



## 7.0 EMPLOYMENT

Economic instability and labour market transformation have come to characterize the seventies. The framework of secure employment, rising incomes, and stable prices associated with the earlier suburban period has drawn to a close for a majority of the population. Traditional family housing costs have increased beyond the financial means of average families. Inflation accompanied by declining growth and wage levels is pushing many families into increasing levels of consumer debt.

The Commissioner of Social Services in the Region of Peel reported on studies carried out by his department in 1976 and 1977 on the income patterns of families with young children.<sup>45</sup> From 1975 to 1976 there were significant increases in the levels of debt incurred by two-parent two-income families, and by families with only one female income. The same study, carried out a year later, looked

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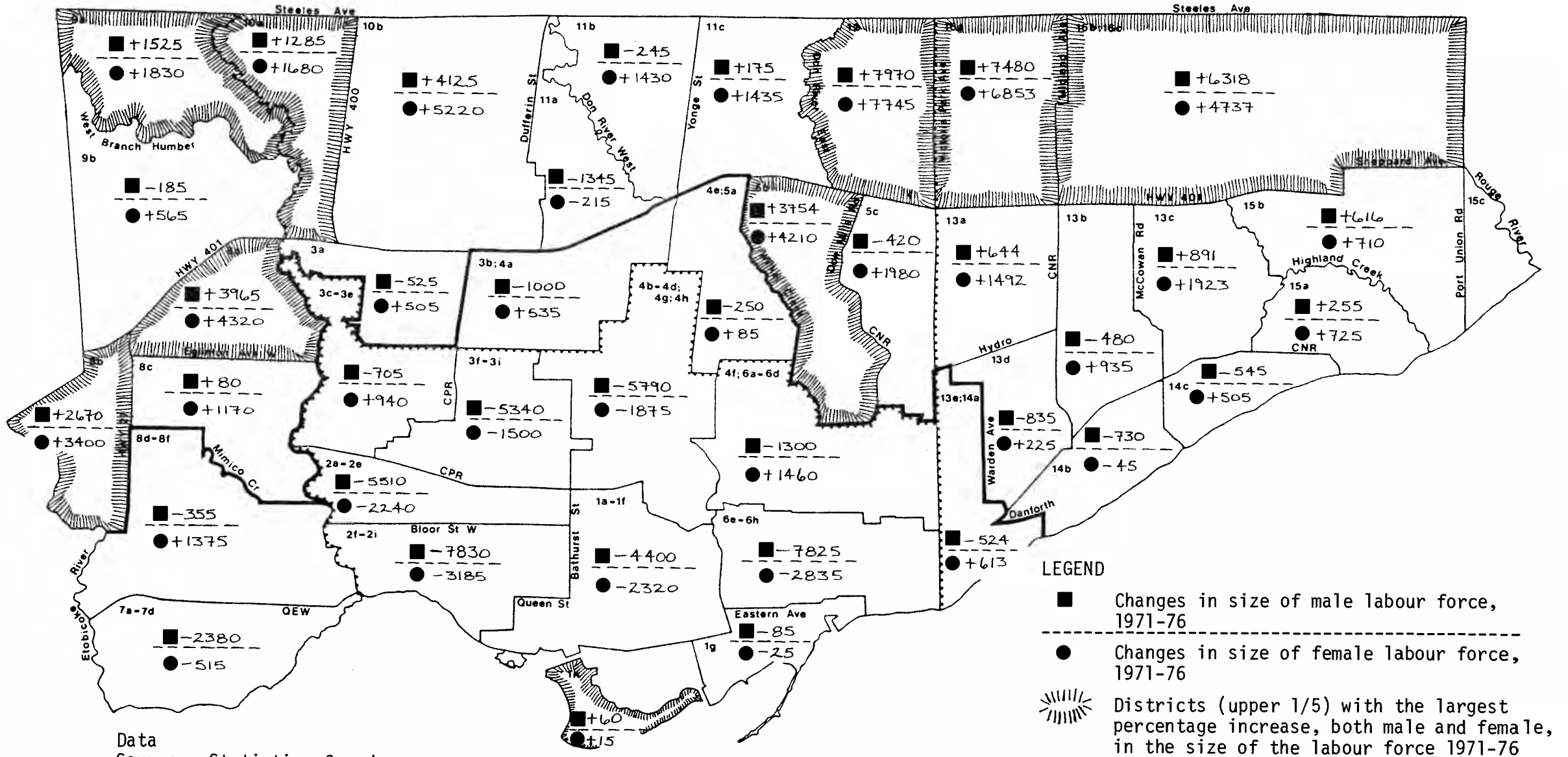
<sup>45</sup> Commissioner of Social Services, Regional Municipality of Peel, Family Unit - Cornerstone of Peel Paper #2, September 1976, P. 6.  
Paper #4, June 1977, P. 6, 7.

at changes from 1976 to 1977. It revealed a decline in debt formation patterns for two-parent two-income families, marginal increases in the debt of one-parent one-female income families, and significant increases in debt levels for two-parent one-male income families.

There is little reason to doubt that the financial strain experienced by families with young children in suburban Peel would differ significantly from pressures experienced by similar families in Metro's suburbs. Since 1976, and each year thereafter, real family income has been declining in relation to fixed and recurring expenditures. The Peel report estimated that from 1976 to 1977:

"The two-parent, two-income family unit saw a 10% drop in net available income after the family had paid their shelter, food, clothing, utilities, debts, and other actual expenses."

One response by suburban families to changing economic conditions has been more women seeking work in the labour market. Enclosure 30 identifies increases in the numbers of women in the labour force from 1971 to 1976. In every rapid growth district with the exception of M.P.D. 11A and M.P.D. 14B, there were more women in the labour force



Data Source: Statistics Canada

in 1976 than in 1971. The number of men in the labour force have declined in some suburban districts, either as a result of retirement or out-migration. The widespread decline in the numbers of men and women across the central urban area reflects both out-migration of adults in prime family formation years, and increases in the numbers of aged.<sup>46</sup>

Enclosure 31 describes the growth of labour force participation rates by women from 1971 to 1976. There were substantial increases in the participation rates of suburban women. By 1976 suburban women had higher participation rates in the labour force than women in the central urban area. The suburban participation rate grew by 10% in a five year period. In one district in North York, M.P.D. 10A, the participation rate grew from 45% in 1971 to 66% in 1976. Women are in the labour force, one might assume, to financially contribute towards high mortgage costs and thereby relieve pressures on family budgets, because more women are heading up their own households, and as a result of women pursuing work roles in the labour market.

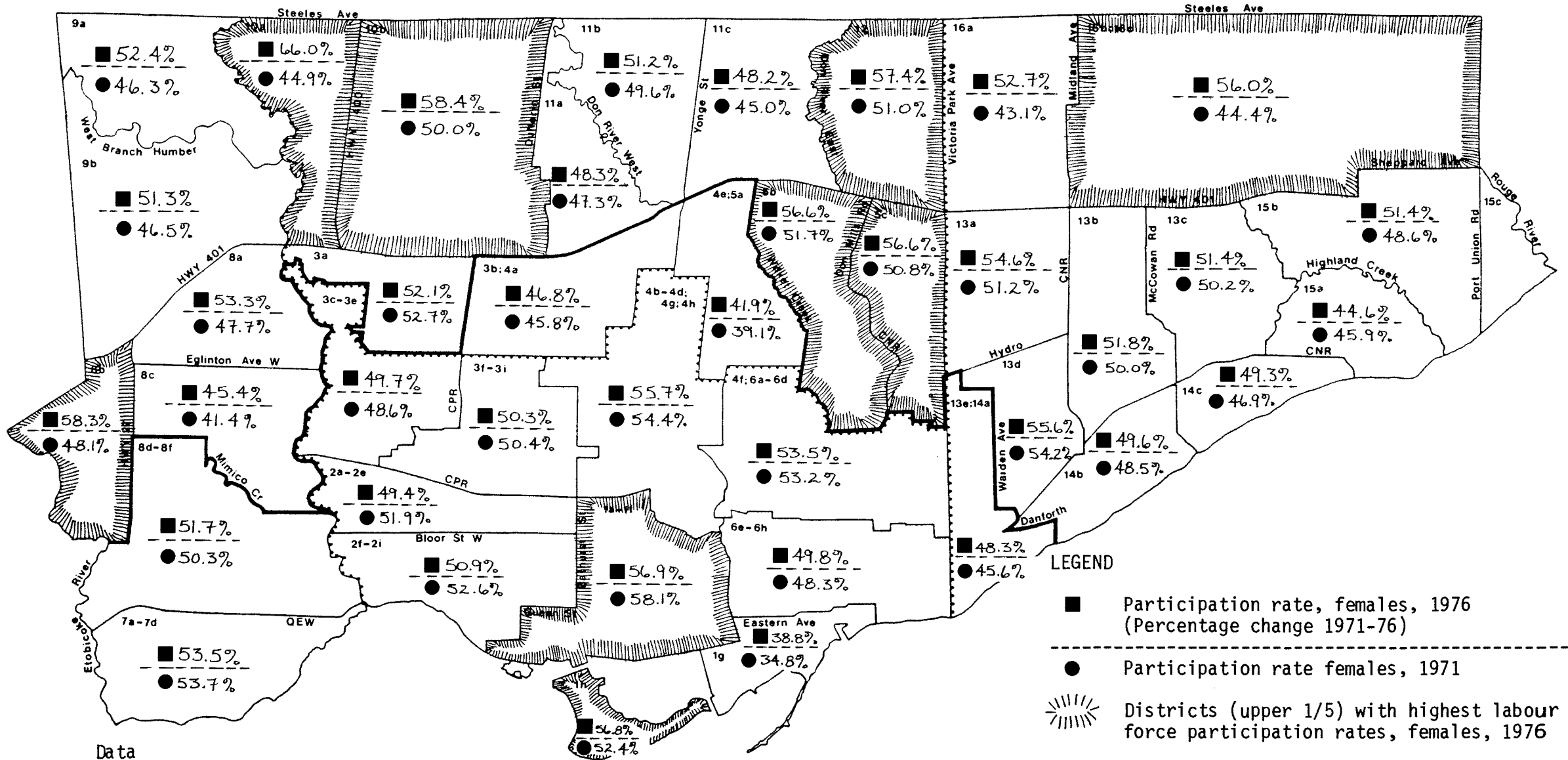
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<sup>46</sup> Toronto Planning Board, City Planning, Vol. 1. No. 2, Sept. 1978, P. 6.

This need to contribute to family incomes would be highest in the suburbs, where the majority of Metro's child rearing families are to be found. Seven of the eight districts with the highest participation rates for women were in rapid growth districts in 1976; four of these districts were north of Highway 401.

Large numbers of suburban women in the labour force means fewer women at home during the day, as in the earlier post-war period. It means fewer women available to serve as local community service volunteers, and as sources of social integration in suburban neighbourhoods. There is less time available for daily forms of social contact through which neighbourhood cohesion develops. There are significant changes in the life of the post-war suburbs. The scale of participation by women in the labour force indicates that this change is coming from all parts of the suburbs - the single family home sector, as well as town houses and apartments.

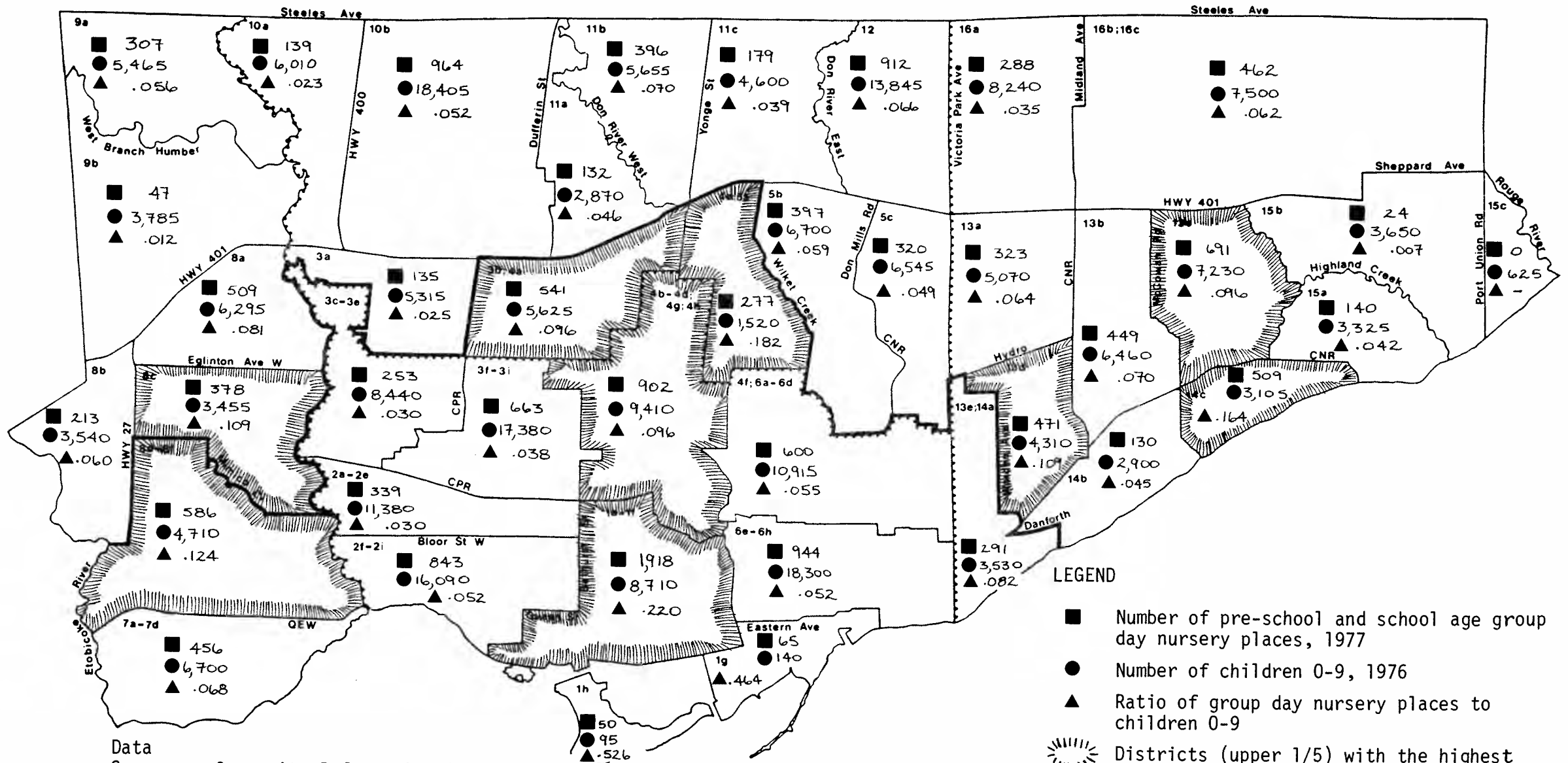
There are still suburban districts with significant numbers of young children aged 0-4. Most of these districts are located north of Highway 401. It is in these districts that some of the largest increases have taken place in the participation rates of women from 1971 to 1976. There



Data Source: Statistics Canada

**LEGEND**

- Participation rate, females, 1976 (Percentage change 1971-76)
- Participation rate females, 1971
- ☀ Districts (upper 1/5) with highest labour force participation rates, females, 1976



**LEGEND**

- Number of pre-school and school age group day nursery places, 1977
- Number of children 0-9, 1976
- ▲ Ratio of group day nursery places to children 0-9
- ☀ Districts (upper 1/5) with the highest ratios of group day nursery places to children 0-9

Data Sources: Community Information Centre of Metropolitan Toronto  
Assessment Data

Note: Day nursery refers to both full and part day places; group refers to services operated out of the home in community facilities and settings.

are therefore pre-school children in these districts in need of adequate child care while their mothers are out of the home in the labour force.

Enclosure 32 examines the distribution of group day nursery places in Metro in 1977, in relation to the 1976 child population aged 0-9. This is not a complete picture of supervised forms of child care; it was not possible to distribute the location of home day care places, nor the range of after-school programs in schools and community centres. Nevertheless, group day nursery places are a very basic form of child care. From the distribution one can observe that there are no suburban districts north of Highway 401 with high ratios of group places in relation to the child population aged 0-9, particularly where the labour force participation of women increased significantly from 1971 to 1976. Some districts with high ratios of group places - such as M.P.D. 8C, M.P.D. 4E/5A, and M.P.D. 14C - are areas with low participation rates for women (as well as low levels of publicly assisted family housing). There appears to be a limited relationship in the distributions between districts where women are working, and where there are large groups of children aged 0-4. The distribution of group day nursery places in Metro is not particularly responsive to the social needs of suburban

children, particularly in districts north of Highway 401.

Both public and voluntary agencies in Metro have recognized and argued for the need to expand the availability of financially accessible and adequate forms of child care in Metro's rapid growth suburbs. Provincial policies of restraint in recent years have been insensitive to the needs of young children in the suburbs. Provincial policies have assumed that decreased financial support for quality child care will influence women to remain at home, out of the labour force, and thereby alleviate the pressure on jobs. These assumptions fly in the face of hard economic realities. Many women will continue to seek work outside the home, full or part-time, in response to current economic conditions. Reduced provincial support for child care in the suburbs will only lead to more children being placed in unsuitable and hazardous settings, as was recently evident in North York. Inadequate child care was a major concern that came out of project interviews with family and children's service workers. Reduced provincial support for child care only increase the stresses on family life, already strained by economic instability. These policies serve to jeopardize the welfare of children and are inconsistent with recently stated prevention objectives in the field of children's services.

With large numbers of suburban men and women in the labour force, unemployment levels are a subject of concern. Enclosure 33 and Enclosure 34 identify unemployment levels for adult women and men (aged 25 and over) as recorded in the 1976 census.

The census reference period for documenting unemployment levels is one week, in contrast to the labour force sample, where the reference period is four weeks. Of some curiosity is the disparity in national unemployment rates for June 1976 between the census and the unadjusted labour force survey rate for males aged 25 and over. The census, with a narrower reference, shows that the unemployment rate of 4.1% in Canada. The labour force survey, with the wider four week reference period, estimates a 3.4% unemployment rate for males aged 25+ for June 1976. What this suggests is that unemployment levels for males aged 25 and over in the suburbs and central urban area, may be higher than what is reported in the labour force survey for Metro. An ongoing monitoring of unemployment levels within Metro is not possible since the federal government does not make available unemployment distributions within Metro on an ongoing basis. This prevents urban officials and community agencies from knowing where important social need patterns may be developing in the community.

A labour market bulletin issued in 1978 by the Canada Employment & Insurance Commission, notes that: "Geographically, the outer periphery areas of Metropolitan Toronto have continued to register large increases in the incidence of unemployment."<sup>47</sup> We can assume then, that the incidence of unemployment has increased in Metro's suburbs since 1976. We do not know, however, in what parts of the suburbs it is most severe, nor for which groups of people.

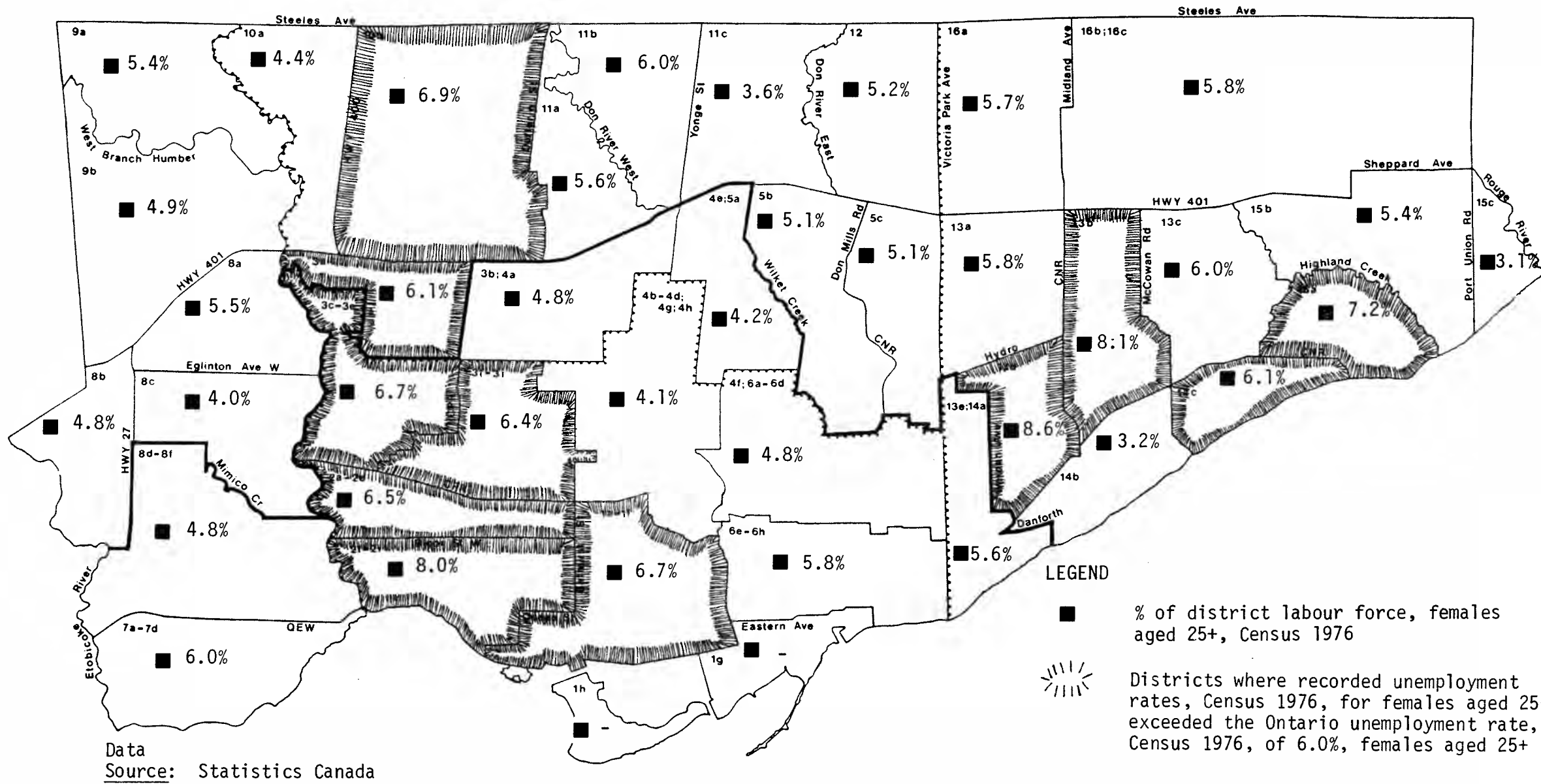
It should be stressed that the unemployment levels reported from the 1976 census are conservative projections of what current unemployment levels would be in Metro. These distributions are however useful in noting two important patterns: (1) the incidence of recorded unemployment in districts of Metro in 1976 relative to Ontario levels, (2) differences in unemployment levels between districts in the suburbs and in Metro. These patterns would not be expected to shift substantially with increases or decreases in unemployment levels over a 2 - 3 year period.

The 1976 distributions reveal that high unemploy-

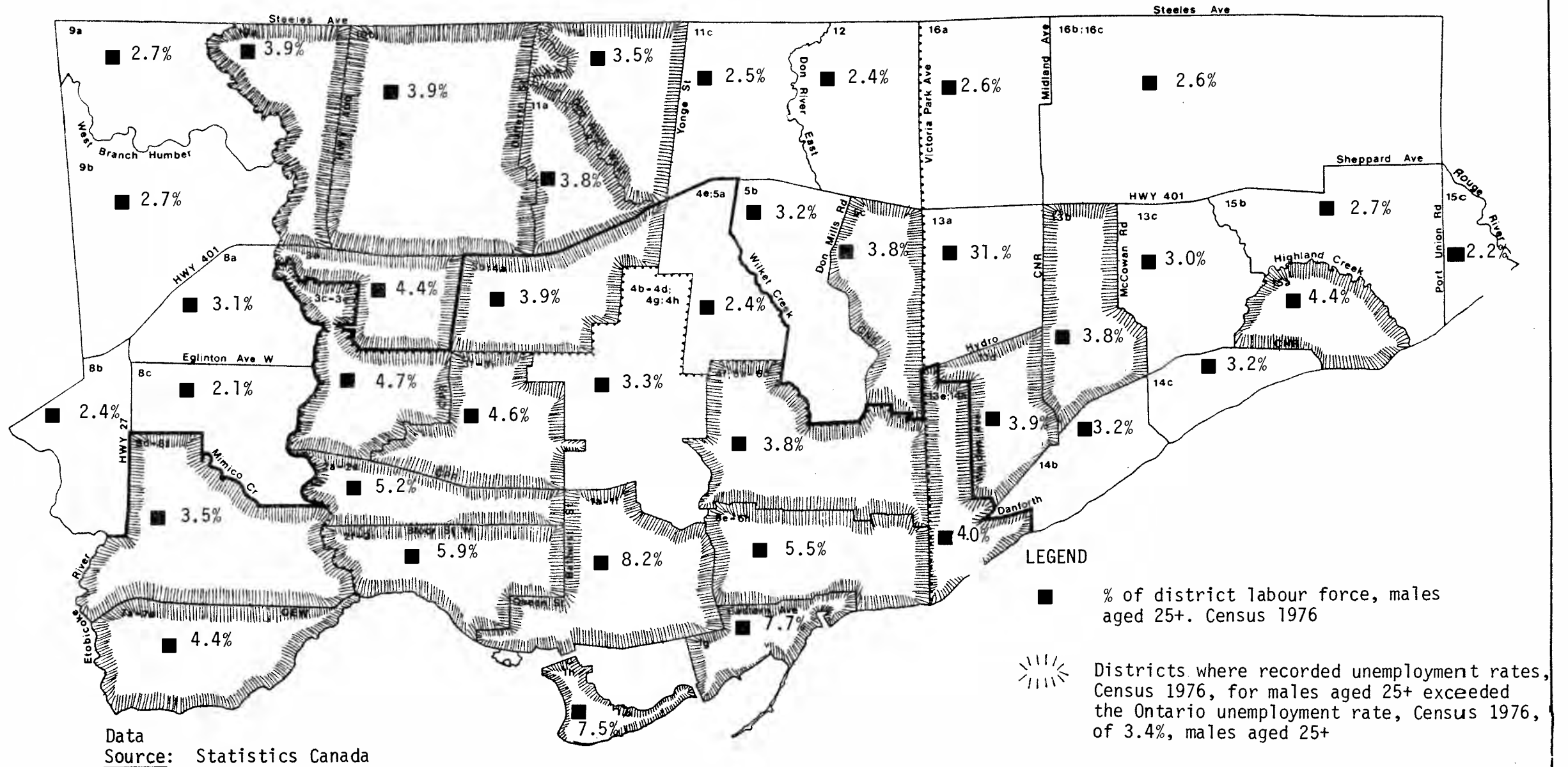
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Canada Employment & Insurance Commission.  
Labour Market Bulletin: Toronto Area  
Volume 2, Number 4; April 15, 1978 p-1







-ment levels for adult women are to be found in both the central urban area and the rapid growth suburbs. There is a continuous strip of high unemployment from the downtown of Toronto into the west part of Toronto, from the Lakeshore, up through York and North York, to Steeles Avenue. Another concentration of unemployed women is in central Scarborough, with two districts - M.P.D. 13B and M.P.D. 13D - having the highest recorded levels for Metro.

The 1976 distributions for adult males reveals the extent to which crisis levels of unemployment exist across Metro for people in prime family formation years. Throughout the western portion of North York, on the east-central boundary of North York, and in central Scarborough, unemployment levels for adult males are all above Ontario averages. Within the central urban area, the crisis is widespread. With the exception of one district grouping - M.P.D. 4B-4D/ 4G / 4H - adult male unemployment levels are above the Ontario level. In the downtown of Toronto, they are more than twice the Ontario percentage. There is little reason to be surprised therefore, with the heavy out-migration of family age adults from the central area from 1971 to 1976. High unemployment levels at family formation ages, combined with financially inaccessible family housing, are not conditions which encourage family formation and

child rearing in Metro.

The original Metroplan strategy recognized the urgency of securing provincial and federal government co-operation to monitor the labour market, and to promote job creation. These efforts have been consistently frustrated by the insensitivity of Queen's Park and Ottawa, who have abdicated a leadership role for government in developing economic strategies. Instead governments are pursuing policies of widespread and indiscriminate restraint. Not only has the province refrained from exercising economic leadership in its own domain, but it continues to deny Metro council access to the abundant revenue sources of Metro in order to get jobs created locally.

The absence of an economic strategy for Metro makes it hard to understand the structure of the job supply; in particular, what forms of new jobs are being created locally, and how suitable these jobs are to sustain family life in the future. Higher rates of adult male unemployment relative to the Ontario percentage, and lower rates of adult female unemployment relative to Ontario, suggest that more of Metro's new jobs are low pay and limited benefit forms of service work, which women have been willing or are required to accept. This would not be surprising, since federal and provincial job creation investments in the seventies - through income and

Table : 12

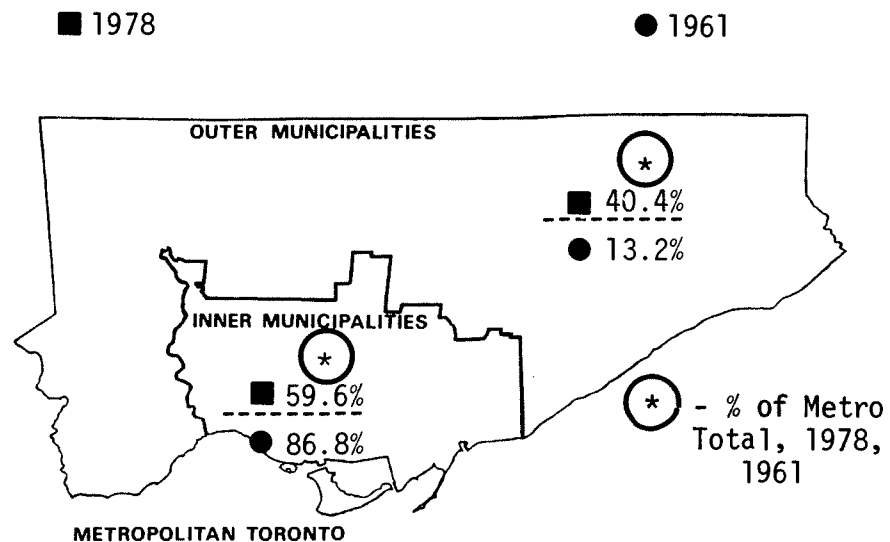
Summary: Labour Force Profile, 1976 and 1971 - 76

Labour Force Characteristic	Central Urban Area	Rapid Growth Suburbs	Metropolitan Toronto
Change in size of male labour force, 1971 - 76	-12.2%	+14.1%	-1.0%
Change in size of female labour force, 1971 - 76	-3.9%	+34.5%	+11.1%
Labour force participation rate, females, 1976 and participation rate change (%), 1971 - 76	51.8% (+.2%)	53.5% (+10.1%)	52.6% (+4.4%)
Recorded unemployment, females, aged 25+, 1976	5.8%	5.7%	5.7%
Recorded unemployment, males, aged 25+, 1976	4.9%	3.2%	4.1%
Recorded unemployment, females, aged 15 - 24, 1976	10.5%	10.2%	10.4%
Recorded unemployment, males, aged 15 - 24, 1976	12.8%	11.4%	12.1%

Data Source: Statistics Canada

Figure: 29

Distributions: Persons Receiving General Welfare Assistance, Monthly Sample, 1978 and 1961



Data

Sources: Metropolitan Toronto Social Services Department Report on the Assumption of Basic Welfare Costs by the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, Metropolitan Toronto, R.J. Smith, Commissioner, 1968.

sales tax cuts - have heavily subsidized the retail services sector, a traditional source of low quality jobs. Indiscriminate priming through sales and tax cuts are now acknowledged to have failed in creating significant numbers of new jobs. These wasteful forms of public investments also divert scarce government resources away from more productive forms of job creation required in Metro - such as capital construction and municipal services development - which result in higher quality jobs for men and women who wish to remain in Metro, form families, and raise children.

Table 12 is a labour force profile summary, identifying patterns in 1976 and selective changes from 1971 to 1976 for the rapid growth suburbs and the central urban area. The size of the male and female labour forces increased in the rapid growth suburbs from 1971 to 1976, higher for women than for men; in the same period, there were declines in the central area, highest for men. The labour force participation rate for women was higher in the suburbs, up 10% in a five year period. There were similar levels of unemployment for adult women in the suburbs and central area; the unemployment rate was much higher in the central area for adult men. There were similar levels of unemployment for female youth in both areas, there was higher unemployment for male youth in the central area. The unemployment

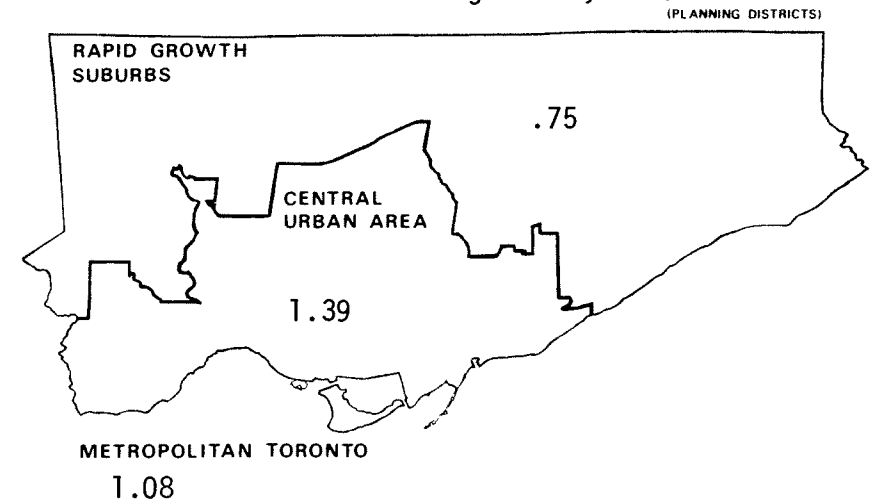
levels for male youth were higher than for female youth in the rapid growth suburbs, central area, and as a result, in Metro as a whole.

Figure 29 provides further evidence that financial dependence, in part related to unemployment, is no longer a unique characteristic to be associated with the inner municipalities of Metro as it might have once been. In 1961, only 13% of General Welfare Assistance (G.W.A.) recipients were in Metro's suburban municipalities. In 1978, this had increased to 40%. Recipients of G.W.A. are either employable, or are being processed for long-term support on Family Benefits. Data was not available for the project, but there is reason to believe that the distribution of Family Benefit recipients in the suburban municipalities is even higher.

Figure 30, along with Enclosure 35 and Enclosure 36, look at the job supply side of the employment picture in Metro. As might be expected, the availability of jobs is highest in the central area, where there were 1.39 jobs in 1976 for every resident labour force member aged 15 and over. The highest level of job supply was in the city of Toronto (1.73). The suburban supply ratio was .75 job per resident labour force member. These ratios, of course, do not reveal the full range of job choices for Metro residents which exist

Figure: 30

Distributions: Ratio of District Job Supply Per Resident Labour Force Member Aged 15+, 1976

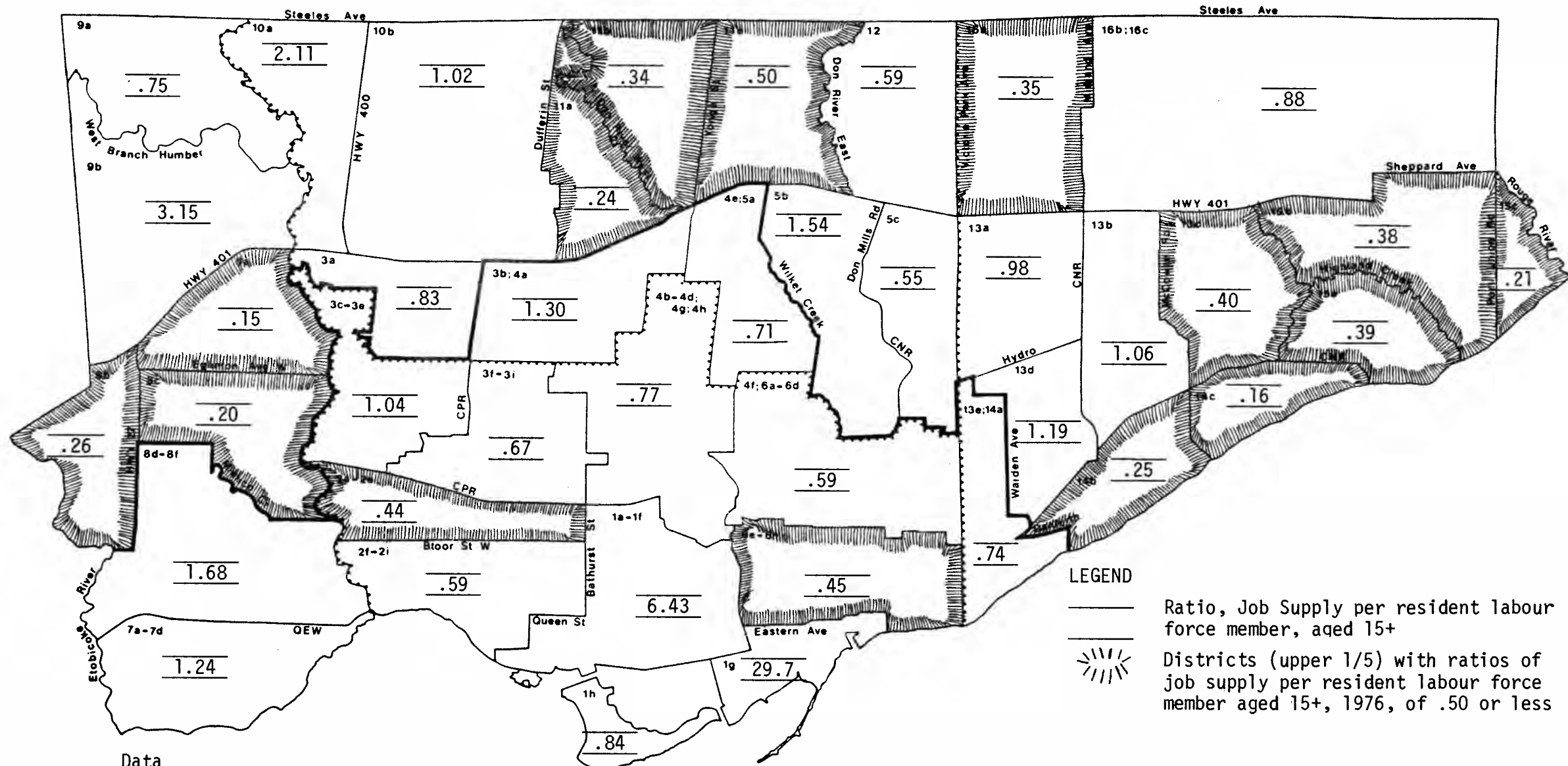


COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

East York	.59
Scarborough	.66
York	.66
North York	.87
Etobicoke	.97
Toronto (City)	1.73

Data

Sources: Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department  
Statistics Canada



Data Sources: Statistics Canada  
Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department

LEGEND  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Ratio, Job Supply per resident labour force member, aged 15+  
 [Hatched Area] Districts (upper 1/5) with ratios of job supply per resident labour force member aged 15+, 1976, of .50 or less

in the Toronto urban region outside of Metro.

In the early suburban family household, it was assumed that the male adult would travel extended distances for employment, and would possess the private means to pursue necessary travels for work. The change in labour force composition of the suburbs - women seeking full and part-time forms of work, youth, increasing older populations, require some modifications in traditional assumptions. These groups tend to be more transit-dependent and in some instances, require work closer to their places of residence.

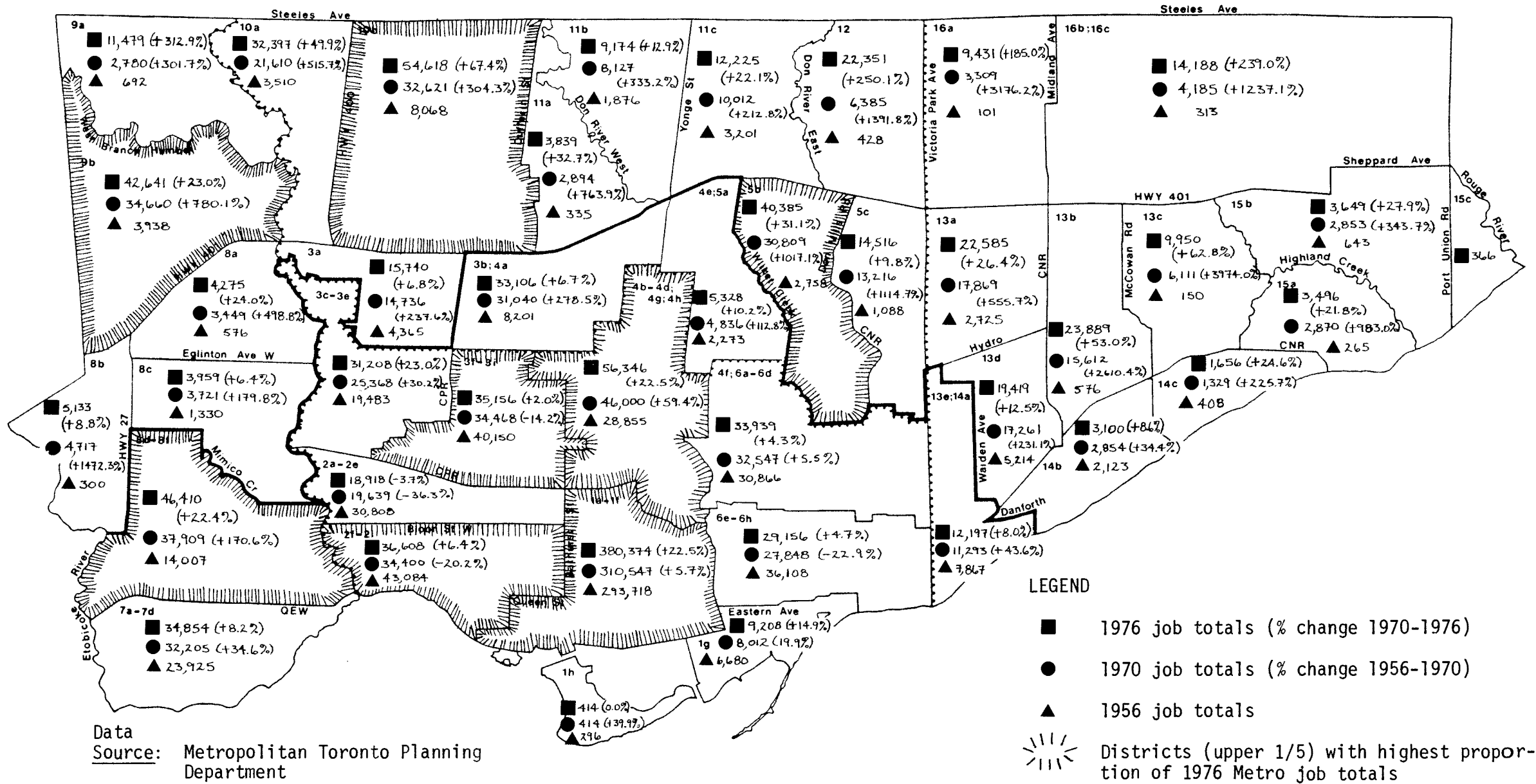
The job supply distribution across suburban districts indicates that the lowest areas of job availability are in Scarborough where rapid public transit linkages are least developed. Districts in Scarborough with low levels of job supply are also areas that have shown higher unemployment rates in 1976 for adult females and males.

In looking at the location of jobs in Metro districts, suburban areas in North York - M.P.D.5B and M.P.D.10B, - and Etobicoke -M.P.D.9B were among those districts in 1976 which contained some of the highest proportion of Metro's jobs outside the downtown. The growth of job opportunities in these areas is quite evident. Nevertheless, in 1976 the downtown districts (1A - 1F) contained roughly the same number of jobs

(380,374) as in all the rapid growth suburban districts combined (384,461). Once more, the job supply picture is more limited in Scarborough. There were no districts in Scarborough containing a high proportion of Metro's jobs.

The Metropolitan objective of decentralized job development is one approach in responding to the employment needs of suburban residents. This strategy could yield middle and long term benefits. As a strategy, however, it is not complete. The job yield of decentralization will be slow and most likely not create the range of employment choices required by different groups of suburban residents who comprise the labour force. Policies to increase accessibility to the larger Metropolitan job market, particularly for residents of Scarborough, remain an important need for groups without private means of mobility such as women and youth.

Where the thinking underlying decentralization leads to urban policies which limit the availability of public transit to suburban job seekers, then serious social inequities can arise. It is somewhat easier for those living downtown, with more than half a million jobs within 20 minutes accessibility by public transit, to formulate the principle that people should seek out jobs in proximity to where they live. The principle becomes somewhat tarnished in suburban districts where the pool of available jobs within 20 minutes accessibil-





ity by public transit might be less than 5% that of the downtown.

Employment planning to respond to new labour force conditions in the suburbs will require a number of complementary public strategies.



## 8.0 IMMIGRATION

Throughout the post-war period, Metropolitan Toronto has served as a primary immigrant reception region for Ontario and Canada. In 1961, one out of every five Metro residents had immigrated to Canada during the previous fifteen years (1946-1961); one out of every three Metro residents in 1961 was born outside of Canada.<sup>47</sup> The highest concentration of immigrants was to be found in the central urban area, particularly in the western districts.

The rapid population growth of Metro in the post-war period drew heavily on the influx of new Canadians into the region. On the whole, immigrants to Metro tended to occupy older housing stock of the central area, constructed before 1920. Homeownership was a primary objective of post-war immigrants. It conferred a sense of rootedness and belonging in a new country. For most, the first house to be owned was generally an older house in

the central area, often in greater need of repair and as a result, more financially accessible. Post-war immigrants played a major role in conserving and rehabilitating the older housing stock of the central area, even before the middle class conversions of the late sixties and seventies. Some immigrants remained in the central area; others were eventually able to find their way into the suburban housing market.

High levels of post-war immigration to Metro resulted in the cultural transformation of the central area. Toronto became a cosmopolitan community with visible cultural variation in many districts and neighbourhoods. There were now many languages to be heard across the city, accompanied by a growing multi-cultural economy of commerce and services reflecting the immigrant presence. From 1946 to 1961, 98% of all immigrants to Metro were from European countries of origin, primarily - Italy, Germany, and the British Isles. This was a major period of adjustment for both established residents and newcomers, in part facilitated by the compactness of the central area where immigrant settlement took place. New immigrants of similar cultural background were able to locate near each other in sufficient numbers to develop communal forms of self help. The physical environment accommodated to their presence; small stores were converted

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<sup>47</sup> Anthony H. Richmond, Immigrant and Ethnic Groups in Metropolitan Toronto: A Preliminary Study. York University, 1966. P. 37-39

into new enterprises reflecting the cultural influence of Metro's newcomers. Early post-war immigrants had a visible sense of their own presence in the community, and in turn, made a visible contribution to the commerce, services, and cultural experiences of city living.

The large scale absorption of immigrants into the central area placed new demands on public and voluntary services. This was a difficult period of adjustment; eventually the schools, police, public health, and family agencies gradually came to reflect the new multilingual and multicultural realities of the immigrant populations they served.

From 1961 on, there were continued high levels of immigration to Metro. Each year, an average of 53,000 immigrants settled in Metro; this represented almost three out of every ten immigrants to Canada.<sup>48</sup> There were, however, major shifts which had taken place in the settlement pattern of new immigrants to Metro. In the early seventies, the inner municipalities were no longer the exclusive reception areas for new immigrants; Metro's suburbs were now major reception areas in which the first experiences of Canadian life were taking

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<sup>48</sup> Toronto Board of Education, Immigration Statistics for Canada, Ontario, & Metro, June 1977, and Government of Ontario, Education Statistics, 1976.

place for growing numbers of adults and children.

Figure 31 and Enclosure 37 identify the estimated population of immigrants aged five and over, who migrated to Canada between 1971 and 1976. These are estimates because the 1976 census only recorded individuals who did not reside in Canada prior to June 1971. This could also include Canadian citizens and previously landed immigrants who were living outside of Canada during the 1971 census. This would lower the count somewhat, but not significantly, in light of illegal immigrant residents - many of whom might not be reflected in the census count. In 1975, the Mayor's Task Force on Immigration from the City of Toronto quoted an R.C.M.P. estimate that there could be up to 100,000 illegal immigrant residents in Metro. As well, the census data does not include children aged 0 - 4 born into recent immigrant families while in Canada. Thus the data presented would more likely be a conservative estimate of recent immigrant settlement in Metro. The distribution patterns appear to be consistent with other data.

In 1976, one half of all immigrants to Canada from 1971 to 1976 (aged 5 and over), had settled in Metro's suburban municipalities. A higher proportion of

school-aged immigrant children aged 5 - 14 were in suburban municipalities - 19% of all immigrants to the suburbs, 15% in the inner municipalities. The City of Toronto continued to receive the largest number and proportion of immigrants, closely followed by North York, where recent immigrants constituted 10% of the population. Scarborough, while having a lower percentage of total immigrants, had the highest percentage of school-aged immigrant children - 21% of all recent immigrants. Etobicoke had the lowest proportion of recent immigrants to Metro, but still a high percentage of school-aged children. Declining elementary school enrolment in the suburbs has been accompanied by increased numbers of school-aged immigrant children, often with special learning needs.

Enclosure 37 identifies the distribution of recent immigrants to Metro by districts. Those districts in which recent immigrants comprised either 10% of the general population, or numbered 10,000 or more, have been highlighted. The proportion of recent immigrants are of interest in identifying social changes in the residential composition of districts; higher numbers of recent immigrants suggest concentrated areas of need in Metro districts, irrespective of what the proportions may be.

In 1976, there were six districts in the rapid growth suburbs which were among the highest reception areas for recent immigrants to Metro. These districts were located in North York and Scarborough, in areas which sustained higher levels of population growth from 1971 to 1976. In the early seventies, recent immigrants to Metro had joined with other Canadians in becoming pioneer settlers in newly developing suburban areas of Metro. Areas of recent immigrant concentration in the central area remained south of Bloor Street, and up the western districts into York.

One rapid growth district -M.P.D.5B - had the highest proportion of recent immigrants in all of Metro. This reflected large concentrations in the district south of Eglinton Avenue, where almost one out of every three residents in 1976 was a recent immigrant to Canada. This is the same area where inter-governmental negotiations have failed in almost ten years to provide the neighbourhood with a much needed "human resources" centre.

There is little recent research to identify the varying factors which influence the settlement choices of recent immigrants to Metro, particularly of

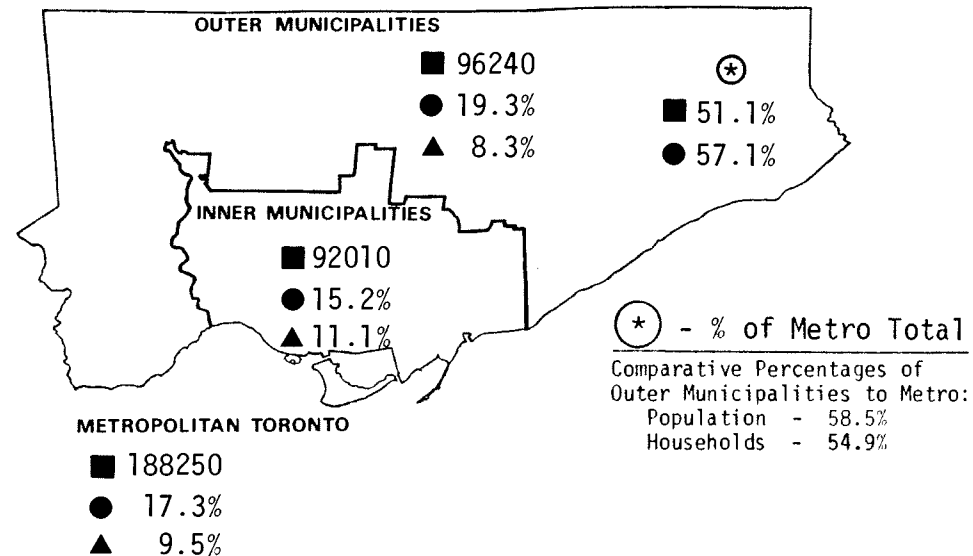
those who have gone to the suburbs. Project respondents serving recent immigrants suggested that there was a diminishing supply of inexpensive housing in the central area, as in previous years. Large scale suburban apartment developments - both private and public - along with townhouse (and stacked townhouse) developments, had become new forms of financially accessible housing for recent immigrants. There are other factors which would influence a move to the suburbs. These include:

- (a) the cultural diversity of recent immigration and the absence of developed support networks in the central area for some new groups. This would act as a filtering process in light of scarcer central area housing. Recent immigrants of cultural backgrounds without support structures and networks in the central area would find it more difficult to locate and settle in these districts;
- (b) a preference by recent immigrant families with children to enjoy the benefits of suburban living upon arrival in Canada;

Figure: 31

Distributions: Estimated Recent Immigrant Settlement Patterns, 1976

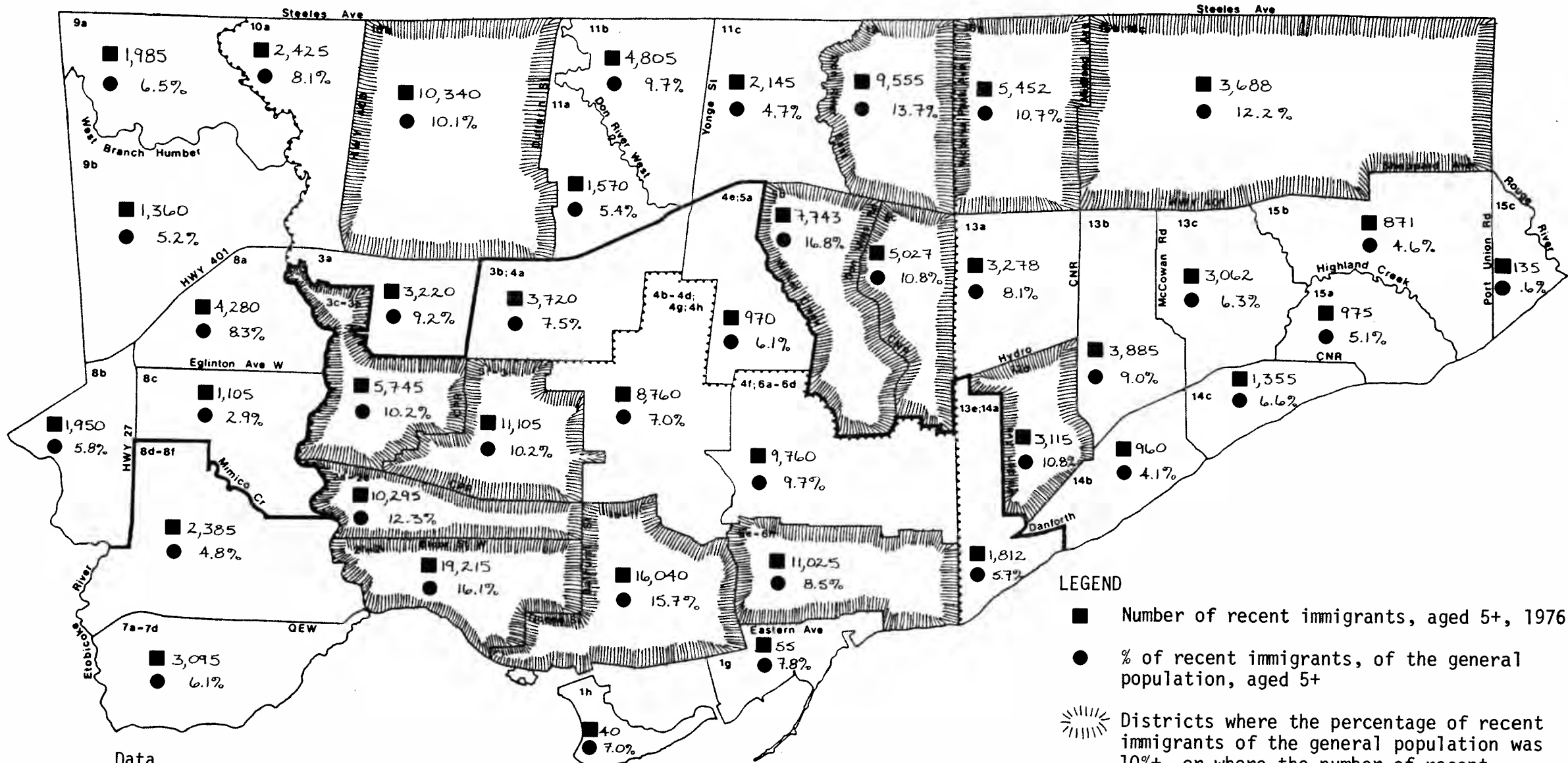
■ number of recent immigrants, 1976 ● percentage aged 5-14, 1976  
▲ percentage of recent immigrants to general population, 1976



COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS

Toronto (City)	■ 69370	● 15.5%	▲ 11.7%	East York	■ 9760	● 12.0%	▲ 9.7%
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North York	■ 51510	● 18.5%	▲ 9.9%	Scarborough	■ 28595	● 21.3%	▲ 7.9%
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York	■ 12880	● 16.5%	▲ 9.8%	Etobicoke	■ 16135	● 18.4%	▲ 5.8%
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Data Source: Statistics Canada



Data Source: Statistics Canada

LEGEND

- Number of recent immigrants, aged 5+, 1976
- % of recent immigrants, of the general population, aged 5+

⊘ Districts where the percentage of recent immigrants of the general population was 10%+, or where the number of recent immigrants was 10,000+

Note: Recent immigrants refer to persons aged 5+ who migrated to Canada between 1971-1976

- (c) the location of recently developed publicly-assisted housing in newer suburban districts;
- (d) the presence of established ethnic networks and clusters in the suburbs arising from earlier periods of immigration, and the desire of recent immigrants to reside in proximity to such networks and clusters.

In previous periods there has been a relationship between large scale immigration into the urban centres and the growth of new suburban communities. As immigrants settled in the centre, established residents moved further out. This pattern was already evident in the late nineteenth century in a number of North American cities.<sup>49</sup> Early suburbs reflected the cultural homogeneity of established residents who had left the cities. In many respects this pattern was also evident in Metro Toronto into the early and mid sixties. For much of the post-war period of rapid suburban growth in Metro, suburban neighbourhoods and communities included adults and children more familiar with the experiences of Canadian living. Earlier

post-war suburbs in Metro included districts with ethnic and cultural diversity, but these were residents for whom the suburbs were not usually their first exposure to Canadian life.

The 1971 to 1976 immigrant trends have led to mixed suburban communities of established residents and newcomers to Canada. The incomplete process of suburban community building is now faced with the need to integrate residents into a new society and culture. It has long been recognized that adapting to a new society and culture is a difficult process for individuals and families. Over time the central urban area developed institutions and self-help societies to facilitate the integration of recent immigrants. The compactness of the central area facilitated mobility and access to extended family and kinship networks of informal support. The availability of inexpensive housing through the urban core and centre made it possible for clustering to occur.

Some adult immigrants spent most of their lives in transitional communities in the urban centre. Compact and culturally homogeneous communities made it possible to draw upon traditional supports in adjusting to Canadian

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<sup>49</sup> P. Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America (1820-1920). Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1978. P. 124

life. It was often only the children of early immigrants who were fully integrated into the mainstream of Canadian life.

The pattern of recent immigrant settlement in Metro's suburbs is quite different from what has traditionally occurred in the central area. In the suburbs there are highly dispersed and culturally diverse pockets of recent immigrants in contrast to the more homogeneous and compact clusters of the central area.

The cultural diversity of suburban immigration reflects national patterns of the late sixties and early seventies. Increasingly, new immigrants to Canada have come from countries and regions outside of Europe. Since Metro has been the largest urban reception centre for new immigrants to Canada, changes in national patterns would be quickly evident in Metro. Dispersed suburban immigrant pockets in the suburbs are a result of alternative housing patterns in the suburbs. Rapid growth suburbs are new environments in which there is a limited stock of older and less expensive housing in the process of being recycled. Suburban family homes are expensive and because of zoning limitations are

not adaptable to immigrant needs, such as multiple family occupancy.

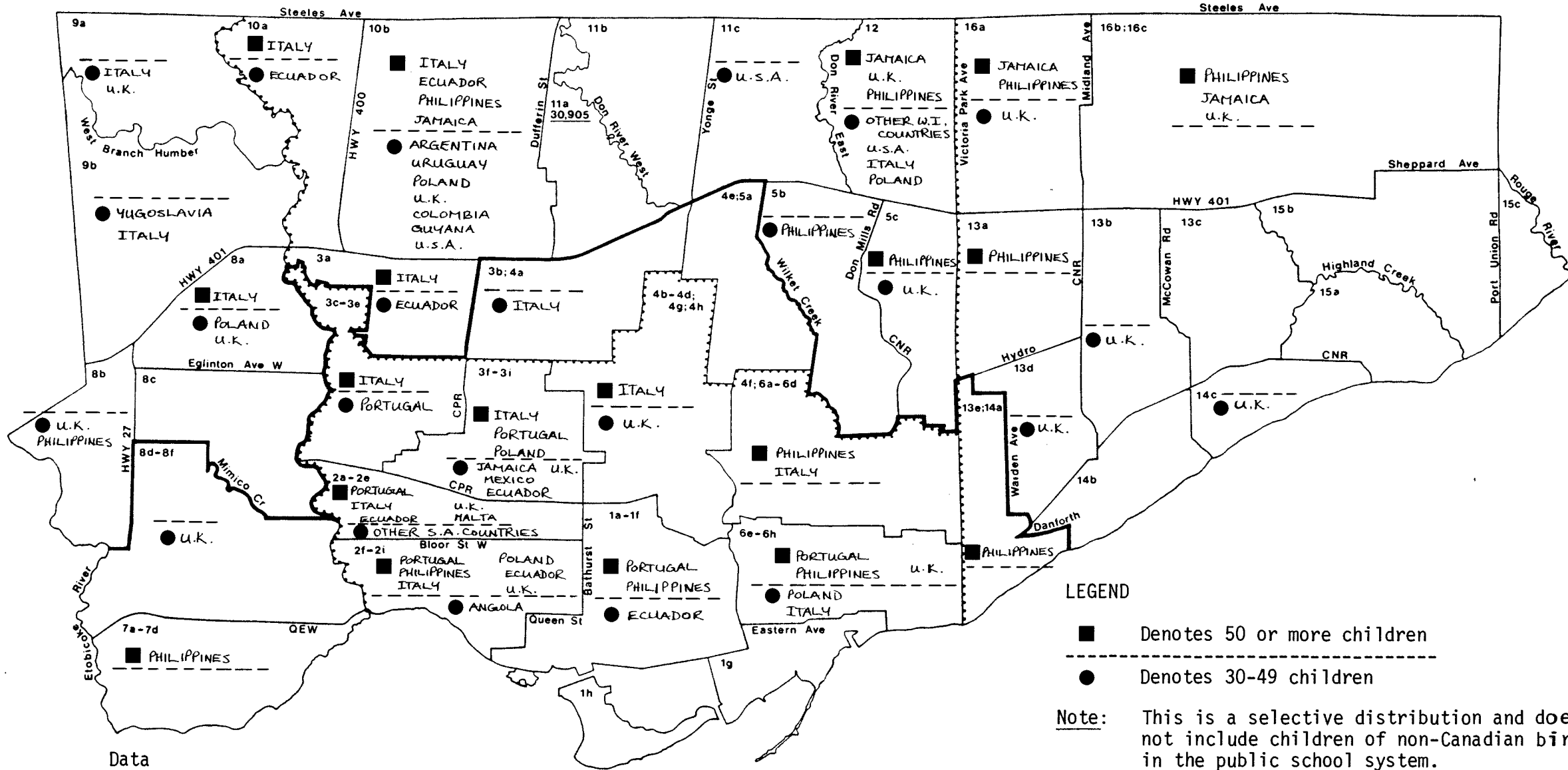
The established suburban neighbourhood is largely inaccessible to new immigrants. Apartments and townhouse developments accessible to recent immigrants are generally located on the periphery of established neighbourhoods, or in developments separated from established areas by empty land, commercial/industrial/institutional uses, or wide arterial roads. Thus there is an insufficient supply of affordable, usable, and contiguous housing in the suburbs to enable more compact and homogeneous forms of immigrant settlement to occur. Dispersion limits the possibilities for communal and mutual forms of support to develop. This places a heavier burden on suburban community services to facilitate the orientation and adjustment of new immigrants.

The 1976 Census did not include information on the countries of origin of recent immigrants to Canada. The Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board was an important source of social data on the cultural



ENCLOSURE 38: DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS (PLANNING DISTRICTS): MAJOR RECORDED COUNTRIES OF BIRTH, CHILDREN OF NON-CANADIAN BIRTH, METROPOLITAN TORONTO SEPARATE SCHOOL BOARD, K - 8, 1978

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**LEGEND**

- Denotes 50 or more children
- Denotes 30-49 children

**Note:** This is a selective distribution and does not include children of non-Canadian birth in the public school system.

Data Source: Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board

Table: 13

Major Recorded Countries of Birth (100 or More Children), Children of Non-Canadian Origins,  
Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board, K-8, 1978

OUTER MUNICIPALITIES

Italy	990
Philippines	825
United Kingdom	817
Jamaica	632
United States	300
Poland	250
Guyana	247
Ecuador	224
Trinidad & Tobago	181
Portugal	168
Hong Kong	160
Yugoslavia	160
India	150
Ireland	117
Argentina	105
Chile	105
Columbia	103
Uruguay	102

INNER MUNICIPALITIES

Portugal	4,652
Italy	1,602
Philippines	599
United Kingdom	294
Poland	269
Ecuador	268
Jamaica	132
Trinidad & Tobago	117

Data Source: Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board

diversity of immigrant children in their schools. Enclosure 38 identifies the distribution of major recorded countries of birth of immigrant children in elementary grades (K-8) of separate schools in Metro in 1978. This is a selective distribution and does not include children of non-Canadian birth in the public school system.<sup>50</sup> Table 13 is a summary of major recorded countries of birth by outer and inner municipalities.

The cultural diversity of immigrant students is most evident in two rapid growth suburban districts. In M.P.D.10B (North York), there were more major countries of recorded birth than in any other district of Metro. Another North York district - M.P.D.12, also included a diversity of cultural origins. The countries of origin in these districts reflect national immigration patterns; there are children living in rapid growth suburbs who were born in Latin America, the Caribbean, Southern and Eastern Europe, and Asia. Table 13 provides further evidence of the cultural diversity in the suburbs. In 1978, there were 18 major recorded countries of birth of separate school immigrant children (Grades K-8) in suburban municipalities; in the inner municipalities there were fewer major countries of origin (8),

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<sup>50</sup> It was not possible to develop similar distributions for suburban public schools in Metro. The Etobicoke and North York Boards of Education did not possess developed or available data on the cultural backgrounds of immigrant children in their schools. Data was available from the Scarborough Board of Education in municipal summary form.

but highly concentrated origin patterns (Portugal, Italy).

In the Scarborough public schools, over 7% of all elementary school pupils in 1978 were from non-European countries of origin -- from India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Bangladesh, Japan, China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, the Caribbean Islands, Guatemala, Guyana.<sup>51</sup> A review conducted of the Welcome House case-load from 1974 to 1977 indicated that the rapid growth suburbs as well as the central areas were primary settlement areas for new immigrants from Eastern Europe, Caribbean, Russia (Jewish), India, Pakistan, Greece, Korea, Middle East, Italy, Chile, South East Asia.<sup>52</sup> The only exception were immigrants from Portugal who settled in the central area; this pattern is consistent with the separate school distributions.

The suburbs of Metro have been generally unprepared to serve as settlement areas for new immigrants. In part this reflects the serious social limitations of urban planning by local government, combined with the

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<sup>51</sup> Scarborough Board of Education, May 1, 1978.

<sup>52</sup> S. Hilbert, Immigrant Settlement Patterns in New Suburban Areas. Unpublished paper, Atkinson College, York University, Social Welfare Department, January 1978.

absence of active consultation by senior government levels with local government on the urban implications of federal immigration policies. There is no local government authority with the responsibility to develop and monitor social data, identify changing social needs, and exercise leadership in preparing public and voluntary programs for the new social conditions requiring their services. It is only when un-addressed social needs explode into disruptive crises, such as the racial tension of recent years, that local government begins to exercise policy leadership.

For significant numbers of immigrant adults and children, trying to start a new life in the suburbs of Metro is a very difficult experience. Sources of this difficulty, as identified by project respondents, include:

(a) the absence of resources in the public schools to serve the special learning and adjustment needs of immigrant children.

School principals and classroom teachers have often been faced with unanticipated numbers of new immigrant children at the start of the school year, without the preparation or back-up to serve these children. For many immigrant

children, a suburban high rise apartment surrounded by other tall buildings and empty land, is not only their first exposure to Canada, but to urban life in general. These children are often experiencing a number of difficult adjustments at the same time -- to Canadian life and customs, to suburban living, to a new language, and sometimes to forms of family instability associated with the adjustment process.

The school classroom becomes the setting in which all the adjustment difficulties of immigrant children become evident. This places severe demands on classroom teachers and the existing resources of the school. There are additional costs involved in securing the resources to facilitate the learning and adjustment needs of suburban immigrant children. There is the need for ESL (English as a Second Language) teachers, school-community workers to bring the family and the classroom closer together, student services assessment and counselling staff, teacher in-service education, summer and evening booster programs, referral and follow-up with community agencies. In short, major public investments are required in suburban schools to serve the needs of immigrant children. Suburban school

boards have been unable to make the range of investments required. In a brief to the federal government in 1977 urging Ottawa to help finance supplementary programs for immigrant children, the Scarborough Board of Education stated:

"The cost involved in meeting the present Scarborough program for immigrant students places a heavy burden on the Scarborough school system. The Scarborough Board of Education is completely unable to assume the cost involved in adding staff on additional programs.

If the suggested program is to be implemented, it must be financed from resources not now available to the Scarborough Board of Education."<sup>53</sup> (emphasis added)

The additional needs which Scarborough stated in 1977 as being necessary to serve immigrant children included:

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53 Scarborough Board of Education, Meeting the Needs of Scarborough Immigrant Students: A Brief to the Minister of Manpower and Immigration, March 1977. P. 3

31 teachers, 10 teacher aides, 5 liaison workers, and back-up resources at an annual cost of \$750,000.

Service workers noted that classroom teachers in suburban areas with large populations of immigrant children were often operating under acute stress, overwhelmed by the educational and adjustment needs of their children, but unable to provide the individualized attention required by immigrant children. Suburban schools have generally assumed that the child's family - particularly in the classic suburban household - was a supplementary resource to promote the learning objectives of the school. With immigrant children the school is required to provide not only additional support to the child, but also to orient families into the learning activity of the school. With fewer suburban households now having a direct relationship to the schools, and established residents feeling that they have already paid for their children's learning, there is a limited political will in suburban municipalities to face the new educational needs of their schools.

(b) a serious crisis arising from the absence of financially accessible and publicly regulated child care.

Many women from recent immigrant households are in the labour force as primary wage earners to support their families. Day care services are critically required by suburban immigrant families of all cultural backgrounds.<sup>54</sup> Where adequate care is neither available nor accessible, some of the alternative arrangements are unsatisfactory to the welfare of children. Unsatisfactory arrangements cited by project respondents included low quality unregulated care, young children left alone on apartment floors, both parents off to work before breakfast and children sometimes not showing up for school, younger children coming alone or being left for periods of time inside shopping centres. With extended family and kinship systems often cut off, suburban immigrant families are more dependent on community supports. Provincial cutbacks in financing day care have not resulted in fewer immigrant women in the suburbs joining the labour force; it has meant increased hazard and threat to the welfare of young suburban immigrant children where inadequate child care exists.

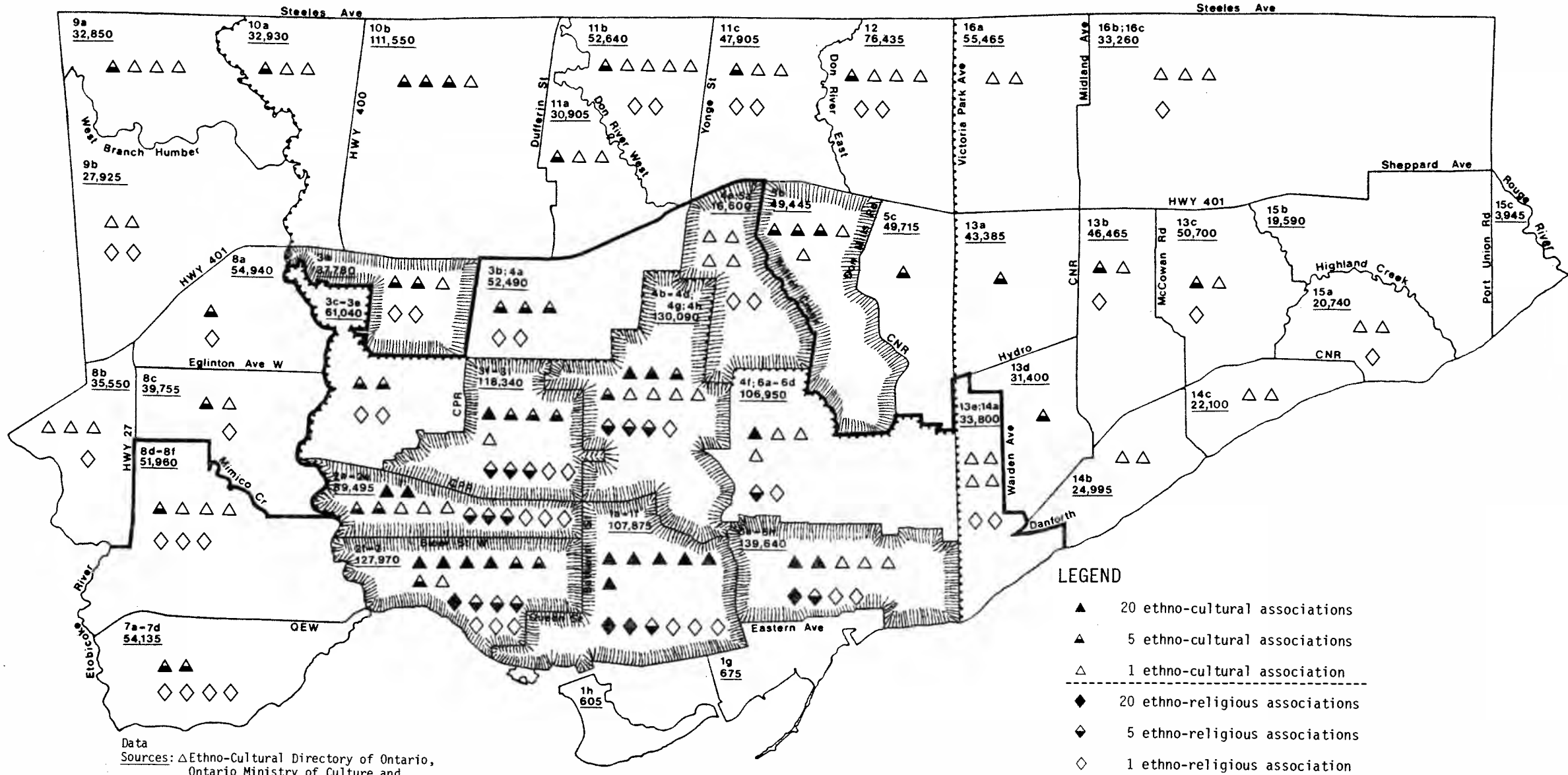
(c) the severe isolation and stress experienced by immigrant women in the suburbs, particularly where English is not their first language, or where marital instability has developed.

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54 S. Hilbert, op.cit.

Respondents cited instances of immigrant women who did not speak English being fearful of leaving their suburban dwelling to shop or use public transit, for fear that they would get lost and be unable to communicate with strangers to receive directions. In compact central area settings, particularly where there was more cultural homogeneity, the streets were less a source of fear. There were people around and stores of one's own cultural background as familiar and reassuring sources of casual support.

Public environments in the suburbs - plazas, local centres - are anonymous settings in appearance, presentation and function, primarily meeting the needs of established residents. They have a limited capacity to reflect the multi-cultural presence of new Canadians in the suburbs. The colours, languages, textures, forms and specialty retail services associated with multi-cultural settlements in the central area, are just not in evidence in Metro's rapid growth suburbs. The visible environment provides limited recognition and confirmation of suburban cultural realities, other than the public presence of the people themselves. Thus the opportunities for casual contact and exchange between



Data Sources:  $\Delta$ Ethno-Cultural Directory of Ontario, Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1976

$\diamond$ Multi-Religious Expressions Directories, Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, 1976

**LEGEND**

- $\blacktriangle$  20 ethno-cultural associations
- $\blacktriangle$  5 ethno-cultural associations
- $\triangle$  1 ethno-cultural association
- $\blacklozenge$  20 ethno-religious associations
- $\blacklozenge$  5 ethno-religious associations
- $\lozenge$  1 ethno-religious association
- $\text{sunburst}$  Districts (upper 1/5) with highest concentration per capita of ethno-cultural and ethno-religious associations

immigrants of similar cultural origin are few. This increases the isolation experienced by suburban women.

There are few services in Metro's suburbs specifically directed to the needs of recent immigrant women. These services tend to be primarily located in the central area. The major reception and orientation facility of the Ontario government - Welcome House - remains inaccessible to suburban women in its somewhat dated harbour location. English language programs for immigrant women with pre-school children are offered in a number of suburban locations such as churches. These are valuable services, but not a substitute for multi-purpose service centres to meet the counselling, employment, language, health, and recreation needs of suburban immigrant women.

(d) insufficient access to sources of social integration with members of one's own culture, or the general community.

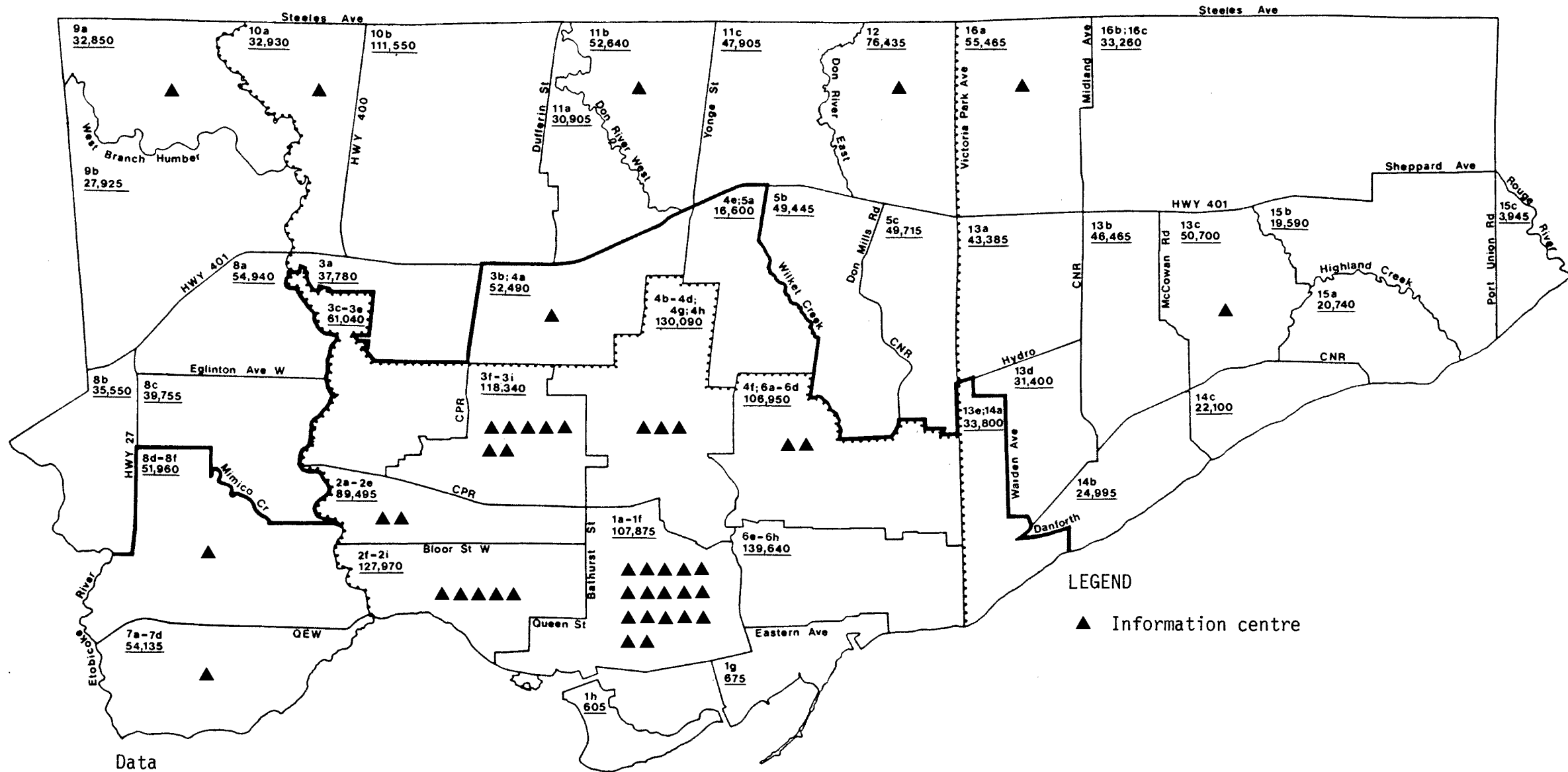
While there are significant numbers of new immigrants in the suburbs, ethno-cultural and ethno-religious associations are largely located in the central urban area. This reflects the longer tradition of immigrant settlement in the centre, and the consequent location of communal and mutual support associations in these areas. Enclosure 39 indicates that there are far fewer ethno-cultural and ethno-religious association in districts

north of Highway 401, where large numbers of new immigrants have settled.

Dispersed and multi-cultural forms of suburban immigrant settlement have created special problems for public funders of ethno-cultural associations. In many rapid growth suburban districts there are a diversity of ethno-cultural residents. It is not within the financial capabilities of public funders to separately finance each of the ethno-cultural groups in every suburban district where they are located. Multi-cultural initiatives are required in the suburbs; there are however limited forms of inter-group relations work being carried out under private, voluntary, or church auspices to develop and promote such initiatives.

Metro's suburbs have become multi-racial as well as multi-cultural communities. Project respondents noted that there were still undercurrents of racial tensions in suburban districts; there was however a general view that the difficult periods of conflict and violence might have subsided for the present time. Where racial tensions persisted, they were particularly directed to Asian minorities. In suburban communities where there are neighbourhood





LEGEND  
 ▲ Information centre

Data Sources: Information Directory  
 Community Information Centre of Metropolitan Toronto, 1977  
 Yellow Pages Directory, 1977

voluntary agencies, residents and service workers have provided local leadership in promoting sound inter-group relations. In most other communities, the police have assumed major responsibilities in easing racial tension, and in promoting productive forms of communication with minority group leaders and residents. Other than the police, however, there are few if any community workers operating in rapid growth districts with broad mandates to promote constructive patterns of race relations. There is no ongoing funding available for detached youth workers; there are few school-community relations workers in local areas; site planning offices do not exist; neighbourhood agencies struggle on limited budgets; there are few, if any, church funded community development projects. What are sometimes designated as community development programs are limited in function to offering consultation, but do not perform an initiating role.

While overt racial tension has decreased in the suburbs, respondents were fearful that prolonged and increased levels of unemployment in immigrant settlement areas, primarily among youth and young adults, could lead once more to conflict and violence. Unemployment was cited as a major contributing factor to serious racial tension of recent years.

(e) inadequate information resources and services for recent immigrants unfamiliar with government and community programs, or where special language difficulties exist.

Service respondents noted with satisfaction that major public services in the suburbs such as hospitals, police, treatment and counselling centres, libraries, had developed multi-lingual capabilities. This served to facilitate the use of programs, once recent immigrants were aware of a service and how to link up with it. There are however very limited resources in Metro's suburbs to increase immigrant awareness for the range of programs and support which exist or may be used.

Enclosure 40 identifies the distribution of information centres in Metropolitan Toronto in 1977. Included are municipal-wide as well as locally-based services. Municipal-wide information services rely primarily on the use of the telephone to help those in need of assistance. Most possess multi-lingual capabilities. These services are available to all residents of Metro. In recent years recognition had developed that locally-based information centres, operating on a neighbourhood or district basis, are important supplements

to municipal-wide programs. They offer individuals access to drop-in forms of direct personal contact for concerns sometimes too complex or sensitive to be discussed over the telephone, or where reassurance is sought in the process of receiving information. Local information centres can also specialize in areas of particular interest to the neighbourhood or districts they serve. Areas of specialization can include income support, rental housing, or child care.

In 1977 the distribution of local information centres was inconsistent with the location of recent immigrants to Metro. There were significantly fewer local centres in the rapid growth suburbs in relation to the number of centres located in the central area. Districts with large and diverse numbers of immigrants - M.P.D.5B and M.P.D.10B - were without fully operational local centres. This is a source of special concern. Service respondents noted that suburban immigrants were facing difficulties with the unemployment insurance program. In the central areas, local information centres play a major role in ensuring that immigrants, particularly where language difficulty exists, receive fair and equitable treatment from U.I.C., and are not subject to arbitrary judgements because they are less familiar with, or at times intimidated by, government programs. Local information centres are also

important sources of support in helping recent immigrants acquire needed health, English instruction, family counselling, and other similar programs and services.

Provincial financing of local information centres is available only where there is some cost-sharing by municipalities. Suburban municipalities in Metro have frequently placed a low priority on the adequate financing of local centres. This has tended to discourage voluntary efforts to initiate and sustain suburban information centres.

Other gaps in suburban information support for recent immigrants included limited interpreter services for general needs, and insufficient multi-lingual publications and directories on existing services and resources.

In brief then, new immigrants in the suburbs face serious difficulties. They are expected to integrate into Canadian life far sooner than previous generations of immigrants, without the formal and informal supports which have traditionally existed or been required. The settlement of recent immigrants in the suburbs is not a temporary phenomena. While the numbers of new immigrants to Metro will decline significantly from over 50,000 a year

to around 30,000 in light of new federal ceilings (100,000 a year for Canada), the suburbs will continue to absorb at least half of all new immigrants to Metro. Support services are required to facilitate the settlement of immigrants who will come in the future, and to serve the unmet needs of immigrant children and families who settled in Metro's suburbs during the seventies.