

# URBAN PLANNING IN ONTARIO: SOME POINTERS FOR SOUTH AFRICA

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*Earlier studies of the South African system of land use planning and transport planning by the NITRR generated interest in alternative approaches. In Ontario it was found that the urban planning process provided a framework which encouraged three things, namely holistic thinking, the creation of mutually supportive land use and transport policies and responsiveness to community pressures. South Africa could learn that more straightforward governmental hierarchies, a greater understanding of the interdependence of land use and transport and a greater appreciation of the capabilities of private enterprise might lead to more effective planning and development.*

*Vroeër studies deur die NIVPN oor die Suid-Afrikaanse stelsel vir die beplanning van grondgebruik, en vervoer het die belangstelling in alternatiewe benaderings geprikkel. Daar is in Ontario gevind dat die stedelike beplanningsproses 'n raamwerk gebied het wat drie dinge aangemoedig het, naamlik, holistiese denkwysse, die vorming van onderling ondersteunende grondgebruik- en vervoerbeleide, en 'n positiewe gesindheid teenoor druk wat deur die gemeenskap uitgeoefen word. Suid-Afrika kon leer dat meer eenvoudige staatshierargieë, 'n beter begrip van die interafhanklikheid van grondgebruik en vervoer en 'n groter waardering van die bekwaamhede van privaatonderneeming, aanleiding kan gee tot meer doeltreffende beplanning en ontwikkeling.*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Statutory urban planning in South African is limited to land use planning and transport planning. The structure for land use planning has come about in a different way from that for transport planning. Since 1925 town planning has been one of those items delegated to the legislative authority of the then Provincial Councils. The Provincial Councils in turn delegated certain town planning powers to individual local authorities, while retaining a supervisory role for the Provincial Administrations. Central Government has retained (and in some cases taken back) overall urbanisation policy, guide planning, location of industry and other powers by means of various subsequent enactments. As a separate issue, urban transport planning is a relative newcomer to the scene. In terms of the 1977 Urban Transport Act overall power in metropolitan transport planning is retained at Central Government level, while certain functions have been delegated to the

Administrators of the Provinces and to the core cities of designated metropolitan transport areas.

This background points to certain inherent problems of the planning system. These have resulted on the one hand from a lack of explicit development policy and on the other from inadequate coordination of the various aspects of urban land use and transport planning. It is therefore useful to look at a planning system such as that which applies in Ontario, Canada, where these problems have been successfully addressed.

This article deals with three aspects of the question which were studied during the author's visit to Ottawa and Toronto in 1982 (Price, 1985). They are:

- The role of government in the formation of urban land and transport development policy.
- The coordination of land and transport development policy.
- Private sector responses to governmental standpoints.

## 2. THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN THE FORMATION OF URBAN LAND AND TRANSPORT DEVELOPMENT POLICY

In Ontario power is spread among a hierarchy of authorities which operates on four levels: national (federal), provincial, regional and local. The generation of land use policy largely occurs at provincial level as a result of the provisions of the British North America Act, which also enabled the Provinces to delegate power to municipalities. The earliest version of the current Ontario Planning Act was modelled on the American Standard City Planning Act of 1928 (Jaffary and Makuch, 1977:81). When it first came into force in 1946 it brought the concept of official plan preparation to individual municipalities (Bousfield, 1973:1). This concept was later broadened by the creation of regional municipalities at a level between the Province and the area municipalities.

## 2.1 The role of the Federal Government

The Federal Government sees its role fundamentally as that of formulating policy on national issues (Manning, 1980) together with the promotion of such policy among the Provinces and the general public. In the four-level hierarchy the federal role is not a supervisory one.

Environment Canada, the federal department of land use policy, tries to influence the Provinces on broad policy matters wherever possible, but tries to avoid involvement in urban land development control. It tries to fit in with established Provincial urban land use goals.

Transport Canada, the federal department for transport policy, has a small but growing role in urban transportation funding. These funds are channelled through the department's urban transportation assistance programme which sponsors studies, industrial support programmes, transit research and development and demonstration projects. Federal assistance for transit is becoming oriented towards the support of energy- and land-conservation goals (Hallett, 1981:46).

## 2.2 The role of the Provincial Government

The mandate given to the Provinces has enabled the Government of Ontario to legislate comprehensively for urban planning. The principal enactment is the Planning Act which is administered by the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing. This Act provides for five major activities, namely:

- (a) the creation of planning areas and boards;
- (b) the preparation and adoption of official plans and their amendment;
- (c) urban renewal programmes;
- (d) the subdivision of land; and
- (e) the adoption of bylaws dealing with zoning, building and housing standards (Ward, 1977:10).

In terms of the Act planning is mandatory only for metropolitan and regional municipalities. It is not compulsory for the area municipalities (such as cities and boroughs). Yet all 852 municipalities in Ontario have in fact prepared statutory official plans. These official plans are intended to be broad policy statements, whereas zoning bylaws are precise regulations which determine property rights.

Ultimate planning power is vested in the Provincial Cabinet, but there are various inter-departmental channels for liaison on the development of policy about particular issues and for the approval of municipal official plans (Ward:27-40). The Province has power in terms of the Planning Act to define the scope and general purpose of official plans, but in doing so it must have regard particularly to the requirements of the planning area for drainage, land uses, communications and public services. The statutory review and approval processes also influence the content, form and general quality of official plans (Ward:37). During these processes each plan is examined from two broad standpoints, namely:

- (a) Does it reflect the Provincial interest for that area?
- (b) Does it reflect good planning generally?

But "the Provincial interest" is not always explicit, because few policy statements have been issued. Consequently this question raises much debate, often providing opportunity for direct public involvement which in turn sometimes leads to the reformulation of Provincial policy.

A key element in the administration of local government functions is the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB). The OMB is an administrative tribunal which "holds hearings, makes findings of fact and applies policy on a wide variety of municipal planning and financial matters" (Bousfield:23). Although normally responsible to the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing, in practice the OMB enjoys almost complete autonomy. Its powers have been extended to include almost every aspect of municipal finance and development. The OMB is thus a quasi-judicial body which involves the public in the decision-making process. It makes decisions and sends recommendations to the Provincial Government about municipal plan and zoning changes and about municipal borrowing applications. There has been considerable controversy about the Board's powers (Jaffary:83-93), but it is nevertheless a body which is widely respected and valued, both by the general public and by municipalities themselves. Under the revised Planning Act which was under debate at the time of the visit and was enacted in 1983 this measure of esteem

has been consolidated and all OMB decisions have become final and no longer subject to appeal on matters of policy to the Cabinet. Appeals on questions of law, which are made to the Ontario Court of Appeal, are presumably still possible.

The administration of the Planning Act also depends on good liaison among the various departments of the Provincial Government. In this regard the Ministry of Transportation and Communications (MTC) has an important role in providing data on transportation. It is recognised that transportation and land use together affect the strategy of provincial growth and therefore MTC helps the regional municipalities to develop the required transport component of their official plans so that they are compatible with densities and distribution of population and employment (Ward:172).

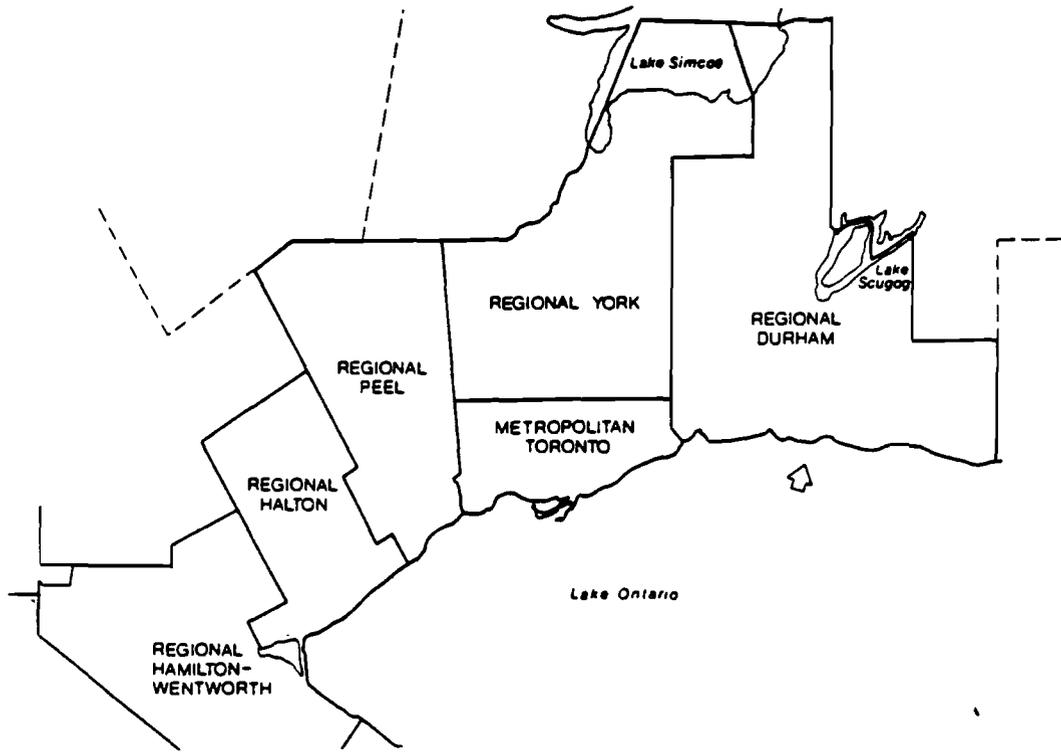
## 2.3 The role of the regional municipalities

The regional municipality has developed as an intermediate tier of government between the Province and the area municipalities since the creation of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto ("Metro") in 1954. Figure 1 shows the regional municipalities which together make up the whole Toronto-centred region, while Figure 2 shows the constituent area municipalities of Metropolitan Toronto.

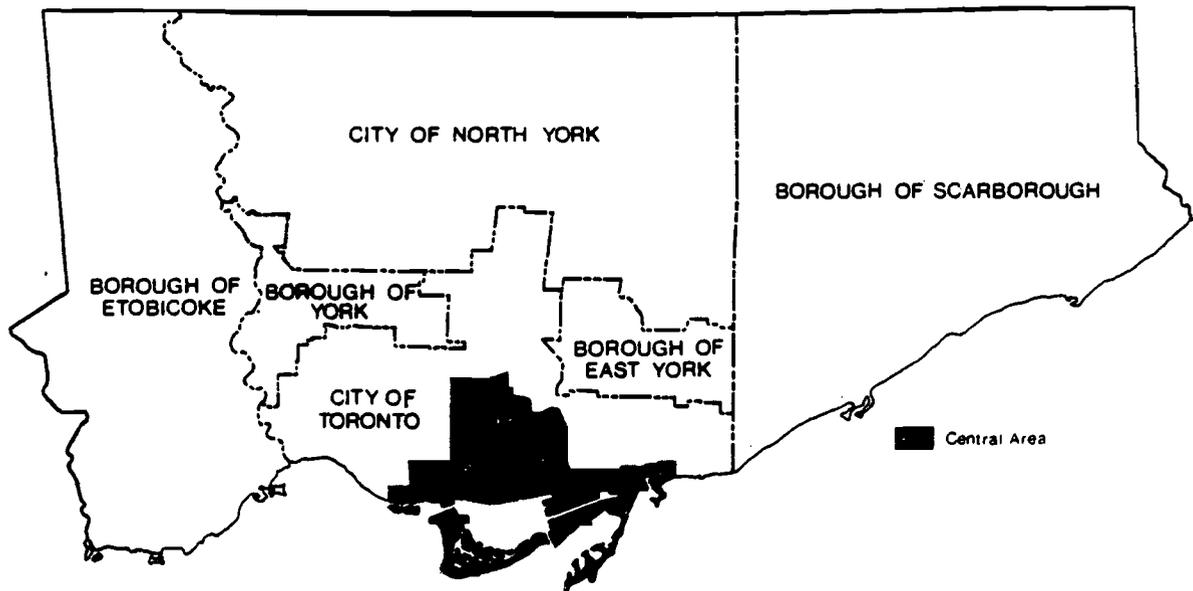
Each successive regional municipality has been set up for a specific administrative purpose, but in general each one has broader, less localised responsibilities than its constituent area municipalities. The service responsibilities of a regional municipality usually include:

- (a) Water supply;
- (b) Main trunk sewers and sewage treatment;
- (c) Regional (ie. main) roads;
- (d) Public transport (transit) planning;
- (e) Land use policy;
- (f) Social services;
- (g) Organisation of finances for the region and for the constituent area municipalities;
- (h) Emergency services.

Each of the Acts which have established the regional municipalities has required that an official plan must be prepared for the whole area of jurisdiction. This indicates the importance with which overall policy planning is regarded. The



**FIGURE 1 THE REGIONAL MUNICIPALITIES OF THE TORONTO CENTRED REGION  
(Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, 1982: III)**



**FIGURE 2 THE AREA MUNICIPALITIES OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO  
(Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, 1982: III)**

regional municipality is usually given virtually no zoning power, but it is stipulated that the official plan, bylaws and public works of constituent area municipalities must conform with the regional municipality's official plan.

As an example a brief overview of the contents of the official plan of The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto is now given. Metropolitan Toronto's official plan, first adopted in 1980, lays down policy for the following matters:

- (a) The urban structure, including the broad distribution of population, households and employment activities.
- (b) the coordination and phasing of –
  - (i) the metropolitan transit system;
  - (ii) the metropolitan road system and its rights-of-way;
  - (iii) water supply and sewage treatment facilities; and
  - (iv) the metropolitan open space system.
- (c) Other matters of metropolitan significance which are essential to the effective implementation of the plan.

In the plan it is accepted that implementation depends on the combination of a number of different factors, such as:

- (a) The support of the whole community.
- (b) Financing, construction and operation of facilities by the metropolitan municipality.
- (c) Interpretation in detail by the area municipalities within their own legislative powers.
- (d) Support of other private and public section bodies.

It is noteworthy that the plan lays down a basis for its financing. This is provided for through the establishing of project priorities and through regular budgeting. It also deals with monitoring and review.

#### **2.4 The role of the area municipalities**

In terms of the various Acts which have established the regional municipalities, the major planning role of the area municipality has become the implementation of regional policy as expressed in the regional municipality's official plan. Thus within regional policy the area municipality is directly responsible for the designation of land uses, zoning and development control, and also for the creation of various types of local community services.

Nevertheless the requirement regarding conformity has not resulted in acquiescent area municipalities, and there is often competition for business development among them, even against regional policy. Each area municipality in Ontario has created its own official plan which spells out local development policy often in advance of the adoption of the official plan for the region. Inevitably the area official plan gives prominence to the perceived needs of the local community. Such perceptions naturally change over time, and, when the official plan is reviewed from time to time changes in policy or in emphasis emerge. Successive official plans of the City of Toronto contain examples of this. The city's 1969 official plan contained such goals as:

- (a) to protect, preserve and enhance low density residential areas;
- (b) to maintain the heart of the city as the governmental, financial, commercial, entertainment, educational, cultural and medical centre of the region;
- (c) to encourage the development of the transportation system to provide a convenient, rapid access to the central area from all parts of the region by a full range of transportation services;
- (d) to encourage the planning of the region to channel development to selected points on the mass transit system (Lang and Page, 1973:63-64).

By 1982 the policies of the city had developed so as to include the following:

- (a) to encourage the retention and redevelopment of low-rise residential neighbourhoods in the central area;
- (b) to expand the residential component of the central area;
- (c) to encourage the development of mixed residential and business uses in prescribed districts;
- (d) to avoid unacceptable levels of congestion on the transportation system.

Such policies are clearly positive responses to certain broad issues affecting the development of the local area, not mere guides for development control. Although the area municipality's official plan contains this expression of public development policy, it also embodies the implicit principle that community building is best done by the

private sector, with the public sector in two supporting roles: those of  
(a) injecting public-interest considerations into profit-oriented decisions; and  
(b) providing community infrastructure. (Lang and Page, 1973:18).

The official plan of the Borough of Scarborough is not so specific regarding the balance between the public and private sectors in implementation. In the ninth consolidation of the plan in 1981, one of the purposes of the plan is stated as serving as a framework for all agencies, both public and private, which are concerned with the development of Scarborough.

The kinds of issue which are mentioned above as being part of the City of Toronto's planning policy show that an area municipality's official plan can be a useful instrument in helping to coordinate land and transport development policy. The policies to redevelop and upgrade downtown housing and to encourage the development of mixed uses at subway stations are examples of this. Although there may be no specific part of the area municipality's official plan which spells out transport policy, a clear awareness of transport issues is evident. This is true also of Scarborough's official plan, even though it specifically states that it is not a transportation plan and that the Borough expects that a transportation plan prepared at metropolitan level in terms of the metropolitan Toronto Act will be superimposed on it.

### **3. COORDINATION OF LAND AND TRANSPORT DEVELOPMENT POLICY**

The official plan prepared by municipalities in terms of the Ontario Planning Act is a document in which the planning and development policies of the municipality are described. It is also regarded by the Ministry of Housing as a statement of how the municipality intends to proceed to control development and where it proposes to install public works. Yet the Planning Act itself is not specific as to what an official plan should comprise.

The general scheme of the Act was first enacted in 1946 before regional or metropolitan governments were brought into existence (Jaffary:81). Each of the separate Acts which have

established a new regional municipality has prescribed the powers of the new body, and the planning powers so acquired (for example powers over transportation, recreation and services) have found expression in the municipality's official plan. Thus, although there is no comprehensive legal definition of the Ontario concept of an official plan, the matters to be covered are nevertheless broadly understood. As a result the provincial government expects all municipal official plans to deal with transport issues. If found deficient in transport planning the Province would refer the plan back to the municipality for further consideration.

As indicated in previous sections, the development of land use and transport policy has come to be primarily the responsibility of the regional municipalities. Control of the operation of public transport services (transit) also resides at that level, while the area municipalities generate more detailed land use policies for their own areas and exercise detailed development control.

### **3.1 Coordination in Ottawa-Carleton**

In the Ottawa area the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton has evolved policies which recognise the interdependence of land use and transport. One such policy promotes the creation of development nodes along the existing main transport corridors. Such nodes are intended to become employment or residential areas of higher than average density.

Often they are designated as district or regional centres. Transport policy is heavily oriented towards the promotion of transit with the aim of obviating the need for a second car in each family. Consequently the nodes are treated as focal points in the all-bus transit network (which boasts one of the highest levels of ridership in North America for an all-bus system). It is envisaged that eventually the nodes will become transfer points between feeder bus services and the planned future light rail system.

Policy also provides for a radial system of transitways converging on the downtown area which will give the main transit services lane priority.

Transit is viewed as an essential support for the new growth centres which are provided for in the official plan. Although the power of transport de-

velopment to generate a land use response is recognised theoretically, in practice it is little used as an instrument of development policy to guide the direction of future growth.

The regional municipality recognises that policy promotion is a prerequisite to implementation. Policies are promoted not only through their appearance in the official plan, but also through the workings of an ad hoc advisory committee on planning and transportation which facilitates joint arrangements among the various authorities operating in the municipality's area of jurisdiction, including the federal-sponsored national Capital Commission.

### **3.2 Coordination in Metropolitan Toronto**

In Metropolitan Toronto the coordination of land and transport development policy can be demonstrated both in relation to the promotion of transit and also in relation to the decentralisation policies which have emerged in recent years.

#### **3.2.1 The promotion of transit**

The regional authority in the Toronto area is the Metropolitan Municipality of Toronto ("Metro"). Broad land and transport development policy is centred at this level. In 1954 when Metro was established the first section of Toronto's subway system was about to be opened. Yet transportation trends were still heavily in favour of freeway facilities for the private car. In the late 1960's the pendulum swung in favour of transit. Already the 1969 official plan of the City of Toronto contained policies designed to promote transit ridership. In November 1972 the Prime Minister of Ontario announced a new urban transportation policy which provided a new Provincial funding formula for transit services. Since then Metro's policy has been to promote transit along with compatible land development policies among the area municipalities.

Over the years the main focus of commuting travel in the region has been the downtown of the City of Toronto. The first transit priority was therefore to serve this area adequately. This goal has been achieved by progressive extension of the subway system into the suburbs and the integration of the bus and streetcar network as feeder services to

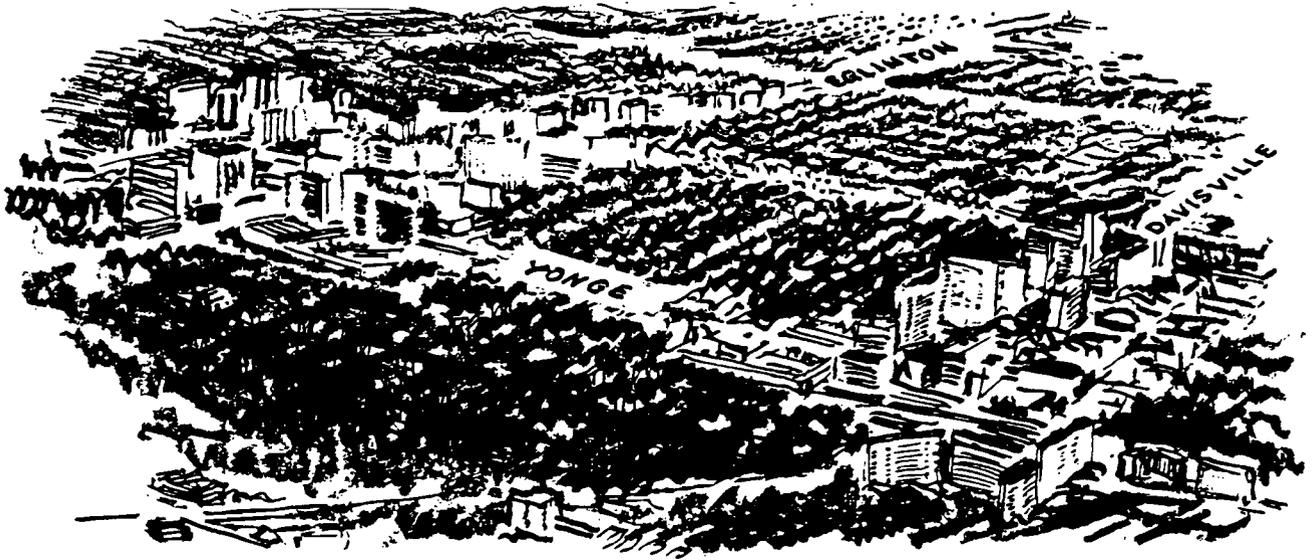
the subway. In the 1950's and 1960's the location of new land development was apparently not strongly influenced by the subway system, but more recently it became public policy to create nodes of high density development at subway stations by means of preferential zoning for offices and flats (apartments) and by joint development ventures involving the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC), who are the transit operators, and private enterprise developers. Since the subway stations are almost invariably sited at key street intersections, this development policy can be regarded as an evolutionary step from the strip commercial or ribbon development along main streets which has been a characteristic of Canadian towns and which still persists successfully alongside the newer nodal development.

Many such nodes exist (Figure 3). Land at subway stations was usually designated for higher density development simultaneously with the planning of each phase of the subway. In many cases the development land was leased by TTC itself.

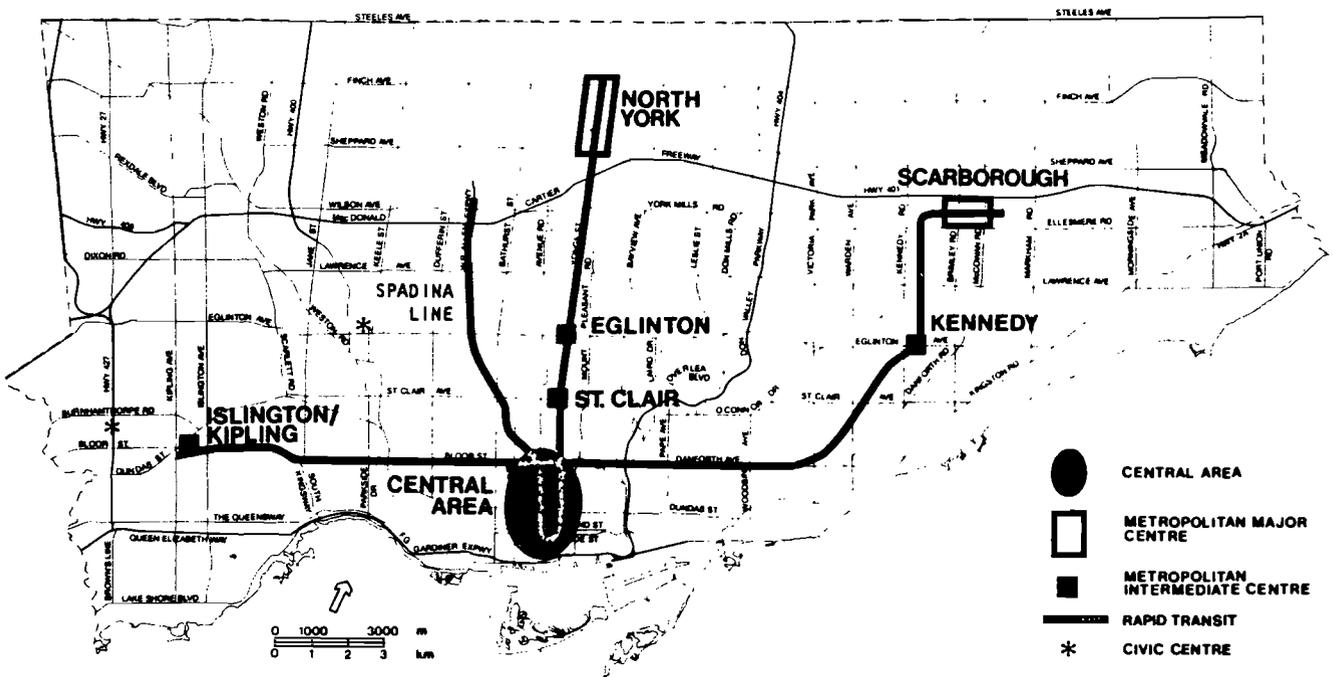
#### **3.2.2 Decentralisation**

Since the downtown of the city of Toronto has remained the major travel focus of the whole metropolitan region, this area has experienced the heaviest volumes of both road and rail commuter traffic. In an effort to relieve congestion the city government now gears permits for new office development to local transit capacity and applies parking policies which discourage private transport. In order to reduce the need to travel the City promotes the conservation and creation of housing development close to downtown. It has also pioneered the concept of mixed development involving residential, office and retail uses at the transit nodes.

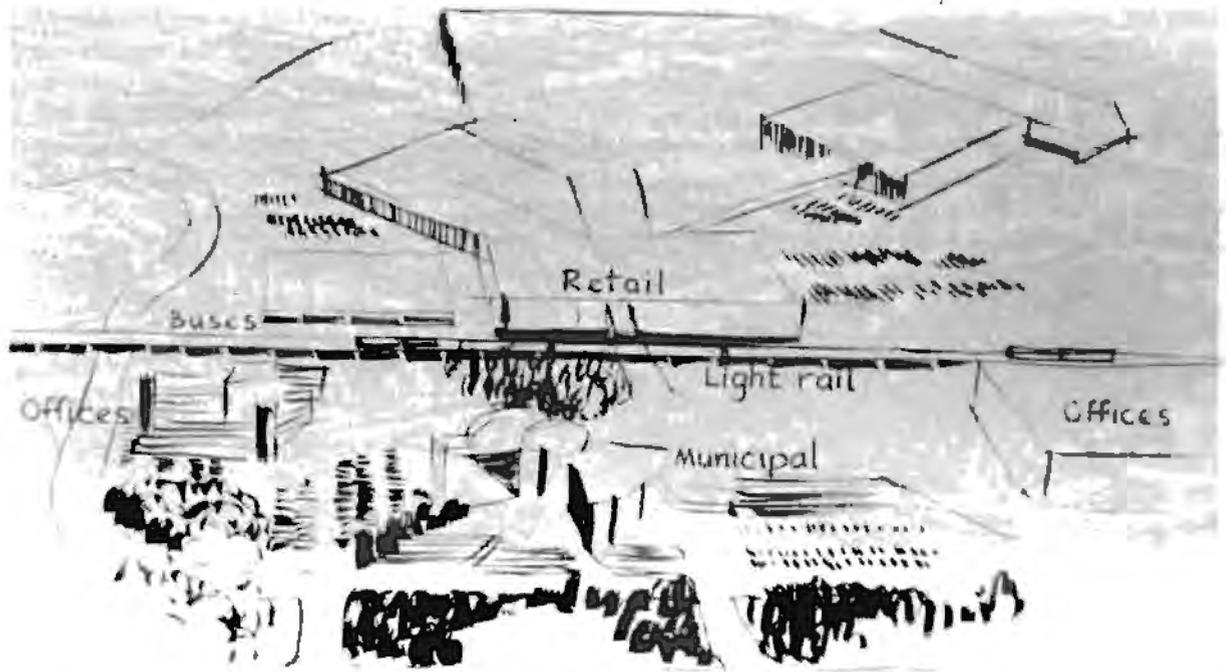
The first official structure plan for metropolitan Toronto adopted in 1980 now recognises a need to relieve the subway system of some of its downtown-oriented commuter loads by including decentralised growth centres in the outer municipalities (Figure 4). These lie in the path of inwards commuting from the outer suburbs but, being served by the main transit routes, will encourage outwards transit ridership as well. Two of these growth centres will form new town centres for the City of North York and the Borough of Scarborough, re-



**FIGURE 3 HIGH DENSITY NODAL DEVELOPMENT ALONG THE SUBWAY LINE AT THE INTERSECTIONS OF EGLINTON AVENUE AND DAVISVILLE AVENUE WITH YONGE STREET**



**FIGURE 4 METROPOLITAN CENTRES DESIGNATED IN THE METROPOLITAN TORONTO OFFICIAL PLAN**



**DEVELOPMENT AT THE DESIGNATED METROPOLITAN NODE AT SCARBOROUGH TOWN CENTRE, FED BY PRIVATE CAR, BUS AND THE NEW ICTS RAIL LINE WHICH LINKS WITH THE SUBWAY SYSTEM.**



**EXISTING RETAIL, OFFICE AND RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT AT THE SHEPPARD SUBWAY STATION IN THE DESIGNATED NODE AT NORTH YORK TOWN CENTRE.**

spectively. In the case of the Scarborough town centre, a new intermediate capacity transit system (ICTS) has been built as an extension to the existing subway as an instrument of policy to stimulate both local industrial development and the development of the town centre itself. The new ICTS and related bus feeder services from the surrounding suburbs were designed as an integral part of the town centre concept. (The same kind of ICTS system was constructed in Vancouver to coincide with the 1986 World Transport Expo.)

The decentralisation policy is also supported by a number of subsidies for the transit system. In the case of the Scarborough ICTS the Province agreed to carry the extra cost of building and operating ICTS in place of the planned light rail. Again, on the Spadina line (Figure 4), the municipalities have agreed to subsidise the extra cost involved in providing an intensified outward-flow service in order to promote decentralised nodal development. However, all is not straightforward in the coordination of land and transport development policy. Some policy inconsistencies do exist. One involves the Province's commuter rail system called GO, which encourages long-distance commuting direct to downtown Toronto. Another is the flat fare system on TTC's subway streetcar and bus network. One fare operates for all rides in one direction irrespective of distance and irrespective of the number of transfers. This also encourages long-distance commuting.

#### **4. PRIVATE SECTOR RESPONSES**

It will already be evident that in Ontario land and transport development is undertaken in an environment of known public policy where public agencies endeavour to coordinate activity so as to achieve over-all planning goals. There is also dialogue. In the first instance there is dialogue in policy formation among the area municipalities which comprise the regional municipalities and also between municipalities and community groups. The Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) plays a very important role in facilitating dialogue at this stage. There is also dialogue at the implementation stage, principally between developers and the area municipalities.

#### **4.1 Developers' responses**

In Ontario, as elsewhere, the pressure for development is produced by the economic climate of the time, and the actual creation of development by the developer's opportunism. Toronto benefited from an economic boom from the early 1960's to the early 1970's during which the amount of office and apartment space increased rapidly. Even into the early 1980's Toronto's economy remained buoyant relative to competing North American centres.

Public policy on development did not influence the quantity of development, but it did affect its location and density. Before the adoption of Metro Toronto's transit-oriented policy, development would have been largely car-oriented and would have followed the traditional pattern of ribbon development along the main arterial streets. Alternatively it would have occurred at lower densities in park-like environments close to the urban freeways. In response to the transit-oriented policies which have been dominant since about 1970, developers also erected high-rise office and apartment blocks above and around subway stations. Thereafter, both patterns of growth continued simultaneously: the lower densities in office parks and the higher densities at subway nodes.

It is also important to recognise that the creation of new development has not followed the adoption of the nodal development policy automatically. In some cases the private sector used advance knowledge of proposed subway extensions to adapt development projects to fit in with the new nodes up to four years ahead of the opening of the subway line. In other cases the opening of a subway extension coincided fairly closely with the creation of nodal development, while in yet others the desired development has still not occurred.

Meanwhile some developers still prefer to seek locations which are remote from transit lines. Some even choose sites which are outside appropriately zoned areas because such land costs less. But this has not been an important issue with the planning authorities for over 10 years.

Those who accept the idea of developing in accordance with public policy are well aware of the bargaining power they

possess. Consequently, negotiated conditions of development for particular sites are not unusual. But adherence to the main principles of the policies set down by the municipalities is the general rule.

#### **4.2 Community responses**

The OMB is a quasi-judicial body which is built into the Ontario planning system. It enjoys the confidence of the community because it has the reputation of giving fair hearings. It has consequently played a key role in facilitating community responses to public development policy.

The OMB was the medium which provided a means of expression to community concern in the late 1960's about the impact of express-ways on residential neighbourhoods in inner Toronto which led to the adoption by Metro Toronto of its current pro-transit policy. In Ottawa the same community attitudes were evident at that time, and the first official plan of the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, which was adopted in 1974, responded similarly by giving priority to transit. However, it must be recognised that public pressure was not essentially for transit, but rather against the impact of expressways.

From this time community groups became better informed and better organised. Residents have become sophisticated about objecting to any proposals which they consider would harm their neighbourhoods. They will readily join forces and contribute to the cost of hiring lawyers to represent them. By 1977, when the redevelopment proposals for the new growth centre at North York were prepared, the local residents were ready to discuss what they wanted their town to be like. The municipality was able to create an atmosphere of trust so that its revised proposals provided for a centre with a downtown atmosphere and a range of densities which satisfied both residents and developers.

#### **5. THE VALUE OF EXPLICIT DEVELOPMENT POLICY**

It will already be clear that legislation in Ontario provides well for the formulation and expression of development policy. Urban development policy is created and worked out within a hierar-

chical framework of public sector authorities established at four levels, each with functions which are fairly well defined and understood. The hierarchical interrelation of the lower three levels (Province, regional municipality and area municipality) can be seen as an important factor in establishing the meaningfulness of urban development policies. Within these three levels policies are evolved, debated, adopted, approved and implemented as part of a logical, if somewhat lengthy, decision-making process. Community pressures and inputs are accommodated as part of the same process. There is no significant degree of disruption of this hierarchical interaction, such as would occur if, for example, the federal level of government were to intrude with control measures at area municipality level.

Again, the Ontario official plans, which are the expressions of development policy, are comprehensive documents which take into account all issues related to physical planning, including the financing of public works and plan implementation. Official plans are positive public sector responses to broad issues which affect a given area. But they are not only for use by the public sector, they are also for the guidance of the private sector in its role of community builder. They create a framework for infrastructural development, linked both to policy and budgeting, which gives valuable leads to decision-makers in the private sector.

For South Africa certain lessons emerge. It can be learned, for example, that a well-expressed and fully debated public sector development policy can be valuable in providing guidelines for private sector investment. By this means the motivations of private enterprise can be blended with those of the public interest. But development policy needs to be backed up by a commitment to the financial planning of public works and a commitment to a particular development programme. Furthermore the development policy itself probably has the best chance of success if it is responsive to locally perceived needs and enjoys a wide measure of understanding among the community. It should not be encumbered by requirements or controls imposed by a remote level of government. In the hierarchy of government the level of responsibility and accountability should lie as close as possible to

the level of implementation.

## 6. NEED FOR COORDINATION OF LAND USE PLANNING AND TRANSPORT PLANNING

In the Ontario planning system, land use planning and transport planning have become parts of the same statutory process of policy-making. Broad urban structure planning and transport planning are both undertaken by each regional municipality in accordance with the policies expressed in the municipality's own official plan. The structure plan is then translated into local policy plans by the area municipalities. Zoning bylaws, which confer development rights, and development control follow at the same area municipality level. Transport policy is implemented at both regional and area municipality level by the transit authority (e.g. Toronto Transit Commission), and the parking and roads authorities.

Perhaps the key to coordination is the realisation that the implementation of policy in the one field has impacts on the other, and that related policies in the two fields need to be implemented in a coordinated way. It is evident that these two principles are recognised in both Ottawa-Carleton and Metro Toronto. For example, in Metro Toronto the promotion of transit was approached not only by means of improved service levels, network integration, subsidies and simplified fare structures, but also by providing opportunities and incentives for concentrated development near subway stations and transfer points. Again, congestion on the downtown transit system was combatted not only by improving and subsidising the suburban service level, but also by promoting the development of decentralised growth areas.

If it is accepted in South Africa that there is merit in the Ontario model, then much needs to be done to bring land use planning and transport planning together into one concept. Legislation, administrative structures and professional modes of thought will all need to be re-examined. Any such re-examination should not ignore the untapped potential of private enterprise to identify with the aims of coordination.

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