse, and juvenile crime - and as being woefully ill-equipped to deal with them. The paper also echoed the reports warning that the suburban concentration of restless, unemployed youth could result in violence similar to that which rocked United States cities in the 1960s (Peter Goodspeed, 1979:A1). The headlines were provocative: Suburban youth ripe for crime; breakdown of nuclear family leads to singles revolution; Metro suburbs unprepared for influx of immigrants; suburban planner slammed for ignoring rapid changes; lack of employment has some unsettling results.

The Star editorial of April 9 started "An illusion has been shattered today" claiming the
SPC report "destroys forever the comfortable myth of our trouble free suburbs". Politicians were criticized for "still conducting themselves as though the suburban boroughs had interests quite different from those of the City of Toronto." It called upon the politicians to study the report and act upon the information.

The suburban mayors angrily rejected the report. Attempts were made to divert responsibility to bureaucratic staff and to the provincial government. Suburban planners were accused of having neglected human and social services while concentrating on providing roads, water, sewers and schools. North York mayor Mel Lastman blamed the provincial public housing policy. Metro Chairman Paul Godfrey called for an injection of provincial funds "with no strings attached" to sort out suburban problems.

The Toronto Sun, an ultra conservative paper, criticized the "doom and gloom" report labelling it as a report from "social workers who specialize in anticipating the worst and generating alarm in hopes of stimulating more government spending and involvement in daily lives." The Sun was critical of the changes in the Council and questioned whether funding should continue.

In recent years the SPC has suffered from excessive ideological orientation; armchair activists tend to preach "social change" and the radicalization of society. In fact there are periodic suggestions that the SPC should be disbanded or cut off from United Way funding...It behoves a responsible social agency to view Toronto in a realistic, balanced way and to recognize that life itself is a struggle (Bourgon, 1979).

The Council took a fighting stance in defense of the controversial report. Ed Pennington stated publicly that the council stood behind the report's findings. This was despite weakening political support. In the face of strenuous objections from Metro politicians, Councillor Gordon Cressy had backed away from his suggestion of a special Metro task force to study the report.
There was public support for the document. The letters to the editor included critical and positive comments. Rosanna Scotti, coordinator of Multicultural Relations for Metro Toronto who was to be guest speaker at Etobicoke SPC annual meeting argued that it was time that suburban Toronto came to grips with the issues of racial tension, unemployment, juvenile crime, poverty and alcohol (Leslie Ferenc April 18).

There was some response from suburban municipalities. North York and Scarborough set up task forces to consider the implications of Suburbs findings. Metro Council, however, dismissed the report with a 24 page response written by Metro bureaucrats claiming that things were not as bad as the SPCMT claimed, a response that the Toronto Star described as insulting (Editorial, Nov. 16, 1979).

Planning Agenda for the Eighties. Part II: Metro's Suburbs in Transition. the policy report was released in September 1980 spelling out "new directions for suburban adaptation and metropolitan renewal". The report called for government leadership to address economic and social needs and reverse what was described as "the passivity and drift of the seventies."

Ontario needs responsible public spending policies to generate new economic productivity, and to respond to pressing human needs. Within Metro, integrated planning for land use and service provision should take place at both levels of local government, in partnership with the private sector, community agencies, and public interest groups (SPCMT, 1980:2).

The study made 65 recommendations in the areas of land use planning, human service development and public governance. Calls for action were directed at three levels of government: Metro, the suburban municipalities and the province. Metro was called upon to convene a task force to develop a family housing strategy for Metro as a first priority of planning; "major financing" for human service programmes; and, increased residential densities.

The response to Part II was more subdued but there was general support for the
directions. The suburban municipalities of Scarborough and Etobicoke had already begun to respond with their own community studies. *Suburbs in Transition* was being recognized as one of the most significant documents produced by the Council. It informed the planning of social services and was used to support the allocation of resources. The United Way of Greater Toronto responded to the rising need for more social services in the boroughs. Overall, the boroughs received top priority when $424,000 was divided among 23 groups in Metro Toronto in 1982. Areas identified as high risk in the Suburbs report received the first consideration for grants (Etobicoke Guardian/Lakeshore Advertiser, 1982:4).

**The Practice of Social Planning**

Marvyn Novick credited John Frei for the shift in direction of the Council claiming that "John Frei presided over the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto during the early period of its transformation during the seventies and early eighties into the leading centre of social planning and community advocacy in Canada" (Novick 1990:9). According to Novick, under Frei the Council acquired the legitimacy and extended its mandate and capacity to review broad areas of social development and public policy, and became a meeting place and centre of social initiative for activists, reformers, progressive academics, labour leaders and community agencies. He credited the SPCMT for being a major contributor to the limited penetration of right wing doctrines into the social policy culture of the country from its location in the urban heartland of Canada. "When right wing doctrines began to surface in the mid seventies, calling for major cutbacks in social programmes, the SPC led the battles to defend the principles of public provision and collective responsibility" (Novick 1990:9). Novick's claims may appear rather grand and premature given the cutbacks of the nineties but Frei does appear to have been significant in helping the Council make the transition from social service planning to social development.
Frei valued technology and technique and transparent processes - a form of democratization of the objective method. He had been particularly influenced by the perspectives of social ecology in the writings of Emery and Trist which discussed the relationships of turbulence and adaptation as key environmental factors in organizations and societies (Novick 1990:15). Frei was committed to the development of "a theory of social planning based on scientific and practical experience" (Frei 1989:32). He came to the Council with a graphic conceptualization of a structure-oriented service organization that he proposed could solve different problems of constantly changing community systems through a process called morphogenic. This was in contrast to the problem-oriented organization that kept growing and creating new departments as social problems were identified. Frei described this process of organizational change as morphostatic and characteristic of most existing social service agencies (Frei, 1989). Frei offered the hope of creating an organizational structure that could manage the turbulence that the Council was experiencing in a centralized, efficient manner without major disruptions.

If Frei "seized the political turmoil at the SPC as an opportunity to seed new values and directions into the evolution of the organization" (Novick 1990:9), it was Novick himself who nurtured these seeds into established plants. It was he who established the practice of social development in the seventies and was to initiate the policy activism of the eighties. Novick initiated and directed the major research project of the seventies, Suburbs in Transition.

He was also central to maintaining the interest on urban issues. In 1977 and 1978, he staffed a series of six urban seminars held in collaboration with key organizations in the community including the Faculty of Social Work, Family Service Association, Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto. The affiliations were deliberately sought out to enhance the profile of the
Council and secure broad support for the issues (Novick, 1996). It was these seminars, particularly the last one on full employment at which Albert Rose gave the keynote address on "Employment and Social Welfare", that helped to shift the programme direction of the Council into the social and economic policy sphere in the eighties (Novick, personal communication, 1997).

Despite the involvement of academics such as Rose, the formal connections between the Council and the Toronto School of Social Work appeared to weaken. The funding for onsite supervision of students on placement by the School was ended in 1969 and the Council's status as a teaching centre declined. The Council had supported a demand by the agencies for reimbursement for placement supervision of students by the schools, which was the arrangement the Council had. The schools refused but joined with the agencies to approach the Ministry of Education for financing. The request was not successful and the Council lost its own funding (SPCMT, 1969d).

The School of Social Work had focussed on case work as the primary practice form of social work and was not enthusiastic about community organizing. David Cowley, the community development activist on the faculty who had provided leadership to the challenge to the corporate domination of the Council, was not granted tenure and left town. The influence of the School was exerted through the involvement of faculty members. Kim Lambert, Don Bellamy, John Gandy and Albert Rose were all active on research projects of the Council during the seventies. John Gandy had the closest ties serving as chair of the Suburbs project along with other activities. Rose was also a planner and supported the focus on urban renewal and housing and contributed to the shift to a labour market analysis - a structural approach to knowledge creation. Community development advocate Murray Ross had left Toronto to establish York University and Wilson
Head was recruited to York to establish a school of social work there.

Power Shifts

The era of interactive knowledge construction began with an apparently collaborative effort of representatives of marginalized constituencies and professional activists in securing influence over the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. The representatives of the marginalized groups were themselves quickly sidelined in the struggle for control of the Council. Ten years after the rumblings for change surfaced, there were no corporate executives on the Board and there were no low-income people. By 1978, the Council was lead by a board of professionals: academics, lawyers, human service executives, architects, urban planners and labour representatives. The Just Society movement had provided a framework, "a launching platform" for concerned professionals. "A poor people's action group provided, in effect, the impetus for change to a group who had long seen themselves as experts in the understanding of social processes" (Buchbinder 1972:143). Middle class professionals constituted the membership of most contemporary social movements such as the peace, environmental and women's movements (Offe, 1985; Melucci, 1989).

The corporate sector began to withdraw in the face of a challenge from the people whom they believed should be on the receiving end of services not sitting at the board table. They were accustomed to being appointed to positions of civic leadership, not having to compete for them. The corporate members who had connections with the UCF persisted, concerned about maintaining the control of the funder and keeping the Council doing the work of the UCF.

During the fifties and early sixties, the corporate sector had influenced the development of the welfare state through their control of the voluntary social welfare planning sector. Senior business leaders dominated the board tables of SPCMT, the Ontario Welfare Council and the
Canadian Welfare Council. By the late sixties, the strategy was no longer working. A minority federal Liberal government relented to pressure for increased social expenditures (Brodie and Jenson, 1988). The locus of power for the planning and management of the social welfare sector had shifted to the state and the pressure for broad-based citizen participation weakened the corporate control in the voluntary sector board room.

The corporate sector moved to establish its own social planning organizations: the Business Council on National Issues (BCNI), the CD Howe Institute and the Fraser Institute. The CD Howe and Fraser Institutes secured non-profit status presenting themselves as educational institutions although their clear purpose was and continues to be to promote the interests of their members, representative of the most powerful corporations in Canada. Their intent has been to promote the free market as the primary determinant of economic and social well-being with the state having a small residual role for those who are unable to participate in the market (Fraser Institute, 1997).

The UCF continued to exert a disciplining influence on the Council. Attempts to move away from the positivist paradigm to the interpretive one brought swift discipline by the UCF, its major funder. A variety of strategies were used. The UCF attempted to control the Council directly by organizing to get its own supporters on the membership lists of the Council and putting its own members on the board. The UCF helped to fend off the challenge by the Just Society by strengthening its own presence at the Board table. It also imposed organizational reviews to disrupt voluntary organizations when they adopted stances it did not support eg. the involvement of poor people in decision-making roles. The reviews demanded a close accounting of expenditures and adherence to the philosophical directions of the funder. Threats of funding cuts and dismissal as a “member” of the federated fundraiser were used to enforce compliance.
The UCF consistently attempted to control and limit funding allocations and Council requests for funding increases were routinely refused. The Council did manage to reduce its research commitments to the UCF as it took on more of the urban development activities.

By the mid-seventies the UCF was itself in trouble. It had admitted the Planned Parenthood Association as a member and in retaliation the Catholic charities pulled out forming their own federation, Sharelife. The UCF repeatedly failed to make campaign targets. In 1979, it put a freeze on the admission of new agencies and across the board increases (or decreases) were granted to member agencies. In 1982, the board was unable to recruit a campaign chair (McGrath 1988). As the capacity of the UCF diminished, the Council with the support of labour, was able to adopt a more independent position.

The urban focus did secure an important corporate and media connection. Ruth Hindmarsh, a member of the Atkinson family that had founded and managed the Toronto Star, shared the urban planning interests of the Council and met with Board and staff members to strategize around the release of information. Publications of the Council were well covered by the Star and coverage of the issues often supplemented by the newspaper staff. The coverage promoted the stature of the organization in the community and helped to reduce its vulnerability to its funders (Frerich, personal communication, 1997).

Conclusion

The late sixties and early seventies were a period of challenge to the prevailing social and public institutions throughout the Western world and Canada was not excluded. The Council came under scrutiny by members of marginalized groups and community activists. As a research and knowledge creation organization that was supposed to be accessible to the whole community, it was a potential vehicle to support the new critique. The organizational mechanisms that
maintained the control of the corporate elite were successfully disputed by a coalition that included social assistance recipients, labour and faith groups and concerned professionals including academics. The membership base was broadened and the Council became a forum of competing interests. It was a period of tumult as various groups struggled to control the organization and its research and knowledge production.

The principle of democratic participation upon which the Council was founded was used by those opposed to the corporate domination of the Board to secure positions of influence. The strategies to assert power contained the opportunity for counter power. Frei’s emphasis on visible decision making processes continued to be utilized by a subsequent Executive Director Ed Pennington as a defense against allegations of ideological domination. The Council could argue that it’s views reflected the interests of the larger community through its inclusive participatory processes.

Members of vulnerable groups such as the Just Society were only briefly at the board table. Organizationally, the interests of the marginalized were largely interpreted by the middle-class professionals who dominated the staff and board. However, the Storefront with its successful exploitation of the federal LIP programmes helped vulnerable groups to secure funding for organizational development and service provision.

As the forces of influence shifted from the corporate sector to professional activists, the methods and topics of research and the knowledge forms created changed. It was a period of urban planning, citizen activism, and expanding social programmes. The major study of the period integrated a participatory research component with a comprehensive and detailed analysis of demographic data. The technical data was still at the core of the research, but it was now "interpreted" through the experience of the residents and the expertise of contemporary leading
authors in the field. The intent was to create a new and mutual understanding among residents and decision-makers of the social issues and needs facing the community. With a broader shared interpretation, the pressure for political action would be intensified.

The Council was successful in using what was initially a modest government programme as an effective tool for community development. The LIP programme was extended for several years and the Council was pivotal in getting the funds flowing into Toronto. When the programme was ended, the Council worked collaboratively with the Municipality and the UCF to bring pressure on the provincial government to support the services that had been established. The activism of the Council contributed to a significant expansion of the organizational and social service system in Toronto.

The Council's relationship with the social service agencies was substantially altered. Responsibility for monitoring the member agencies of the UCF was successfully shifted to the Fund. The ongoing evaluation was not only an onerous task but was a source of tension between the Council and the agencies. Opportunities for more collaborative relationships were now available. The formation of MAAC created a collaborative vehicle for advocacy on social policy issues.

Coalition building with agencies, labour and faith groups and other urban organizations became an important developmental strategy. The capacity for public influence was increased with multiple sites of advocacy and increased numbers of participants. The network of affiliations also provided protection from the funders. More organizations and community groups had direct links with the SPCMT and were prepared to defend it. Participation in the process of knowledge creation and access to the products formed was expanded to a larger segment of the community.

Organizationally, the influence of the staff increased with close alliances being developed
with the social activists who managed to secure control of the Board. The non-management staff became unionized forming a local of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) in 1976. The UCF, the primary funder continued to discipline the organization particularly in the early seventies when the influence of the funder over the research capacity of the Council was challenged. However, the shift to urban issues and the connections of the urban activists secured some alliances with the UCF, facilitated by the support of the Toronto Star. The formal relationship with the Toronto School of Social Work was weakened but individual faculty including the Dean were active in selected projects.

Urban issues dominated the agenda of the Council. The availability of low-cost housing and the creation of liveable social environments were concerns that received significant attention. The primary political focus was the municipal government. Both the suburban municipalities and the Metro government were pressured to examine the social service supports that were available to vulnerable populations in the suburban communities. Reluctantly, the municipal governments at both levels responded, spurred on by the editorial position of the Toronto Star.

Under the direction of Marvyn Novick, the agenda for social development was broadly defined. Although urban issues commanded most of the resources of the organization, income security was identified as an area of study. Research topics included: income maintenance, unemployment insurance, redefinition of work and social mobility for the poor. The foundation was being laid for issues that moved higher on the agenda of the Council in the early eighties.

Although the work of the Council drew on a broader contextual analysis, it was not widely shared. Without a broader contextual analysis, interpretive social science tends towards conservatism. It "does not contain within it a view of a direction for change (whether towards liberation or control), but simply works to enable people to live more happily within the existing
order" (Ife, 1997:131). The Suburbs study drew extensively on empirical data and personal experience of the concerned populations, and there was concerted effort given in communicating the results throughout the metropolitan area as a way of informing the public and decision-makers and stimulating dialogue that would lead to change. The implemented changes however, were generally limited to the re-allocation of social service resources to the suburban areas to address what were defined as social problems. The study helped to inform the affected communities about what was happening locally and interpret the needs in terms of additional services not structural change. The critical analyses of the suburbs particularly the isolating impact on women and the elderly were ignored.

The series of urban seminars however, did serve as a bridge between the urban issues and a more critical approach which began to look at the economic and labour market activities that were contributing to the social problems being identified in Toronto, problems that social services could only ameliorate not eliminate. The era of interpretive knowledge construction brought significant changes in the practice of knowledge construction and served as a period of transition between the eras of the positivist and critical approaches.

Introduction

As discussed in Chapter II, Habermas' theory of emancipatory cognitive interest aims not simply at the pursuit of knowledge and reflection as such but at a practical change of established conditions, a partisanship guided by a critical insight into specific structures of power and ideology (McCarthy 1978:97). Critical investigation helps people to look at social problems in the light of what they wish to achieve as self-reliant and self-determining social beings. A critical approach to knowledge construction "goes beyond surface illusions to uncover the real structures in the material world in order to help people change conditions and build a better world for themselves" (Neuman 1991:56).

The purpose of critical research is to change the world and it does this by revealing the underlying mechanisms that account for social relations. It is action oriented, investigating conditions in order to encourage dramatic social change from the grass-roots level. Social research is recognized as a moral-political activity which requires the researcher to commit to a value position. The research begins with a value or a moral point of view. Knowledge is power, it can be used to control people or be given to people to help them take charge of their lives (Neuman 1991). The interest of critical theory is emancipation from all forms of oppression as well as a commitment to freedom, happiness, and a rational ordering of society (Bronner and Kellner 1989:2).

Critical theory assumes a conflict perspective of society as opposed to the social order perspective of the scientific paradigm. Society is seen as a continually contested struggle among groups with opposing views and interests. Society is not held together by consensus, but by differential control of resources and political power (Mulally 1997:119). The foci for change are

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the social institutions and ideologies, not the behaviour of individuals.

Critical social science seeks to add a structural perspective to the understandings of interpretive social science. It seeks to identify the causes of people's oppression or disadvantage, to place their experiences within a wider context (Ife 1997: 132). Critical social science is normative and prescriptive. Anchored in values of social justice and liberation, strategies for change are developed and promoted. Habermas' theory of communicative action links language and action. He sees the potential in the universal rationality of language for the establishment of a dialogue that can be free of domination and therefore has the potential for liberation (Ife, 1997: 134). This chapter traces the thread of critical social research and examines how it is woven into the products of the Council in the eighties.

The Thread of a Critical Approach

The theme of a critical approach to the knowledge forms created by the Council can be traced back to the Toronto Welfare Council. In 1938 the TWC presented a detailed brief to the Rowell-Sirois Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations calling for a comprehensive social welfare system administered jointly by national, provincial and local levels of government to deal with problems of relief. The proposed programmes included: national health insurance, old age pensions, a national scheme of unemployment insurance, a nationally funded and standardized public assistance programme, nationally funded training programmes, minimum wage laws, public housing and family support programmes (TWC, 1938). The report made a clear connection between the need for social programmes and below subsistence wage levels.

The following year, the TWC released The Cost of Living. The 1939 report was sub-titled "Study of the Cost of a Standard of Living in Toronto which Should Maintain Health and Self-respect". The report again sought to challenge the prevailing myth "that some families get along
very well on a low wage, and that the ability to manage is the most important factor" citing "evidence of harm resulting from the low standard of living made necessary by inadequate income" (TWC 1939:1). The research assumed the concept of a social minimum, a level of well-being below which no member of the community should fall. Its origin lay in the Fabian philosophy, a faith in research as the foundation for progressive reform of society, coupled with a humanitarian ideal of a social minimum (Wills, 1995).

The primary concern was the poverty of many families and the strategy was to address the low wages received by many male workers. A secondary concern not stated in the report but inferred by the study was the low municipal relief rates for those who were not employed. The study was intended not only to advise social and health agencies in advising families on spending but to advise "progressive employers" on the adequacy of wages and to inform the general public "in order to judge the wisdom and effect of the proposed legislation which would establish a minimum wage for men" (TWC 1939:1). The research concluded that it was "evident that the earnings of a substantial part of the population are below the level suggested as desirable" (TWC 1939:43). The study was intended to create public pressure for the implementation of a minimum wage that would adequately provide for workers and their families. The Council was looking at the issue of poverty in the context of current economic practices and policies. The detailed research process demonstrated that the income required by a family living modestly was far below current wage levels. Poverty was not a problem of personal mismanagement but of inadequate wages.

The critical approach was quickly squelched by the UCF when unions began to use the income standards in their negotiations. Bessie Touzel, then Executive Secretary of the TWC, was accused of being a Communist and the "Red Book" (because of its cover) was withdrawn. The
document was not in the archives of the Council when this research began.

The Council was pressured to adopt a more objective or scientific approach of knowledge formation that supported the charity model of social welfare with its focus on individual responsibility. By 1949, when the Cost of Living report was reproduced as the Guide to Family Spending in Toronto, the commitment to a social minimum was weakened. The title reflected the shift in philosophy. Rather than a measure of the adequacy of incomes required to maintain health and self-respect, the new publication was a guideline for family responsibility in budget management. The shift was from a collective response to family well-being through policies that maintained adequate incomes, to individual responsibility for effective management of the family income. The onus was on women to manage within the family income, not on government or employers to ensure adequate income levels for the male family heads. The new format was more technical and less accessible to the public. The original intent of a tool for citizens to evaluate public policy was abandoned. The new guide was used primarily by caseworkers in agencies working with low-income women (Wills 1995:105).

The 1949 study was updated in 1952 and it was not until 1964 that a new study was initiated. The 1964 Guides for Family Budgeting by the SPCMT states on the cover that it was prepared for the use of social and health agencies of Metropolitan Toronto. It was primarily "intended for use by community social agencies in counselling families and individuals on money management" (SPCMT, 1964:2). The guides were also offered as a reference for governments and voluntary organizations providing financial assistance to assess the adequacy of programmes and as a reference for agencies in setting equitable fees for service. Rather than tools for public policy critique, the guides were directed to workers within the social service system to assist in the monitoring and direction of low-income individuals.
The guides have been produced by the Council every few years, the last publication was in 1992 with an update of sample budgets completed in 1994. The strength of the guides was that they continued to calculate costs at a level "consistent with the maintenance of good health and a sense of self-respect" (SPCMT, 1964:2). The market basket approach used by the Council has persisted as one mechanism with which to determine poverty income levels and are frequently cited along with the Low Income Cut Offs established by Statistics Canada. Both represent a commitment to determining income adequacy relative to prevailing social values and expenditures as opposed to the bare necessities approach espoused by corporate supported organizations such as the Fraser Institute (Sarlo, 1992).

**The Weaving Begins**

Adherence to critical social theory is reflected in the positions of Wilson Head and Howard Buchbinder in the late sixties and very early seventies, although it was not until the mid to late seventies that it penetrates the decision making processes of the organization. The influence of a more critical approach that focuses on structural issues rather than social services is evident in the early seventies when the theme of income security emerges.

In 1972, the Council approved the formation of a Metro Task Force on Income Security and Human Development whose purpose was "to reflect and initiate innovative policy and programme directions from the voluntary and community sector of Metro which can then be directed to appropriate public sources" (SPCMT, 1972). The organizational review process of 1970-71 had resulted in the organization of the Council's activities under three main programme functions: Social Development, Consultative Services (later changed to Community Services) and Community Review (SPCMT, 1971). The task force was included under social development.

The task force was never successfully launched but the issue of income security was taken
up by an advocacy group formed as part of the Council's Community Services function. In July 1972, the Council brought together eight agencies which shared a concern about the availability of general welfare assistance to low-income youth and the effects of these inequities on the well-being and education of young people (SPCMT, 1972). The Metro Agencies Action Committee (MAAC) was active throughout the seventies as a public policy advocacy group focussing on income security issues and working with voluntary agencies to encourage more systematic activity in the area of social policy advocacy (Pearl and Barr, 1976).

It is not until 1978 that the potential for a critical approach to knowledge creation to be fully adopted by the Council emerges. The 1978 Board of the Council was dominated by a left of centre circle of activists, a mix of middle-class professionals with historical links that included the social gospel, Jewish socialism and labour organizing. This eclectic group shared a value system anchored in collective responsibility for the vulnerable. For the core of activists, the goal was social transformation. The vision was to create "islands of liberation" in a sea of conservative discourse (Frerich, personal communication, 1997). This meant exposing the political and economic policies that were creating inequality and poverty and advocating for public policy changes that would improve the well-being of the poor through strategies of income redistribution not placate them with underfunded services.

The organization was concerned about "values setting", about trying to frame the public debate. The need to introduce alternative language to that of the business oriented Globe and Mail newspaper and the conservative provincial government policy papers was actively recognized (Frerich, personal communication, 1997). The Council saw itself as part of the "loyal opposition" at both the municipal and provincial levels of government (Frerich, personal communication, 1997; Pennington, personal communication, 1997). The Urban Seminar Series and Suburbs in Transition
had begun to challenge the prevailing orthodoxy of social policy and programming. The SPCMT had become a forum and vehicle for social activists committed to fundamental social change.

Pennington's efforts to create transparent and comprehensive programme planning processes were not based on a notion of organizational efficiency as adhered to by Frei, but as a defense strategy to protect the Council from its critics particularly among the funders. Council staff knew they were in conflict with their funders on positions of ideology and public policy and strategized to accommodate the differences where feasible and create their own base of support. A capacity for public communication was developed along with important links with supportive members of the media. Coalition building with labour, church groups and other advocacy organizations helped to broaden support. Personal connections with progressive senior bureaucrats at the municipal and provincial levels of government provided valuable information about the direction of government thinking and opportunities to strategize around shared positions that could be supported (Frerich, personal communication, 1997).

Stabilizing the Organization and Broadening the Base

Internally, the Council was becoming more cohesive. The organizational structure with its comprehensive programme development process created close linkages among the staff and board. Annual staff/board planning sessions helped to establish priorities. Projects that were initiated were under the direction of a committee of board members and community advisors. The staff person assigned to the project worked closely with the committee and its volunteer chair. The committee approved the final report which went to the Board for endorsement. Members of the committees were at the board table to support the reports and consensus among board members was easily achieved (Pennington, personal communication, 1997).

Extensive inter-organizational linkages were secured through the committee process and
board and staff connections. Labour emerged as a strong partner in supporting the shift to labour market policies. Labour's growing influence at the table of the United Way provided an important ally as the Council promoted housing and income security policies that were not supported by the corporate members of the federated funder. Labour became an important protector of the Council from United Way forces that wanted to eliminate the funding (Pennington, personal communication, 1997).

Academics continued to be active in the Council but their focus shifted from the Board to the project table. Alliances were being forged directly with the staff. In 1973, the Research Advisory Committee (RAC) was formed to support the Community Review group in its work and strengthen the Council's research capacity (SPCMT, 1973). The RAC was made up primarily of academics who volunteered their time to review the research proposals of the Council. Key bureaucrats from the City of Toronto, from Metro, eg. Don Richmond, then Deputy Commissioner of Planning, and from the province, eg. Tim Young, then manager of research in the Strategic Planning and Policy Secretariate, were also members. The membership included a staff person from NDP leader Bob Rae's constituency office and Sam Guindon, director of research of the then United Automobile Workers (now the Canadian Automobile Workers) (SPCMT, 1980).

The committee provided links with progressive researchers in government, labour and universities who enhanced the status of the Council as a research body with controls on its research methodology. The presence of recognized "knowledge workers" added to the legitimacy of the Council as it fended off ongoing critiques from its funders.

Don Bellamy was the only member of the Toronto School of Social Work on the committee. The influence of the school was diminishing. Other University of Toronto faculties
such as economics and geography were represented. Jim Lemon and John Hitchcock, geographers at the University of Toronto, were particularly active. York University's school of social work was connected through Wilson Head and Brigitte Kitchen. Kitchen was a founding member of the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG), a project of the Council's established in 1985 (McGrath 1997) and a long time board member. Members of the Environmental Studies faculty of York such as Meyer Brownstone and Peter Penz were involved. Brownstone served as chair of RAC for several years and Penz was a member of RAC and a founding member of the Child Poverty Action Group. John Gandy was the most active of the University of Toronto Faculty of Social Work members in the seventies and eighties chairing the Suburbs study and a study on the commercialization of human services called Caring for Profit. Others from the Toronto Social Work faculty who participated in specific projects were Albert Rose, Ernie Lightman, Don Bellamy and Ralph Garber (who succeeded Albert Rose as Dean).

Connections between the Council and local religious leaders formed around social justice issues. Eilert Frerichs and Stuart Coles, United Church ministers and community activists, were both elected to the Board in 1974 and stayed on into the eighties, Coles into the nineties. In the early eighties, they organized an ad hoc group of religious leaders which spoke out on a variety of social issues. The group made deputations to Metro Community Services and Housing Committee about the plight of the homeless and the problem of affordable housing in Metro. Religious leaders were included in representations to the Premier and cabinet on funding issues as they affect low-income people. In 1982, two silent vigils were held at Queen's Park to dramatize concern over inadequate provincial funding of income support and social services (Freiler, personal communication, 1997). In 1983, the group organized public forums to draw attention to social and economic issues which affect the life of the poor in Metro. In addition to the volunteer
leadership, the group received professional and administrative support from the Council staff (SPCMT, 1983).

Staff hirings also reflected a move away from the field of social work and professional social workers who had previously dominated the Council. In 1977, Leon Muszynski, a graduate of the York Environmental Studies programme joined the Council. Environmental Studies had attracted critical thinkers such as Eric Trist, Peter Penz, Gerda Wekerle and Meyer Brownstone to its faculty. Muszynski was given responsibility for public education, policy and research programmes in the area of income and employment security (SPCMT, 1978).

In 1977, Ted Harvey who had been appointed as Senior Programme Director along with Novick in the new organizational structure was fired by Pennington, it was a firing supported by staff and board (Pennington, personal communication, 1997). He was replaced by Jeffrey Patterson whose master degree was in city and regional planning from the University of Pennsylvania. Patterson came from the Canadian Council on Social Development where he had been responsible for housing. He had also worked at the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and the Ontario Department of Treasury bringing linkages to government bureaucrats at the provincial and federal level (SPCMT, 1978).

David Thornley was hired in 1980. His background was also urban planning and like Muszynski he was a graduate of York Environmental Studies. He was hired as a planner to do research and analysis work on programmes concerning social allowances review, budget guides methodology and government expenditure restraint (SPCMT, 1981).

The Annual Report for 1982-83 (SPCMT, 1983) described SPC Board and staff as connected to "a vast network of people and organizations". Twenty-three organizations listed include: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, Canadian Mental Health Association, Labour
Council of Metropolitan Toronto, Ontario Welfare Council, four United Way committees or task forces, and the Urban Alliance on Race Relations. Pennington and Patterson provided links to the CCSD and Pennington was also a close personal friend of Bob Myers, head of the United Way Canada/Centtrade in the eighties.

Extensive contacts helped to broaden the policy connections of the Council within the network of non-governmental organizations (NGO), religious groups, labour, academia and all levels of government. The critique of social and economic policies and programmes was broadened to constituent groups who had their own public profile and membership base. The Council's repertoire of communicative action strategies in the public sphere were being developed as part of the advocacy for changes in public policy. In the eighties, the Council was at the hub of a network of social policy activists who were critical of the labour market policies of upper levels of government and the failure of all levels of government to respond to the social needs created by these policies.

Critical Documents

The production of the *Guides to Family Budgeting* over the years represented a thread of the 1939 critical approach which in the early eighties was woven into several significant documents directed at influencing public welfare rates. The 1977 report "Social Allowances in Ontario: An Historical Analysis of General Welfare Assistance and Family Benefits 1961-1976" used the Council's income levels and the LICOs as standards to evaluate the inadequacy of Ontario’s social assistance rates.

A classmate of Thornley and Muszynski at Environmental Studies was Earl Smith who was hired by the Ontario Welfare Council. All three worked on labour market and income security programmes and collaborated on a study. In February 1981, the Council and OSDC released the
first edition of And the Poor Get Poorer. an attempt to redirect public attention toward the
circumstances of Ontario's most economically vulnerable citizens" (SPCMT and OSDC, 1983:i).
That report was seen as partly responsible for improvements in social assistance rates and benefits
announced by the provincial Ministry of Community and Social Services (MCSS) in October 1981
(Thornely, personal communication, 1997).

Smith had left OWC by 1983 and the SPCMT staff assumed primary responsibility for the
research on the revised report. The revised edition released in 1983 was intended to look at the
changes made since 1980 "to determine whether the substantial improvements claimed by the
Ministry of Community and Social Services are real or illusory." The report asked "To what
extent have the declining living standards experienced by social assistance recipients between
1975 and 1980 been reduced or eliminated by programme changes during the last two and a half
years?" (SPCMT and OSDC, 1983:ii).

Consistent with the Council's historical support for a social minimum, community
standards were used to assess the adequacy of the programmes. Adequate social assistance
incomes were those which provided the "resources needed for economic security, personal
growth, and inclusion in the social mainstream" (SPCMT and OSDC, 1983:17). The research
demonstrated that despite recent changes, welfare benefits in 1983 had fallen below the adequacy
levels of the mid-sixties. The introduction of shelter allowances for recipients in the private rental
market and access to subsidized housing by a minority of recipients still had not resulted in
adequate levels of income. The report demonstrated that increases in social assistance were not
keeping pace with increases in the cost of living and documented a consistent pattern of decline in
the purchasing power of recipients. Recipients of social assistance who were by definition poor,
were getting poorer.
In 1986, the Council released another substantive document on social assistance *Living on the Margin*. This report was produced by the Council alone and was also under the direction of SPCMT staff person David Thornley. *And the Poor Get Poorer* had been presented as a study of social welfare programmes in Ontario, *Living on the Margin* was sub-titled "Welfare Reform for the Next Decade" and was more specific and prescriptive in its policy proposals.

The Council saw an opportunity in the changing political scene in Ontario. In 1985, a Liberal minority government was formed in Ontario with the support of the New Democratic Party. A two year accord struck between the two parties included a commitment to review social assistance programmes. Richard Johnston of the NDP had been an ardent advocate of social assistance reform and now was in a position to influence the process. The Council saw an opportunity to influence social assistance legislation and strategized to not only conduct relevant research but to launch a media and public education campaign to support implementation of the proposed recommendations (Thornely, personal communication, 1997).

*Living on the Margin* was a more comprehensive analysis of the actual social assistance programmes and more prescriptive in its direction. The report made twenty recommendations which were intended to improve the adequacy of social assistance incomes, improve equity and accessibility, promote independence, provide adequate incomes for low-wage workers and address governance and delivery issues (SPCMT, 1986).

Both reports were detailed and comprehensive. The revised *And the Poor Get Poorer* was over 120 pages long, and *Living on the Margin* exceeded 150 pages. Both were organized into discrete sections which systematically addressed the key issues around the existing social assistance programmes and policies. The studies used four household scenarios (single person under age 65; mother and four year old child; mother with children aged 3, 6 and 8; mother and
father with children aged 10 and 13 years) to examine the income levels across the three social assistance programmes: General Welfare Assistance (GWA), Family Benefits, and Guaranteed Annual Income System - Disabled (GAINS-D).

The depth of poverty of those dependent on social assistance was illustrated with comparisons of benefits to two different "poverty level incomes", the Council's "market basket" approach and the low income cut offs (LICO) used by Statistics Canada. The LICO defined a minimum amount of income needed to meet basic needs. It assumed that anyone who spent more than 58.5% of their gross income on the basic necessities of food, clothing and shelter was poor.

Both reports challenged the myth that people on welfare were undeserving by pointing out that four out of five cases receive assistance because they were blind or disabled, or sole support parents. The vulnerability of children was demonstrated with evidence that they represented over forty percent of the beneficiaries of welfare programmes. The concept of child poverty and how government policies were perpetuating it were introduced.

The prevailing ideology of individual responsibility for well-being was challenged directly in both reports. Social need was placed in the context of failed political and economic policies. The need for social assistance was related directly to high unemployment rates and low wages. The provincial government was criticized for blaming social assistance recipients for increases in public expenditures while obscuring the costs incurred by increasing benefits to the private sector and physicians.

While the reports reflected a critical approach to knowledge creation, there was also evidence of the use of objective and interactive or subjective approaches. Extensive data on incomes and family expenditures, caseload analyses, comparative analyses of cross provincial data on social assistance allowances, and statistics on labour market participation and wage levels,
were used to argue the inadequacy of the Ontario programmes. The data used to provide "evidence" to support the position of the Council that the social assistance programme in Ontario was in need of major reform. So called "objective" data used to legitimate the argument being put forth. At this stage in the organization, "objective" data was being used consciously and deliberately to justify a position based on identified organizational values. The Council also used an interactive approach to knowledge formation in the development of a communicative action strategy to broaden the base of support for the proposals and increase the pressure on government decision makers.

A Policy Advocacy Strategy

In July 1986, Ontario Community and Social Services Minister John Sweeney announced the appointment of an independent public review committee to examine Ontario's system of social assistance. The Social Assistance Review Committee (SARC) was to provide a broad set of objectives to guide the government in changing the current programmes to meet the needs of the future. The review process was "to lay the foundation for the enactment of new income maintenance legislation in Ontario" (Ontario, 1986). A twelve person committee headed by former Family Court Judge George Thomson was to start work immediately and deliver a report by the spring of 1987.

A public consultation was planned. George Thompson insisted on thorough and extensive consultations and made the policy issues much broader to include federal income security programmes (Thornely, personal communication, 1997). Initially twelve days of hearings across the province were scheduled but the number was quickly increased to twenty-two days to accommodate the requests for appearances. Resources for transportation and child care were provided to facilitate the participation of low-income people and those receiving social assistance
The Toronto hearings were scheduled for October. *Living on the Margin* which was originally planned to be an update of the earlier studies now was intended to guide SARC. The detailed study was released just prior to the Toronto hearings in order to maximize the influence on the process. A briefer summary of the issues was released in the form of an *infopac*, a regular public education document used by the Council to inform its members and the larger community on issues of interest. In addition to the regular distribution, the *infopac* was circulated with the Community Information Centre "blue book", an annual publication of all the agencies and services in the Toronto area purchased by agencies, libraries and community education groups. The Council was actively encouraging other community organizations to participate in the consultation by providing them with information to use to develop their own briefs and presentations.

*Living on the Margin* was well received. It was covered by the electronic media (radio and television) and the print media gave it two days of front page coverage (Thornley, personal communication, 1997). The distribution of the summary document throughout the community was successful. Agencies and advocacy groups submitting briefs to SARC consistently cited both *Living on the Margin* and *Poor Get Poorer* to further document the problems with the current programmes and to support their arguments for improved social assistance legislation (McGrath, 1988a).

The comprehensiveness of the public consultations and the material covered by SARC meant a delay in the release of the report. The time was used by the Council to mobilize support for the expected recommendations. The close working relationship between SPCMT staff and provincial bureaucrats meant the Council was aware of the positions being developed by SARC. David Thornley and Leon Muzsynski (who had left the Council in 1985) were contracted to write
the historical and background chapters of the report. Christa Freiler was a speech writer for the committee chair George Thompson.

Historically the Council had not done a lot of follow-up around policy work. The focus had been to make a "media splash" and there had not been a sustained commitment to follow up with bureaucratic and political staff. The assumption was that the Council would develop clear policy options and present them to the "public" to take them up (Thornely, personal communication, 1997). The proposals of *Living on the Margin* were an exception.

For what turned out to be eight months prior to the release of the SARC report *Transitions*, a SARC consultation group of twenty-five people representing the various constituents affected by the proposed legislation met every three to four weeks to coordinate a coherent response to the report. The group representing labour, faith communities, people with disabilities, housing and policy activists and various grass roots welfare organizations, knew what was in the report and were generally supportive. The concern was the lack of political will to implement the recommendations (Thornely, personal communication, 1997). A provincial election had been held in 1987 and David Peterson and his Liberal party now had a strong majority in the Legislature. The influence of the NDP and the pressure for social assistance reform had weakened.

Although some constituencies had concerns that their issues had not been fully addressed, it was agreed they would endorse the report. The group negotiated a "communique" of thirty to thirty-five programme and policy components that they agreed upon. Each constituency was assigned four media contacts with whom they could speak knowledgeably about the contents of the report and the need for implementation. The report was proposing a staged implementation of its recommendations and the refrain of the group was immediate implementation of Stage I
A Capacity to Influence

In September 1988, *Transitions*, was released at a large press conference with the advocacy group representatives in attendance. George Thompson quickly got the attention of the media with his first announcement that the largest group of recipients of social assistance were children. The detailed report of over 600 pages and 274 recommendations proposed fundamental reforms of Ontario's social assistance legislation. The fundamental objective proposed to serve as a guide for these and related reforms was:

All people in Ontario are entitled to an equal assurance of life opportunities in a society that is based on fairness, shared responsibility, and personal dignity for all. The objective for social assistance therefore must be to ensure that individuals are able to make the transition from dependence to autonomy, and from exclusion on the margins of society to integration within the mainstream of community life (Ontario 1988:8).

The objective was consistent with the positions of the Council. Wharf (1992) has pointed out the striking similarity between the seven principles of *Transitions* and the five principles of *Living on the Margin*.

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<th>Living on the Margin</th>
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<td>Adequacy of Benefits</td>
<td>Adequacy of Benefits</td>
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<td>Equity and Fairness</td>
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The committee examined a number of measures of adequacy including poverty lines, market baskets, and expenditure patterns. They proposed the relative approach advocated by the Council, that the level of benefits should be based on current community norms and standards. They recommended that the market basket method be used to determine actual income levels. The philosophy and the methodology advocated since the days of the Toronto Welfare Council were adopted by the government funded advisory body.

Transitions recommended enhanced social assistance rates, an increased minimum wage, income supplementation for the working poor, and core income support programmes for children and disabled persons in order to meet the test of adequacy that the "basic needs for shelter, food, clothing, and personal and health care" of all residents were met (Ontario 1988:13). Living on the Margin was frequently cited along with Council reports on housing, youth employment, minimum wages and a guaranteed income. The income support for children proposal drew on a policy position of the Child Poverty Action Group, a project of the Council.

The collaborative effort to demonstrate broad based support from the advocacy communities and keep pressure on the government worked for a month. As the interest of the media waned, so did the cohesiveness of the group. They then turned to their own interests and adopted their own strategies (Thornely, personal communication, 1997). However, they did so with an understanding of the "big picture" and each others' perspectives.

The advocacy strategy was taken up by the Laidlaw Foundation. Marvyn Novick who had become Dean of Community Services at Ryerson in 1982, was on the Board of Directors of Laidlaw and influential in setting programme directions. A coalition of organizations including business groups was formed to sustain the momentum for implementation of the report. Few of the constituent groups that had participated in the Council mobilization effort were invited to attend (Thornely, personal communication, 1997). Although Novick was connected to the Child Poverty Action Group, he had distanced himself from the Council.

The Laidlaw supported group organized a SARC Public Awareness Campaign known as
SARC-PAC\textsuperscript{vii}. The coalition collaborated with Toronto municipal officials to get the endorsement of prominent members of the business community. Nancy Hawley, policy advisor to Art Eggleton, then Liberal Mayor of the City of Toronto, organized Liberal networks from communities across Ontario to fax blitz Premier Peterson's office with messages of support for the implementation of Stage I. Eggleton called on Conrad Black, a wealthy Canadian businessman, to endorse the proposals (Wharf, 1992).

The pressure appeared to be successful. Most of the recommendations of Stage I were implemented, approximately 80% of the estimated $400 million cost was spent (Thornely, personal communication, 1997). Wharf (1992) later questioned whether the advocacy campaign was necessary. Patrick Johnson, the senior staff person of the review, claimed that the provincial cabinet had already committed to implementation of the recommendations of Stage I when they endorsed the report prior to its release. Premier Peterson saw Black's action as an empty gesture made in response to the mayor "calling in some markers" rather than as genuine support for reform (Wharf 1992:79).

The formation of public policy is not a linear and predictable process (Stone, 1988; Smith, 1983; Weiss, 1977). It is quite plausible to assume that the work of the Council prior to and during the review process contributed to the momentum of SARC, a momentum stimulated by the commitment and efforts of the Chair, George Thompson. This momentum may have waned without ongoing public pressure including the endorsement by the business community and the extensive media coverage of the issues. The sustained advocacy made it politically unfeasible for the government to change its mind.

*Transitions* was never fully implemented despite the election of a NDP majority

\textsuperscript{vii} The staff person hired by Laidlaw to support the advocacy effort was Peter Clutterbuck who would become Executive Director of the Council in 1991.
government in 1990. The concept of social assistance income and programmes as the transition to
the labour market and beyond, if necessary through income supplementation, was never fully
adopted. A downturn in the economy and the impact of cuts in federal funding for social
programmes brought pressure on the NDP government to stop any increase in expenditures for
the reform to social assistance. The recession of the early nineties and the subsequent rise in
unemployment resulted in dramatic increases in caseloads and expenditures for the existing social
assistance income programmes. Many of the supplementary programmes that had been established
in progressive municipalities such as Toronto were cut as part of the overall cutbacks in municipal
funding for social programmes (Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto et al., 1997; Thornley,
1997).

The Council's efforts on examining the structural causes of poverty and the role of
government economic policy was not limited to social assistance policy. In the early eighties the
Council launched a series of public education events to promote understanding of the then current
economic crisis and "explore myths and realities surrounding public intervention, investment,
social spending, inflation and government deficit" (SPCMT, 1983). The activities in 1983 included
a seminar with guest speaker Most Rev. Remi DeRoo, chair of the Episcopal Commission for
Social Affairs of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops. The Bishops had produced a brief
"Ethical Reflections on the Economic Crisis" that was highly critical of government economic
policy. In June, the Council co-sponsored with the Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto and
the Ecumenical Forum of Canada, a major conference on alternative social and economic policies
for Canada. The conference brought together over three hundred representatives from labour,
religious groups, policy makers and community groups for three days of discussion on everything
from the morality of unemployment to worker owned enterprises (SPCMT, 1984).
The nature and incidence of unemployment was a major research area of the Council primarily under the staff direction of Leon Muszynski. The Council began to release estimates of the "real" unemployment in Canada, Ontario and the Toronto area. These estimates were based on data collected by Statistics Canada but also included discouraged workers and underemployed workers who were not captured in the Statistics Canada data. The SPCMT estimates became widely recognized as legitimate and credible measures of the social magnitude of unemployment (SPCMT, 1984).

The Council also submitted a brief to the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada (also known as the Macdonald Commission) in December of 1983. Entitled, "Democracy, Equality and Canada's Economic Future" The brief focussed on the problem and causes of unemployment and economic decline and argued that the current framework and policy that saw the private sector as the engine of economic recovery was inadequate. The assertion was made that social policy was not inimical to economic policy, that a greater commitment to equality, democracy and social solidarity was essential to reduce unemployment and create a secure and rational economic future (SPCMT, 1984).

The issue of youth unemployment was included in the research agenda of the Council and was the focus of a lecture series in May and June of 1984 (SPCMT, 1985a). The research results were released in 1986 in the report "Youth and Employment: Baseline Report on Young Peoples Work Experience and Attitudes".

The causes of job loss in the Toronto area were also studied. "The Deindustrialization of Metropolitan Toronto: A Study of Plant Closures, Lay-Offs, and Unemployment" (1985b) concluded that the geographical and technical reorganization of industry on a world scale was contributing to high unemployment and the deindustrialization of Metro Toronto (SPCMT,
The focus on income security was taken up by an organization which started as a project of the Council in 1985. The high incidence of poverty among families with children was identified as an issue in the social assistance research and the Council decided to take the issue on. There was a deliberate decision to profile the poverty of children since they could not be blamed for their situation and it was felt that a sense of collective responsibility for poor children could be aroused more easily than for poor adults (Frerich, personal communication, 1997). In 1986, the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG) was formed with the staffing support of Christa Freiler, one of the last social workers to be employed by the Council.

CPAG was active in coalition building. In 1988, a coalition with six national voluntary organizations concerned about children and families produced a series of fact sheets in French and English on the incidence of child poverty in Canada. The materials were widely distributed prior to the federal election. Although free trade dominated the agenda of the election, the issue of child poverty did continue to move up on the public agenda with the continued efforts of CPAG and its allies (McGrath, 1997). Public education and advocacy on major social policy issues were becoming part of the skill base of the Council.

**Discipline: The “United” Way**

The assertion of the influence of the coalition of urban activists, labour and religious groups over the Council, took place during a period when the UCF was in a weakened state. The loss of the Catholic donors not only reduced the funding base but the political fall out had reduced the stature of the organization. Overall, charitable donations were in decline. In 1960, 25% of all Canadians gave more than $100 to charitable organizations, in 1980 only 10.3% did. Corporate donations declined from 1.5% of pre-tax profits in 1958, to 0.4% in 1986 (United Way of Greater
In the early eighties, the corporate sector moved to reassert its influence over the UCF. In 1982, the board fired most of the senior staff and recruited a popular and prominent municipal politician Gordon Cressy as President. Cressy in turn hired a high power team that included a successful political fundraiser, an advertising executive and the head researcher of the provincial Liberal party, Dr. Anne Golden. A new United Way organization was created adopting the corporate hierarchy model (McGrath, 1988b).

A high profile chairman was urgently needed to lead the 1983 fundraising campaign. The president of a major corporation was called to the office of the then Premier of Ontario Bill Davis. He was greeted by Davis, the Lieutenant-Governor John Black Aird, Gordon Cressy and the current chair of the United Way Board (another corporate president). The invited guest left the room as Chair of the 1983 Campaign Cabinet. The provincial politicians recognized the value of a successful charitable campaign in Toronto and were prepared to assert the influence of the office of the premier and the Lieutenant-Governor in order to recruit the leadership required (McGrath, 1988b). The political and corporate sectors had a shared interest in increasing the charitable funding base for social services and in re-asserting corporate influence over the flagging federated fundraiser.

The new UW staff supported the American model of federated fundraising which had almost eliminated funding for independent social planning organizations (Brilliant, 1986). The UW was moving to assert itself as an effective fund raiser in the Toronto area and the dollars allocated for the Council were seen as a potential resource for social trends research for allocations planning (McGrath, 1988b). The UW was by its nature committed to the charity response to social need and did not support the political and economic policy critiques being developed by the
Council. The pressure to define social planning as social service planning was revived.

In the early eighties, the social planning organizations in the local municipalities were seeking to assert themselves as separate and autonomous agencies and began making their own funding requests to the UW and to the government of Metro Toronto. In 1974, the Metropolitan Toronto government established a policy to provide SPCMT with an annual grant through its general social services grants programme. The grant was on the condition that grants would not be made available to other social planning organizations. Over the years the number of local social planning organizations increased and expanded their roles and began to request funding from Metro Toronto in addition to the requests to the local municipalities. Part of the expansion in activity had been triggered by issues raised in the reports of *Suburbs in Transition*. In 1983, the Etobicoke Social Development Council (ESDC), the North York Inter-Agency Council (NYIAC) and Human Services of Scarborough (HSS) were given grants subject to a ceiling of $10,000 with a commitment to review the ceiling prior to the 1985 grants process. The review raised concerns about the relationship between the Metro Council and the local planning bodies and in May 1985, Metro Council authorized a further evaluation of the issues and approved retaining an outside consultant. Mackay and Associates were hired to conduct the review of voluntary social planning in Metropolitan Toronto (Mackay and Associates, 1986).

Three key issues were identified (Mackay and Associates, 1986:i).

1. Is a local tier of social planning organizations appropriate, and what functions should they perform?

2. If needed, on what basis should Metro fund these organizations?

3. Given the appropriateness of local planning organizations, is there still a need for the
Social Planning Council at the Metro-wide level? And what functions should it be funded to perform?

The report did not define social planning, however, the working assumption was that social planning meant planning social services. The contemporary views of social planning were defined as:

* Greater interest in interrelating social services with other human services and hence in planning more comprehensively.
* Greater faith that broader, more comprehensive planning can be done locally in a more "bottom's up" way than "top down". Hence, comprehensive but local, action-oriented planning is in vogue. As a corollary, "top down" planning is out of fashion to some extent since it is viewed as too complex and less tangible - possible less results-oriented.
* Less faith and interest in adversarial government relations and more with constructive advocacy around specific projects and funding policies - more concern with maintaining credibility with policy makers to keep influence over pragmatic decisions. This is not surprising given the times (Mackay and Associates, 1986:8).

By representing social planning as local development and coordination of services in collaboration with government, the report could easily move to support the local planning bodies and be critical of the SPCMT. The report went on to comment, "All of these attitudinal trends, based on experience to some extent, have likely created less enthusiasm for Metro-wide social planning and more interest in local efforts or more focused efforts" (Mackay and Associates, 1986:10).

The report concluded that a local tier of planning organizations was appropriate and that they could effectively and appropriately carry out the following functions (Mackay and Associates, 1986:i):

- Local needs identification.
- Agency collaboration for service enhancement.
- New service development.
- Advocacy to government.
- Community education.

The local agencies were evaluated according to how well they fulfilled these functions and recommendations for funding made accordingly. A need for stable, core funding was recognized and a recommendation made that the UW increase its funding support to the local bodies. Only Etobicoke was receiving UW funding at the time.

The report did conclude that a Metro-wide social planning agency was still needed and that SPCMT should be funded for performing the following core functions:

- Public and community advocacy.
- Project research to support selected advocacy topics.
- Human services planning regarding trends research and information.
- Support to locals regarding needs research and methods.

The report was critical of the Council's focus on policy advocacy and lack of emphasis on analysis of human services needs and trends, and promotion of innovative service development. It found the programme portfolio to be "not impressive in numbers" and raised concerns about the quality of some research projects. It noted "Based on selected opinion, there are concerns about the relevance of the projects that the Metro Social Planning Council chooses and the orientation of its analysis and research" (Mackay and Associates, 1986:7).

The allegations were vague and unsubstantiated but the issues were clear. The funders were putting pressure on the Council to move away from critical public policy analysis and to go back to social service planning and coordination, and research that supported these endeavours. Municipal politicians and the business leaders of the UW were ideologically opposed to the positions of the Council on social and economic development. The move to a more globalized economy and the resultant increase in local unemployment were part of doing business. There was
also little interest in an increase in expenditures for social assistance programmes which would require tax increases at the provincial and municipal levels. The funders sought to control the organization by tying its funding to specific functions related primarily to social service development.

The report concluded that despite a reasonable argument that the funding to SPCMT be reduced, from a longer term, system perspective, reducing current funding contribution would be counter-productive. It recommended that Metro government and the UW "encourage SPCMT to focus its role, functions and operations in a more effective way" (Mackay and Associates, 1986:20). The two major funders of the Council now had a mutually acceptable framework with which to fund, evaluate and discipline the organization.

In 1987, Ed Pennington left the Council to become Executive Director of the Canadian Mental Health Association. In January of 1988, Jody Orr, also from the Hamilton Wentworth Social Planning and Research Council was appointed the new ED. Orr was presented as having a community development approach. One of her first actions was to hold a public forum on the potential impact of a free trade agreement with the United States on social programmes. The action caused a major breach with the UW. The negotiation of a free trade agreement with the Americans had become the major issue of the 1988 federal elections. John Crispo, an economist at the University of Toronto and former SPCMT Board member, wrote a letter to the editor threatening to withdraw his support of the UW if it did not cut the funding to the Council.

The Council managed to survive the threat on the short term, but the organizational problems were mounting. Orr was not a skilled administrator and did not have the organizational connections of Pennington. The erosion of professional staff which had started in the early eighties in response to the flat lining of the Council's UW base, persisted (Thornely, personal communication, 1997). By 1990, Freiler and Thornley had left and the following year, Orr and the two senior programme directors were also gone. While the Council was trying to recruit a new Executive Director, the United Way launched an organizational review of the vulnerable
organization using the frame of the Mackay report.

**Conclusion**

The struggle for the control of the Council in the seventies was won by a coalition of community activists who were in full control of the Board by 1978. A strong core of urban activists, fresh from their successes in the land use planning field, had turned their direction on the need to address social issues. The Council provided a vehicle for their activity. Marvyn Novick had helped to recruit the Board members and the board/staff alliance of professionals managed the Council’s programme. They brought close connections with labour, religious groups, and other voluntary advocacy organizations. The economic and labour market research was strongly supported by labour and religious leaders.

Consistent with a critical approach to research and knowledge creation, the staff and board began with a value or moral point of view. The research was directed at exposing the real structures of the material world, to position poverty as an outcome of economic and political activity not personal failure. The organizational leaders assumed a conflict model of society. They were clear that they had an ideological perspective of collective responsibility for the vulnerable that challenged the prevailing values of individual responsibility for well being. They were critical of the free market as a means of determining allocation of resources and argued for a role for the state.

The Council did influence the public discourse on social policy issues at both the municipal and provincial levels of government for the period of 1978 to 1988 and directly influenced the social assistance policies and regulations in the late eighties. There were few progressive organizations conducting social and economic policy research. The Council was able to engage volunteers and resource people and establish networks with organizations that had an affinity with its work.

The Council was at the hub of a network of social policy researchers and activists from government, labour, academia and other advocacy organizations. The Research Advisory
Committee was an important vehicle for developing the methodology of critical social research and providing linkages to research and advocacy partners. The Council was a forum for dialogical study which developed the discourse of a critical approach to achieving social well being. It was a discourse that resonated among academics, activists and progressive public officials. The political/economic critique of the “left” was sharpened and the knowledge base was expanded. Specific outcomes included: a comprehensive proposal for the reform of social assistance, the mobilization of issue specific advocacy strategies, critiques of Canadian labour market policy, the conceptualization of “real” unemployment, the conceptualization of child poverty and the formation of the Child Poverty Action Group.

Although the Council presented a structural analysis of the material world, the policy area that they chose to be most active in was a residual policy field. Improving social assistance rates and programmes was not going to change the economic conditions that were contributing to the high unemployment rates nor address the patriarchy inherent in social policy. The gendered nature of the programme was recognized but not critically. The work around social assistance was familiar to the Council, was politically feasible, and was a policy area that the coalition of labour, religious and community groups could agree on. The larger political/economic issues did not have as clear policy alternatives nor agreement. Although the Council had a critical analysis, mobilizing a commitment to policy alternatives that would challenge the prevailing social order was problematic.

The repeated acts of discipline by the federated fundraiser created a sense of caution within the Council. There were ideological boundaries beyond which the organization dare not tread for fear of having the funding revoked. The corporate players may not have been at the table in the late seventies and eighties, but they exerted their influence through their control of the purse strings of the UW. Economic conservatives such as John Crispo could support the work of the Council when it was focused on providing social services for those who were marginalized by the economy, but would not tolerate a critique of that economy much less a move
to an alternative economic and social order.

During the late seventies and early eighties, the coalition of urban activists, labour and religious groups was able to control the agenda of the Council. Labour also was able to exert its influence at the table of the UCF. However, the coalition could not be sustained. By the mid-eighties, labour was struggling with the loss of membership flowing from the de-industrialization that the Council was writing about. The 1988 SPCMT Board of Directors had only one token labour representative. A new national coalition of labour and progressive groups called the Pro-Canada Network (later named the Action Canada Network) had formed in 1987 to fight the proposed Canada-US Free Trade Agreement (Bleyer, 1992). It was a fight that was not successful in the face of the well-funded corporate campaign. In 1988, the Mulroney government was re-elected on a platform of a free trade agreement.

The persistent discipline by the UW with its steady erosion of the funding of the Council during the seventies and early eighties took its toll on the number and quality of staff that it could retain. The programme leadership that Marvyn Novick had provided was never taken up by his successors in the position of Senior Programme Director after his departure in 1982.

The economic agenda was being accelerated by the business community. As the Council was pointing out the impact of the de-industrialization that had taken place, the corporate community was busy lobbying for a free trade agreement with the US to remove the remaining barriers to doing business on a global basis. The goal was to move production to wherever business could be done the cheapest and Canada with its high wages and labour unions was not the place. The corporate agencies, the Frazer Institute, CD Howe Institute and the BCNI were firmly established and exerting influence. The corporate sector mobilized to direct the free trade debate. The Council’s position on social and economic policy had major opposition - opposition that was well funded by the same people who controlled the funding of the Council.

The funders wanted the American model of social service planning which supported UW organizations in the administration of allocations. Pressure was developing to redefine the Council
in the form that the corporate funders had first conceived of it in 1957. The Toronto UW could not take over the SPCMT in the early eighties, the support from labour, religious and progressive groups was too strong. But the funder could direct the allocation to projects which it supported and with the Mackay report had created new criteria with which to evaluate the mandate and activities of the SPCMT.
Chapter VII: Conclusion: The Politics of Truth

Introduction

This dissertation has been a case study of the process of knowledge construction by the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto for the period of 1957, when it was formed, to 1988 when I became affiliated with the organization. The research has been an interactive, heuristic inquiry with analysis of text and oral contributions in the context of a critical theoretical framework. It has sought to answer the question “How does a voluntary organization of people situated in and apparently committed to the normative concept of civil society, use its capacity for research and knowledge construction to try to achieve its goals?”. The study has focused on who participated in and directed the process of knowledge creation, what kinds of knowledge were created, and how the knowledge was used. It has been an examination of the politics of truth formation about defining human needs and the allocation of social resources to respond to that need.

The case study falls within the naturalist paradigm (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:37) which recognizes that there are multiple, constructed realities that can be studied only holistically, and inquiry into these realities will inevitably diverge, raising more questions than it answers. Prediction and control are unlikely outcomes; however, insights and understanding can be achieved. The relationship of the knower to the known is not independent but interactive, each influences the other. All entities are recognized as being in a state of mutual, simultaneous shaping so that it is impossible to distinguish causes from effects. The study supports Taylor’s (1985:182) contention that “the reality of history is mixed and messy”.

The Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto was formed in 1957 out of the then Toronto Welfare Council and throughout its history has been managed by a volunteer board of
directors. Its mandate has always included a commitment to the social well-being of the residents of Toronto. It has relied on voluntarily donated funds for its revenue base. Social research has been its primary function and so I have conceptualized the Council as an organization committed to research and knowledge formation as its strategy for participating in and influencing civil society (McGrath, 1996). This study has traced the knowledge creation capacity of the Council over time. The story of the Council has been told chronologically starting in 1957 and ending in 1988, organized into theme areas according to the dominant form of knowledge construction.

The interplay between power and knowledge has been a constant theme throughout the study. Through the analysis of organizational texts and knowledge products, and consultation of the knowledge workers and decision-makers of the organizations, the study has sought to make the process of truth or knowledge production more visible and the exercise of power more transparent. The Council's capacity for research and knowledge creation promoted the interests of those who had access to it. In this concluding chapter the components of the theoretical framework are reviewed and the key findings of the analysis of the knowledge construction process are presented. The implications for future practice and research are also addressed.

**The Practice of Colonization and Resistance**

This research assumed a three part model of society with the state, the market and civil society each occupying a separate sphere. This approach recognized civil society, or what is sometimes referred to as the "social", as a sphere of activity, allowing for a fuller conceptualization of each of the three sectors including the function and influence of each. The concept of civil society has recently been revived to describe this sphere which is increasingly being seen as a crucial area of activity, a "domain in which individual and collective actors contest competing interpretations of their collective needs and normative orientations as well the
distribution of scarce social resources" (Honneth 1991:vii). It includes intimate relationships, voluntary associations, social movements, and forms of public communication (Cohen and Arato (1992:xii). My interest is in the voluntary associations, particularly those which have become structured into organizations committed to participating in the contestation of norms and needs determination and the allocation of social resources.

This conceptualization has drawn on the work of Habermas (1981) who describes civil society as the lifeworld which has a private sphere of the family and a public sphere of associational life. It is this critical, public sphere of discourse and action which Habermas argues must be autonomous from the political and economic spheres that has been used as a frame to examine the work of the Council. He theorizes that through public participatory communication processes located in the lifeworld, a critical consciousness would develop among broad segments of the population. This consciousness would expose class structures and recognize the importance of universalistic, democratic values (White, 1988).

Habermas (1981) argues that advanced capitalism has been relatively successful in defusing class conflict in the sphere of production and in neutralizing the public sphere as a site of effective participation by citizens. Capitalism offers compensations which diminish the roles of employee and citizen of the lifeworld. Compensation in the form of system-conforming rewards are channeled into the roles of private consumer and public client of the welfare state (White, 1988:112). Habermas (1981) describes these processes as the colonization of the lifeworld by the state and the economy. This research describes the practice of colonization in the day to day life of apparently independent voluntary associations and the practice of those who organize to resist colonization and assert influence within the sphere of the social and on the state and the economy. The Council has housed both practices.
Habermas uses the concept of power almost exclusively with reference to the administrative and legislative capacities of the state. While useful in identifying broad forces of influence, this approach is limiting. Foucault's work helps to expose the microdynamics of power operating in structures of thinking and behaviour which may appear to be devoid of power relations. He shows us that structures which we assume to be enabling are always simultaneously constraining. The discourses associated with the growing organization of modern life create new ways of subjugating people, while ostensibly enhancing their freedom and well-being (White, 1988). Foucault directs our attention to what is local, specific and historically contingent. It is through a critical examination of our day to day practices that we can find new possibilities of thinking and acting and locate where change is possible and desirable and determine the precise form these changes should take (Bernstein, 1994).

I have drawn on both approaches to attempt to examine the power relations that have been played out within the Council. The research shows the Council to be the site of the production of competing truths. It is a nexus of power relations, where the authority of the state, the money of the corporate sector and the autonomy of voluntary associations collide. By examining the day to day practices of the organization, this research is seeking to assist in the location of new possibilities for progressive social change.

The experience of the Council supports Habermas' analysis of the colonization of the lifeworld or civil society by the economic and political spheres. The study shows how a capacity to influence knowledge creation was used to contribute to the process of colonization. Research that objectified people in need and advocated the development of social services as a response to need was supported by the corporate and public sectors. Citizens were encouraged to relate to the state as clients dependent on residual programmes. Knowledge that focussed the issue on the
political and economic structures that were creating insecurity and would have encouraged entitlement claims by citizens was not widely supported. The increasing privatization and commodification of social services with a reliance on user fees reinforced the role of consumer. The social assistance legislation that the Council was significant in influencing was still a residual response to the income insecurity created by the limitations of the capitalist economy and the lack of substantive income security programmes.

The study suggests extensive influence by the economic sphere and the political sphere on the social sphere in the contestation of norms and needs determination and the allocation of social resources in Canada. In the early years of the Council, the Board was dominated by members of the corporate elite including one of the most influential Canadian businessmen of the day, Wallace McCutcheon. Unlike many of his colleagues, McCutcheon accepted the limitations of capitalism and supported the development of a support system to address the inequities created. Being at the table of the boards of directors of the major non-governmental social agencies in Canada, enabled the business sector to "regulate" the development of the social welfare system in Toronto and Canada and to speak out in the legitimized voices of civic leaders on urban issues that served their own interests. The Argus Corporation which McCutcheon worked for benefited from the land-use planning decisions of the fifties and sixties. The social welfare blueprint for Canada developed by Leonard Marsh was marginalized and its plan for comprehensive social programmes was replaced by more modest, residual programmes, some in the form of local social services funded primarily through voluntary dollars and managed by the local business elite.

During the "golden years" of the post World War II economy, the primary message for social spending by the Needs and Resources Study (SPCMT, 1963) was there were limited resources. The increase in manufacturing jobs and local activity on social services weakened the
pressure for the state run social programmes. Unionized workers were negotiating their benefits at the bargaining table and those who were left out of the economy were cared for through local charity. Industrialization and immigration made Toronto the largest and most rapidly expanding city in Canada. Establishing the normative frame for the development of social welfare services was a major accomplishment of the corporate sector. It was accomplished using the research capacity of the Council.

The intrusiveness of the economic and political spheres created tensions and contradictions in the role of the Council as a vehicle of civil society. While the Council created an opportunity for citizens to participate in the process of knowledge creation on the allocation of social resources, the citizens who participated were predominantly those of the corporate elite in the fifties and sixties and the educated middle class in the seventies and eighties. Attempts by those who were directly affected by social programmes to participate in the work of the Council were initially opposed and later carefully controlled. As the Council became more participatory in its organizational and research practices, its funding became more insecure. As the corporate sector involvement in the Council declined, so did the support and confidence of the funders.

The influence of the government on the Council increased in the late sixties and seventies as social welfare programmes were being created. The federal government was pressured to introduce social policies to fund health, education and welfare services. The introduction of the Canada Assistance Plan in 1966 created a resource for the development of social welfare programmes that in Ontario were cost shared with municipalities. Involvement by government at all levels in the planning and delivery of social services increased. The funding responsibility for local social services was shifting from the voluntary, charitable sector managed primarily by the corporate sphere to the public sector. The vision of a collaborative planning process of social
services by lay volunteers and public administrators proposed in the *Needs and Resources Study* (SPCMT, 1963) was never implemented as governments moved reluctantly into the service planning field in order to manage their own fiscal interests.

The Council, like most social service organizations, came under the control of public sector funders in addition to the charitable private sector. The Council received some core funding from the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto and sought project funding from all levels of government in order to fund research particularly in the policy fields. Research proposals had to be crafted according to the interests of the various government departments. Repeated attempts by the Council to secure core funding from the provincial and federal governments were rejected. The vulnerability of the Council to the political interests of municipal politicians was demonstrated in the response to the Suburbs reports of calls for the elimination of municipal funding. The Council was able to mobilize support for the study, particularly that of the Toronto Star which was crucial in fending off the threats of cuts in the short term.

Communication is the medium of civil society. The study raises questions about the autonomy of civil society from the other two spheres and its capacity for public communication. The ability of the Council to communicate with the broader public was restricted by the lack of resources and the unwillingness of the for-profit media to publicize knowledge forms which it did not support or were not interested in. Research which was critical of the political and economic spheres such as the reports on unemployment and labour market activity in the early eighties was largely ignored by the mainstream media. The Council was heavily critiqued by the 1986 McKay report for its shift from research on social services which was favoured by the corporate and political spheres to its critical analysis of political and economic policies that were contributing to high unemployment and poverty levels.
The production and presentation of the major reports of the Council required strategic management of the interests of government and the corporate sector and of the contextual opportunities. The shift to a political/economic critique in the late seventies and early eighties occurred during a period of disorganization of the federated fundraiser. Communication campaigns were developed to get the Suburbs reports and the social assistance advocacy reports into the public purview. The 'success' of these reports was guided by the interests of the corporate and government sectors. The Toronto Star had an interest in suburban issues and promoted the Suburbs reports. The alliance of the Liberal and NDP parties to form the provincial government in 1985 created an opportunity to pressure for social assistance legislation. The progressive Transitions report was heavily influenced by the work of the Council, but the changing economic and political context resulted in limited implementation. The social assistance programmes continued to clientize those who were reliant on them.

The Council had to develop alternative communication strategies. Public forums, task groups, and conferences created opportunities for direct contact and dialogue with interested individuals and groups. Research reports were distributed to members, affiliates and public libraries. In the eighties, the infopac was introduced. These eight to twelve page booklets provided concise analysis and proposals on current social issues. Council staff had close working relationships with officials in the provincial and municipal governments. They were up to date on current government thinking and were able to mobilize to exert pressure when it was required.

The research in the late seventies and eighties did reflect an understanding of class structures and supported the universal and democratic values of social and economic justice. These works received less public attention and invited sanctions by the two major funders, the United Way and the Regional Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto.
The work of the Council did increase the critical capacity of associations within civil society committed to social and economic justice. The Council was at the hub of a network of social policy researchers and activists from government, labour, academia and other advocacy organizations. The Research Advisory Committee was an important vehicle for developing the methodology of critical social research and providing linkages to research and advocacy partners. The Council was a forum for dialogical study which developed the discourse of a critical approach to achieving social well being. It was a discourse that resonated among academics, activists and progressive public officials. The political/economic critique of the “left” was sharpened and the knowledge base was expanded. Specific outcomes included: a comprehensive proposal for the reform of social assistance, the mobilization of issue specific advocacy strategies, critiques of Canadian labour market policy, the conceptualization of “real” unemployment, the conceptualization of child poverty and the formation of the Child Poverty Action Group. The Council was able to engage volunteers and resource people and establish networks with organizations that had an affinity with its work.

Although control of the Council board moved to a group of progressive urban activists in the seventies, the influence of the corporate sphere was maintained through their control of the charity funder the United Community Fund (which subsequently became the United Way).

**Disciplining the Council: the United Way**

The research demonstrates that throughout its history, the Council has been under the surveillance of the local federated fundraiser which has been the primary funding source. In the early years, most of the Council’s resources were directed at supporting the planning and allocation activities of the United Community Fund. The Council did trends analysis, recommended programmes and agencies for funding and evaluated existing agencies for the Fund.
In addition the Fund would make special requests for specific studies that it wanted without any further funding. The UCF’s approach to the funding of services included the Council. There was constant tension between the Council and the Fund about the adequacy of funding, the annual allocations were consistently less than the amount requested by the Council.

The UCF was committed to addressing social need through a centralized decision making process guided by community elites committed to marketplace values. The Fund saw the research capacity of the Council as a tool to achieve these ends. During the fifties and sixties with both organizations under the direction of the corporate elite of the community, there was generally consensus. The Needs and Resources Study was intended to guide the planning and allocations processes of social services for the entire community including the UCF. The attempted takeover of the Council by social assistance recipients and social activists was vehemently opposed by the UCF. The Fund did not want to risk losing control of the Council and its research resources.

The study has shown a persistent pattern of the Fund asserting control over the Council whenever its activities digressed from the interests of the corporately supported funder. A multitude of sanctions were used. Personal attacks of “communist” were levelled at Wilson Head in the late sixties as they had been against Bessie Touzel in the forties. The allegations were intended to discredit those who dared to speak up about the failures of the social welfare system. The UCF prevented the Council from considering Head as Executive Director in 1969 although he had the support of the majority of the staff and had been the senior research staff person. The Fund was not prepared to have someone with Head’s political and social views of social justice run its research organization. It is also unlikely that the funder was prepared to hire a Black man as an agency head. Similarly, John Gandy was overlooked in 1963 although he like Head was the next senior staff in the Council.
When the Fund could not control the Council directly at the Board table, it had its funding power. The Council was frequently called upon to justify continued funding by the Fund. Operational reviews became a strategy to closely scrutinize the Council's activities and to demand accountability to expectations of effectiveness and efficiency. The evaluation criteria used by the Fund were geared to service providing agencies which could count the number of clients served and the number of services provided and did not adapt easily to the more process oriented planning activities. The evaluation of social planning or social development as the practice has become more commonly known, has been a contentious issue that has yet to be resolved. These mechanisms put the Council in the position of having to frequently defend its actions to the funder and maintained a sense of caution within the agency about possible sanctions if positions not supported by the funder were pursued.

The UCF was particularly intolerant of any criticism of its practices. Attempts by community activists to create a public debate about the Fund were quickly shut down. The Fund used its own power as funder to force member agencies to defend it. Agencies were directed not only to attend public meetings which were set up to discuss the work of the Fund, but to dominate the sessions with prepared scripts.

Since the early seventies as the Council moved towards interpretive and critical forms of knowledge construction, there has been constant tension between the Council and its federated funder about the definition of social planning. The Fund has consistently viewed social planning as social service planning and saw the function of the Council to support the agencies and the planning and allocations process. This has been the American approach where almost all of the independent planning councils have been absorbed into the UW (Brilliant, 1990). The Suburbs in Transition project was supported by the UW because it fundamentally addressed the allocation of
social service resources. However, the political economic critiques of the early eighties with the examination of the labour market and income security policies were not supported. The political and corporate leaders of the municipality and the UW agreed with the move to a globalized economy and reductions in government social expenditures. The Council was able to shift into a political economic critique with the support of Labour, faith communities and urban activists and during a period when the UW had its own organizational problems.

The 1986 Mackay Report attempted to re-position social planning as social service planning and was highly critical of the SPCMT questioning the number, relevance and orientation of its analysis and research projects. The directive of the Mackay Report that the Council limit itself to research, policy analysis and advocacy based thereon was used as the criteria to monitor the ongoing activities of the Council and as the evaluation criteria for another organizational review launched in the early nineties.

The control of the purse strings was the major sanctioning role of the federated fundraiser. The year 1968 was the high water mark in terms of the staffing and resources of the Council. As the Council became a controversial site of struggle about the collective response to social need, the funding became more restricted. The steady erosion of funding in the late seventies and early eighties made it more and more difficult to maintain the quality staffing base required to sustain a critical knowledge base. In the name of fiscal constraint, the economic and political sectors have been able to restrict the capacity of the third sector or civil society to create knowledge and to exercise its influence on the other two spheres of society. Despite the limitations, the process of knowledge construction did evolve under pressures for more participatory and critical mechanisms.
Connecting Knowledge with the Interests of the Knowledge Creators

Drawing on Habermas (1972), Park (1993) and Neumann (1997), a classification of three kinds of social science knowledge constructions (positivist, interpretive and critical) has been utilized to analyze the practice of the Council. Selected research studies were examined to identify consistencies with these different approaches. Although all three approaches can be found throughout the study period, there are periods of time during which the practice is dominated by one approach over the other. While these periods are not totally discrete and there is overlap, eras of practice committed to the positivist, interpretive and critical approaches to knowledge formation were identified. Beginning in 1957 with the positivist approach, and concluding in 1988 when the critical approach is paramount, each era lasts approximately ten years.

The kind of knowledge construction adopted by the Council was shaped by a mix of influences including the broader social, political and economic context and the membership of the board and staff of the Council. The research has sought to identify some of the contextual influences and to connect the interests served by the different forms of knowledge construction. The iterative relationship between power and knowledge, with one entity reinforcing the other, has been the substance of this study. The corporate sector was in control of the Council in 1957 and its dominance was secure for over ten years. From 1970 forward, the story of the Council became one story of resistance to the influence of the corporate sphere and its reliance on the positivist or empirical approach to knowledge formation and technical interests. Broader participation in the governance of the Council at the board and staff levels contributed to a change in the method of knowledge construction to a more participatory approach. Access to knowledge and the capacity of knowledge creation in turn helped to shift the balance of power in the organization.
The scientific method was the dominant paradigm of knowledge construction in the year that the Toronto Welfare Council became the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. Science and technology were the hope and promise of the future in the post-war fifties and sixties. These were the "Golden Years" marked by an explosion of economic growth powered by technological revolution and the United States was the model of a capitalist industrial society (Hobsbawm 1994).

The use and reliance on so-called objective, rational planning processes was consistent with the prevailing influence of Western social and political thought based on the work of the Enlightenment thinkers who had great confidence in the intellectual capacity of man (sic). The accumulation of knowledge by individuals working freely and creatively would bring physical and social well-being for all. The domination of nature would ensure that all material needs would be met and "rational forms of social organization and rational modes of thought promised liberation from the irrationalities of myth, religion, superstition, release from the arbitrary use of power as well as from the dark side of our own human natures" (Harvey, 1989:12). There is much debate about whether the quest of modernity is a faulty quest or it is merely incomplete (Passerin d'Entrèves and Benhabib, 1997; Touraine, 1995). What has been exposed is that the logic behind the rationality of Enlightenment is a logic of domination and oppression (Harvey 1989).

The nominally value free technical methods of knowledge creation reinforced the existing power relations within the social sector during the fifties and sixties. The focus on social services as a response to identified needs diverted attention away from a political/economic analysis and proposals for changes in the existing structures. Rational planning processes created the illusion that allocations of social resources were being made according to some kind of objective criteria rather than subjective views of deservedness. The response to social dislocations was directed at
those who suffered the dislocation and the knowledge of social science was called upon to solve what were defined as social not economic problems. Social services became a mechanism of controlling the potential dissidence of those who were marginalized by the limitations of the economy and the inadequacies of public programmes.

The capacity to know was in the hands of a few, those who received services were not perceived as knowers. In 1969 a board member and business executive explained why poor people should not be on the board, "I am afraid that those who are supported are so self-conscious and so self-centred in their own concerns that they just have no perspective on the total situation." Apparently oblivious of the limitations and bias of his own perspective and position, he confidently claimed that poor people would certainly have "a totally distorted unilateral look at things" (Lind. April 15, 1969).

Confidence in the scientific method was the ideological link between the corporate sector lead by McCutcheon and social scientists such as Hendry. In business, technology promised efficiencies and increased productivity which meant more profit. It was this expectation of efficiency that they brought to the social planning table. In the social welfare sector, efficiencies meant that costs could be constrained to accommodate the limits of charitable donation which was the preferred method of funding social programmes and lessened the pressure on taxation.

The two major studies of this period, *Children's Institutions in Metropolitan Toronto* (1960) and the study of *The Needs and Resources* (1963) focussed on the need for efficiency of social services and on the managed expansion of the system by professional staff. The comprehensiveness of the studies, both in breadth and depth, the time taken to complete them and the resources committed to them gave them a sense of legitimacy. Technical and rational processes of knowledge construction were used to support proposals for social institutions and
structures which primarily served the interests of those who controlled the knowledge
construction process rather than those whose needs were to be met by the institutions. The
method not only eliminated those who were in need from participating in creating the knowledge
but the claims of objectivity obscured the fact that the knowledge was being created. The business
sector, the agencies, the SPCMT and the University of Toronto all benefited from the
recommendations of the studies and were positioned to maintain control of the social service
system.

The populations who were subjects of these studies, those who were deemed to be
deserving of social services, were objectified by the research process. They had no presence. Data
about them was analyzed to determine their needs and the appropriate responses. Records and
agency staff were the sources of information used to create the profiles in the study on children’s
institutions. There was no attempt to even give the appearances of consulting those affected by
the study, it was not necessary. Experts in the field of health, welfare and recreation services
decided what the needs were and civic leaders, primarily businessmen, determined the resources
that would be available to respond to those needs. A rational planning process determined
priorities to guide the matching of needs and resources.

The second approach to knowledge construction is described as interpretive, subjective or
interactive. It is concerned with the uncovering of meanings people attach to actions, and the
social rules that guide people’s behaviour and interaction. Interpretive social science seeks to
improve communication and understanding between people, both within a particular cultural
context, and also across cultural boundaries. Its interests are primarily practical. The aim is to
promote interaction and understanding and so inter-personal communication is the form of
political practice (Ife, 1997:130).
The era of interpretive or subjective knowledge formation at the Council was launched in the late sixties. It was a period when the objects of study in the fifties and early sixties resisted and attempted to assert themselves as agents. The poor and marginalized organized to influence the direction of the Council and the major funder of social services, the United Community Fund. This resistance took place in the context of the sixties, a period of activism against the authority of social, political and economic institutions and the positivist methods of knowledge formation. The positivist research paradigm ignored the fact that humans gain social knowledge through interaction as co-members of society (Park, 1993:5). The sense of disengagement hid from view the way in which an individual is constituted by language and culture that are maintained and renewed in communities (Taylor, 1985:8). New methods of knowledge formation that included the voices of the increasingly diverse communities were being demanded. The use of the natural sciences to understand human life and social action was no longer plausible (Taylor, 1985).

The sixties was a period of social activism around the world as social movements formed around issues of civil rights, peace, the environment and the rights of women. The mid-sixties in Toronto marked the beginning of a decade of citizen participation initiated by opposition to urban renewal schemes that were dislocating residents (Lemon 1985:51). The authority of corporate developers and municipal planners was being challenged. The urban reform movement became linked with the pressure for social planning in addition to land-use planning. Albert Rose (1972) argued that physical planning and physical development had dominated the programme, budgeting and financing of metropolitan-wide activities in the Toronto area to the neglect of social planning, social development, and the social and human concerns of a substantial proportion of its residents. The SPCMT become a focal point of sixties' urban activism in Toronto as young social workers and academic activists demanded that the SPCMT direct its resources to work with community
groups addressing the issues of poverty and the destruction of working class neighbourhoods through urban renewal rather than serve the UCF and its agencies. Urban activists who had enjoyed success in influencing land-use planning, re-directed their efforts to social planning issues and the Council.

The efforts by the Just Society supported by the group Praxis to secure a presence at the Board of the Council were strongly opposed by the existing board and the UCF. The response of the corporate dominated board to pressures for social justice was to reframe the pressure for change as a threat to the very people who would benefit from demands for greater social and economic equality. President Harry Wolfson argued for the SPCMT to maintain its commitment to the existing social programmes and called on the scientific method of planning as a method of rationalization of the conflict. Military language was invoked to portray those who were demanding change as a threat to the social order. The pressure for change was a "social revolution" and the activities were cast as "militant social action" (SPCMT, 1970). The Board persisted in its adherence to the traditional liberal approach to well-being, social services were the preferred response to ameliorate the difficulties of capitalism.

The pressure for change could not be ignored. An attempt was made to try and accommodate the demands for increased accountability and transparency of processes with the hiring of John Frei as Executive Director. Changing the staff leadership of the Council became a common strategy to address external pressures. Frei valued technology and technique and transparent processes - a form of democratization of the objective method. He was committed to the development of "a theory of social planning based on scientific and practical experience" (Frei 1989:32). He offered the hope of creating an organizational structure that could manage the turbulence that the Council was experiencing in a centralized, efficient manner without major
disruptions.

The re-structuring of the Council by Frei introduced social development as an area of activity with Marvyn Novick in charge. The department was intended to accommodate the pressure to support marginalized community groups but became a strategy to create knowledge about issues of concern to marginalized groups. The emerging topics of research included: income maintenance, unemployment insurance, redefinition of work, social mobility for the poor, quality of housing planning, the available housing stock for low-income populations, and the creation of liveable social environments. Income security was identified as a significant issue for the Council in 1978 and was to define the work of the eighties.

The emerging interpretive or interactive approach to knowledge construction initially required an accommodation to the prevailing positivist approach. In the early seventies, a federally funded Local Initiatives Programme (LIP) became the major financial instrument for the innovation of community services in Metro Toronto. The Council used the programme to create the Storefront Project whose purpose approved by the Board in 1972 was "to serve as a rational planning instrument enabling community groups to become full and active partners in the social planning operations of this community" (Hebb, 1973:4). Rational planning and democratic participation were incompatible objectives. The discourse attempted to incorporate both but the practice was moving towards participatory strategies.

The major research project of the Council during this period was a study of the changing nature of the suburbs of Metropolitan Toronto, the impact of these new urban forms on family life and the lack of services and resources available particularly for vulnerable groups. The two reports of the Suburbs project reflected a shift to a more participatory method of knowledge creation. The study drew extensively on empirical data and personal experience of the concerned
populations, and there was concerted effort given in communicating the results throughout the metropolitan area as a way of informing the public and decision-makers and stimulating dialogue that would lead to change. The change however, was generally limited to the re-allocation of social service resources to the suburban areas to address what were defined as social problems. The study helped to inform the affected communities about what was happening locally and interpret the needs in terms of additional services not structural change. The critical analyses of the suburbs particularly the isolating impact on women and the elderly and the promotion of a child-centred family were largely ignored.

The era of interactive knowledge construction began with an apparently collaborative effort of representatives of marginalized constituencies and professional activists in securing influence over the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. The representatives of the marginalized groups were themselves quickly sidelined in the struggle for control of the Council. By 1978, the Council was lead by a board of professionals: academics, lawyers, human service executives, architects, urban planners and labour representatives. The Just Society, a movement of social assistance recipients, had provided a framework, "a launching platform" for concerned professionals (Buchbinder 1972:143).

Middle class professionals constituted the membership of most contemporary social movements (Offe, 1985; Melucci, 1989). The urban activists and professionals who came to dominate the board in the late seventies had organized originally around land-use issues and were shifting their focus to social issues. They brought a keen interest in democratic participation and transparent processes of knowledge creation but also maintained a commitment to professional expertise. The experience of those who were socially and economically marginalized became interpreted through the lens of professional knowledge workers.
Ife (1997) argues that interpretive social science, in isolation from a broader contextual analysis, tends towards conservatism. It does not contain within it a vision of a direction for change but works to enable people to live more happily within the existing order. The prevailing political and economic interests, represented by the municipal politicians and the UCF, focussed on the elements of the Suburbs’ study that fit within the frame of social services as the response to need. The outcome of the study also served the interests of the middle-class activists and professionals who were mainly land-owners. Ameliorating the social problems that were developing within the suburban communities would serve to maintain land values and safer neighbourhoods. The self-interest of the professionals was not acknowledged, any more than that of the corporate elite who had preceded them as masters of the Council had been.

The professional middle class did bring with them a capacity for a structural critique which began to focus on the political and economical conditions which were contributing to the contemporary social problems. The object of study was moving from the urban form to the broader social context.

By the early eighties, the globalization of the economy and technological development were beginning to affect the Toronto area with extensive de-industrialization and increasing unemployment. A coalition of the networks affiliated with the Council particularly labour and faith groups became mobilized around a more critical analysis of the persistent problems of poverty to include a critique of economic and social policy. The research capacity of the Council was used to identify the labour market and income security programmes of the government as major problems in the constitution of poverty. Although the Council was still active in supporting the human service system, its analyses identified how the economic and political structures contributed to need and were to be accountable for responding to it. Critical commentary on low wages, high
unemployment and the need for a public policy response had been initiated by the TWC in its 1938 brief to the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations. However, it was not until the late seventies and early eighties with the support of labour and faith groups and close ties between board members and professional staff that the critical discourse was renewed.

Although the discourse of the Council was driven by a structural analysis, the policy issue that the efforts of the organization were ultimately directed at was a residual income security programme. The inadequacy of social assistance rates had been identified by the earlier TWC and was a recurring theme in the work of the Council. It was a position often articulated indirectly through the use of the family budget guides which supported a market basket approach to determining adequacy of family incomes. The guides were detailed accounts of the incomes needed to ensure an acceptable level of living for individuals and families rather than the basic needs approach of more conservative policy initiatives. A major campaign to increase social assistance rates and improve training programmes was launched in collaboration with groups representing the vulnerable populations most affected by these policies.

Despite the comprehensive political/economic critique that the Council launched in the late seventies and early eighties, the policy positions that were finally articulated were relatively weak. A structural analysis did not bring a campaign for structural changes. The Council took a pragmatic approach, putting its efforts into an area where it believed it could have some influence. The agenda was set by political interests and opportunity. A critical approach to knowledge construction resulted in public policies that proposed to address the needs of the most vulnerable and even these were only partially implemented. The emancipatory interest of a critical approach was constrained by the influence of the economic and political spheres primarily through the actions of the corporate dominated funder and the municipal and provincial governments.
The relationship between social research and public policy is tenuous given the political nature of policy formation. Social research is but one, and often not very significant or powerful factor, in a whole sea of advice, information, judgements, data, prejudices and existing policies which influence the emergence of what is loosely called social policy (Gilbert, 1983). Weiss (1977:77) argues that the major effect of research on policy may be "the gradual sedimentation of insights, theories, concepts, and ways of looking at the world". The role for social research is social criticism. Research provides the intellectual background of concepts, operations, and empirical generalizations that inform policy. Policy research analysts are encouraged to become advocates for their ideas rather than letting the facts speak for themselves. The object is the construction of knowledge that will in turn generate new practice (Friedmann 1987).

The public policy position taken by the Council around social assistance reform may have been weakened, but the vision to create "islands of liberation" in a sea of neo-conservative discourse (Frerich, personal communication, 1997) achieved some success. The Council has maintained a structural analysis as its own world view. Inequality and poverty have been seen as the consequence of political and economic policies. Calls for public policy responses that address the inequities of the labour market and the limitations of income security programmes in addition to local social service supports have been part of the major research documents produced by the Council in the nineties. *Paying for Canada* (CPAG et al., 1994) developed in collaboration with the Child Poverty Action Group and the Citizens for Public Justice provided a critical analysis of the impact of the economic policies of the federal government and called on the government to maintain a federal presence in Canadian social policy. The accompanying campaign appeared to be unsuccessful as the government announced in its 1995 budget that it was cancelling the Canada Assistance Plan and moving to block funding to the provinces for social programmes. Maintaining
the capacity to sustain a discourse of public policy critique in the face of limited influence and the opposition of funders persists as a challenge for the Council.

**Merging Interests: Social Work and the Corporate Sector**

An interesting finding of this study was how the interests of the corporate sector and the social work sector coalesced around the identification of social services as a response to need. The development of social services created a demand for skilled social workers to efficiently manage the expanding social service system. The profession of social work was legitimized as the knower of the social services system and became the technical expert to oversee the provision of services.

The relationship between business and social work was traced back to 1918 when the Federation for Community Service was formed. Responsibility for the coordination of the social service system was jointly held by representatives of the social service agencies and the business community. This partnership of social workers and business leaders was the model for future evolutions of the organization. It was a partnership in which the business representatives had greater authority and influence being deemed as the representatives of the donors and lacking the apparent self-interest of the agency workers.

The School of Social Work at the University of Toronto had close ties with the Council starting with the TWC in 1937 when Urwick became the first President of the Board of the newly formed organization. As a Fabian socialist, he was critical of pressure to substitute the rationalist scientific approach for social philosophical principles as a guide to social work practice. However, by 1957 social research had replaced the social gospel as the guide for social reform. Social research by professionally trained secular workers was viewed as a politically neutral guide for social change by concerned citizens and governments. During his tenure as director of the
School of Social Work in the fifties and sixties, "Chick" Hendry maintained close connections with the Council and its corporate leadership. Hendry and the corporate community shared a belief that social scientific research would resolve social problems. Drawing on his American training and experience, he introduced a social work practice based on science and rationality.

The social workers may have had less influence at the Board table than their business counterparts, but the decisions made benefited the profession. The studies of the sixties and seventies consistently called for professionally trained workers to manage and deliver the developing services. The social service system increased significantly with the implementation of CAP and the infusion of government dollars, and contributed to the expansion of the social work profession and the School of Social Work at the University of Toronto.

As the Council moved to a community development model of practice in the seventies and to a more critical public policy and advocacy position in the eighties, the connections with the profession of social work and the Toronto School of Social Work weakened. The Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers did not support the efforts of the Just Society in 1970 as it attempted to secure representation on the Board of the Council. With the exception of outstanding individuals such as John Gandy of the Toronto Faculty of Social Work, the academic activists on the Council in the eighties represented other fields such as geography, environmental studies and urban planning and other institutions including Ryerson Polytechnic Institute and York University.

There was little support for a community development approach to social work practice at the Toronto school. Murray Ross, a leading writer on community development in Canada, was recruited away to head up the newly formed York University. York hired community activist Wilson Head to start up their new school of social work. David Cowley, who had been an active
Board member and part of the reform movement at the Council in the early seventies and taught community practice, was not given tenure by the Toronto School of Social Work. Case work practice, which maintained the social service system, persisted as the primary practice form of social work. Schools of social work are publicly funded entities and vulnerable to the same economic and political climate as the Council.

Although institutionally and professionally social work appeared to support the corporate agenda, there were elements of resistance and struggle. Activists such as Wilson Head and John Gandy were able to operate from the relative safety of the academic environment. Schools of social work provided sites for the development of a critique even if it was marginalized within the organization.

The presence of social workers among the staff lessened as the Council moved to a critical practice. In the early years with the focus on social services, voluntary social planning was the realm of social work; however, with a shift to urban development and public policy issues in the eighties, urban planning and labour relations were the primary fields of study of Council staff. In 1991, there were no social workers employed by the Council.

**Gender and the Practice of Critical Knowledge Construction**

Wills (1995) documented the marginalization of women activists from positions of leadership and influence within the field of social work and the social service system in Toronto from 1918 to 1957. She traced the systemic domination of social reform agencies in Toronto by businessmen and social workers (predominantly male) who were committed to incremental change processes determined by rational social planning. The female social activists in organizations such as the Child Welfare Council who had successfully used political activism as a strategy of change and were committed to cooperative democracy were compelled to collaborate in what Wills
described as *A Marriage of Convenience*.

With the formation of the SPCMT in 1957, the rational, efficiency side had won. The Board that was in control was corporate and male. Only a handful of women were present, primarily spouses of the corporate elite. As the Council moved towards a more critical approach to knowledge construction, the gendered nature of the board also shifted. By 1978, seventeen of the forty-five member Board were women with extensive credentials of paid and volunteer activism in the human services sector, labour, and women’s organizations. By 1988, almost half of the Board were women and for the first time they formed the majority of the Executive Committee. Kenise Murphy-Kilbride, a Ryerson academic who remains active in the human services sector today, was President. The social worker/activists included the late Mary Lynne Hobbs, Brigitte Kitchen, Janet Mays, Sheila Neysmith, Nadine Nowlan, Susan Pigott and the late Jean Woodsworth. It was this board that initiated a strategic planning process that resulted in a new mission statement that committed the Council “the empowerment of individuals, families and communities and to achieving greater social and economic justice for all residents of Toronto” (SPCMT, 1989). The emancipatory values which had guided the Council during the late seventies and eighties were incorporated into its mission statement, to be distinguished from previous mission statements which emphasized processes of citizen participation and the planning and delivery of human services.

The United Way would not tolerate the persistent commitment to a critical form of practice. In 1991, during a period when the SPCMT was organizationally vulnerable because of loss of senior staff, the UW cut the Council’s funding by one-third and ordered an organizational review. The Council was subsequently placed under close surveillance by the funder for two years under threat of complete withdrawal of funding. The Council survived the review process but the
funding cuts were maintained. The predominantly male corporate board of the UW again exerted its influence over the predominantly female social activists of the Council.

The Practice of Subjectivity

An unresolved tension in this study is how to present the practice of subjectivity in the process of knowledge construction. Knowledges formed can define us and yet we create knowledge. There is a tension between subjectivity and agency and it is reflected in the differences between Foucault and Habermas. Miller (1993) examines the relationship between discourse and object using a Foucauldian analysis. He identifies three “prejudices” that have formed Western understanding of the formation of subjects.

In the ontic approach to subjectivity (Miller, 1993:41), the world is viewed as stable and the subject can be known through observable facts, a commonsense logic. The signified begets the signifier. This approach corresponds with the positivist era where the objectification of the subject is more clear. The residents of the children’s institutions were studied through the analysis of data from the files and the input of the staff who were responsible for the agencies. The “object” of the studies, the children and their families are not visible.

In contrast, the epistemic approach contradicts the ontic, asserting that objects are formed through knowledge. This appears to be consistent with the interpretive approach to knowledge construction, the subject decides what knowledge is according to the subject’s position and values. Knowledge is discursive. The signifier begets the signified (Miller, 1993:42). Meanings are not true in some metaphysical sense but are the outcome either of the understanding of actual persons in terms of their own codes or of imaginary collectives conceived and deployed in the practice of theorizing (Miller, 1993:43).

The third prejudice is the postmodern which “queries the very notion of there being an
object and a history to its understanding ...Signifiers beget signifiers in an endless, importunate array of meanings that denies a connectedness of signifier to signified "(Miller, 1993:43). Rather than the trees of meaning that portrayed knowledges of the past, the concept of the rhizome with its chaotic root-system is used. Any point on the rhizome can be connected to any other point, and must be. Discourse is seen both to form its object of study and to hide that productivity. The subject is being constantly re-invented.

The critical approach to knowledge construction used in the study does not fit as well here. This disjunction reflects the tension between Habermas and Foucault. Both are considered critical theorists in that they both support the pursuit of freedom. Habermas however, locates himself within the project of modernity, seeing it as yet unfinished. He has great hope for the capacity of humankind to create shared value positions that will guide our allocation of resources. Foucault has foregone the search for universal values such as social justice with concerns that humanism is another form of social control, a perspective supported by this study.

The process of signifiers begetting signifiers is not egalitarian, not everyone participates equally. The study has shown how agents of reform have contributed to the regulation of the economically and socially vulnerable. Habermas' theory of communicative action assumes that through language we can establish universal normative positions. It is the discourse of modernity, a belief in reason and rationality that is still unfinished (Passerin d'Entrèves & Benhabib, 1997). If a discourse of economics has been successful in dominating all sectors, is it not conceivable that a discourse of social justice can replace it? As awareness of the limitations of capitalism increases and confidence in political structures diminishes, an opening for an alternative world view based on citizenship and human rights appears to be developing.

Tester (1992) argues that the concept of civil society is logically incoherent. The
incoherence lies in the contradiction of the fundamental principles of civil society: reflexivity and social order.

The thrust of reflexivity is to deconstruct more or less everything which might be construed as a reification or as a definition of the meanings of society. But the thrust of order is precisely to solidify some meanings and practices so that they become the taken-for-granted preconditions of human freedom in the world (Tester, 1992:173).

I have no resolution, I find myself moving back and forth. It is a debate that occupies greater minds (Passerin d’Entreves & Benhabib, 1997; Kelly, 1994; Habermas, 1990; Fraser, 1989). Despite the ongoing disciplinary action by the economic and political spheres, the Council has managed to maintain a belief in a vision of a more egalitarian society that continues to be critical of the state and capitalism. Habermas’ vision of an independent lifeworld of freely communicating “subjects” working to achieve mutual understanding remains appealing.

Implications for an Emancipatory Approach to Practice

Three value orientations have broadly defined the work of voluntary social planning by the Council throughout the period of study.

- A commitment to a collective response to social need.
- A belief in citizen participation in community planning processes.
- A reliance on research and knowledge creation to guide the processes.

The interpretation of these values and the ensuing practices have varied over time influenced by the broader social, political and economic contexts and the interests of those who were the organizational decision-makers. A collective response was interpreted primarily as a charitable response in the fifties but as a public welfare response in the eighties. Citizen participation was defined more narrowly in the fifties and sixties than it was in the seventies and eighties. Finally, as this research has shown, the research agenda changed to reflect the interests of
those who governed the Council. The process of social planning has been broadly interpreted and defined. It wasn’t until the late eighties that the Council committed itself in its mission statement to the outcomes of social and economic justice

The study has demonstrated the difficulties in achieving and sustaining a critical or emancipatory approach to the practice of social planning and by implication to the process of critical knowledge construction by associations of the third sector or civil society. While the impact of the broader social context is not totally clear, it would appear that over time the context has become more amenable to critical knowledge construction. Although the globalization of the economy, the attempted devolution of responsibility for social welfare to lower levels of government, the spread of technology and the demands for recognition of diversity are putting pressure on local organizations, interest in associational life and community practice has persisted (Lee et al., 1996).

The research suggests that the practice of emancipatory research and knowledge creation is supported by middle-class social activists particularly women and by coalition building among progressive elements of labour, faith communities and social justice organizations. Coalition building not only expanded the base of public influence but created a network of support for the Council’s activities in the face of the criticism of funders.

The pressure for the recognition of diverse social identities particularly around race and ethnicity requires participatory approaches to knowledge creation which the research suggests can lead to, and be part of, an emancipatory practice. The more voices that participated in the process of knowledge creation, the greater the pressure for egalitarianism.

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viii The experiences of the major social movements of the seventies and eighties including civil rights, feminism, gay and lesbian rights, peace and environmentalism have helped to create a climate that supports emancipation.
The autonomy of organizations committed to emancipation is directly related to the relative independence of the funding sources. The continued reliance of social planning organizations on funding from municipalities and federated fundraisers has been a constraining influence on critical knowledge creation. Pressure for secure public funding to enable marginalized groups to create their own knowledge has been largely unsuccessful in recent years as social planning organizations experience steady withdrawal of government dollars. Until a more responsive political climate is created, alternative funding sources need to be secured. Entrepreneurial activities related to knowledge creation may be an option. Social planning organizations are charging user fees for research services and products. Middle class professionals may have to increase their financial commitment along with their professional expertise to support independent research. The monies from the tax cuts in Ontario could be re-directed to progressive associations.

The communication of the created critical knowledge to the broader society continues to be an issue. The Council has demonstrated a capacity to gain the support of the main stream press but it cannot be relied on to carry and promote the knowledge created in a consistent and meaningful way. Electronic communications such as the world wide web appear to offer mechanisms for ongoing communication among social activists from around the world. Access to electronic communication by low-income people and much of the developing countries is a concern.

The practice of emancipatory knowledge construction continues to be an act of resistance within the social sphere to the political and economic spheres. It is a practice that must also be reflexive, continually examining and analyzing its goals and its strategies to ensure continuity and consistency with the norms and values of emancipation. Action and reflection are iterative
processes in a transformative strategy of social change (Friedmann, 1987).

**Further Research**

This study has provided some insights into the practice of social planning and the process of knowledge construction by the SPCMT over a thirty year period. It has also raised more questions and pointed out significant contradictions. As the Council moves towards a critical, emancipatory form of practice, it becomes increasingly vulnerable to funding cuts by the corporate charity sector and government. The autonomy of associations of civil society to create knowledge according to their own norms and values and to communicate to the broader public are persistent issues. The reliance on funding by the economic and political spheres places the organizations under their influence.

What is a truly emancipatory form of practice and how can it be funded? Questions about practice are being currently explored by the Social Planning Network of Ontario (SPNO), a loose affiliation of the surviving social planning organizations (SPOs) in the province. The SPNO has completed one study, *Building Social Capital: An Evaluation of the Changing Practice of Social Planning Organizations in Ontario* (SPNO:1998) which was funded by the Trillium Foundation and is looking for further research dollars to implement a pilot study of the findings. In the context of the globalization of the economy and the withdrawal of governments from the funding of social programmes, there is increased interest in the capacity and potential of civil society and its associations in local communities to address social needs. The discourse of social capital, social development, civil society and social cohesion appears to resonate across the ideological spectrum. The challenge for SPOs is to maintain a critical reflective stance as they enter into discussions and negotiations with potential funders.

The role of academics and the securing of funding for more ‘independent’ research is also
an opportunity to be explored. Academics from a variety of disciplines have been an important resource to the Council. I am part of a group of four academics who have been researching and publishing on community development and are trying to secure funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) to examine the current state of community practice across Ontario. As the material base of many local communities is being eroded, responsibility for social welfare is being devolved to local municipalities and voluntary associations. The assumed capacity of these organizations to respond to social need needs to be examined.

This research has raised major concerns about the concept of civil society and its relationship to the other two spheres, the state and the economy. A major international study on the ‘third sector’ launched by the John Hopkins University Institute for Policy Studies under the direction of Lester Salamon has excluded Canada. The assumption appears to be that the US study will reflect the Canadian experience too. Recent Canadian studies (Torjman, 1997; Leduc Browne, 1996) suggest extensive and expansive expectations placed on the concept of civil society or the third sector with little attention to its sustainability. Further research on the nature, function and financing of the institutions of Canadian civil society is required.

Conclusion

This dissertation has been a qualitative case study of knowledge construction by the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto for the period of 1957, when it was formed, to 1988 when I became affiliated with the organization. The organization has an historical commitment to research as the foundation to its approach to responding to social needs and problems. The study has described the struggle for control of the knowledge capacity of the Council. The method of knowledge construction adapted has reflected the broader context and the interests of those who governed the organization. The economic and political spheres have consistently exerted
influence over the Council. An organizational commitment to democratic participation and a capacity for coalition building have been important strategies of resistance. The Council has been a site for the creation of knowledge forms that are claimed to contribute to a more socially just society.

This study has been part of an exploration of the sphere of society that I have spent most of my adult life working in with some sense of belief that it was part of creating a better world. I am more sober now, the Council has not always been “the work of freedom” (Foucault, 1984:46). But it persists and continues to attract those who are committed to the struggle. I remain committed to the creation of knowledge as “an important site of resistance and struggle” (Hall et al., 1993:XXII) and a source of power (Foucault, 1980). There is a complex reciprocal relationship between knowledge and power. “We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth” (Foucault, 1980:93). My study has sought to shed light on how “truths” are produced and on the practices that support the pursuit of emancipatory truths.

These words of Foucault have hovered over me from the wall of my study throughout this research, “Work on oneself and responding to one’s time”. I strive to do both, and I can do so only in association with others. This thesis has been part of the effort.
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