

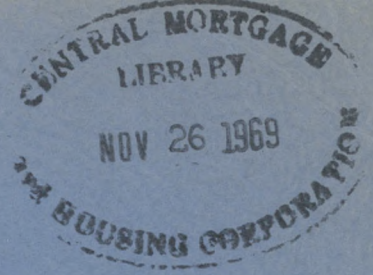


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A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF
THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF
HIGH DENSITY LIVING CONDITIONS

Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto

55 York Street Toronto 1 Ontario

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SOCIAL PLANNING COUNCIL OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO
55 YORK STREET
TORONTO 1, ONTARIO

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A Preliminary Study of the Social Implications of
High Density Living Conditions

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INTRODUCTION

Over the years Toronto has been described as a "city of homes". This description evokes a picture of tree-lined streets, of single detached houses with adjoining pieces of ground, small or large, on the front, side and back. In it are families whose activities are centred around the house, small gardens being tended and friendly neighbours chatting over the back fence.

For many years Toronto and its suburbs grew in this image; family housing after World War II spread over Metropolitan Toronto as single units. In the late 1940's and in the 1950's, a period of rising rates of family formation, earlier marriage and increased birth rate, family housing spread over a wider area and lot sizes were considerably larger than those found in the older sections. There were miles of one-storey bungalow-type buildings closely hugging the ground. Changes occurred in the late 1950's. Lot sizes decreased, more semi-detached houses and row houses appeared and there was an increase in apartment building. Densities increased - more persons per acre of land, more dwelling units per acre of land and more floor space in relation to the unit of land. High-rise apartment buildings were built in the suburbs as well as in downtown Toronto.

The Committee on Housing of the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, as it looked at various social problems related to housing, became acutely aware of a number of problems among the 6,000 low-income families living in Limited-Dividend Housing apartments.

The Committee recognized the need for a serious consideration of the social problems related to high density living conditions. What, it asked, are the adaptations required of individuals, families and the community to multi-family accommodation? What information would be useful in the planning of health, welfare and recreation services? It therefore proposed a study to examine the social and physical factors which affect family and neighbourhood behaviour in high density situations. The proposal, made by the Committee on Housing and approved by the Board of the Social Planning Council, was for a preliminary study with the following terms of reference:

- (a) to define the specific areas of study (e.g. family, leisure-time, community participation, child-rearing, housing types, location, etc.);
- (b) to collect and review literature on related research projects;
- (c) to visit other cities in the United States and Canada where related research demonstration and experiments are being carried out;
- (d) to collect and analyze socio-economic data;
- (e) to develop a research design and test research techniques;
- (f) to determine funds, staff and resources needed for more extensive studies;
- (g) to prepare a summary report of the work that is being done in this field;
- (h) to gather preliminary data through limited field research and determine those aspects of the problem which might be pursued fruitfully by the Social Planning Council in subsequent studies.

This study was carried out from September, 1964, through May, 1965. The Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and the Social Planning Council shared the costs.

The following report summarizes: socio-economic data on housing in Metropolitan Toronto, with special emphasis on multiple-family accommodation; a review of literature and research on housing and its social impact; case studies on selected apartment houses, maisonnettes and row housing. The study resulted in recommendations for further study of family life and leisure and of the need for community services in relation to high density living. The recommendations for further study are now under consideration by the Board of the Social Planning Council.

The report is a summary of a much larger body of material accumulated during the study. It is published for purposes of information and discussion. Further reports, based on the data accumulated may be published in response to special needs and problems.

THE BASIC APPROACH

Housing may be viewed in many ways. There is general agreement that housing is shelter - a means of survival. Housing is, however, something more than shelter. In our society it has a great many uses beyond physical protection. Housing has many social and psychological meanings and it is a physical means for supporting certain social patterns. The ways in which a society provides housing for its members influence the behaviour of persons, families and communities. The uses to which a dwelling might be put are determined by two factors:

1. The role society expects a family to perform in meeting the needs of its members and the needs of the community;
2. The types of housing available.

The character of housing, alone, is rarely the sole determining cause of any form of behaviour, since human behaviour patterns derive from a multiplicity of causes, among which housing is only one. High rates of juvenile delinquency, for example, are associated with deteriorated housing and overcrowding. Yet intensive studies have shown other important factors to be present along with poor housing.¹

This study examines the opportunities and problems of high density living conditions for individuals, families and communities. It emphasizes housing as an important influence upon behaviour.

MULTIPLE-FAMILY HOUSING IN METROPOLITAN TORONTO

A study was made of housing in Metropolitan Toronto and the place of multiple-family housing in the total picture. The main sources of information for this were reports of the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board. Information was obtained on some of the population characteristics of apartment residents in the City of Toronto² and the Township of North York³.

Dwellings in Metropolitan Toronto

By the end of 1964 there were over 550,000 dwellings in Metropolitan Toronto.⁴ The character of the housing stock in Metropolitan Toronto has been changing for more than a decade. The percentage of apartments and flats rose in this period in all parts of Metropolitan Toronto. The ratio of one and two-family buildings to the total declined, except in the outer suburbs. Apartments comprised over 50 percent of all new dwellings built in 1958, and over 60 percent of those built since 1961. By the end of 1965, about 70 percent of all new housing were apartments. The vast majority of these apartments were constructed on vacant land in the suburban municipalities.⁵

Housing Demand, Need and Supply

Housing demand is based on those situations in which there is some pressure for new or additional housing. Housing demand is made up of new families (marriages, overseas immigration, migrants from other parts of Canada), 'undoubling' of families prepared or forced to establish their own households and non-family household formation;

housing loss through demolitions and changes of use create further demand. A 'healthy' vacancy rate of 4 to 6 percent which allows freedom of movement for repair and maintenance and for emergencies is a component of housing demand.

The need for housing is indicated by population growth through natural increase, overseas immigration and internal migration. It is further indicated by the number of families not maintaining their own households. Of this latter group, one study suggests that 90 percent do not have satisfactory living arrangements and most will create new demands for housing.

The sources of housing supply are based on newly constructed housing, alterations of buildings which increase dwelling units, breakup of households and out-migration of population which make housing available.⁶

Accurate figures on new marriages, new housing, demolitions and alterations are available. Fairly reliable estimates, based on past experience, can be made of immigration, non-family household formation, 'undoubling' and vacancy rates. Other factors such as migration of Canadian residents and breakup of households can only be guessed. From the available data it can be concluded that the demand for housing in Metropolitan Toronto in 1964 and 1965 exceeded the supply.

The Role of Multi-Family Housing

As multi-family housing (largely apartments) forms a larger share of the housing supply, there are some questions about its role in

meeting housing needs in Metropolitan Toronto. The commonly held assumptions about apartments are that this type of dwelling meets the housing needs of unmarried persons, childless couples and couples with one pre-school child. Other types of housing, such as row, maisonnette, semi-detached and detached, serve the needs of small or large families at different times in their growth or decline.⁷ If this trend toward apartments as a major source of housing continues, the social and economic implications could be significant. For instance, apartments now provide more in school taxes than they consume because of low numbers of children. However, the changes in distribution, the higher ratio of apartments to other types of housing, and the decline of housing choices for families might change this favourable tax balance.⁸

While housing demands cannot be measured precisely, there is evidence that about 80 percent of the demand is from families most of whom have children or are likely to have children within a few years.

As apartments constitute up to 70 percent of dwelling construction and the ratio of one and two-family dwellings declines, there are indications that a large part of the apartment supply will have to serve as the only form of housing for a large number of families, from newly-weds through child-rearing and the grandparent phases. There will be considerably less choice of housing type than there has been in the past.⁹

PART IISOME POPULATION AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF APARTMENT DWELLERS

Information on the populations of apartment buildings in Metropolitan Toronto is limited and the data used were obtained from the following sources:

- a) Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board Survey of Apartments, 1958 and 1960.
- b) 1961 census data on all of the enumeration areas and electoral districts in the City of Toronto in which every dwelling was an apartment, supplied by the City of Toronto Planning Board.
- c) Data collection sheets of a survey of RM6 (high-rise) apartments in the Township of North York in 1963, made available by the Director of Population Research, North York Board of Education.
- d) Information on apartment types supplied by the Records Section of the City of Toronto Buildings Department.

Public housing and publicly owned limited-dividend housing were not included in any of the above data. A detailed analysis was made and where possible, comparisons were made between City and suburban areas. A summary of the statistical data and the conclusions drawn from the analysis follow.

High-rise apartments have been appearing in all parts of Metropolitan Toronto, inner core as well as outer fringes. From 1955 to 1964, the majority of apartments were built in the suburban municipalities, particularly in the outer suburbs. In every year since 1958, North York Township has led all municipalities in apartment construction. Most of the apartments constructed in Metropolitan Toronto in the 1960's have been well above four floors.

In this study it was found that Metropolitan and municipality averages of apartment populations, family types, and numbers of children, can be misleading. They are useless for the purposes of planning schools

and community services unless they are related to apartment types, rent levels, location and the selection of tenants by owners.

Apartment Types

It was found that the average number of persons per apartment was lower in the City than in North York. However, bachelor and one-bedroom apartments made up half or more than half of apartments in the City. In North York, over 60 percent of the apartments were two and three-bedroom types, and bachelor units were less than one percent of the total. Where information was available, the indications were that apartments of the same type in the City had slightly fewer persons per unit than those in North York.

Study of North York apartments, for which details of population by type of apartment were available, indicated that, as might be expected, larger apartments had more persons and more children. As apartments approached the three-bedroom size, the average family size and the number of children per family came close to the average for North York. In the larger apartment units, there are greater numbers of school-aged children, and the three-bedroom units have a wider range of ages among the children, from pre-school through secondary school. Apartment buildings which had more multi-bedroom units, had more children per multi-bedroom unit than those which had less. For example, if Building "A" has 100 units of which 30 are two-bedroom units and 70 are one-bedroom units, the number of children per two-bedroom unit will likely be greater than in Apartment "B" with 10 two-bedroom units and 90 one-bedroom units. Families with children are attracted to, or remain in, apartment buildings with other such families.

Rent Levels

Where rent was considered, it was found that in most instances, the lower the rent, the more persons per unit, and the more children per unit. This is most emphatically indicated in the differences in North York between privately-owned, limited-dividend buildings and other apartments. Rent levels are indicators of many variables, and are closely related to income of the residents. From incomplete but fairly reliable information on rent levels in the City and in North York, it was possible to draw some conclusions about families and other persons in apartments of various rent levels. The lower-rent units had more children per unit and more children by apartment type than medium-rent apartments which in turn contained more children than high-rent apartments. The low-rent apartments had more children of every age bracket than the high-rent units. The high-rent units had more non-family households and more childless families than the low-rent units.

Location

When the apartments were examined by location and compared by bedroom type, it was found that apartment buildings in favourable locations (close to the central city or close to main transportation lines) had fewer children, more childless couples, more non-family households and more older persons than apartment buildings in less favourable locations. The majority of the adults in all of the apartments were married. A comparison of limited-dividend apartments in North York and the City by bedroom type indicated that there were 10 to 15 percent fewer children in the City apartments. Similar results were produced when high-rent apartments in the City and North York were examined.

Selection of Tenants

There were few indications of selection in the statistical material. One exceptional high-rent apartment building in a favourable location housed numbers of children at the same rate as medium-rent apartments in the suburbs. It was found that the owner preferred families with children. A limited-dividend apartment building close to downtown Toronto contained a high proportion of university-educated persons and fewer children than the limited-dividend units in North York. Factors such as rent level, location and selection are closely inter-related. Higher rents are more consistently found in the more favourable locations. The ability of the landlord to select his tenants is greater in the favourable locations.

Conclusions

It was found that the number of families with children residing in apartments will usually be high under the following conditions:

- a) large proportions of two and three-bedroom apartments;
- b) lower rents;
- c) less favourable locations (in relation to shopping, transportation, and central city);
- d) less opportunity for the landlord to select his tenants.

The number of children will be less, the number of childless families more, and the number of single and older persons greater under the following conditions:

- a) large proportions of bachelor and one-bedroom apartments;
- b) higher rents;
- c) more favourable locations;
- d) more opportunity for the landlord to exercise selection.
(Where the number of applicants exceeds the number of units.)

PART IIIREVIEW OF LITERATURE AND RESEARCH

An extensive survey was made of the literature and of research material related to the social implications of high density living conditions. The major part of the literature examined was from the social sciences: sociology, psychology, social psychology and social work. A lesser part of the material came from the fields of economics, urban planning and architecture.

There is relatively little available on the social implications of high density living conditions specifically. However, there is a considerable body of literature on housing and its relation to people in the United States and Great Britain. A great deal of similarity is seen in the findings of the United States studies, done mostly in the 1940's, and the British studies of the late 1950's. From this literature on housing and social structure, a number of conclusions can be drawn about the social effects of high density accommodation. The literature of the social sciences indicates a great many problems presented by high density accommodation and tends to place apartment living in an unfavourable light. The literature from architecture and city planning is more mixed in its conclusions.

Housing Design

A dwelling usually serves a great many social, non-biological needs. It is considered a place for the education of children, for social gatherings, study, for communication and entertainment. It can be a place to carry on hobbies and can also be a personal museum of art objects, photographs, and souvenirs.¹⁰ Most of all, it is headquarters as well as shelter for a social unit - the family.

The salient fact about high density accommodation, especially apartment houses, is that it provides adequate shelter while providing diminished dwelling space. Apartments, as they are currently known, rarely have more than five rooms or more than three bedrooms.

Rarely is there more than eight hundred square feet of floor space even in larger units. Within the confines of the apartment dwelling there is relatively little room for play, hobbies and other individual pursuits. The physical contact with other dwellings on as many as five sides of the apartment limits its use for social gatherings, play or activities.

In contrast to this situation is the reviled "strawberry box" created in the early suburban developments of the late 1940's and the early 1950's. This dwelling seldom has less than 900 square feet and usually has a basement and some privately controlled outdoor space. The basement serves as a place for storage, for children's play, for hobbies and for repairing and mending. Most family activities, including disputes, can usually be conducted outside the hearing of neighbours. Children use the outdoor areas that are most important to them, the sidewalk and the street (if traffic is light). The children play within "shouting distance" of their homes. Bicycles, bats, balls, tools and other equipment can be reached and returned easily as mood and interest change.

There are some indications that people in different types of housing behave in different ways. In apartment buildings smaller children tend to stay closer to their parents, and their social contact with other children is limited. As children become older, they then spend more time out and away from parents; peer groups become an important

source of guidance and control. Children who live in a single-family house wander out to make friends at an earlier age but the influence of parents remains strong until a much later age. The apartment-child's efforts to develop his own social relationships take place in areas distinctly separate from parents and home. The limitations of apartment space means that the child can make little use of his home in strengthening friendships.

In an apartment, the most remarkable change in roles is that of the husband-father. At home he has relatively little to do and his masculinity is asserted in subtle and emotional ways. With the maintenance of the apartment in the hands of the building superintendent and the owner, he mows no grass, calls no plumber, and performs few of the many practical, material tasks that the male head of the family is believed to perform in the single-family dwelling. The picture of adult male behaviour in the apartment is largely a passive one.

The role of the wife-mother changes very little. There are the same household duties and they are often less demanding in apartments. However, the separation of dwelling and the children's play areas presents problems and is a source of anxiety to mothers.¹¹

The many problems of the use of apartments by families with children might be solved by technological changes which will make the apartment units and buildings more "livable" than at present. However, the few studies of costs examined indicate that apartments, from the point of view of the consumer, are the most expensive form of housing when rent-costs per square foot or per room are considered. Apartments might well be a relatively expensive form of housing to build

and maintain.¹² The "Habitat '67" experiment in Montreal might point out some of the direction in future apartment buildings.

Neighbourhood and Site Design

An urban dwelling is only part of a collection of dwellings sharing a geographic area in common. The importance of the residential neighbourhood in the lives of families and individuals will vary greatly with housing conditions and types of families who reside in an area.

Two important social aims have been recognized in relating dwellings to one another and to facilities. These are:

- a) Protection of family privacy and,
- b) Opportunity to meet, interact and establish social relationships.

The physical relation of buildings is a significant factor in the development of neighbourhoods. The placing of buildings in a neighbourhood influences the quality of contact between people.¹³ Site planners frequently place buildings, walks, streets, and other services in such positions as will cause people to meet and interact. In any form of housing there can be too much interaction and a loss of privacy. Some types of suburban streets and house layouts are guilty of this fault. Facing doors and windows and open yards place each family on view in a kind of continuous communication with others. Much more has been said about the constant interaction in multiple family buildings, resulting from the sharing of walls, corridors, elevators, laundry rooms and grounds. Structurally, apartments present many more problems to overcome in this regard.

Too much contact and interaction result in withdrawal and the development of an air of impersonality; it can also result in uniformity of behaviour and intense involvement in private family matters by the community. All of these patterns of behaviour are adjustments to being surrounded by large numbers and being in constant contact. In popular writings, impersonality is attributed to large apartment houses; conformity is related to suburban, low density living. Studies available indicate that there can be much conformity-demand in the apartment house. Neither form of behaviour is a satisfactory answer to the basic human needs for individuality and sociability.¹⁴

Continuous communication and contact impose great strain on people, resulting from the accumulation of sound and the constant stimulation of the senses. Effects on physical and mental health have been implied in statistical studies but have never been carefully defined.¹⁵

Density Controls

The concept of density of population and dwellings can be difficult to deal with. Statements of density must be checked closely to determine whether they mean a specific building site, whether they include streets, highways, sidewalks, parks and playgrounds, shopping centres and unusable pieces of land, such as steep slopes. Whether a density is "too high" cannot be measured by crude statements of units per acre, rooms per acre, persons per acre, or floor area ratios. A great deal depends upon the kind of population, the types of housing provided, and the uses that people make of their dwellings and surroundings. It is generally accepted that childless families and the unmarried can live satisfactorily in very high densities. There are

differences of opinion over how high densities can be for families with children especially those with lower incomes.¹⁶ Whatever measure of density is used, single detached dwellings usually achieve lower densities than row houses and apartments.

It has been found that social disorganization is closely associated with high residential density and poorly planned land use - such as heavy coverage of land by buildings, absence of public recreation space and mixed business and residential uses. Loring, who has studied this problem, indicated that the most important factor was that the behaviour, habits and attitudes of the residents were not adapted to these physical conditions. High density living requires some changes in living habits from those acquired in ground-level dwellings. "The ill effects," he noted, "were not so much related to physical density as to culture patterns unsuited to the physical setting".¹⁷

Densities appear to have an effect on birth rates. A number of European studies indicate that there are limits to the densities that will be tolerated by residents. Therefore, population is regulated by limiting families. In the crowded areas of cities, families tend to be smaller and often fail to reproduce themselves.

Persons in mental ill-health were found to be less able to tolerate the concentrated contact of the more densely populated areas.¹⁸

The control of density is possible by the use of planning, development, zoning and housing regulations. Increased attention is and should be paid to the effects on various kinds of people of living

in varying types of density. More compact arrangements of housing properly planned can achieve more satisfactory results in the provision of open space, the preservation of fields and woods in the midst of urbanization and often better shopping services than might be provided by sprawling single-family dwellings.¹⁹

Control by Management

With an increase in densities of dwellings there is also an increase in the amount of control over the dwelling and the behaviour of the inhabitants that must be exercised by persons and bodies outside of the family itself. The use of common areas and services and the flow of greater numbers of people require that there be a higher degree of regulation than is needed among single-family dwellings. Greater responsibility for the care and maintenance of buildings and grounds falls to managers and owners. There are more explicit rules to be observed. The family's control over the dwelling declines.

Building managers and superintendents are important persons in the lives of apartment families and in the character of the neighbourhood. The management maintains cleanliness in the commonly-shared areas and to some extent acts on behalf of the state to maintain health and safety measures. Management attempts to control the level of noise, and frequently exercises a parental function in controlling behaviour of children.

There are few studies available on the impact of management on families, except in the field of public housing. In public housing the amount of staff services and the cost of managing and maintaining properties are greater for high-rise buildings than for row houses.

Part of the explanation lies in the fact that the residents of row houses expect and readily accept a degree of responsibility for their own housing.²⁰ Other studies in public housing management have emphasized the crucial role of management in the development of community morale and responsibility. Without sensitive management, tendencies toward physical and social deterioration are accelerated. Many of these findings are certainly important to any high density situation, especially those involving low-income families.²¹

Co-operatives and condominium ownership are other ways of handling the need for management and might be more satisfying to residents. They offer a greater sense of ownership and enable tenants to participate in management but require a high degree of organization.

Choice and Selection

Choices are made in housing. The resident chooses where he will live; the owner chooses the persons to whom he will sell or lease a dwelling.

The choice exercised by the resident is a very complicated one, made up of a multiplicity of factors. However, a number of studies in America and Europe indicate that lower density types of housing are the definite preferences of the majority of urban families everywhere and apartments are the least preferred types of housing. The choice of apartment over other types of housing might be made because of rent levels, location of jobs or social relationships, but rarely because it is the desired form of housing.²²

Studies of satisfactions and complaints show that home owners are more satisfied with their housing than those who rent. Families living in ground level dwellings are more satisfied and have fewer complaints than those in apartments.

Among landlords, selection is often exercised by control of rent levels. Managers must often determine the suitability of tenants in relation to their behaviour and their relations with other tenants. With higher concentrations of people selection becomes a more significant activity.²³

Community Services

The need and demand for community services in high density accommodation is related to the conditions of housing and the concentration of people. Families in all kinds of housing need some services and facilities which no dwelling could provide and which serve to increase sociability. Most forms of high density living mean limited housing space and the inhabitants are propelled outward to meet many of their personal needs. The need to establish social relations leads in the direction of more clubs and formal associations which have little or no connection to the family dwelling.²⁴ When there is adequate income families in high density accommodation can purchase many of the resources needed. They can acquire cars, take trips, join private clubs, entertain guests at restaurants, etc. Families with low incomes are unable to purchase needed resources and for these families there is a much greater demand for non-profit and tax-supported recreation and other community services. There is more need for parks, play-grounds, adult education and guidance in the immediate setting.

In Stockholm and its suburbs, a vast array of public services are provided for the many adults and children living in apartments. Most recreation services are provided on the basis that few children under sixteen will go more than 400 yards from their apartment buildings. There are fully supervised nurseries and playgrounds for children from early infancy on and a variety of publicly sponsored adult facilities and services within walking distance. All of these services are provided in recognition of the special needs and demands of apartment dwellers.²⁵

PART IVSUMMARY OF CASE STUDIES

A number of interviews and observations were conducted in the Fall and Spring of 1964 and 1965, in apartment houses, maisonnettes and row house developments. The equivalent of one week was spent in each apartment house and much less time in the other types of housing.

The case studies were conducted among the following: two low-rent apartment houses - one an older building in downtown Toronto and the other a privately owned limited-dividend apartment in a suburban area; a medium-rent apartment in a suburb; and a high-rent apartment in the City. The other housing types were in the suburbs and were in the medium to high rent categories.

The interviews and observations were "unstructured" in that no questionnaires were used nor were samples carefully drawn. Contacts were made with one family and through it as many as twelve additional families. The initial contact was a family known to the interviewer or to a colleague who arranged an introduction. Interviews were informal and the contacts were encouraged to speak freely about their neighbourhood.

The interviews were guided to some extent by the literature examined and the early interviews served as guides for later ones. The interviews included residents, building superintendents and owners. The following is a selective summary of the data found in the course of these case studies.

Basically, there was little in these studies to contradict some of the major findings in the social and psychological literature related to housing. Sometimes there was insufficient evidence to support these conclusions.

There was very little in the case studies to support the concept of apartment houses as impersonal neighbourhoods without a sense of social grouping. Only the high-rent apartment house seemed impersonal. The high-rent apartment building had considerably fewer children, which might, in part, explain the difference in behaviour. In the low and medium-rent apartments the families seemed to be intensely involved with one another: knowing each others' affairs, forming cliques, ostracizing the unacceptables, exchanging services such as baby sitting, sharing equipment and visiting one another. They were very much like the stereotyped image of the suburban housing development.

However, only those families with children were involved in this social pattern and the members of childless households were separate from the bustling social life around them. The arrival of a first child, which usually confines the mother to the home for some time, brings the couple into closer contact with other families with children. Contact is made first among the women and children and later includes the men.

In the low and medium-rent apartments, more than half the households have one or more children. Families with children are usually found on the first three floors but some children live on almost every floor. It is quite obvious that none of the apartments observed

was designed for the number of children, nor for the ages of children found in it. Hallways serve as play areas and as storage areas for toys and equipment. The outdoor recreation areas, including the swimming pool, are crowded. Grass and landscaping suffer. When school is out the noise level rises considerably. Children are the most frequent source of conflict between tenants and owners and between the residents. They are also a source of anxiety to mothers who find it hard to keep track of them.

The owners find that there are more children than they had anticipated. They have tried to exercise control by giving preference to families without children at the point of admission but experience has taught them that some families are untruthful about the number of children. They also find that families with more than one child are remaining longer than previous experience had led them to expect. There have been no instances where families have been given notice to vacate or refused a renewal of lease because of the number of children.

There is less of a problem in the high-rent apartment. The number of children is smaller and the families seem to be able to make more satisfactory arrangements. Nursery schools are used for almost all young children; the services of Y's, private clubs, day camps and summer camps are obtained.

A strong impression was received on the roles of the sexes. Women dominate the apartment landscape. One sees them and hears them; they are in motion. Men seem quieter, less mobile, or are absent. This is in contrast to the rows and maisonnettes where the men appear

on the scene. They play ball with one another, they call out to one another and seem to spend more time with their children. On evenings and weekends one is aware of their presence.

Between the tenants and the management in low and medium-rent apartments there is a continuous state of tension which sometimes breaks into warm, if not hot, war. The sources of friction are maintenance, use of hallways, elevators, grounds and the behaviour of children and adults. Each side complains that the other is not doing his part in regulating behaviour. The turnover of resident building superintendents appears quite high.

There have been instances where building superintendents have harassed or interfered with delivery men who were not on the approved list on the bulletin board. On one occasion, a solicitor for a political party was prevented from going door to door. The owners maintain that they must police the buildings for security and maintenance.

The tenants of the medium and high-rent apartments claim they prefer to move into houses as soon as financial circumstances improve or the husband's employment stabilizes. However, most of the medium-rent and a few of the high-rent residents find themselves remaining in apartments longer than they had planned. Almost all of the apartment families with children expressed the desire for a dwelling at ground level. They considered their present quarters too small, storage space inadequate, and they missed private outdoor space. (The balconies were not satisfactory.) Owners and tenants both agreed that apartments above the first floor were not suitable places to rear children.

In the row houses and maisonnettes there is a sense of social neighbourhood. There are also many more children per household who sometimes crowd the open areas around the houses and frequently spill over into the public recreation areas nearby. However, there are relatively few complaints about the children. The presence of men is more strongly felt on weekends. The major complaints are that the communal areas for play or sitting are too small and the private outdoor areas are not sufficiently private. Those who live in dwellings without basements complain that they would like this for storage, work and play space in bad weather. The tensions between tenant and landlord do not seem to be at a much lower level than in the apartments. The rents in these types of dwellings tend toward the higher ranges.

PART VSUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. There has been a steady increase in the number and proportion of apartments in Metropolitan Toronto. Construction in Metropolitan Toronto since 1958 has provided more apartments and row houses than any other type of dwelling. If the trend continues, the majority of dwellings in Metropolitan Toronto will be apartments.
2. Apartments are serving the housing needs of childless families, and the unmarried. However, if the ratio of apartments to other types of housing continues to increase, apartments will have to meet the needs of families throughout the entire life cycle.
3. Analysis of statistical data available indicates that area-wide averages of number of children and family size in apartments are not useful for planning schools and community facilities. While precise mathematical predictions cannot be made, it can be stated that more families with children will be found where rents are lower, where multi-bedroom apartments are available, where locations are less favourable, and where landlords exercise less choice. Where the opposite conditions prevail, more childless families, unmarried persons and older persons are likely to be found.
4. An examination of the social science literature related to housing indicates that high-density living conditions present a number of problems, if housing is to be a support to sound family and community life. Observations and interviews in apartments, maisonnettes and row houses were completed.

The literature and the case studies point to the following problems about apartments as they are currently known:

- a) Increased densities usually mean diminished housing space. Units are smaller, contain fewer rooms and require families and individuals to satisfy many of their needs outside the family home.
- b) As most apartments were either not designed for children or not designed for the numbers that they have come to house, the play and regulation of children present serious problems. Families overcome these problems by strenuous efforts but children remain a source of difficulty and friction for management and tenants.
- c) Men in apartments take on extremely passive roles as most of the masculine tasks are taken over by management. Men appear to have a more active role in other forms of high density development, such as row houses.
- d) The structure of most apartment houses places the tenants in a situation of constant interaction through the sharing of hallways, elevators, laundries and the carrying of sound through walls and floors. This frequently results in patterns of behaviour such as withdrawal from contact or uniformity which may not satisfy needs for individuality and for sociability.
- e) Families with children in low and medium-rent apartments are as likely to become involved as fully with their neighbours as families in the suburban housing developments.

- f) High densities, accompanied by poorly planned land use and poorly designed dwellings, are closely associated with declining birth rates, and increasing social disorganization.
- g) Multiple-family accommodation requires careful and sensitive management of both buildings and people, and the quality of that management is important to community morale and family behaviour.
- h) High densities, containing small dwelling units, result in increased need and demand for community services, facilities and personnel to meet the social and emotional needs of individuals and families and to regulate the behaviour of people.

Many of the social problems raised by high densities are related to size of dwellings and the use of space, problems which might be met by technological change and architectural developments.

PART VIRECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY AND RESEARCH

Many problems were recognized in this preliminary study of the social implications of high density living conditions. There are areas of concern for sociologists, psychologists, economists, social workers, city planners and architects. Some of the questions identified for fields of scholarship and professional interest might well be presented in a further report.

The Committee on Housing of the Social Planning Council has considered the possibilities of further study. The Committee recognizes that the Council's concern is with those aspects of the changing densities which might affect the behaviour of individuals, families and communities and will ultimately influence the provision of health, welfare and recreation services in Metropolitan Toronto.

The Committee, therefore, recommends that study projects be undertaken by the Social Planning Council in two areas:

1. Family life and leisure in high-rise apartments, and
2. Criteria and goals for the provision of community services in relation to high density accommodation.

The recommendation for these two areas of study arises from the material presented in this preliminary study and from those parts of the study most appropriate to the interests of the Social Planning Council.

1. Family Life and Leisure in High-Rise Apartments

The proposal for this study is based on the preliminary study which provides support for the belief that family life is influenced by type of housing and population and residential density. The high-rise, elevator-type apartment and the single-family detached house represent extremes of housing and density types. It is hypothesized that the differences in family life will be polarized in these two types of housing. It is further suggested that these differences in family life will appear in the following:

- a) the activities of the family as a single social unit
- b) the role of parents and children in the family
- c) the size of families (i) number of children
(ii) number of generations
- d) the care, training and education of children and the regulation of children's behaviour
- e) the importance of peer groups in the training and regulation of child behaviour
- f) the use of leisure (non-work) time by adults
- g) the use of the family dwelling for entertaining relatives or friends
- h) the use of the family dwelling for study, hobbies, and recreational pursuits
- i) membership and participation in churches, associations and other groups
- j) the use and expectations of recreational facilities and services outside the family dwelling
- k) relationship to other families and attitudes towards neighbours
- l) attitudes of families and individuals towards the physical properties of the residence and the neighbourhood
- m) interaction and communication between families and individuals
- n) patterns of co-operation and collaboration between families.

The purpose of this study would be to test a selected number of these differences, and to have them better defined and understood in a way that would be useful in the planning of community services.

The methods suggested for use in this study would include interviews with selected apartment-dwelling families and managers, using carefully prepared questionnaires and observation of activities in and around the selected apartment buildings.

The study would be carried out by the Research Department of the Social Planning Council. If approved this project would commence as soon as funds are available and detailed research design prepared. It is estimated that it would require one-third of the time of the Director of Research or other specialized research personnel for a period of three years. In addition, the assistance of clerical staff and part-time interviewers would be needed.

2. Criteria and Goals for the Provision of Community Services in Relation to High Density Accommodation

In this preliminary study it has been recognized that apartments and other forms of high density accommodation provide less housing in terms of floor space, basements and private yards than do low density forms of accommodation. This, it was pointed out, requires families and individuals to find many of their group and personal satisfactions outside the family dwelling to a greater extent than might be true with low density housing. The Committee believes that if more and more families are to live in apartment dwellings there will need to be an increase in the quantity and type of community service facilities. It is therefore proposed that the Committee, with staff assistance, undertake a study of community service needs in apartment developments.

This study would include the following:

- a) gathering of statements on standards and criteria from various parts of Canada and other countries; preparation of summaries and analysis;
- b) interviews with experts in the fields of planning and social work;
- c) preparation of a statement of criteria and goals appropriate to Metropolitan Toronto.

It is believed that this statement will be of great value to city planners and will serve as a basis for the planning of health, welfare, and recreation services and facilities in Metropolitan Toronto.

FOOTNOTES

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7. Township of Scarborough Planning Board, Future Development Patterns - A Study in Relation to Phase II, 1964.
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10. Lewis Mumford, The Culture of Cities (New York: Harcourt Bruce and Company, 1938) pp. 421-428.
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12. Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority, A Comparative Study of Capital and Operating Costs of High-Rise and Low-Rise Dwellings in Metropolitan Toronto (Toronto, April, 1964).

13. Leon Festinger, "Architecture and Group Membership," Journal of Social Issues, Volume VII, Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 140-151.
14. Wallace, Op. Cit.
15. William C. Loring, "Housing Characteristics and Social Disorganization", Social Problems, Volume III, No. 3.
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18. Ibid. pp. 193-205.
19. Walter Manthorpe, "The Technique of Sprawl," Counter-Attack Against Subtopia, Ian Nairn, ed. (Westminster: The Architectural Press, 1959) pp. 409-426.
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23. Wallace, Op. Cit. pp. 48-53.
24. Loring, Op. Cit.
25. Holger Blom, "The Solution in Stockholm," in Family Life in High Density Housing (London: Royal Institute of British Architects, 1957) pp. 20-28.