

Chapter 4

“Ripped Off By the System”: The Rise of Socio-Economic Marginalization in Regent Park, 1951-1991

The people of Regent Park are forced to be the way they are because some head of affairs, some big man, is holding the people down.

Ozzie Smith, Regent Park tenant activist, 1975

Somebody up there has a structured plan to keep the poor poor. You have to have people to do joe jobs. So you never let them get out of poverty.

Janet Ross, Regent Park tenant activist, 1975¹

Despite the best efforts of urban reformers, the stigmatization of Regent Park (RP) as solely a refuge of social “misfits” equal to the slums that it replaced was not long in coming and fed directly off increasing material deprivation among tenants. By the late 1960s, as the few existing statistical studies of Canadian public housing have shown, public housing residents began to exhibit markedly different characteristics from the ideal working-class tenant promised by 1940s public housing proponents. By the last decade of the twentieth century, public housing tenants placed first in virtually all indices of socio-economic deprivation. In 1988, average annual income among public housing households was significantly less than half that of the average renter household in Canada. Less than one-fifth counted on employment as their major source of income while a third relied on social assistance. However, among those that were able to work, almost half did.²

Compared to the general Canadian population, family public housing projects contained significantly more children under fifteen years of age (over 30 per cent in public housing compared to 20 per cent in the general population) and were composed of many more one-parent households (24.1 per cent compared with 10.2 per cent of average renters.)³

This bleak portrait of social and economic disparity is closely mirrored in the Metropolitan Toronto area. In a thorough study of the 1971-91 period, Robert Murdie confirms that there was a marked shift from two-parent families to single-parent households and seniors as well as from native to foreign-born residents, in particular, a disproportionate number of Caribbean-born blacks among the poor. Furthermore, he finds an increasing number of long-term tenants and families on welfare in Metro's projects. He suggests that this pronounced rise in multifarious inequalities is due to wider economic developments such as the loss of central-city manufacturing opportunities, as well as shifting supply and demand factors within the housing sphere. The latter factors include the changing workplace and familial roles of women, varying immigration trends, outright lack of affordable housing, tenant selection and rental policies favouring only the most disadvantaged and a retrenchment of welfare state commitments.⁴

The powerful stigma attached to public housing projects as "neighbourhoods of exile,"⁵ where only the jobless and social assistance recipients live, has also intersected with debates in social science circles about the "underclass." According to this thesis, particularly popular among a segment of the media, social scientists and conservative commentators in the United States, whole groups of people, in the US case, African Americans, especially in large public housing developments, are said to be permanently marginalized due to intergenerational labour market and social exclusion, and dissolute behavioural traits that perpetuate poverty and reinforce dependency on the state.⁶ Subscribers to the "underclass" theory highlight the assumed social pathologies of poor blacks stemming from substance abuse, crime, high school non-completion, teenage

pregnancies, unemployment, single mother status and reliance on welfare.⁷ The theory has faced trenchant disparagement in critical social science and historical circles on theoretical, empirical and political grounds, not the least of which is that black inner-city dwellers themselves are blamed for their own socio-economic deprivation, which neglects the devastating impacts of long-standing structural racism as well as neoliberal state policies and urban economic restructuring that have forcibly constrained, stigmatized, indicted, and punished ghetto residents.⁸ In Canada, there is a paucity of serious research in this vein, although several studies have confirmed the manifest rise of urban poverty and inequality since the 1970s.⁹ The mainstream media and some government researchers in Canada have certainly made ample use of the “underclass” concept generically to brand poor people as social pariahs, but academic researchers have largely rejected it.¹⁰ David Ley and Heather Smith, for instance, have shown that major Canadian cities contain numerous areas of *deep* and *concentrated* poverty, some of it among recent immigrant groups, although they reject the notion that there is an ‘immigrant underclass’ on empirical grounds, finding only small spatial pockets of simultaneous, multiple deprivation such as welfare dependency, high-school non-completion, and non-labour force inclusion. They document dispersed areas of socio-economic exclusion that are often located close to middle class or stable working-class neighbourhoods with far fewer indicators of poverty.¹¹

This chapter takes its cue from the existing statistical studies on Canadian public housing and the broader literature on the rise of urban inequality in advanced capitalist societies.

The first half charts the historical escalation of polarization between RP residents and the

Metro Toronto population by comparing a series of broadly illustrative statistical traits over a forty-year period. This long-term historical perspective allows us to scrutinize the development of socio-economic marginalization both before and after the boom period of postwar capitalism from the 1940s to the 1970s. The resident population underwent a dramatic process of socio-economic divergence in comparison to the general Metro Toronto population, which began in the mid to late 1960s before the onset of outright assaults on the welfare state. The second section aims to explain the rise of socio-economic inequality. In contrast to the damning ‘blend of generalizations and stereotyping with little evidential support,’¹² that blame public housing residents themselves for their predicament, I directly point the arrow of responsibility for rising poverty, inequality and effective ‘loss of entitlement’¹³ towards the state, neoliberal economic restructuring and the potently deleterious effects of stereotyping RP as an *outcast* space. More specifically, I argue that the ruinous moralization and political practices of the state housing bureaucracy at the local and senior levels of government, the scarce economic, employment and housing market opportunities and the adverse effects of territorial stigmatization severely restricted socio-economic possibilities. I flesh out the stark statistical and policy portrayal by considering various qualitative sources such as oral testimony, letters to the author by former tenants, rare resident case files, and internal and public documents from the various housing administrations.¹⁴

Data Sources

The statistical analysis represented in the Figures at the end of this Chapter is based primarily on two different sources of information. The first data set comprises project-level statistics generated by researchers for Toronto's public housing administrations and other state bodies. These data sets are valuable since they were based on 100 per cent data from the two sections of RP and not on samples, allowing a precise look at various social indicators. Unfortunately, the archival repositories only contain selective and inconsistent project-level data from the 1950s to the late 1960s. Where possible and appropriate for comparison, the analysis utilized direct project-level data.

The second source of statistical information is the Census of Canada enumeration area (CEA) data from 1951-1991. Enumeration areas are the smallest spatial units for which data are available in the census; some of the economic and cultural data that the CEA's contain are based on 20-33 per cent samples while household and family variables are usually based on 100 per cent data.¹⁵ They are imprecise, but allow historical comparisons over regular time intervals on a wide range of social, economic and cultural variables. What I term in the graphs located at the end of this chapter, *RP CEA*, includes statistics on the tenants in the partially-completed Regent Park North (RPN) as well as other residents living in adjacent private rental housing and owner-occupied units. Some of the latter tenants would also move into RPN as it expanded in the 1950s and into Regent Park South (RPS) in the late 1950s. The *RP CEA* data thus allow a broad look at

the wider populace from which a sizable proportion of tenants from both sections of the project originated. The 1961 *RP CEA* data includes both sections of the project and a small area of private market housing: households living in the project itself comprised 84 per cent of all households.¹⁶ In 1971, Statistics Canada split the 1951-61 areas into two separate CEA's. What I label in the graphs, *RPN*, comprises data constituted by 80 per cent of the 1,615 households who lived in the northern section of the project. In the *RPS*, the match is less exact: 72 per cent of the households lived in RPS while 28 per cent lived in adjacent private market housing. There is no absolute test of statistical reliability, yet, as Murdie shows, an approximate comparison between the CEA data and public housing data for the Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority as a whole, demonstrate that the census data can be taken as reasonably representative of the public housing population, especially for larger projects such as Regent Park.¹⁷ Therefore, the data in this chapter offer us sound indications, if not exact measures, of the socio-economic profile of RP residents.

To underscore the differences between those dwelling in RP and other inhabitants of Metro Toronto, census data for the Toronto Central Metropolitan Area, labelled in the graphs, *CMA*, provided a consistent comparison. The Toronto CMA includes the whole built-up region of the city of Toronto and suburbs. Where possible, Murdie's data¹⁸ were also used to formulate comparisons between tenants in RP and in Metropolitan Toronto Public Housing as a whole and other low-income people living in private market housing, which he calls Lower-Status Enumeration Area Subset data. Appendix 1 at the end of this chapter gives a full explanation of the abbreviations used in the graphs.

Summary of the Research Findings

Children and Families in Regent Park

I am trapped
in a clean bright place
warm
but I can't get out

And all the doors
are prison grey
what was my crime

Only
too much love
on too few dollars
too fruitful, my love

Be warned, my children
Be warned, and
Be sterile

Dorothy O'Connell, *A Modern Sonnet for Public Housing Tenants*, 1974¹⁹

Early supporters of public housing repeatedly stressed the benefits of public housing for children.²⁰ By the late 1960s, the “delinquent” habits of children in public housing projects themselves became the chief object of concern.²¹ Larry Quinto, who grew up in Regent Park South in the 1960s and 1970s, remembers being “overwhelmed by the presence of so many kids ... seemed like every family had more than three children ... children were everywhere!”²² Low-income families with children, of course, had higher shelter and general living costs and, in a consistently tight housing market, were also more likely to suffer from overcrowding and dilapidated housing, contributing to the housing hardship deemed sufficient to secure a vacancy in public housing.²³ It comes as little surprise, then, that RP had consistently higher numbers of school-age children and children per family than the general population throughout the period, as Figures 4.1-4.2

demonstrate for 1951-1991. It is obvious yet important to emphasize, given the social stigmatization of young people in public housing projects, that, by their very definition, family housing projects would not include people in the full range of life cycle stages that a private market housing neighbourhood could potentially house.

One of the most noticeable elements in the defamation of public housing projects and their residents has been the spotlight on the high incidence of sole-support parent families. The vast majority headed by women who were widowed, divorced, separated or abandoned by their male partners, these “problem” families were probably at the very lowest rung of the societal ladder in terms of material deprivation and attendant social stigma.²⁴ Given the lack of affordable childcare, the difficulties of making ends meet on one income and the generally larger expenses of families with children, single mothers – a growing phenomenon due to shifts in the socio-economic status of women and less restrictive separation and divorce laws in the post-war period – tended to qualify first for public housing. As Figure 4.3 demonstrates, in the mid-1960s the percentage of single parents climbed spectacularly in both sections of RP reaching a peak of more than 50 per cent of all families in 1981. Four to five times higher than Metropolitan Toronto area population and the Low Income Enumeration Area Subset data, the rates of single parents were also consistently higher than public housing as a whole in Metro.²⁵

Formal Schooling

Formal educational achievement is one of the key indicators of life chances in modern capitalist society. Notwithstanding the crucial and neglected sphere of “informal

learning” among the working class and poor, it is a truism that there is a strong correlation between the level of formal education, economic attainment and social mobility.²⁶ Figures 4.4-4.7 present data on levels of formal schooling among RP residents and the CMA. The schooling of tenants improved overall from the 1950s to the 1990s but was significantly lower than the general population in Metro Toronto. Persons with little or no schooling were over-represented in the project throughout the post-war period. High school graduation rates improved slightly in RPN from 1981-91, but were only approximately half the CMA level in 1991. RPS residents only reached two-thirds the CMA level in the same year. Residents attained proportionately better levels of post-secondary education even though in all types – college, university, technical training – they still achieved considerably less significant rates than the general population throughout the forty-year period.²⁷ Formal recognition of the socio-economic difficulties of the neighbourhood prompted the Toronto Board of Education (TBOE) to designate the two elementary schools serving the project population, Duke of York and Park Public School (recently renamed Nelson Mandela Park Public School), as “inner city” schools in the 1960s.²⁸ This special status justified the allocation of extra resources and special programmes.

Work, Incomes and Unemployment

The jobs that RP residents held tended to be in the lower-paying and less stable service and manufacturing industries. Tables 4.1-4.2 present occupational indexes for men and women, showing the proportional differences between the types of jobs that people had in the project and the CMA during the post-war period. In the occupational categories

Managerial, Professional and Clerical/Sales, which tended to offer higher wages, salaries and benefits, the percentage of persons in the CMA was divided with the percentage of the three separate RP areas in the same job categories to create a simple index. The more an index value exceeds 1.0, the greater the number of CMA people who worked in these jobs compared to RP residents.²⁹ Conversely, in the categories *Manufacturing and Services*, the index figure shows the greater number of RP tenants who worked in these categories in comparison with the CMA population as a whole. While there are some slight anomalies for the RPS data in the latter years, probably due to the gentrification of a part of the same census tract, the indexes generally exhibit evidence of substantially lower numbers of better-paying jobs among residents than in Metropolitan Toronto as a whole.

The census data do not allow an accurate comparison of the particular types of jobs *within* these categories which could indicate higher-paying, stable, unionized manufacturing jobs, for example, but they do indicate a much greater number of people working in service occupations which are demonstrably more insecure and poorly paid.³⁰ It is easy to understand RPS resident, Ozzie Smith, who summed up the job opportunities for residents in 1975: “If they want a laborer they know where to get a laborer. They just come down here and pick him up.”³¹

The employment and family income statistics in Figures 4.8-4.10 also illustrate clearly that working people in the housing development fared noticeably poorer in relation to Metro Toronto as the second half of the century progressed. In 1951, median family income and average/median employment income for women and men reveal a small

variation between the comparison areas. However, in 1961 and especially from 1970-90, the gap widened radically between public housing residents and the CMA: family income figures in RPS were less than half that of the CMA from 1970-90 while wage earners in the northern section earned less than a third of CMA wage earners in 1980-90. Even compared to other low-income earners in private-market housing, RP'ers took home significantly less pay.³²

Lower levels of formal education, the more casual and unstable nature of service and unskilled manufacturing employment as well as the more general economic climate set the backdrop for high levels of unemployment among residents.³³ In the full-employment context of the 1950s and early 1960s, Figures 4.11-4.13 reveal relatively low levels of men and women out of work in the RP CEA's. In the more precarious economic climate of the 1970s to the 1990s, however, unemployment levels jumped to substantial *absolute* levels in both sections of the housing development. While marginally better than other public housing residents, unemployment was higher among RP residents than other low-income earners in the Toronto area as shown by the Lower Status Enumeration Subset data for 1971 and 1986. As in other spheres of economic activity, the situation worsened considerably in the 1980s. Among young people in RP, moreover, unemployment was found in an even more extreme form.

Despite extra charges applied to secondary wage earners and the dominant ideology of the role of the male as the chief family breadwinner, it was not uncommon for various members of the household to contribute to the material welfare of the family in Regent

Park.³⁴ In partially completed RPN in 1952 (333 units), 64 per cent of families had secondary wage earners, which could include working wives, teenage children and other members of the household such as in-laws.³⁵ A survey by the author of 40 case files of prospective tenant families whose housing was being demolished to build the northern section, revealed 32 secondary wage earners.³⁶ These approximate percentages were maintained until the late 1960s.³⁷ As Figure 4.14 demonstrates, a small proportion of married women were members of the formal labour force in the 1950s and 1960s, which soared significantly in the 1970s and 1980s as in the rest of Toronto. Even within the limits of rent policy, the family economy in RP thus often comprised more than the chief male breadwinner. It is important to emphasize, however, that even those women or single mothers who did have work generally earned considerably lower wages than men and had fewer opportunities for advancement in education and job training.

The statistics do not include those tenants who failed to officially report their income. We know from evidence of those who were discovered and punished that some families managed to gain extra income “under the table” by learning and using the system. For example, during the 1950s and 1960s, some wives worked in retail establishments for short stints during the holiday season, and others supplemented or earned incomes through prostitution and the illegal sale of alcohol, drugs and stolen consumer goods³⁸ – practices revived by some in the 1980s and 1990s.³⁹

We also know from oral testimony that it was common for teenagers in Regent Park, whose parents were unable to afford allowances of spending money,⁴⁰ to engage in

informal work such as babysitting for relatives and family friends, part-time retail jobs in stores, shining shoes, and selling newspapers on the street, income that would be donated to the family or kept, without the knowledge of the authorities.⁴¹ It is likely that some of these practices were curtailed after the tragic 1977 murder of Emanuel Jacques, a 12-year old boy from Regent Park, who shined shoes with his older brother on the nearby Yonge Street “strip” of sex clubs and bars. The two often made \$10 a day after school and deposited it directly in their mother’s bank account.⁴² Some young people were particularly inventive in raising extra income. Larry Quinto remembers:

spearing suckers and carp, then selling them to the Italians who were working on the grades. I remember climbing underneath the many bridges and collecting the pigeon chicks out of their nests to sell to the Chinese downtown...earning extra money was a must, because of our financial situation...I used to shine shoes on week-ends, outside of the Brown Derby on Yonge and Dundas St. I had to give a cut to the bouncer after each night.⁴³

Such practices were supplemented by domestic economic strategies such as using older siblings to baby sit younger children, wearing “hand-me-down” clothes, making home-made foods such as pickles and jams, purchasing items from thrift shops and even growing vegetables in a common allotment within project grounds organized by the Sole Support Mothers’ Group.⁴⁴ Chris Reading, for example, remembers that in addition to shopping at the local branch of a large supermarket chain, he would go to a damaged goods store to buy inexpensive canned goods and buy day-old bread at the bakery for a nominal price. He also found a way to shop in several places using only one streetcar ticket.⁴⁵ Residents took advantage of any opportunity to receive free food or goods. In early 1975, a Toronto food distribution company donated 5 tons of frozen fish that it was unable to sell. 500 residents lined up in freezing January weather to collect the free food.⁴⁶ When tenants suffered tragic deaths in the family, fires and other calamities,

residents would, moreover, rely on informal networks of neighbours to donate food, clothes and furniture.⁴⁷ In the bleak economic situation of the 1990s, tenants also engaged in permanent “yard” sales on the fringes of the projects, adjacent to busy intersections.⁴⁸

In addition, there were a plethora of charitable organizations and churches, and in the 1980s and 1990s, food banks and soup kitchens, which provided various forms of direct and indirect aid.⁴⁹ Regent Park/Duke of York Public School and Nelson Mandela Park Public School are among the minority of schools in Toronto that have had state- and community-supported breakfast and lunch programs since the early 1970s. In 1972, tenant volunteers from the Regent Park Services Unit began to provide hot lunches for students for a nominal fee of \$1 per week.⁵⁰ Regent Park Public School has also relied on a privately-supported winter milk and soup program.⁵¹ At least among some tenants, therefore, family economies comprised a diverse combination of formal and informal economic activities complemented by state assistance, support from social agencies and various forms of mutual aid.⁵²

Figures 4.15-4.16, which chart the major source of family income in both sections of the project, point up the same pattern of social schism as in other economic variables. In the late 1960s, there was a significant increase in families relying on the state for the major portion of their income – a trend that would increase until the 1990s as Robert Murdie reveals.⁵³ Some recipients of various forms of state assistance such as Mother’s Allowances and pensions were eligible to work within strictly-defined limits, resulting in a small portion of families who combined employment and state of income. Due to the

way the data were collected by the housing authority, Figure 4.16 combines employment income with state assistance. Families on full welfare in RPN never exceeded 16 per cent in the period before 1968.⁵⁴ It may suggest, as Margaret Little and Ian Morrison argue, that “movement back and forth between welfare and work is common for sole support mothers,” the majority of whom receive social assistance.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the most startling fact is that in RPS and, to a lesser extent in the northern section, there were a soaring number of families whose main source of income was a government transfer of one sort or another.

Ethnic Composition of Regent Park Families

Accompanying the changes in economic and educational status, the ethnic composition of families in RP shifted in the 1970s and 1980s due to the changing origins of immigrants, their socio-economic status, and the importance of the area as a prime “reception area” of recent immigrants to Toronto. Figures 4.17-4.19 and Table 4.3 demonstrate a clear trend toward disproportionately higher numbers of persons born outside of Canada, families of Asian and Black origin, and a decrease in families of “British origin” from the 1960s to the 1990s.

Length of Occupancy and Reasons For Leaving Regent Park

The one countervailing element in the statistics is that families in RP did not stay in the project for inordinate amounts of time until the 1980s – a finding that contrasts with the “longitudinal entrapment” suggested by “underclass” theorists.⁵⁶ Figure 4.20 reveals that

the extent of non-movers (those who had not moved in five or six years) in both sections of the project was roughly similar to the CMA (from 28 to 44 per cent from 1961-81) until the 1991 census. Other numbers, not included in Figure 4.20, confirm this: in the 1981 census, median length of occupancy was three and four years in RPS and RPN, respectively, which compared favourably to the four year figure in the CMA and the standard assumption that the average tenant moves every three years.⁵⁷ In 1971, non-moving rates were slightly higher than the Lower-Status Enumeration Area Subset figures, approximately 40 per cent in both projects compared to 34 per cent among low-income earners in the private market.⁵⁸

Where did people go after leaving the project? Unfortunately, we only have limited and selective data from the early to mid-1960s on this question. In RPS, a thorough study of “voluntary move-outs” in 1960-61 revealed that those most likely to move were higher-than-average income earners with smaller-than-average families, a beneficial combination that increased the chances of finding suitable accommodation in the private market. Almost 33 per cent were able to purchase homes while the remainder re-rented – both groups in “improved” neighbourhoods in terms of physical quality. 45 per cent of those who left the housing development moved back to the same area from which they originally applied for public housing. According to the study, families left for a variety of reasons but it seems that desire to live in a house (whether owned or rented), frustration with the rental scale, and, to a lesser extent, dissatisfaction with the “social environment,” especially in regards to raising children, were the chief reasons. Nevertheless, three out of

four families which left the project would have recommended public housing to those facing housing difficulties.⁵⁹

Albert Rose reported that in the first eight years of the project 100 families left to buy homes.⁶⁰ In the first quarter of 1961, a survey of 54 families who left this section revealed 10 families who bought houses⁶¹; in 1965 of 142 families surveyed, almost 40 per cent became owner-occupiers; only 9 per cent of 188 tenant families who left in 1967 bought their own homes while 75 per cent re-rented in the private market and 15 per cent transferred to other public housing projects.⁶² It is therefore likely that a small percentage of those who are regarded as “movers” in the census data from 1961-91 moved to other public housing projects.

Explaining Social Polarization in Public Housing

To understand why there was such a remarkable swelling of socio-economic polarity between families in RP and other people in Metro Toronto we need to look at both larger social and economic trends, specific supply and demand factors within private and public housing markets, particularly the role of the state in determining the structures of public housing provision, and the social relations of public housing.

It is first crucial to situate social marginalization among public housing tenants within the general economic and political context of state housing in the post-war period. The main decision makers at the federal and provincial levels of government judged public housing

to be a temporary political concession within the post-war urban restructuring juggernaut that aimed to revitalize the central city tax base and support a concomitant service-based economy.⁶³ By the early 1970s, moreover, public housing became an albatross around the pro-private housing market necks of the state. Both senior levels of government were faced with general economic instability, prompting them to start belt tightening with regard to housing policy in general as well as physical and social investments in the existing projects.⁶⁴ After a brief stint of pumping limited monies into recreation facilities and slightly upgrading the physical infrastructure of older projects such as RPN in the early 1970s, CMHC began to scale back interventions in public housing. OHC, which relied on transfers from CMHC, shifted its discourse of “fairness” in rents for public housing tenants, for example, to an economic defence based on amortization and operating costs, municipal taxes and maintenance charges.⁶⁵ Always half-hearted supporters of public housing, the state housing officialdom was reluctant to concede meaningful improvements in the wealth redistribution of public housing tenants, persistently demanded by social housing activists and public housing residents themselves, at a time when they were effectively beginning to question their already limited welfare state commitments. Effective withdrawal from assisted housing mirrored developments in other forms of social assistance.⁶⁶ This reflected a more general shift in the balance of power “between those claiming a wider distribution of the benefits of economic prosperity and those in dominant positions with the state and the economy resisting such claims.”⁶⁷ The few amenities and services that RP tenants do enjoy, such as the Community Health Centre and recreation facilities, in addition to the limited victories in improving the rent scale and maintenance, were won only through hard-fought

struggles by the tenants themselves in the 1970s before the state cutback regime had matured.⁶⁸

As a result of the market-oriented approach of post-war housing policy, there were only 33,000 rent-g geared-to-income units in Metro Toronto's public housing system by the end of the century, representing a miniscule 5 per cent of total dwellings in the region.

Demand for assisted housing always outstripped the limited supply: from the 1950s to the 1990s, applications for a vacancy in public housing in Toronto rarely dropped below 10,000 and by 2000 had reached almost 50,000.⁶⁹ By the 1960s, working families with rising incomes were able to leave Regent Park and find suitable accommodation in the private market. Indeed, as their incomes increased, rents became progressively higher, providing an incentive to move. The desperate affordability problem endured for low-income families, however. While there were fluctuations throughout this period, rental unit vacancy rates were constantly low, rents and house prices were high, and by the 1990s, there was an almost complete lack of rental unit construction.⁷⁰ The constant need for affordable housing, the slum clearance policies that limited cheap dwelling options for low-income families and the prior decisions by governments not to build adequate numbers of public housing units goes a long way in explaining why only the poorest of the poor were accommodated in public housing by the late 1960s.⁷¹

The particular politics, ideology and practices of public housing providers themselves also explain why projects became "last resorts" for those in housing hardship. Policy makers were relentlessly apprehensive that public housing tenants would become reliant

on the largesse of the state and thus restricted opportunities for tenants to advance while living in public housing. The graduated rental scale in public housing proved a strong disincentive for chief breadwinners to gain extra income or for other family members to find employment. Moreover, there was a shift in the rent to income ratio, which determined the income qualifications for entry to public housing and the rental scale of those already living in public housing, from approximately 20 to 30 per cent from the 1940s to the 1980s, most likely to increase public housing tenants' rent and therefore reduce government subsidies and/or to make it appear that there was less housing need.⁷² Another effect of this political decision was to facilitate entry to only the very poorest applicants, which tended to be the working poor and, more often, two- or lone-parent families on state assistance.

On the housing demand side, the labour market geography of Toronto also played a role in restricting decent job opportunities for public housing residents in the downtown area. The census data on occupations and work presented earlier is consistent with Kevin Brushett's findings that the central-city area from which many tenants of RP were drawn, contained long-standing unskilled and casual labour markets which "drew workers and their families to inner-city neighbourhoods for reasons of both convenience and necessity" such as transportation costs and public transit routes.⁷³ Project-level data for 1949,⁷⁴ 1953⁷⁵, and 1961⁷⁶ show that numerous RPN residents worked at large industrial establishments, which would be gradually caught up in suburban industrial decentralization and high contraction and plant closure rates from the 1950s to 1980s.⁷⁷ As Pierre Filion and Dennis Mock explain, the locational shift, contraction or loss of

large, unionized and relatively well-paid manufacturing industry employment in post-war Toronto limited the possibilities of finding well-paid work close to the downtown Toronto location of RP, especially among the high majority of families in the project unable to afford a car.⁷⁸ Furthermore, the overall high-unemployment context of the late 1970s to the 1990s would prove to be another hurdle in the already gruelling employment predicament for those at the bottom of the social ladder.

If the affordability crisis and contraction of decent jobs distressed the working poor during this period, it hit sole support parents and those families on social assistance the hardest.⁷⁹ Largely the result of continued post-war economic growth and mounting demands from social activists, the Canada Assistance Plan, introduced in 1965, saw the expansion of notions of “deserving” and consequent increases in the number of programs and recipients.⁸⁰ James Struthers, however, has meticulously demonstrated that welfare benefits were always less than adequate in Toronto even in the 1960s and 70s during the federal government’s US-inspired “War on Poverty.” Large numbers of welfare recipients, including those in RP, were paying unusually high proportions of their monthly cheques for housing since “the actual financial requirements of families, particularly for shelter, were bureaucratically manipulated to fit within preset provincial maximums.”⁸¹ Single parents were particularly more likely to require public housing in a context of rising rents and lack of affordable shelter options. Labour market discrimination against women meant low salaries and an absence of opportunities for job training or career advancement. Moreover, affordable day care was so scarce that many single women with small children had little option but complete dependence on social

assistance with few prospects for employment.⁸² Margaret Little's study of single mothers on welfare confirms that this bleak situation prevailed into the 1990s and was aggravated by cutbacks to welfare such as the de-indexing of baby bonuses.⁸³ Put simply, those most needing public housing were mother-led families and those on social assistance, which explains the particular social composition and abysmally low incomes of tenants in the project.

The change in ethnic composition can similarly be explained by shifting factors of housing demand since the 1960s. Some recent immigrant groups and refugees, such as Caribbean blacks and Chinese and Vietnamese immigrants, had larger families and/or lower incomes and, moreover, often coped with racial discrimination in labour and housing markets.⁸⁴ Afro-Caribbean immigrants, for example, with a larger proportion of single-women headed families, suffered a double burden in the housing market: subject to the oppressive racial and gendered positions of landlords (public and private) they also faced "constrained choice" in housing due to their low incomes.⁸⁵ Furthermore, substantial numbers of refugees and immigrants from Vietnam, many of them ethnically Chinese who fled religious and ethnic persecution, faced severe housing difficulties when they arrived in Toronto. In addition to negligible incomes, they faced critical problems of adaptation to a new language and culture. As Mark Edward Pfeifer writes, "Regent Park was attractive as a reception neighbourhood because of the low rents of buildings in the vicinity, and its proximity to settlement agencies and other social services as well as two nearby Chinatowns accessible a short distance away either by walking or streetcar."⁸⁶

The overt economic hardships of the RP population were severely aggravated by the concrete economic consequences of territorial stigmatization. By the late 1970s, the dismal reputation of the project and the low incomes of area residents led most of the local supermarkets, banks and other affordable shops to close, including all but one convenience store within the development itself, adding additional economic burdens to the local population.⁸⁷ One seventy-four year old pensioner thought it “criminal” that a growing portion of her fixed budget for food was going towards public transportation costs. ““There used to be all kinds of good markets, also banks, in walking distance,” Mary Hudson complained. “Now I pay for TTC [public transport] and carrying those bags on the street is not safe for me.”⁸⁸ As the larger Cabbagetown area gentrified and became home to an affluent middle class population, luxury shops crowded out the affordable stores that residents had long relied on.

Even more directly, as Harald Bauder has established in the American context, the pernicious effects of cultural and social stereotyping of poor and ethnic minority neighbourhoods could strongly impair employment success.⁸⁹ Loïc Wacquant also notes in the case of similarly large and stigmatized French state housing complexes that residential discrimination “hampers the search for jobs and contributes to entrench local unemployment since inhabitants...encounter additional distrust and reticence among employers as soon as they mention their place of residence.”⁹⁰ As early as 1968, residents related stories of the stigma of RP affecting job chances and social status among friends and relatives.⁹¹ One mother stated in 1982, “When you go out to look for a job, I hear a lot of kids say they don’t want to put down that they live in Regent Park, not because of

what it is, but because of what other people say about it. So many names have been put on the place. They can't be proud of it ... The way they cut it up, you're embarrassed, and there's no need to be embarrassed, but you are."⁹² A 1978 survey of 86 unemployed youth in RP by Canada Manpower found an earnest desire to work destroyed by cynicism over lack of jobs and stigma.⁹³ Many residents internalized the downgraded job aspirations partially produced by external stigmatization. Clement Virgo, a filmmaker who grew up in RP, articulated this sentiment clearly: "I didn't pick up a camera until 1989. The arts were never encouraged, it was always 'get a job in construction.' I figured people like me didn't make films, there were no role models for me."⁹⁴

In combination with an educational system systematically biased against all working-class kids, especially from poor families, stigmatization would have harmful effects on the educational outcomes of many RP children.⁹⁵ Christene Brown remembers a high school French teacher who "told me that she thought I would be better off in a trade school when she found out that I was from Regent."⁹⁶ Chris Reading recollected the "real negative view of Regent Park" held by some teachers at the schools he attended. He relates that when he was in grade 8 at St. Martin's Catholic school, all the boys were pushed to go to a technical high school to learn trades. His teacher put pressure on him to pursue this route, but his father went to talk to him insisting that his son wanted to go to university.⁹⁷ There were, of course, numerous success stories of people who made it through the educational system and developed prosperous careers and fulfilling lives, yet stigmatization was always a conspicuous barrier to overcome.⁹⁸ In 1968, Wally Seccombe, then a youth worker with the YMCA in RP and later a prominent sociologist,

noted that children in the project were often labelled as failures by teachers and the school system more generally. He concluded, “They haven’t dropped out of school. They’ve been pushed out.”⁹⁹

Tenant struggles, as Chapter 6 details, won extra teaching assistants in local schools, a beefed-up special resources program and attracted a large private donation from the Donner Foundation to fund like-minded programs. Despite positive evaluations of pilot programs, however, the provincial government cut funds to inner-city education programmes throughout the 1970s leading to the loss of extra personnel such as teachers and teaching assistants in addition to a reduction in special educational resources.¹⁰⁰ By 1979, 60 per cent of students from Park School went to vocational high schools, the highest percentage in the city. The Board admitted that students who graduated from occupational high schools, the vast majority of whom were from poor families, stood little chance of entering post-secondary or even technical apprentice programs.¹⁰¹ RP’ers as a whole experienced negative school outcomes in general; it is salient to note, however, that racist attitudes and practices within the school system have also contributed to high dropout rates and poor performance among African-Canadian students in Toronto, including those in RP.¹⁰²

Inequity would also be exacerbated throughout the period by the unequal distribution of classroom and schoolyard resources among public schools. Parents from more affluent areas donated money to their children’s schools ensuring that they had much better resources than poor schools whose parents were unable to contribute. Irene Atkinson,

chair of the TBOE, admitted in 2001 that such schoolyard inequities have been “ever thus.”¹⁰³ The occasion of Nelson Mandela’s visit to Park School in 2001 to officially rename the school provided a poignant glimpse of these inequities. A young black student interviewed during the visit “paused from his excited banter about his hero Mandela to make an important point... the kid was frustrated by the fact that the school building had been in such bad shape for so long and that only a visit by a celebrity merited its renovation.”¹⁰⁴ Park schoolteacher, Roberta Clarke, was not exaggerating when she argued in 1979 that local kids were effectively “being ripped off” by the system.¹⁰⁵

Conclusion

Regent Park underwent a rapid and spectacular process of social polarization from the 1950s to the 1990s. Not all Regent Park residents suffered equally nor did tenants remain anchored in these positions permanently. Relatively low moving rates until the 1980s suggest that many families were able to leave the project for ostensibly better dwellings and surroundings. Yet from the late 1960s onwards, a whole host of social indicators unmistakably revealed an increasingly marginalized population with disproportionate numbers of poor single parents, families subsisting on welfare and meagre educational levels. The most recent figures point to even more extreme inequality, social exclusion and long-term entrapment in public housing since fewer families were able to cope in the marked low wage, high unemployment and dwindling social service context of the 1990s. An ominous trend towards further state disengagement from and abandonment of low-

income housing policies and wealth redistribution policies at all levels of the state do not bode well for families faced with housing hardships in Toronto in the new millennium.

Contrary to the “blame the victim” conjectures of “underclass” theories, the causes of the socio-economic inferiority of Regent Park tenants rest squarely on state housing practices and the inability of a profit-oriented economic system to adequately attend to the employment and shelter needs of low-income families. RP residents became trapped, not by the welfare or public housing system itself, but by the glaring lack of affordable public and private shelter spaces, subdued investment in project facilities and services, low welfare benefits and related social services, a shrinking labour market and moralistic assumptions about proper tenants.

Appendix 1 –Abbreviations in the Figures

CMA – Toronto Central Metropolitan Area; data from 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991

DBS – Dominion Bureau of Statistics; census data from 1951, 1961

HAT – Housing Authority of Toronto, responsible for building and managing Regent Park from 1949-1968

LSEA – Lower-Status Subset, a data set of some variables from the lowest decile CEA's in the CMA according to average household income distribution; data from 1971,1986 in Murdie, "Social Polarization," Tables 9.3, 9.4, 9.5

MTHA – Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority, 125 projects of varying sizes and types, comprising 33,000 units; data from 1971, 1986, 1991 in Murdie, "Social Polarization," Tables 9.3, 9.4, 9.5

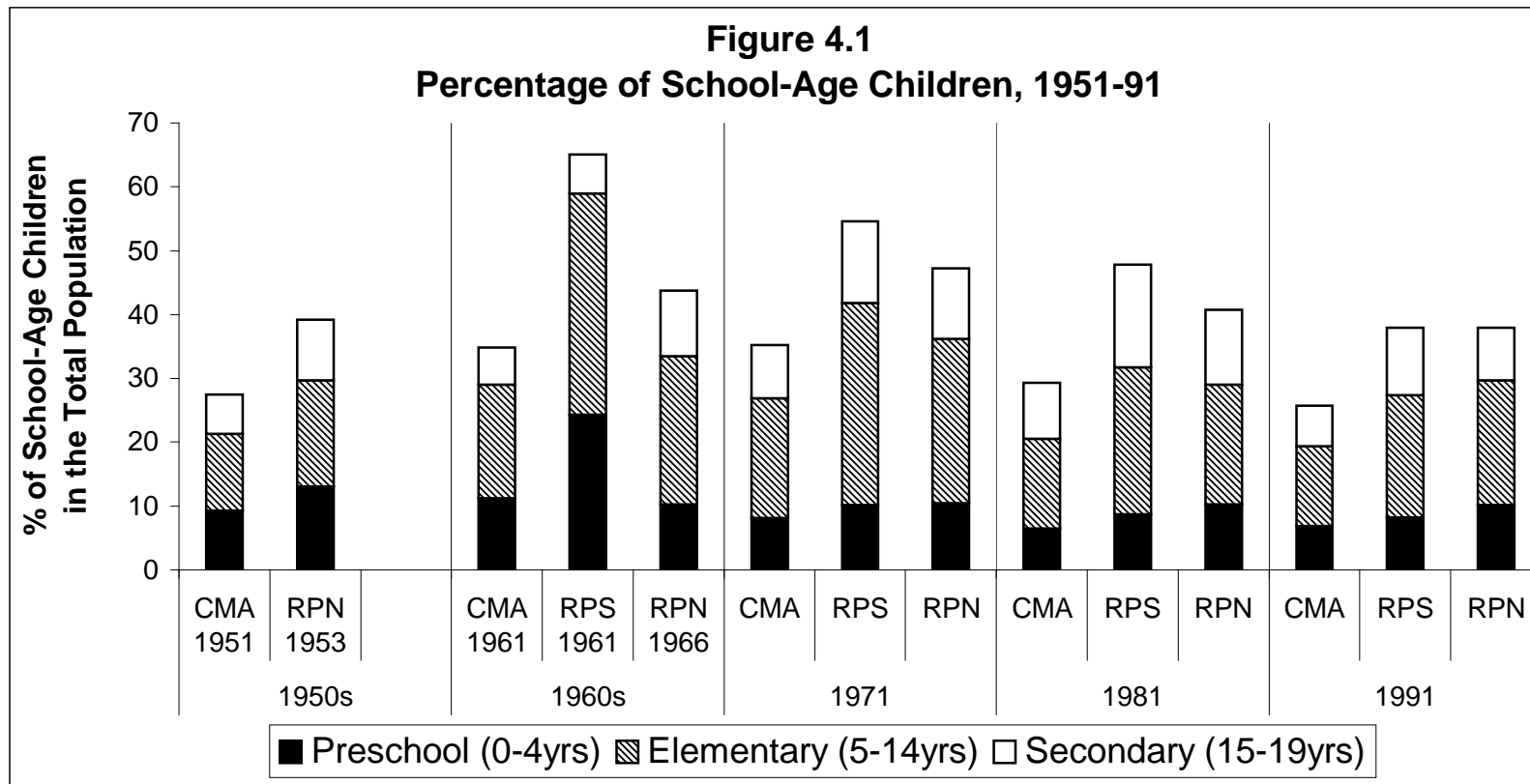
OHC – Ontario Housing Corporation, responsible for RPS from 1964 to 1978 and RPN from 1968 to 1978

RP CEA – Regent Park Census Enumeration Area, comprising 2, 021 units in RPN and RPS; data from 1951, 1961

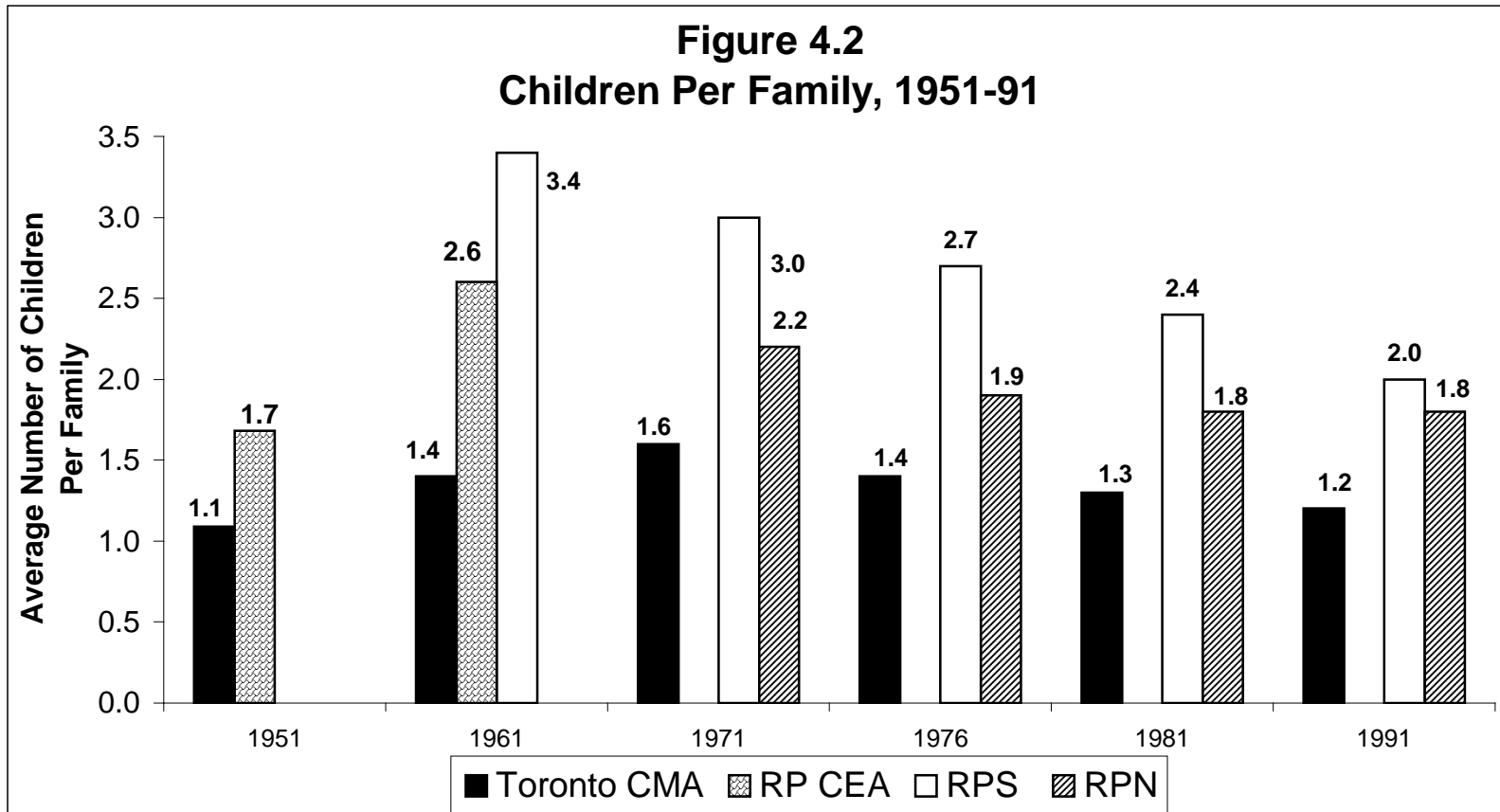
RPN– Regent Park North Census Enumeration Area, comprising 1,289 units in RPN; data from 1971, 1981, 1991

RPS – Regent Park South Census Enumeration Area, comprising 732 units in RPS; data from 1971, 1981, 1991

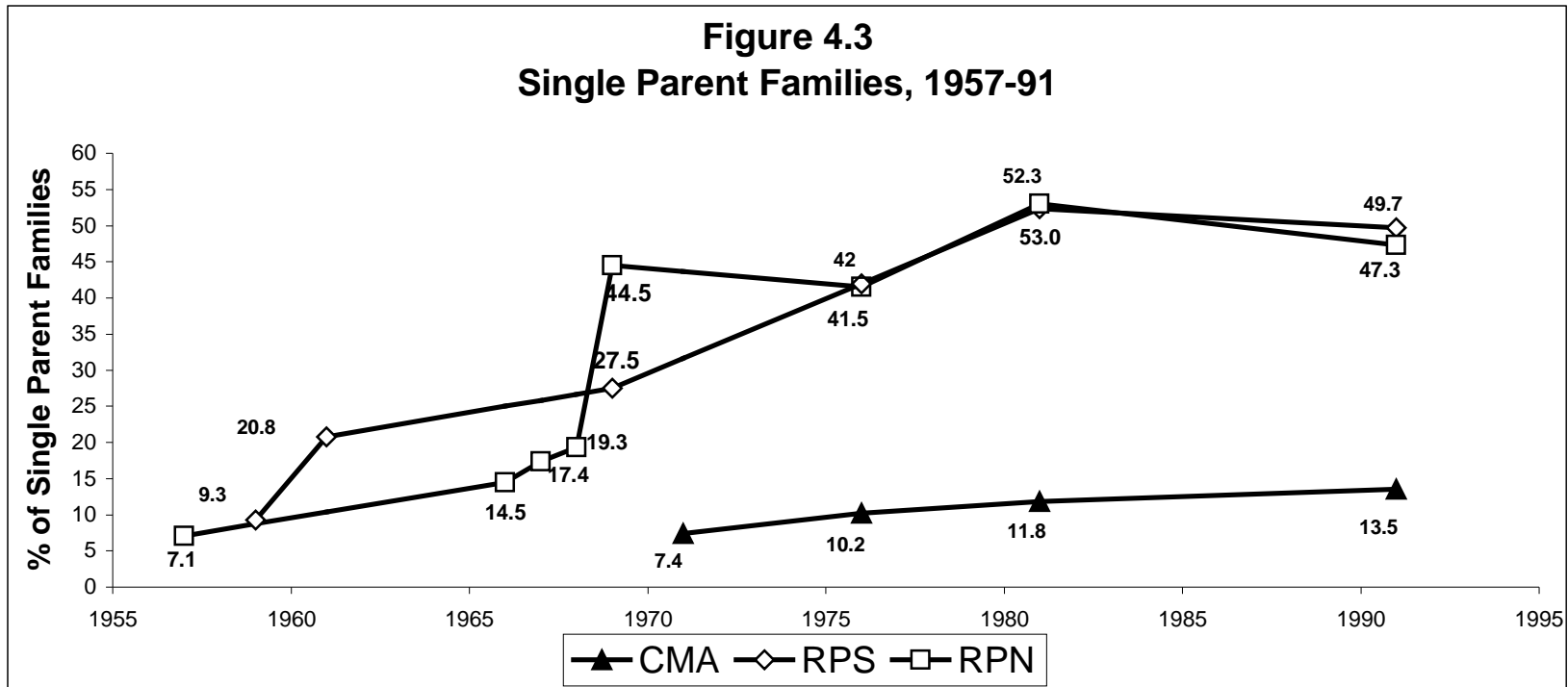
Statscan – Statistics Canada



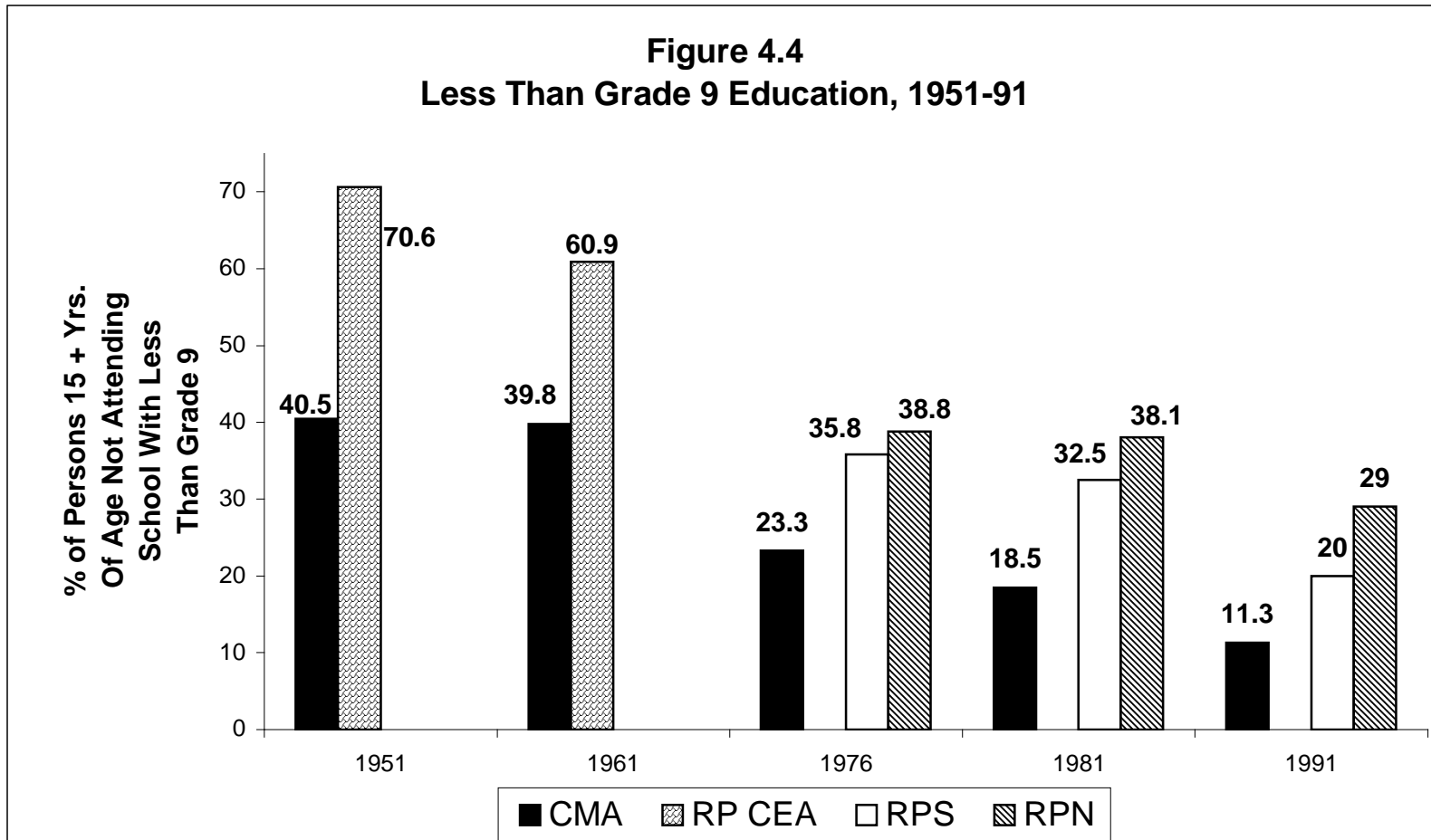
Sources: 1) CMA 1951-91 and RPN-RPS 1971-91: DBS and Statscan, Census of Canada, Population Characteristics by Census Tracts, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1991; 2) 1953 RPN: CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, Box 41, File: Tenancy Information, Breakdown of Families, 1 January 1953; 1961 RPS: MTHA, *Annual Report 1960-1961* (Toronto 1961); 3) 1966 RPN figures used the age groups, 0-4, 5-12, 13-16: CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, Box 32, File: Housing Authority-Statistics, 1965-1968, HAT, Regent Park (North) Statistics 1966. All adaptations and necessary calculations by the author for all the following figures and tables.



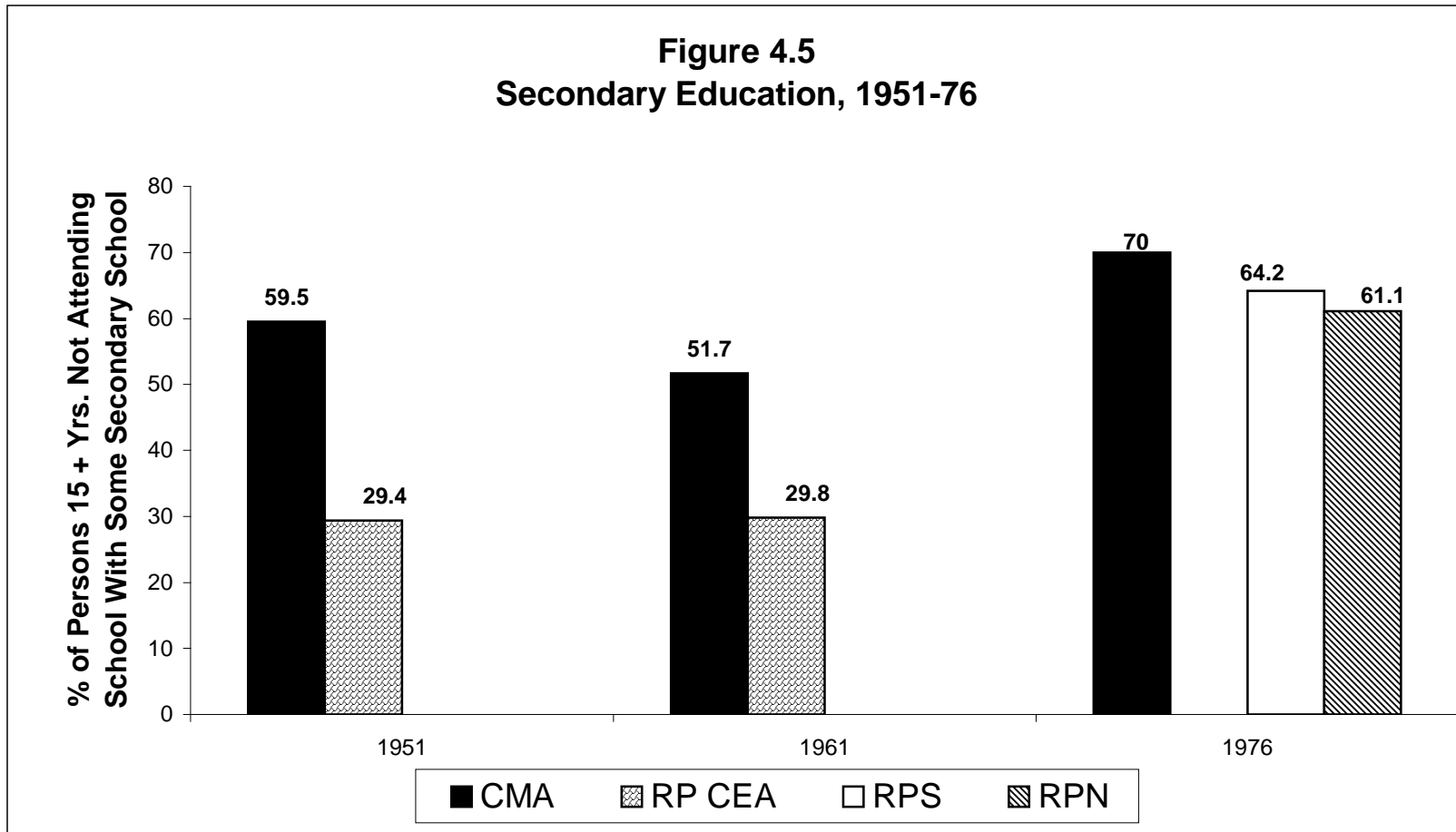
Sources: 1951-1991 CMA, RP CEA, RPS, RPN: DBS and Statscan, Census of Canada, Dwelling, Household and Family Characteristics; 1961 RPS: MTHA, *Annual Report 1960-1961*.



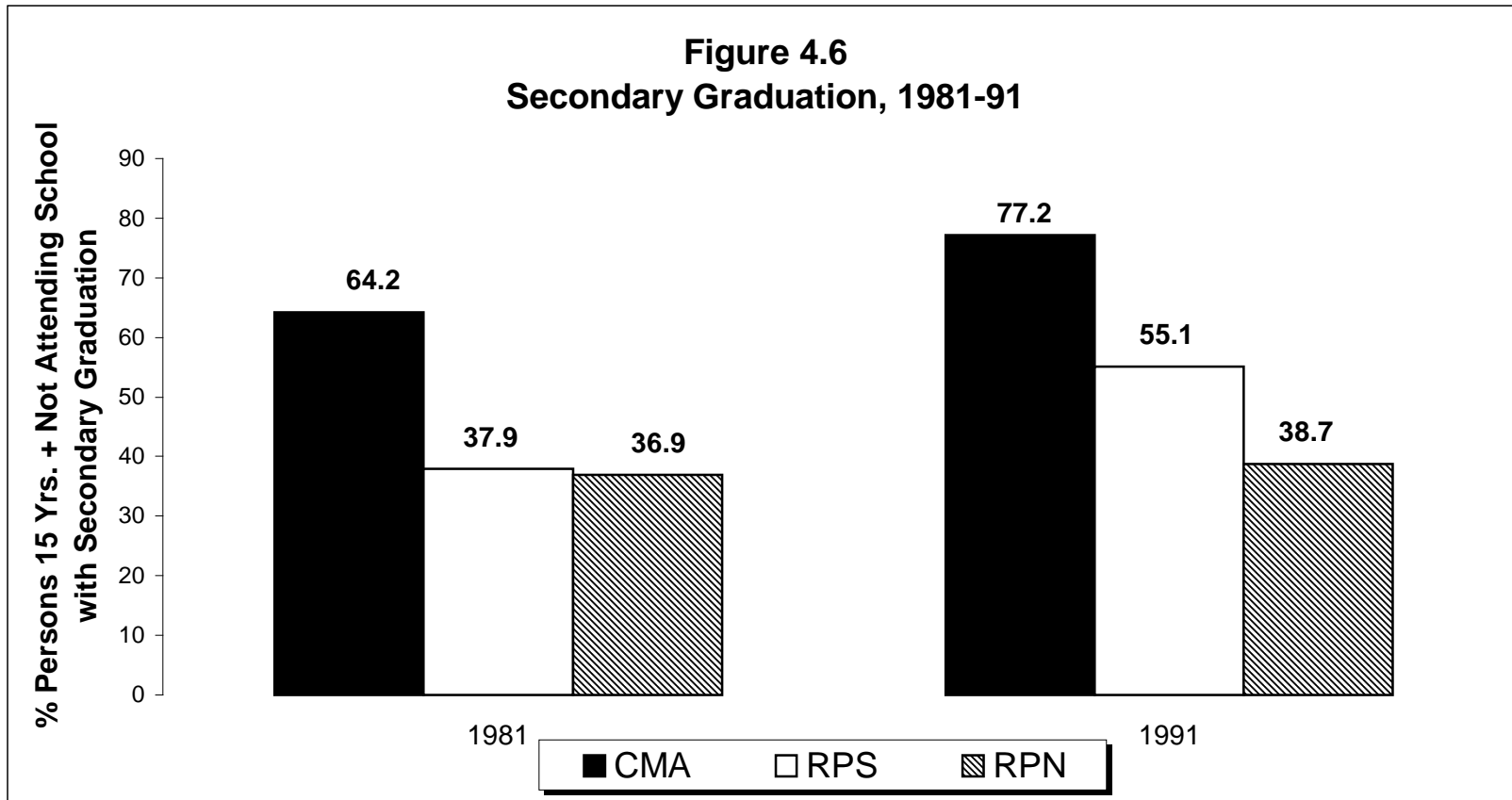
Sources: 1957 RPN: CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, Box 41, File: Population/Density, HAT, Statistics Re: Regent Park (North) Housing Project as of May 1, 1957; 1959 and 1961 RPS: MTHA, *Annual Report 1959* and *Annual Report 1960-61* (Toronto 1961), unpaginated; 1966-1968 RPN: CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, Box 32, File: Housing Authority-Statistics, 1965-1968, HAT, Regent Park (North) Statistics 1966, 1967, 1968; 1969 RPN and RPS: Provincial Archives of Ontario (PAO), OHC Papers, RG 44-19-1, Box 10, File: B1-20-1, Ontario Housing Corporation Statistics found in Regent Park Community Improvement Association Grant Application, 20 August, 1969; 1971, 1976 CMA and 1976, 1981, 1991 CMA, RPN and RPS figures in Statscan, Census of Canada, Census Tracts - Toronto 1976, 1981, 1991.



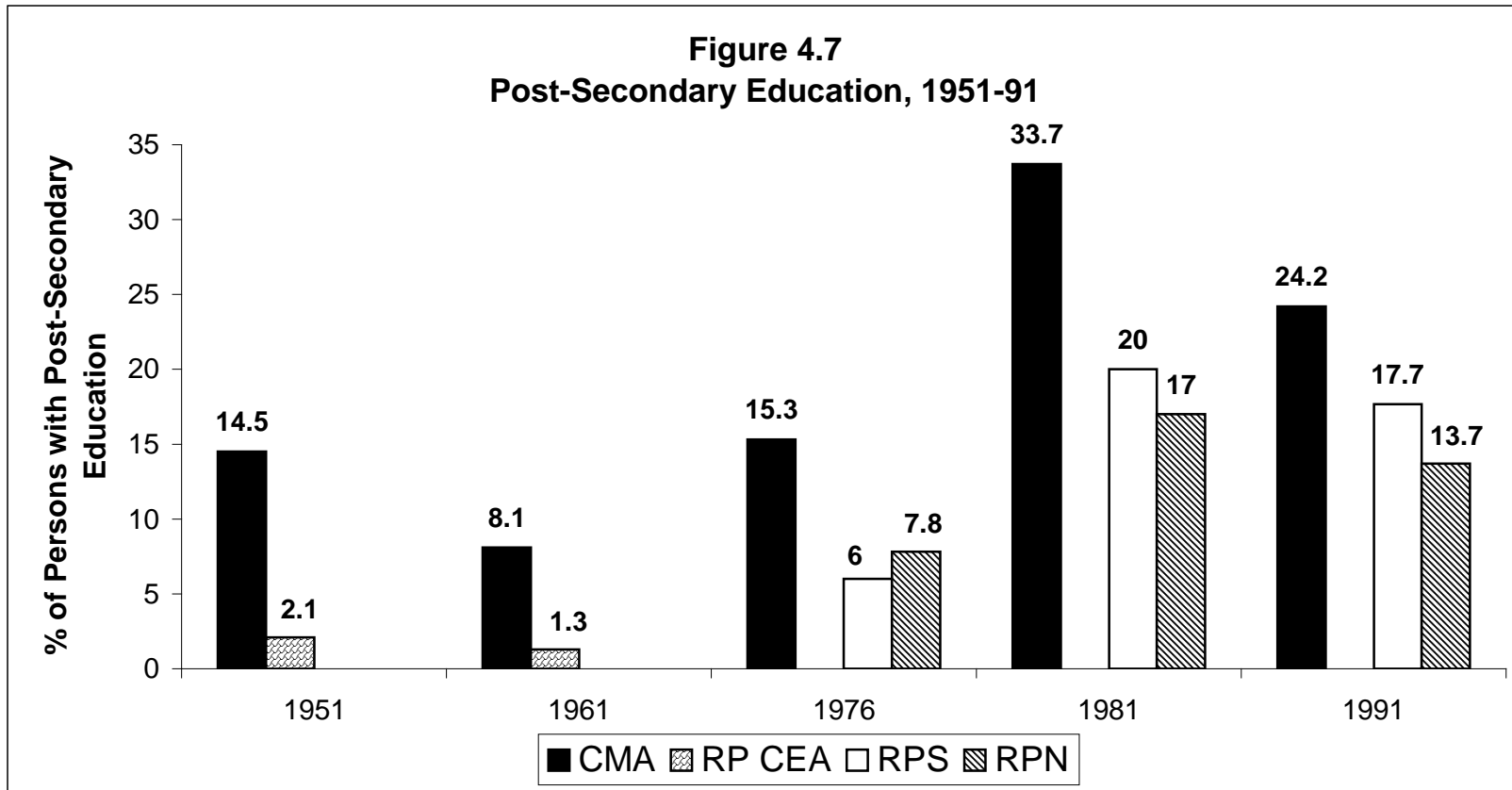
Sources: DBS and Statscan, Census of Canada, Census Tracts - Toronto, 1951-91.



Sources: DBS and Statscan, Census of Canada, Census Tracts – Toronto, 1951, 1961, 1976.



Sources: Statscan, Census of Canada, Census Tracts - Toronto, 1981-91.



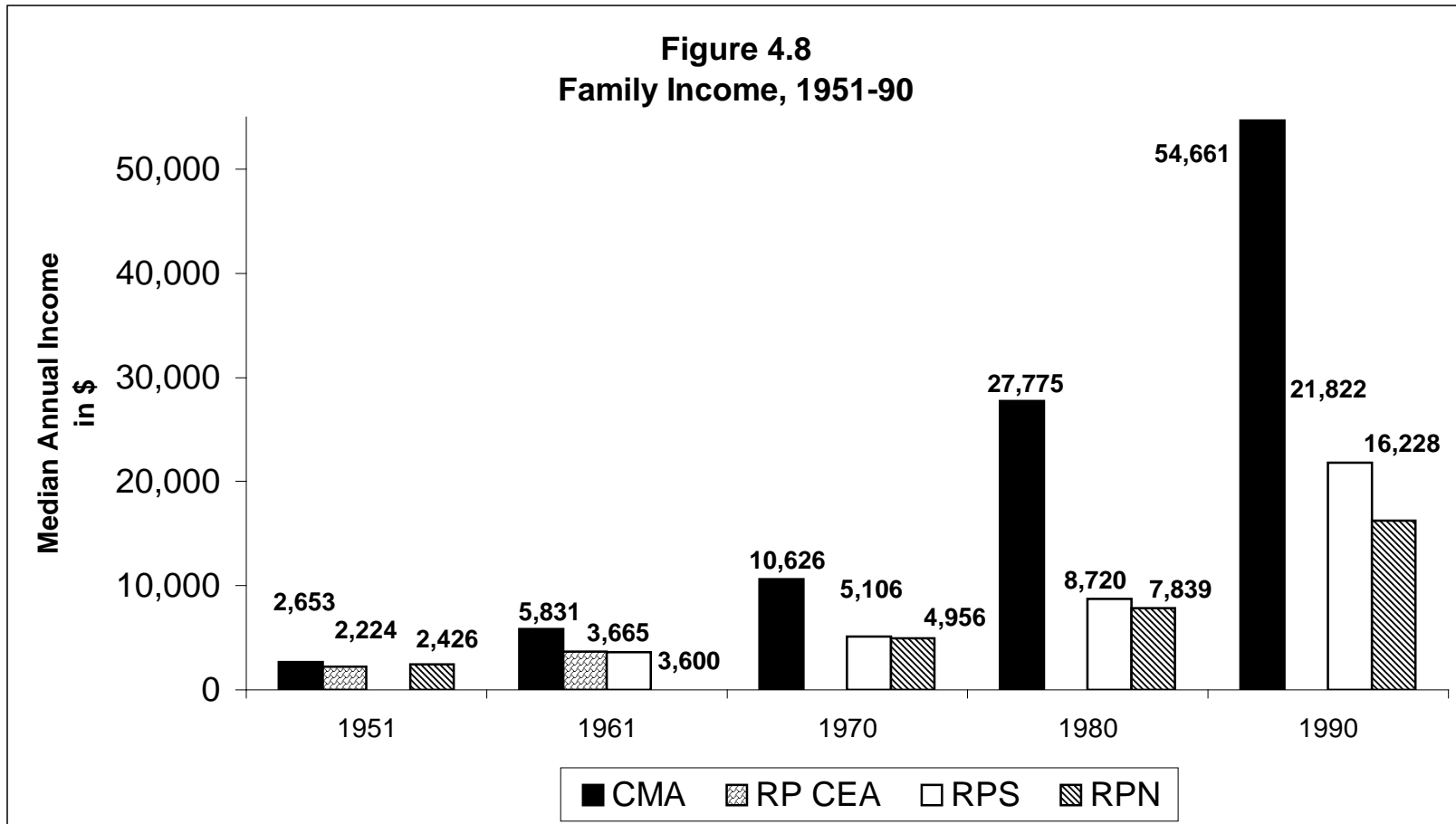
Sources: DBS and Statscan, Census of Canada, Census Tracts - Toronto, 1951, 1961, 1976, 1981, 1991. 1951 figures based on the census variable "13 years and over" education; 1961 figures based on "university"; 1971 figures include "some university" and "university degree"; 1976 figures based on "Post-secondary non-university", "Some university", "With" and "Without post-secondary non-university" and "University Degree"; 1981 figures include "Trades certificate or diploma", "Other non-university education with" and "without certificate," "University without degree" and "University with degree."

Table 1
Male Occupational Index, RPN, RPS x CMA, 1951-1991

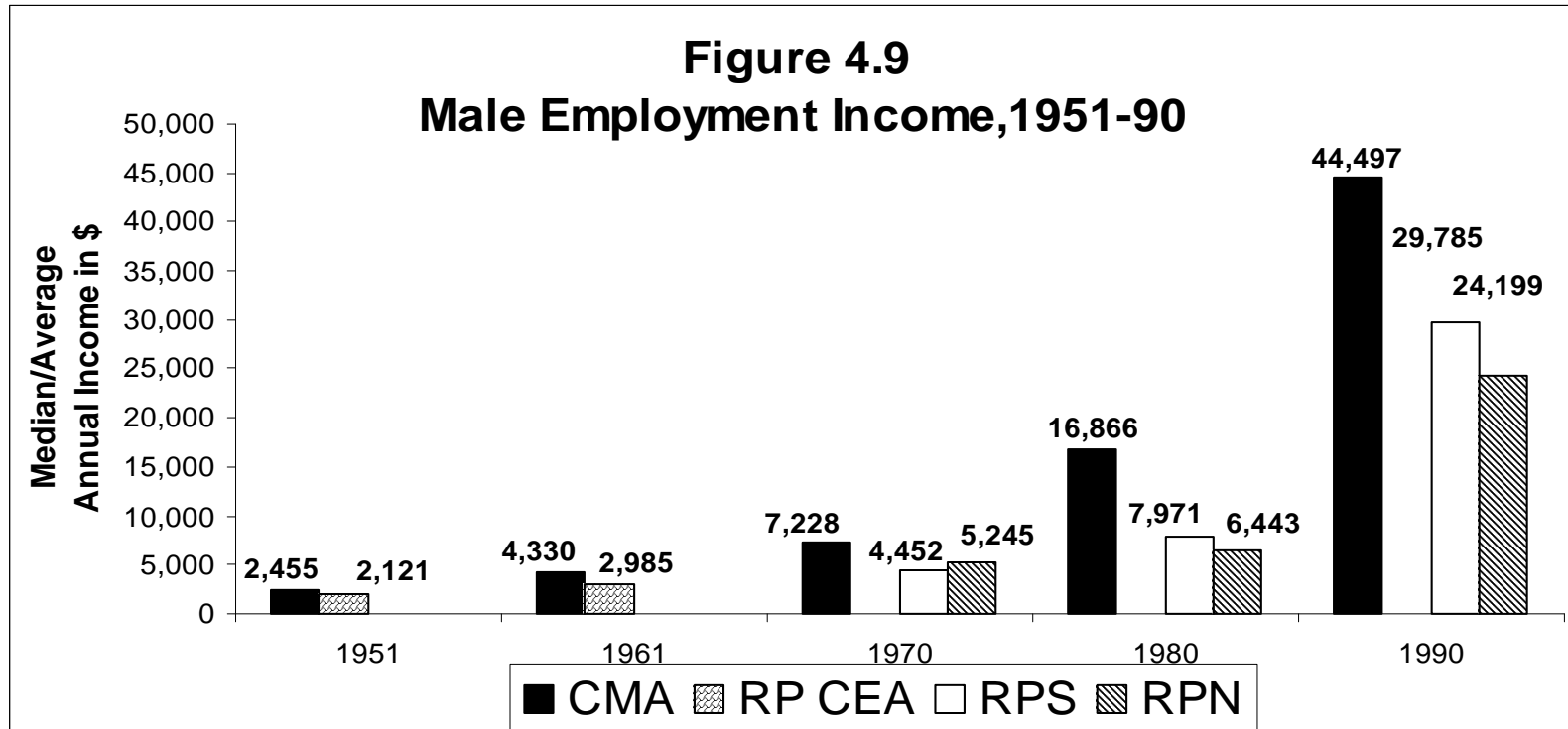
	1951 CMA/RP	1961 CMA/RP	1971 CMA/RPS	1971 CMA/RPN	1981 CMA/RPS	1981 CMA/RPN	1991 CMA/RPS	1991 CMA/RPN
Managerial	3.2	5.5	13.3	7.2	1.4	3.6	1.5	3.5
Professional	8.5	4	1.9	1.4	1.7	4.3	0.8	1.4
Clerical	1.5	1.1	1.3	0.9	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.1
	RP/CMA	RP/CMA	RPS/CMA	RPN/CMA	RPS/CMA	RPN/CMA	RPS/CMA	RPN/CMA
Manufacturing	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.1	1	1.3	0.8	1.4
Services	1.8	1.8	2.2	1.6	2.5	2.4	2.3	1.4

Table 2
Female Occupational Index, RPN, RPS x CMA, 1951-1991

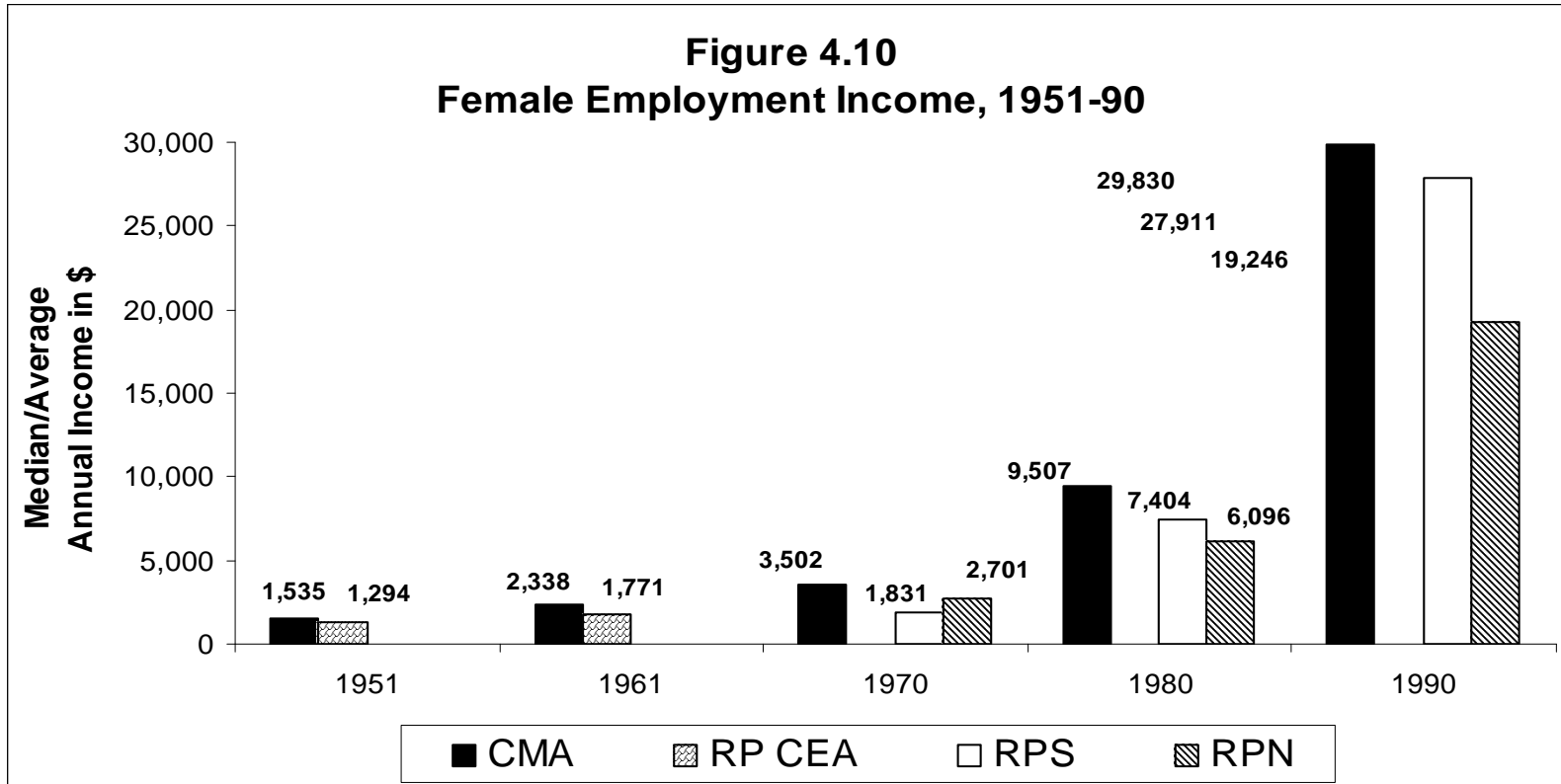
	1951 CMA/RP	1961 CMA/RP	1971 CMA/RPS	1971 CMA/RPN	1981 CMA/RPS	1981 CMA/RPN	1991 CMA/RPS	1991 CMA/RPN
Managerial	2	6.5	2.7	3	1.8	2.1	0.9	7.8
Professional	6.1	3.6	10.3	1.2	1.5	1.6	1	1.3
Clerical	1.7	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.4
	RP/CMA	RP/CMA	RPS/CMA	RPN/CMA	RPS/CMA	RPN/CMA	RPS/CMA	RPN/CMA
Manufacturing	1.6	1.2	1.6	0.6	1.6	1.8	1.4	3.3
Services	1.3	1.6	2.6	2	2.1	2	1.5	1.5



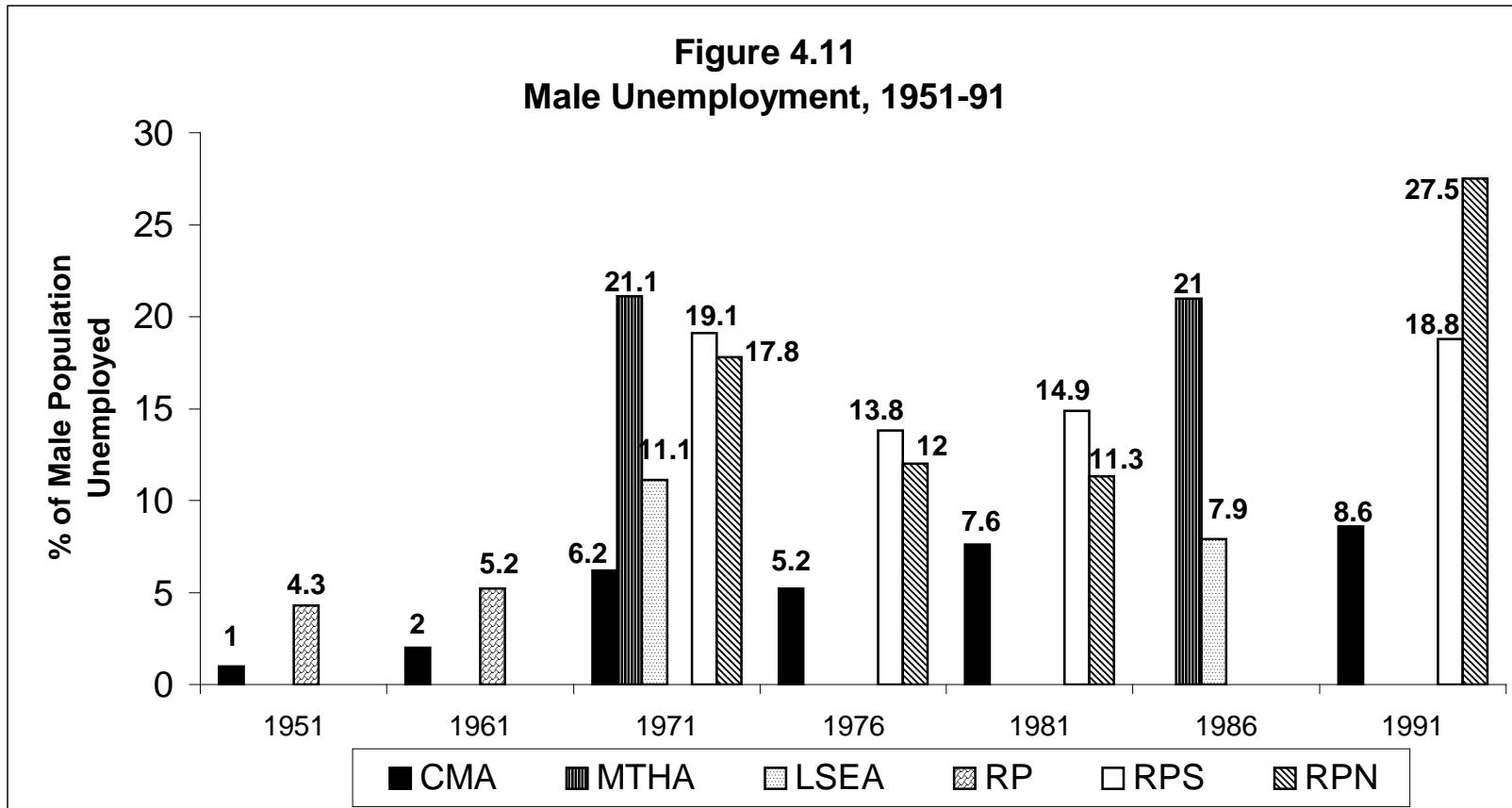
Sources: DBS and Statscan, Census of Canada, Census Tracts - Toronto, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991. 1951 RPN is actually 1952 average family income figures for the first 333 units of the project: CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, Box 41, File: Tenancy Information, Summary of Income and Family Size, 1 May 1952; 1961 RPS: MTHA, *Annual Report 1960-61*, unpaginated. 1961 figures for CMA and RP are average family income not median family income.



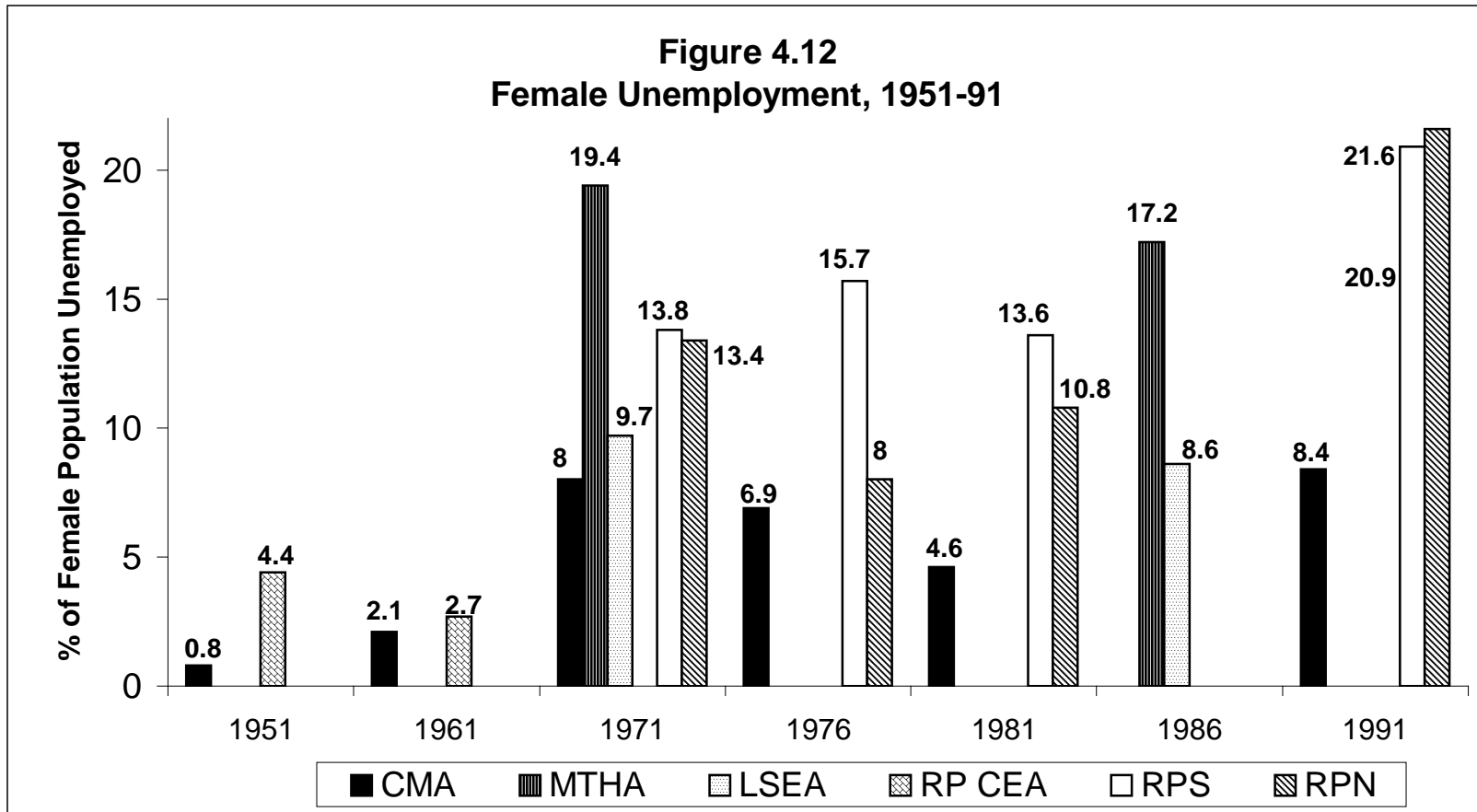
Sources: DBS and Statscan, Census of Canada, Census Tracts - Toronto, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991. 1961 and 1990 figures are average earnings.



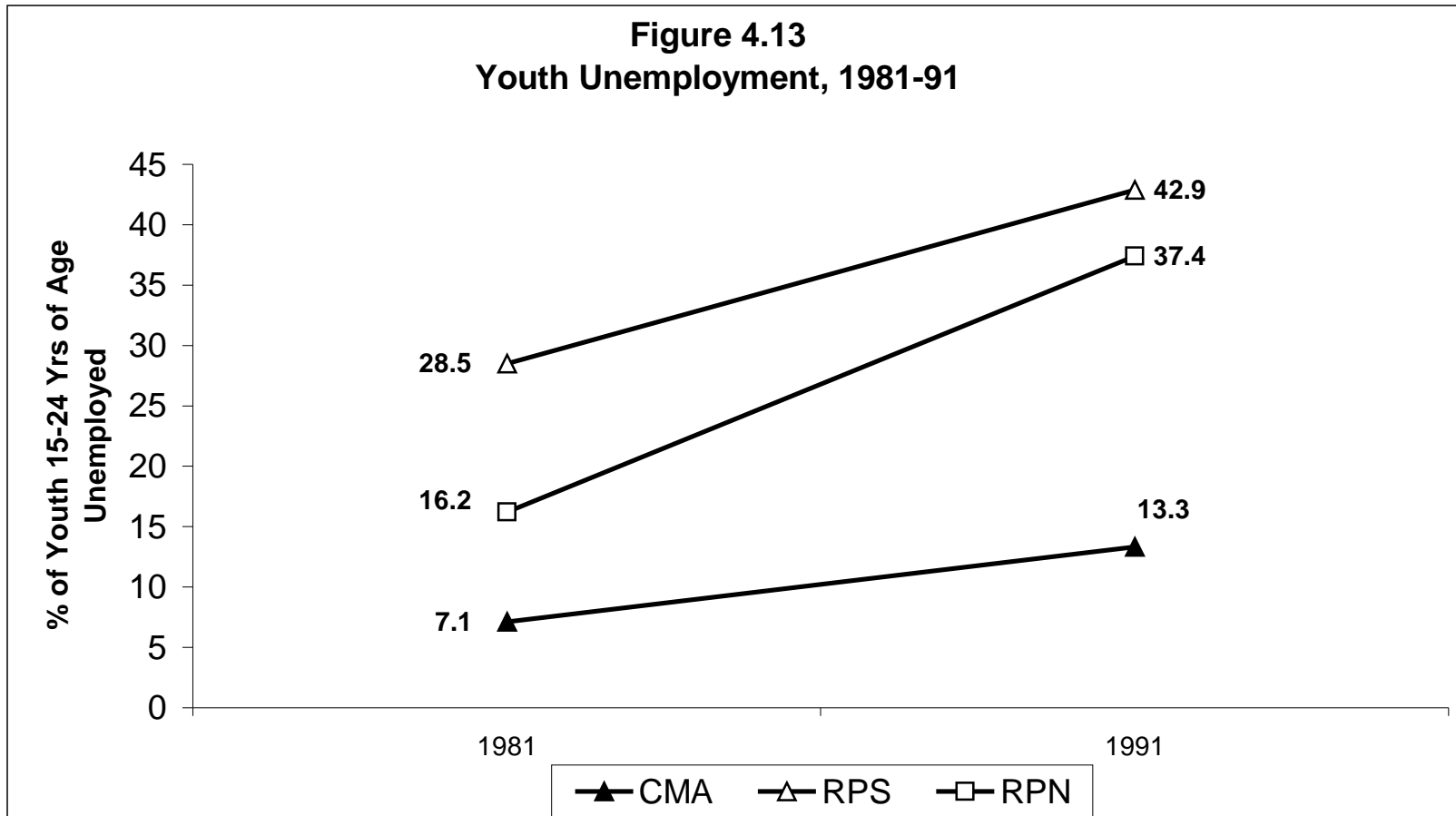
Sources: DBS and Statscan, Census of Canada, Census Tracts - Toronto, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991. 1961 and 1990 figures are average earnings.



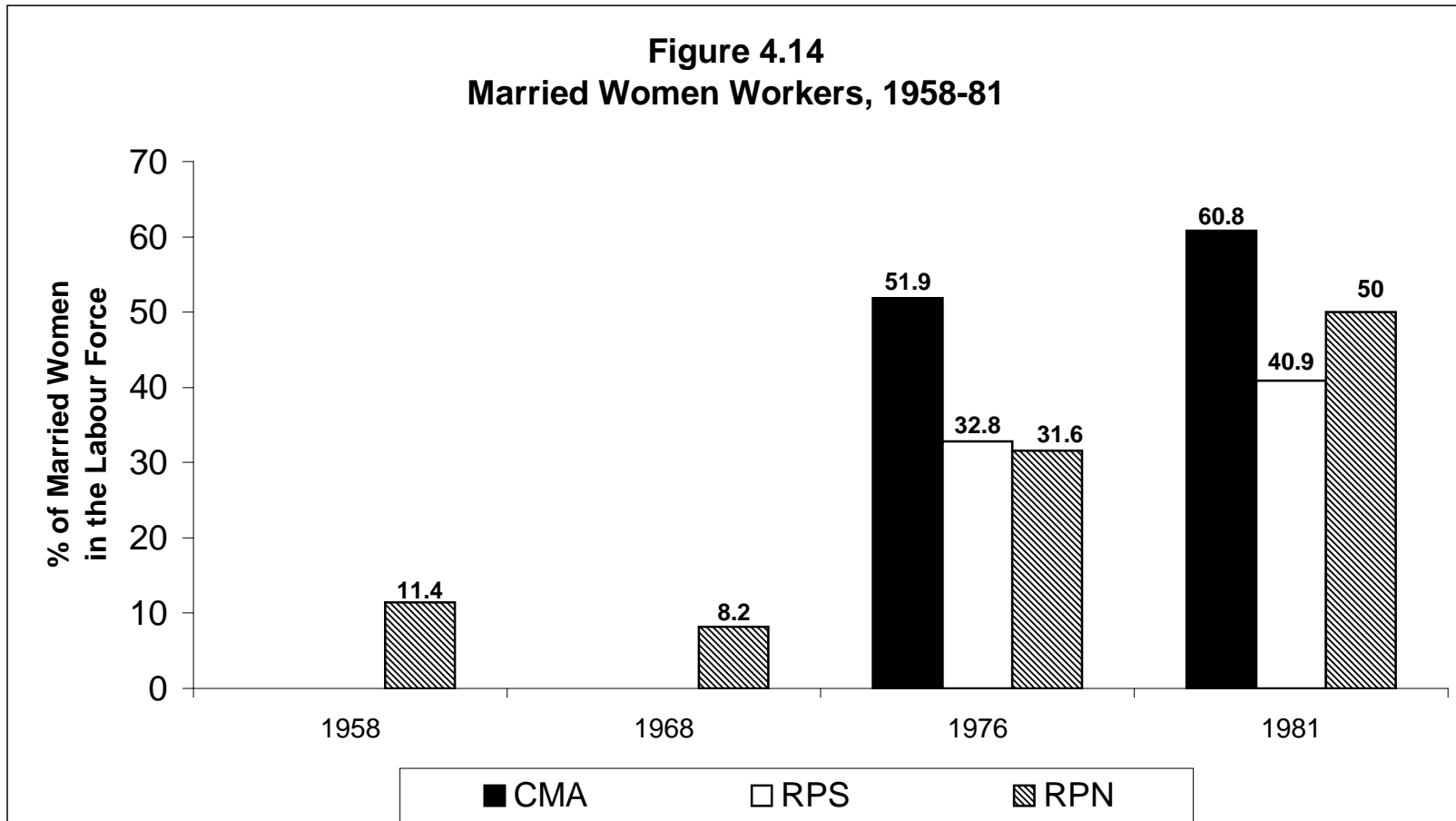
Sources: DBS and Statscan, Census of Canada, Census Tracts - Toronto, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1976, 1981, 1991. 1971 and 1986 figures for MTHA and LSEA from Murdie, "Social Polarization," Tables 9.4 and 9.5, 316-318.



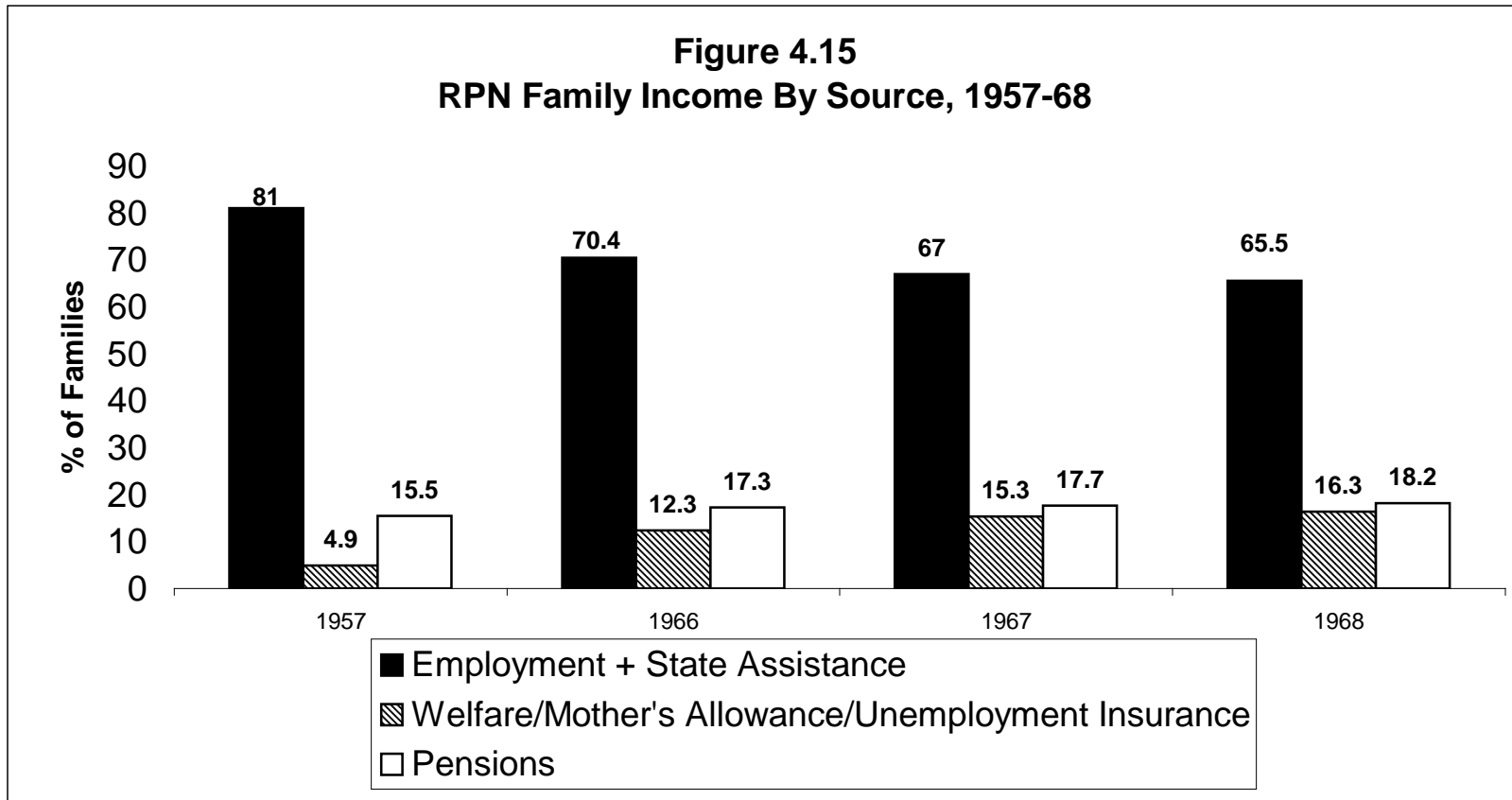
Sources: DBS and Statscan, Census of Canada, Census Tracts - Toronto, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1976, 1981, 1991. 1971 and 1986 figures for MTHA and LSEA from Murdie, "Social Polarization," Tables 9.4 and 9.5, 316-318.



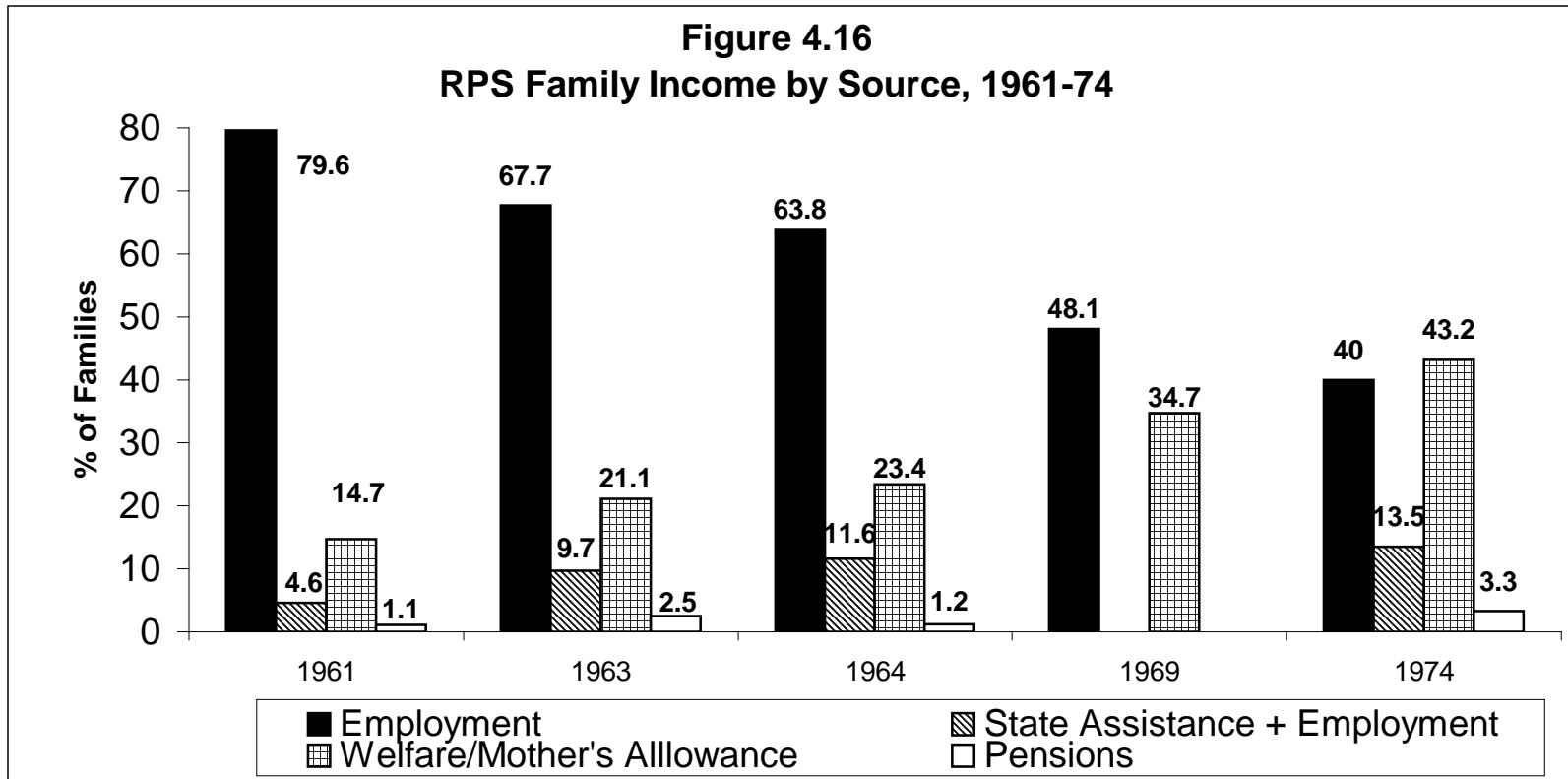
Sources: Statscan, Census of Canada, Census Tracts - Toronto, 1981, 1991.



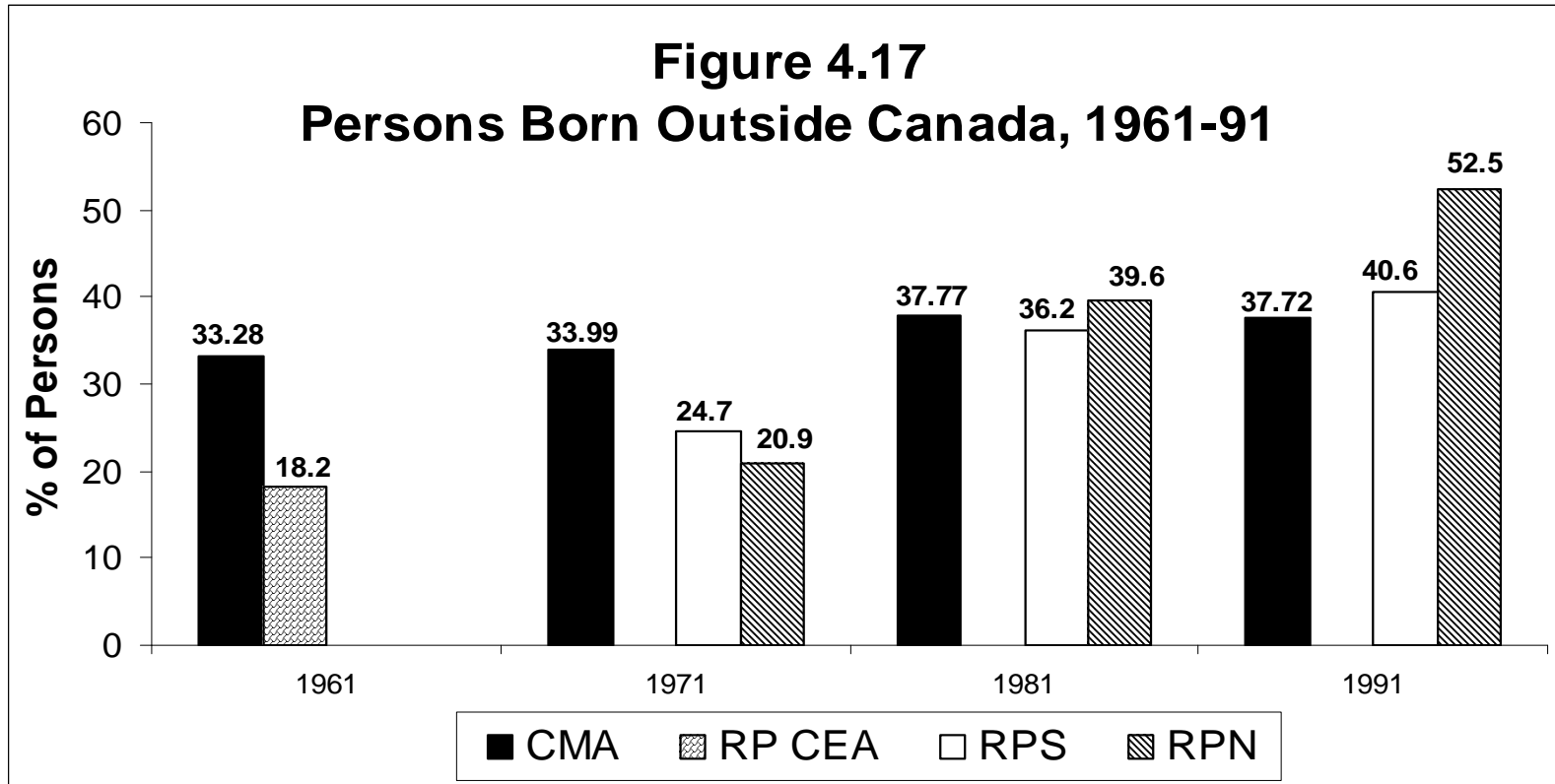
Source: 1958 RPN: CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, Box 26, File: Rentals, 1947-61, Questionnaire of the Committee to Study the Federal-Provincial Rental Scale, 1 October 1958; 1968 RPN: CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, Box 32, File: Housing Authority Statistics, 1965-68, HAT, Regent Park (North) Statistics 1968. All other figures from Statscan, Census of Canada, Census Tracts - Toronto, 1976 and 1981.



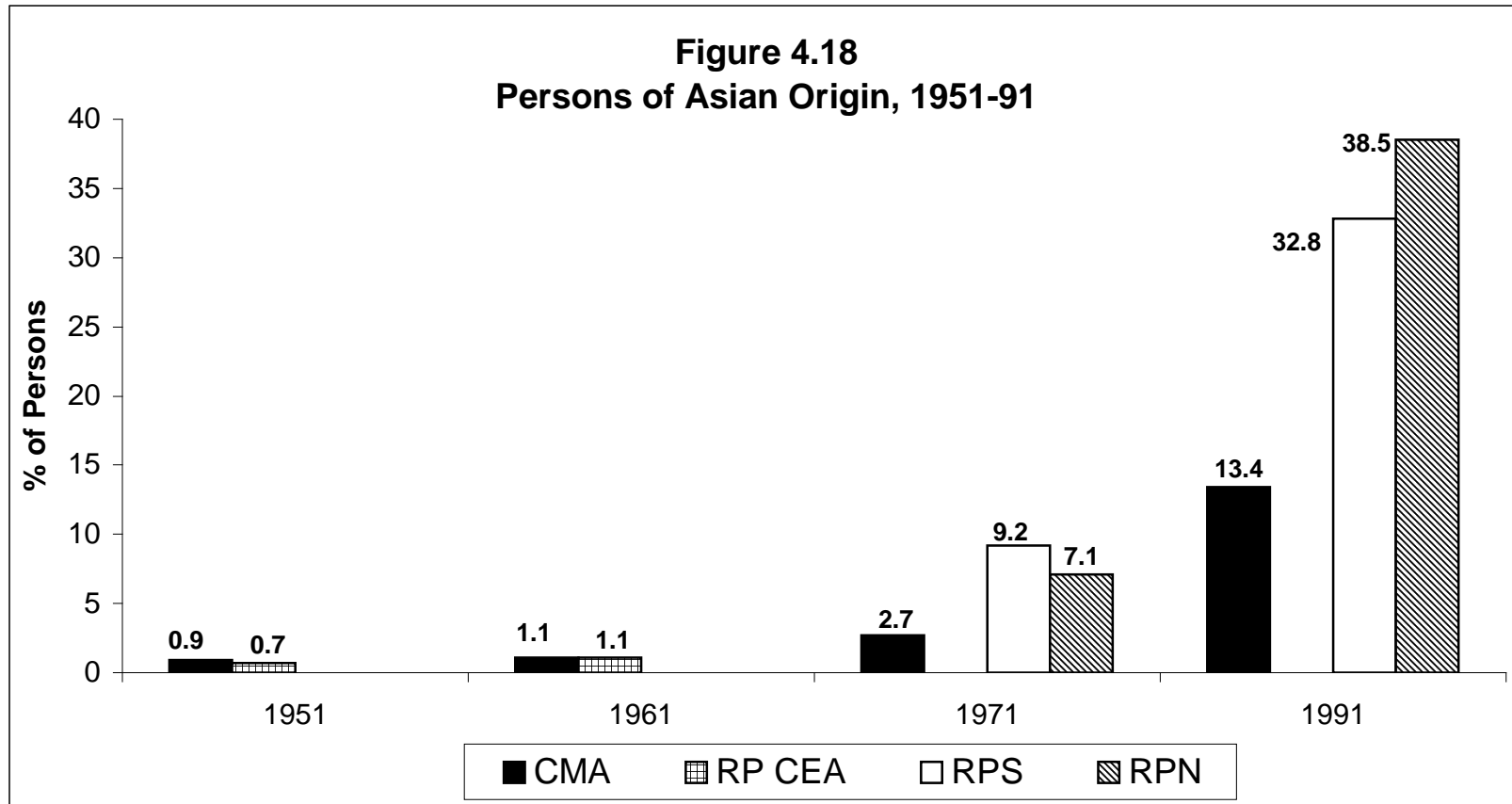
Sources: 1957: CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, File: Rentals, 1947-61, Statistics Re: Regent Park North Housing Project As of May 1, 1957; 1966-68: CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, Box 32, File: Housing Authority-Statistics, 1965-1968, Housing Authority of Toronto, Regent Park (North) Statistics 1966, 1967, 1968.



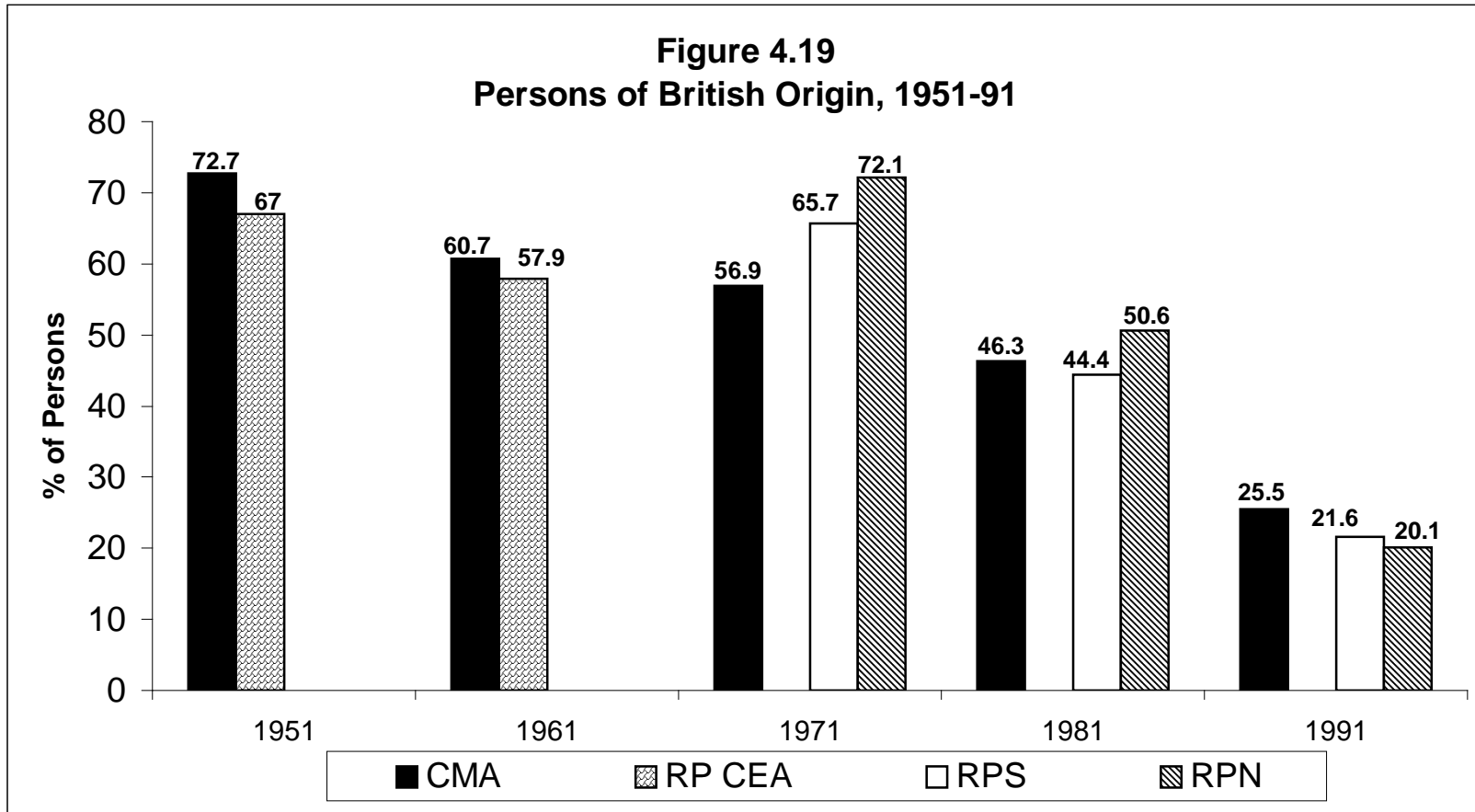
Sources: 1961: MTHA, *Annual Report 1960-1961*; 1963: CTA, Harold Clark Papers (HCP), SC 61, Box 1, File: Minutes of the MTHA, 1963, MTHA, Welfare and Unemployment Statistics, 1963; 1964: CTA, HCP, Box 2, File: MTHA – Correspondence and Minutes, 1962-64, Welfare and Unemployment Statistics, 1964; 1969: 1969 RPS PAO, OHC, RG 44-19-1, Box 10, File: B1-20-1, Ontario Housing Corporation Statistics found in Regent Park Community Improvement Association Grant Application, August 20, 1969; 1974 figures cited in Donald Drackley, “Public Housing and Related Juvenile Delinquency in the Province of Ontario,” BA Thesis, Urban Planning, Ryerson Polytechnical University, 1975.



Sources: DBS and Statscan, Census of Canada, Census Tracts - Toronto, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991.



Source: DBS and Statscan, Census of Canada, Census Tracts - Toronto, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991. In 1951-61, the census category used was "Asiatic"; in 1971 "Asian,,"; in 1991, the figure Asian includes Chinese, East Indian and Vietnamese. The latter figures were adapted from Mark Edward Pfeifer, "Community, Adaptation and the Vietnamese in Toronto," Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Toronto, 1999, Online Version, unpaginated, Table 6.2.

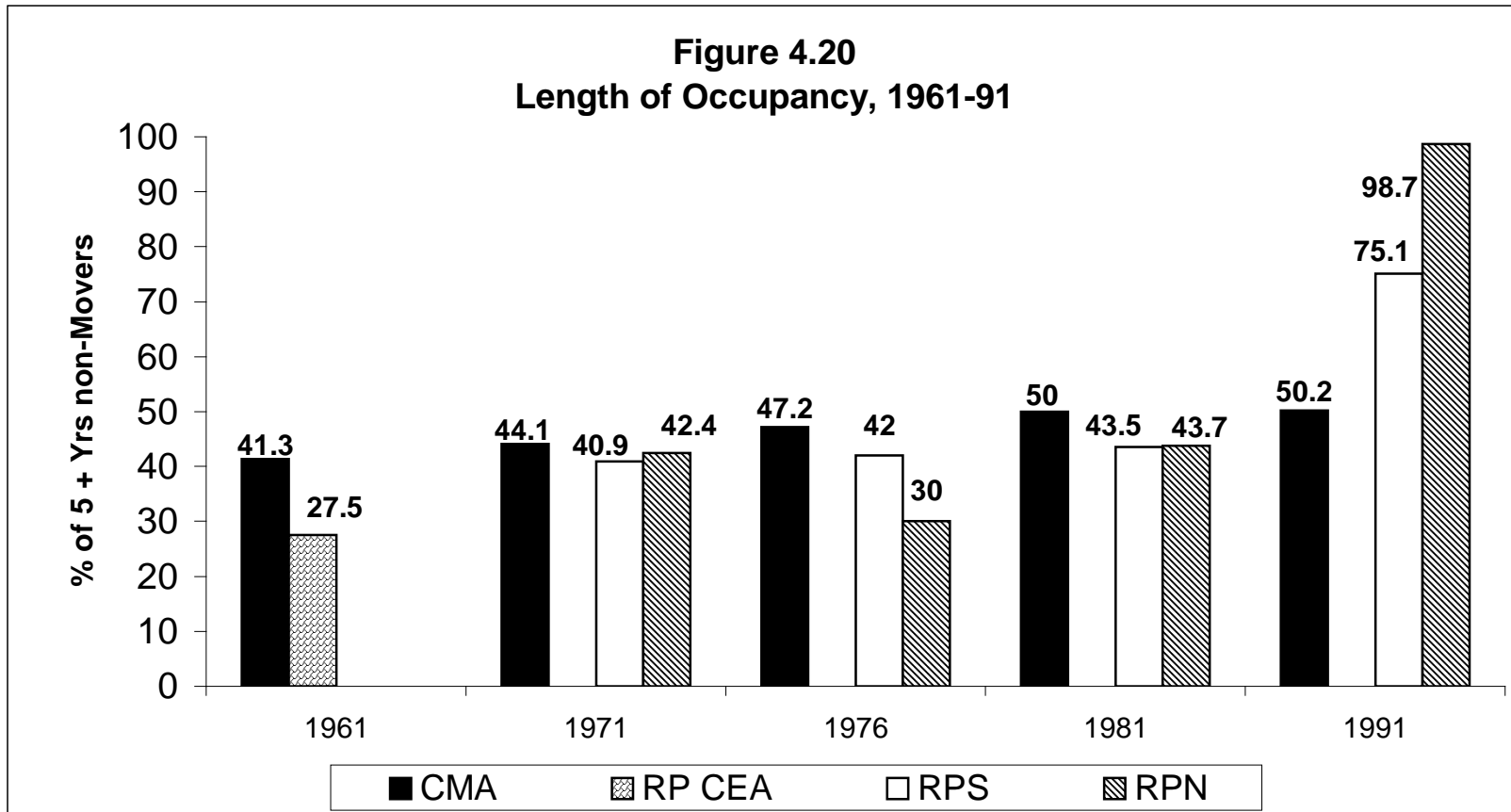


Source: DBS and Statscan, Census of Canada, Census Tracts - Toronto, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991.

**Table 4.3 Ethnic Composition %
RPS, RPN X CMA , 1991**

	CMA	RPS	RPN
British	25.5	21.2	20.1
French	1.8	4.1	0.9
Italian	10.6	0	0.6
Canadian	9.1	6.2	5
Chinese	7.9	23	25.4
East Indian	4.8	1.8	2.4
Black	4.3	15.3	8.4
Vietnamese	1	8	10.7

Source: Statscan, Census of Canada, Census Tracts – Toronto, 1991; and Pfeiffer, Table 6.2. The figures include those who specifically stated single ethnic origins and therefore does not include those who stated multiple origins.



Sources: DBS and Statscan, Census of Canada, Census Tracts - Toronto, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991. The figures represent the percentage of people who lived in the same dwelling for six years or more at the time of the 1961 and 1971 censuses and five years or more at the time of the 1981 and 1991 censuses.

Notes to Chapter 4

¹ Smith and Ross cited in Warren Gerard, "Regent Park battles its 'hopeless slum' image," *Toronto Star*, 19 March 1975, 1.

² John Sewell, *Houses and Homes: Housing for Canadians* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1994), 138-139.

³ Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (hereafter CMHC), *Evaluation of the Public Housing Program* (Toronto: CMHC, Toronto Branch, 1990), 26-27.

⁴ Murdie notes that the trend of social polarization between public housing tenants and general populations has also been found in Britain, the United States, France and Japan. Robert Murdie, "Social Polarization and Public Housing in Canada: A Case Study of the Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority," in Frances Frisken, ed., *The Changing Canadian Metropolis: A Public Policy Perspective*, Vol.1 (Berkeley and Toronto: Institute of Governmental Studies Press and the Canadian Urban Institute, 1994), 298. On the British case, see Rosalind Edwards and Simon Duncan, "Supporting the family: lone mothers, paid work and the underclass debate," *Critical Social Policy*, 53 (1997), 29-49 and L.D. Morris, "Is There a British Underclass?" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 17 (September 1993), 413-428.

⁵ Loïc Wacquant employs this useful term in "Red Belt, Black Belt: Racial Division, Class Inequality and the State in the French Urban Periphery and the American Ghetto," in Enzo Mingione, ed., *Urban Poverty and the Underclass: A Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 237.

⁶ On the "underclass" and related topics note Michael Katz, "The Urban "Underclass"" as a Metaphor of Social Transformation," and David W. Bartelt, "Housing the "Underclass," both in Michael Katz, ed., *The "Underclass" Debate: Views From History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 3-23, 119-157; Peter Marcuse, "Space and Race in the Post-Fordist City: The Outcast Ghetto and Advanced Homelessness in the United States Today," in Mingione, ed., *Urban Poverty and the Underclass*, 176-216; David Ley and Heather Smith, "Is there an immigrant "underclass" in Canadian cities?," Working Paper #97-08, Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis, Working Paper Series, Vancouver Centre of Excellence, Simon Fraser University, October 1997, 1-45.

⁷ Loïc Wacquant, "Three Pernicious premises in the study of the American ghetto," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 21 (June 1997), 348.

⁸ For particularly insightful critiques note Wacquant, "Three Pernicious Premises," and "Red Belt, Black Belt"; H.J. Gans, "The dangers of the underclass: its harmfulness as a planning concept," in H.J. Gans, *People, plans and policies: essays on poverty, racism, and other national urban problems* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991); Harald Bauder, "Neighbourhood Effects and Cultural Exclusion," *Urban Studies*, 39, 1 (2002), 85-93. For similar analyses in the case of Brazil, note Luiz Cesar de Queiroz Ribeiro and Luciana Corrêa do Lago, "The Favela/(Formal) Neighbourhood Contrast in the Social Space of Rio de Janeiro," *DISP Online* 147 (2001), 39-47.

⁹ On the extent of poverty in Canada see Abdolmohammad Kazemipur "Ecology of Deprivation: Spatial Concentration of Poverty in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Regional Science*, 23 (Autumn/automne 2000), 403-426 and Eric Fong and Kumiko Shibuya, "The Spatial Separation of the Poor in Canadian Cities," *Demography*, 37 (November 2000), Table 1.

¹⁰ Ley and Smith, "Is There an Immigrant Underclass?," 1-5 on the *Calgary Herald's* use of the term. For more ill-informed and, often ideologically laden, uses of the concept of "underclass" in the Canadian context note, *inter alia*, David Frum, "Chretien's plan for a Canadian underclass," *National Post*, 16 December 2000, Online Edition, www.nationalpost.com (15 January 2003); Human Resources Development Canada, "Social Outlook: Five Crucial Challenges for Canadians", *Applied Research Bulletin*, 2 (Summer 1995), Online Edition, www.hrdc-drhc.gc.ca/sp-ps/arb-dgra/publications/bulletin/vol1n2/e/v1n2_01e.shtml (15 January 2003); Michael Hatfield, "Concentrations of Poverty and Distressed Neighbourhoods in Canada," Applied Research Branch, Strategic Policy, Human Resources Development Canada, Working Paper 97-1E, 1997. Well-intentioned advocates of the poor also frequently (mis) use the term. For instance, Maude Barlow, "Globalization and the future of work," Speaking Notes, National Consultation on Career Development Conference, 26 January 2000, <http://www.canadians.org> (July 7, 2002) and the Canadian Council on Social Development, "Open Letter to the Prime Minister," 16 January 2001, www.ccsd.ca (7 July 2002).

¹¹ Ley and Smith, "Is There an Immigrant Underclass?," 23.

¹² This quote, by Diane Reay and Helen Lucy, refers to the similarly skewed public discourse about British council housing residents. See their path-breaking article, “‘I don’t really like it here but I don’t want to be anywhere else’: Children and Inner City Council Estates,” *Antipode*, 32 (October 2000), 411.

¹³ Norman Feltes, “The New Prince in a New Principality: OCAP and the Toronto Poor,” *Labour/Le Travail*, no. 48 (Fall 2001), 136.

¹⁴ CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, Boxes 29-30. See note 187 in Chapter 1 for an explanation of the use of these files under Access to Information Guidelines.

¹⁵ One of the key aims of the Census of Canada in constituting enumeration areas is homogeneity “in terms of economic status and social living conditions.” Statistics Canada (hereafter Statscan), *Census of Canada 1981* (Ottawa: Statscan, 1981), iii. Also consult, Murdie, “Social Polarization,” 309.

¹⁶ Household numbers based on Dominion Bureau of Statistics (DBS), *Census of Canada 1961* (Ottawa: DBS, 1961); Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority (MTHA), *Annual Report 1959* (Toronto: MTHA, 1959); Housing Authority of Toronto, *A Review of Progress, 1947-1964* (Toronto: City of Toronto, 1965), 9-10.

¹⁷ Murdie, “Social Polarization,” 312.

¹⁸ Murdie, “Social Polarization,” Tables 9.3-9.5.

¹⁹ Published in Canadian Organization of Public Housing Tenants, *The Raised Roof*, 3 (Nov-Dec.1974), 2.

²⁰ For examples see Albert Rose, *Regent Park: A Study in Slum Clearance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), 217-220; HAT, *Review of Progress*, 4, 11-14,18; MTHA, *Annual Report 1960-61*, unpaginated. Also see Annalee Golz, “Family Matters: the Canadian Family and the State in the Postwar Period,” *left history*, 1 (Fall 1993), 9-50. On the historiography of family history in Canada, see Comacchio, “‘The History of Us’, 167-220.

²¹ David Allen, “To its youngsters Regent Park South is a place to wreck,” *Toronto Star*, 9 December 1968, 1, 7.

²² Larry Quinto, letter to the author, 2 January 2002.

²³ Bartelt finds that large number of children is an important complicating factor in the growth of black poverty in the United States. “Housing the ‘Underclass’,” 121-122.

²⁴ On sole-support parents see Margaret Little, “A Litmus Test for Democracy: The Impact of Ontario Welfare Changes on Single Mothers,” *Studies in Political Economy*, 66 (August 2001), 9-36. As Little and Morrison show, sole-support parent families have extremely low incomes and the vast majority are headed by women. “‘The Pecker Detectors are Back’: Regulation of the Family Form in Ontario Welfare Policy,” *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 34 (Summer 1999), 112.

²⁵ Murdie, “Social Polarization,” Table 9.5, 318.

²⁶ D.W. Livingstone and Peter H. Sawchuk, “Beyond Cultural Capital Theory: Hidden Dimensions of Working Class Learning,” *The Review of Education/Pedagogy/Cultural Studies*, 22, no.2 (2000), 121-146.

²⁷ As Livingstone argues, Canada leads the world in levels of post-secondary education even though the benefits of educational achievement are disproportionately reaped by the affluent. See *Working and Learning in the Information Age: A Canadian Profile* (Toronto: The Canadian Policy Research Networks, 2000).

²⁸ “Children peer into selves in frank study,” *Toronto Star*, 14 March 1966, 31.

²⁹ The indexes are based on Murdie, “Social Polarization,” 314.

³⁰ On the loss of stable, well-paid manufacturing jobs and their replacement by various forms of casual and part-time work in Canada, consult Henry Veltmeyer and James Sacouman, “The Political Economy of Part-Time Work,” *Studies in Political Economy*, 56 (Summer 1998), 115-144.

³¹ Warren Gerard, “Regent Park battles its ‘hopeless slum’ image,” 1, 5.

³² Murdie, “Social Polarization,” Table 9.5, 318. On the strong correlation between child poverty and lone-parent families, see Don Kerr and Roderic Beaujot, “Child Poverty and Family Structure in Canada,” Discussion Paper No. 01-7, Population Studies Centre, University of Western Ontario, May 2001, <http://www.ssc.uwo.ca/sociology/popstudies/dp/dp01-7.pdf> (5 May 2002).

³³ As with other variables, labour force participation rates (LFP) in Regent Park for men and women were only slightly lower in 1951 but widened to considerable rates by 1991. LFP rates measure the percentage of the population who are in the labour force. As such, it excludes seniors, the disabled and persons still in school. For men, LFP rates decreased from 83 per cent in 1951 to approximately 60 per cent in Regent Park South and Regent Park North. On the other hand, they increased slightly for women from 27.5 per cent in

1951 to 44.6 and 37.5 in the southern and northern sections, respectively, in 1991. A similar gap prevailed in LFP rates for young workers. See DBS and Statscan, *Census of Canada 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991* (Ottawa: DBS and Statscan, 1951-1991).

³⁴ On the economic “strategies” of working-class families in the late 19th, early and mid-20th centuries, respectively, see Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Suzanne Morton, *Ideal Surroundings: Domestic Life in a Working-Class Suburb in the 1920s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); Neil Sutherland, *Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada from the Great War to the Age of Television* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

³⁵ City of Toronto Archives (hereafter CTA), Housing Authority of Toronto Papers (hereafter HAT), RG 28, B, Box 41, File: Tenancy Information, Summary of Income and Family Size, 1 May 1952.

³⁶ CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, Box 36, File: Board of Control Correspondence, 1949-55, Survey of Families Whose Housing Was Being Demolished to Make Way for Buildings 5-7, 7 June 1949.

³⁷ See the tables for 1965-68 in CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, Box 32, File: Housing Authority Statistics, 1965-1968, HAT, Regent Park (North) Statistics 1966, 1967, 1968.

³⁸ For details on evictions for failing to report income and other reasons in Regent Park North consult CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, Box 25, File: 1957-1966 Regent Park North, Analysis of Vacancies from January 1 1961 to May 1, 1961 Inclusive, Regent Park North. For evictions in the 1950s for these reasons, see Rose, “Regent Park,” 176-77 and for memories of this from Cabbagetown residents see the memoir “Law and Disorder in Cabbagetown,” on the Cabbagetown Chronicles website, www.geocities.com/Hollywood/Club/7400 (18 October, 2002). On claims that some residents were involved in “fencing” stolen goods, see “This boy has risen above the slum life,” *Toronto Star*, 9 December 1968, 7. On claims of tenant bootlegging – the illegal sale of alcohol – see CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, Box 29, Tenant Case File No. 50.

³⁹ See the National Film Board (hereafter NFB) of Canada documentary, *Return to Regent Park*, dir. Bay Weyman (Montreal: NFB, 1994).

⁴⁰ On lack of money for allowances, see Ellie Teshler, “But Dad, a kid can’t live on 50 cents a week,” *Toronto Daily Star*, 4 February 1977, E1.

⁴¹ On babysitting see the memoirs of Patricia Crofts-Lagree, “My Time In Cabbagetown,” *Cabbagetown Memories* website; Thelma Pilkey, interview with author, tape recorded, Lakefield, Ontario, 21 March 1996. On babysitting and part-time work in stores, see Taida Hambleton, letter to the author, 18 January 1996.

⁴² See Gwyn Thomas and Bob Graham, “Body Was Drowned in a Sink,” *Toronto Star*, 2 August 1977, 1; “Friction Disappears as Regent Park cheers its police,” *Toronto Star*, 6 August 1977, A6.

⁴³ Taida Hambleton, letter to the author.

⁴⁴ See Taida Hambleton, letter to the author; Thelma Pilkey, interview with author; AG, interview with author, tape recorded, Toronto, 18 May 1995 and Chris, Jackie and Susie Reading, interview with author, tape recorded, Toronto, 27 November 1994. On the use of “hand-me-down” and second-hand clothes in Regent Park, note Stasia Evasuk and Bonnie Cornell, “Big Families Find Clothing East Up Baby Bonuses,” *Toronto Daily Star*, 12 July 1971, 45. On vegetable growing see Peter Rickman, “Single mothers harvest pride with city-grown vegetables,” *Toronto Star*, 19 August 1984, A3 and Paula Todd, “Moms in Regent Park celebrate harvest of joy,” *Toronto Star*, 14 August 1987, A2.

⁴⁵ Chris Reading, interview with author.

⁴⁶ “500 families catch 5 tons of fish,” *Toronto Star*, 23 January 1975, C1.

⁴⁷ See, for instance, the story of resident Carol Walsh in Michelle Osborn, “Regent Park celebrates 50 years of caring about its neighbours,” *Toronto Star*, 4 July 1998, A6.

⁴⁸ Personal observations by the author from 1992-1999.

⁴⁹ “Soup kitchen in Regent Park serves up first meal,” *Toronto Star*, 14 August 1985, A7. For a sampling of social service agencies active in Regent Park, see various issues of the *Regent Park Community News*, 1969-1978. For recent activities see Kerry Gillespie, “Don’t forget the city’s poor, summit urged,” *Toronto Star*, 21 June 2002, Online Edition, www.thestar.com (15 January 2003).

⁵⁰ “Services Unit Celebrates Second Anniversary,” *Regent Park Community News*, 1 (December 1972), 5.

⁵¹ Toronto Board of Education Archives, Reports File, Duke of York School and Community, “A Brief to the Toronto Board of Education Regarding Future Program Development at Duke of York School,”

undated, probably late 1970s; Richard Harris and Michael Mercer, "A test for geographers: the geography of educational achievement in Toronto and Hamilton, 1997," *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe Canadien*, 44, no. 3 (2000), 217.

⁵² On this typical mixture of various forms of economic activity among poor urban dwellers in major American cities see Loïc Wacquant, "Scrutinizing the Street: Poverty, Morality and the Pitfalls of Urban Ethnography," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 107 (Spring 2002). For a suggestive theoretical discussion of how households manage to use both cash and non-cash sources to meet their shelter needs, see David Hulchanski and J.H. Milchalski, "How Households Obtain Resources to Meet Their Needs: The Shifting Mix of Cash and Non-Cash Sources," Unpublished Paper, Housing New Canadians, Research Working Group, 1995.

⁵³ Murdie, "Social Polarization," 297-298.

⁵⁴ CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, Box 32, File: Housing Authority-Statistics, 1965-1968, Regent Park (North) Statistics 1966, 1967, 1968.

⁵⁵ Little and Morrison, "The Pecker Detectors Are Back," 112.

⁵⁶ Ley and Smith, "Is There an Immigrant Underclass?," 35.

⁵⁷ Statscan, *Census of Canada 1981* (Ottawa: Statscan, 1981); Sewell, *Houses and Homes*, 140.

⁵⁸ Murdie, "Social Polarization," Table 9.5, 318.

⁵⁹ Paul Ringer, *The Social Implications of Public Housing in Metropolitan Toronto* (Toronto: MTHA, 1963), chaps. IV-V.

⁶⁰ Rose, "Regent Park," 224.

⁶¹ CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, Box 25, File: 1957-66 Regent Park North, General File, "Analysis of Vacancies from January 1, 1961 to May 1, 1961 Inclusive."

⁶² Statistics from 1965-67 found in CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, Box 32, File: Housing Authority-Statistics, 1965-1968, "Regent Park (North) Statistics 1966, 1967, 1968."

⁶³ Kevin Brushett, "'Blots on the Face of the City': the politics of slum housing and urban renewal in Toronto," Ph.D. Thesis, Queen's University, 2001, chaps. 4-6; Marcuse, "Space and Race," 189; Richard Harris, "Housing," in Trudi Bunting and Pierre Filion, eds., *Canadian Cities in Transition: the twenty-first century*, 2nd ed., (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2000), 372.

⁶⁴ As Kevin Brushett notes, concern about escalating costs was one of the reasons for the Hellyer Task Force. In the same period, the federal government began to cut back on its urban renewal and housing investments. See Brushett, "'Blots on the face of the city,'" 595. By the mid-1970s, there was great concern over the minute details of the costs of assisted housing. See the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department (hereafter MTPD), *Assisted Housing Study* (Toronto: MTPS, 1977), Tables T.22.1- T.24.

⁶⁵ J.B.S. Rose, "Change to Rent Scale?" *Regent Park Community News*, 2 (June 1972), 5; Sewell, *Houses and Homes*, 162-163.

⁶⁶ David Hulchanski and Glen Drover, "Housing Subsidies in a Period of Restraint: The Canadian Experience," in W. Van Vliet, ed., *Housing Markets and Policies Under Fiscal Austerity* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987).

⁶⁷ Marcuse, "Space and Race," 189-90. On cutbacks to public housing subsidies by CMHC, see "Ottawa cutback for housing body seen hitting the poor," *Toronto Star*, 23 March 1977, C8. Also consult Alan Sears, "The 'Lean' State and Capitalist Restructuring: Towards a Theoretical Account," *Studies in Political Economy*, 60 (Summer 1999), 91-114

⁶⁸ See Neil Tanner, "From the Desk of the President," *Regent Park Community News*, 3 (March 1973), 2; Regent Park Community Improvement Association (RPCIA), *By the People: Evaluation of Regent Park Community Improvement Association, 1969-1973* (Ottawa: Department of Health and Welfare, 1973), 67-73. The author would like to thank Norma Penner for loaning a copy of this report.

⁶⁹ For selective figures, see CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, Box 1, File: A-B 1948-1959, Frank Dearlove to Gordon Ames, 10 February 1956; MTHA, *Annual Report 1960-61*, unpaginated; MTHA, "Report on Survey of Family Housing Applications on File," (Toronto: MTHA, 1969), 1; John Sewell, "Trapped by Inaction," *Now Magazine*, 299 (29 Sept-5 Oct.1988), 11; Housing Connections Central Registry Report cited in Jack Lakey, "22-year wait for some low-cost housing," *Toronto Star*, 13 July 1998, B5.

⁷⁰ For the extremely well-documented housing affordability problems of low-income families in Toronto from the 1970s to 1990s see Jeffrey Patterson and Patricia Streich, *A Review of Canadian Social Housing Policy* (Toronto: Canadian Council on Social Development, 1977); Sewell, *Houses and Homes*, 34, chaps.

2, 11; Robert A. Murdie and Carlos Teixeira, *Towards a Comfortable Neighbourhood and Appropriate Housing: Immigrant Experiences in Toronto*, CERIS Working Paper No. 10, 1999, 1-75.

⁷¹ I owe this general argument to Alvin Finkel.

⁷² John Sewell, *Houses and Homes*, 18; J.D. Hulchanski, *The use of housing expenditure-to-income ratios: Origins, evolution and implications* (Toronto: Ontario Human Rights Commission, 1994); CMHC, *Compendium of Rent to Income Scales in Use in Public Housing and Rent Supplement Programmes in Canada* (Ottawa: CMHC, 1980), 2.

⁷³ Brushett, "'Blots on the Face of the City,'" 158-59, 276.

⁷⁴ CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, Box 36, File: Correspondence Board of Control, 1949-55, Survey of Families Whose Housing Was Being Demolished to Make Way for Buildings 5-7, 7 June 1949.

⁷⁵ A 1953 thesis on public housing and health interviewed what was considered a representative sample of 62 tenants in Regent Park North. The majority were manufacturing workers. Helena Toews, "The Relationship of Public Health and Public Housing in the Regent Park Housing Project," Master's of Social Work Thesis, University of Toronto, 1953, 63.

⁷⁶ CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, Boxes 29-30, Tenant Case Files.

⁷⁷ Pierre Filion and Dennis Mock, "Manufacturing in Canadian Cities," in Trudi Bunting and Pierre Filion, eds., *Canadian Cities in Transition*, 1st Ed., 417.

⁷⁸ Filion and Mock, "Manufacturing in Canadian Cities," Table 16.1, 413. Automobile ownership never surpassed 30 per cent of families in Regent Park before 1971 and the vast majority of workers in both sections of the project worked within the City of Toronto, often within 3-5 miles of the project. Automobile ownership figures for Regent Park can be found in DBS and Statscan, *Census of Canada, 1951, 1961, 1971*. On location of employment for Regent Park South in 1961 and Regent Park North in 1968 see MTHA, *Annual Report 1960-61*, unpaginated and City of Toronto Development Department, *Regent Park North: Canada's Premier Housing Redevelopment Project* (Toronto: City of Toronto, 1971), 17. In 1961, 67.2 per cent of workers in Regent Park South used public transportation to travel to work. MTHA, *Annual Report 1960-1961*, unpaginated. On the changing labour markets of inner-city Toronto note David Ley, *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), chaps. 3-4; James Lemon, *Liberal Dreams and Nature's Limits* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996), 249-50.

⁷⁹ In the 1960s, more and more applications for public housing appear to have been motivated by the desire to escape from abusive men. Robert Bradley, Regent Park North manager, claimed that applications from "broken families," 98 per cent of them women and the majority fleeing abuse, increased over 100 per cent in 1965. CTA, HAT, RG 28, B, Box 8, File: 1965-1968 C, Robert Bradley to ADM, 25 August 1965.

⁸⁰ Margaret Little, *No Car, No Radio, No Liquor Permit: The Moral Regulation of Single Mothers in Ontario, 1920-1997* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998), 142-143.

⁸¹ *The Limits of Affluence: Welfare in Ontario, 1920-1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 235. For a personal story about the inadequacy of welfare benefits for one Regent Park family, note Bonnie Cornell, "Jobless family of five has to eat on \$16 a week," *Toronto Daily Star*, 27 May 1970, 69.

⁸² On lack of affordable daycare opportunities in Regent Park see Susan Anderson, "Volunteers will teach skills to bored mothers in hostel," *Globe and Mail*, 15 December 1967, 29. In 1971, the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto complained that there was a substantial waiting list for the meagre daycare offered in Regent Park South. Metropolitan Toronto Archives (hereafter MTA), R.G. 5.1 86.4 vol.3, File: Nursery and Day Care Centres – Regent Park South Day Care, January 1963-March 1971, Donna Snipper to John Anderson, Commissioner, Department of Social Services, 24 March 1971.

⁸³ Little and Morrison, "The Pecker Detectors Are Back," 112. On baby bonuses see Bill Schiller, "Planned baby bonus curbs worry single moms," *Toronto Star*, 7 July 1985, A14.

⁸⁴ Murdie and Teixeira, *Towards a Comfortable Neighbourhood*, 35.

⁸⁵ Robert Murdie, "'Blacks in Near-ghettos?' Black Visible Minority Population in Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority Public Housing Units," *Housing Studies*, 9 (1994), 435-457.

⁸⁶ Mark Edward Pfeifer, "Community, Adaptation and the Vietnamese in Toronto," PhD, University of Toronto, 1999, 86-97.

⁸⁷ Letter from Doug Holland, President, Ontario Federation of Food Co-Operatives and Clubs Inc., to the *Toronto Star*, 25 June 1980, A9; "Regent Park residents try out co-op shopping," *Toronto Star*, 20 February 1983, A3; Janice Turner, "Regent Park mothers seeking more full-service grocery stores," *Toronto Star*, 11 June 1984, D7.

⁸⁸ Cited in Bob Pomerantz, "We're short on service, Regent Park residents say," *Toronto Star*, 30 March 1981, A3.

⁸⁹ Harald Bauder, "Neighbourhood Effects and Cultural Exclusion," 85-93.

⁹⁰ Wacquant, "Red Belt, Black Belt," 240.

⁹¹ David Allen, "Regent Park called colossal flop," *Toronto Star*, 7 December 1968, 1; Glen Allen, "'Cures' for Regent Park range from rebuilding to adult-only policy," *Toronto Star*, 14 December 1968, 3, 7; Larry Quinto, letter to the author; Hellyer, *Report of the Federal Task Force*, 61.

⁹² "Park School's time running out," *Toronto Star*, 22 May 1982, H1-2.

⁹³ Margaret Mays, Felies Einhorn and William Barlow, "Buddy, Can You Spare A Job?: Youth Unemployment in a Low-Income Area of Toronto," (Toronto: Canada Manpower, 1978); "Regent Park Study says at least 70 percent out of work," *Toronto Star*, 11 July 1978, A2.

⁹⁴ Carolyn Bennett, "Black like Clement Virgo," *Eye Magazine*, Online Edition, 19 May 1994 (August 15, 2002). For a similar comment, see Regent Park tenant Ozzie Smith cited in Gerard, "Regent Park battles its 'hopeless slum' image."

⁹⁵ For a discussion of how working-class kids were frequently denied a decent education through biased "streaming," see R.D. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 42-43. On the adverse health conditions among poor people, see the comments by Alan Tai-Wai Li, one of the staff doctors at the Regent Park Community Health Center: "It surprises me every day — the complexity of the human condition and how nonclinical conditions affect health" cited in "An activist in practice and politics," *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 165, no.4 (2001), 512.

⁹⁶ Christene Brown, letter to the author, 5 August 2002.

⁹⁷ Chris Reading, interview with author.

⁹⁸ For instance, see the story of Ainsworth Morgan, a professional football player who after retirement from the Canadian Football League became an elementary school teacher in Regent Park. Andrew Stawicki, "Welcome back, Morgan," *Toronto Star*, 26 May 2001, Online Edition, www.thestar.com, (15 January 2003).

⁹⁹ Cited in Allen, "To its youngsters, Regent Park south is a place to wreck."

¹⁰⁰ On the program note Anne Moon, "Private \$82,000 grant to train, pay parents as teachers' aides," *Toronto Daily Star*, 15 November 1971, 3 and Margaret Daly, "A Rich Foundation helps out poor citizens' groups," *Toronto Daily Star*, 4 April 1972, 8. For evaluations, see Guy Cable, "Park School: The Donner Project," (Toronto: TBOE, 1974), 5-8 and Alan Pomfret, "Parental Intervention and the Process of Planned Social Change in an Inner-City School: Final Evaluation Report on the Donner Project at Park School," (Toronto: TBOE, 1974), 85-86. On tenants' view of the success of the program, see "Park School," *Regent Park Community News*, 1 (May 1972), 4. On the general political climate and the effects of cutbacks, consult R.D. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*, 113-115. On the continuing struggles of Regent Park parents and teachers in the late 1970s against cutbacks, see "Parents, teachers fight for jobs," *Seven News*, 4 May 1979, 2 and "Teachers at Park School can too hack it," *Seven News*, 29 June 1979, 1.

¹⁰¹ Howard Fluxgold, "Joblessness forecast for Park School pupils," *Globe and Mail*, 19 October 1979, 5.

¹⁰² See the comments by black Regent Park teen Marsha Ng-You on the racism she faced in local schools in David Zapparoli, *Regent Park: The Public Experiment in Housing, A Photographic Exhibit at The Market Gallery*, March 13-July 11, 1999 (Toronto: the Author, 1998), 48-53. Henry Clarke, John Woodroof, Lois de Shield, *A Study of Cultural and/or Racial Conflicts in Regent Park* (Toronto: Toronto Board of Education, 1976), 41 also discusses complaints by black Regent Park students against racist teachers, but stresses that such educators were few. Later reports, however, stressed that some teachers had not fully embraced multicultural practices in the classroom leaving some Regent Park parents upset. "Teachers under fire from immigrant parents," *Globe and Mail*, 22 May 1978, 5. A more general study of how racism shapes the educational outcomes of Black students in Toronto can be found in George J. Sefa Dei and Irma Marcia James, "African-Canadian Youth and the Politics of Negotiating Racial and Racialized Identities," *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 1 (March 1998), 91-110.

¹⁰³ Sean Fine, "A Tale of Two Cities," *The Globe and Mail*, 2 July 2001, Online Version, www.globeandmail.com (15 January 2003). On teachers in Regent Park using their own money to buy supplies for their students see Louise Brown, "Rescue our schools, task force told," *Toronto Star*, 28 Sept. 2002, Online Edition, www.thestar.com, (15 January 2003).

¹⁰⁴ This story is told by Nina Corfu, letter to the author.

¹⁰⁵ Howard Fluxgold, "All teachers at city school seek transfers," *Globe and Mail*, 29 May 1979, 1. For more recent cutbacks, see David Crane, "Mindless Tories hurt preschoolers," *Toronto Star*, 3 November 2002, Online Edition, www.thestar.com, (15 January 2003).