Towards a framework for local responsibility

Taking action to end the current limbo in immigrant settlement – Toronto

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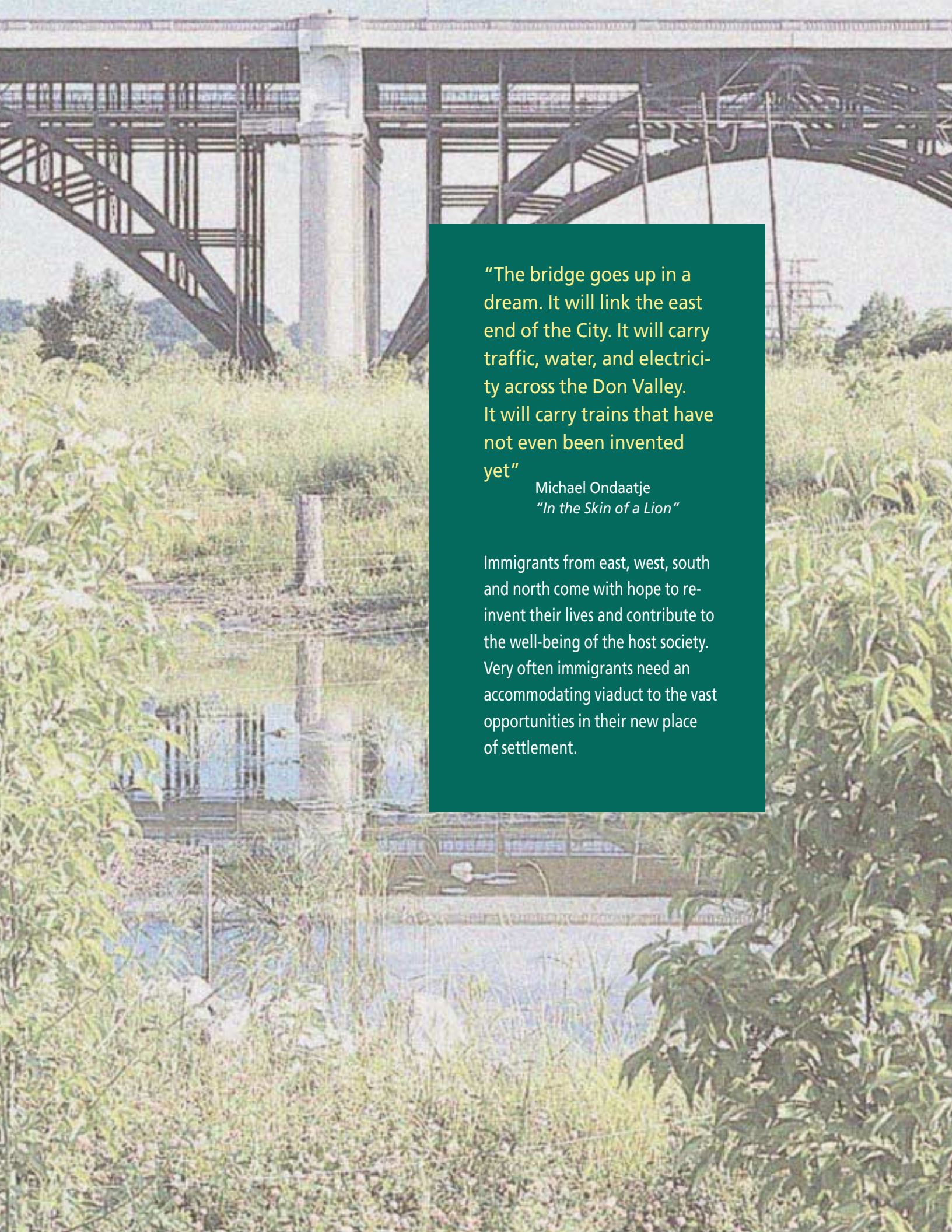

"The bridge goes up in a dream. It will link the east end of the City. It will carry traffic, water, and electricity across the Don Valley. It will carry trains that have not even been invented yet"

Michael Ondaatje
"In the Skin of a Lion"

Immigrants from east, west, south and north come with hope to re-invent their lives and contribute to the well-being of the host society. Very often immigrants need an accommodating viaduct to the vast opportunities in their new place of settlement.

Acknowledgements

This report was made possible by the Maytree Foundation. The aim of this report is to position immigrant settlement policy and planning within the context of increasing grass-roots pressure on upper tiers of government to strengthen the mandate and resource base of Toronto and other Canadian major cities. This report is particularly focused on the immigrant settlement service sector. The report hopes, among other issues, to rekindle debate and promote action to end the current state of intergovernmental limbo in immigrant settlement policy and service management.

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1.0 Introduction

Several months have gone by since the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington. These events resulted in very negative impacts on international relations, undermining assumptions about the world's progressive transformation into a global village with fewer restrictions on the movement of peoples. Invariably, in Canada, one outcome of the events of September 11th has been the shift in public discourse and policy makers focus to immigration and national security. As a result of increased attention to these matters, the federal government in its most recent budget allocated a huge amount of resources to boost the scrutiny of new immigrants and security at airports and border crossings.

Although the issue of national security is very important, its heightened link with immigration will invariably have negative implications for Canada – as a country that values immigrants as a key contributor to its demographic and economic well-being. One of the consequences of current policy bias towards national security is the continued neglect of settlement policy and programming for new immigrants that are already in Canada. While the federal government continues to be preoccupied with the selection of 'low-risk' immigrants in terms of security, Canada's major cities like Toronto have been left to shoulder the challenges of immigrant settlement without a proper mandate or sufficient resources to do so. One of the main purposes of this paper is to rekindle positive debate on immigration and settlement and promote action to end the current state of intergovernmental limbo in relation to responsibility for settlement policy, planning and programming. An important aim of this paper is to look closely at the prospects of setting up a system based on greater local responsibility for settlement policy and planning, especially in major cities like Toronto.

In recent years, Canada's economic base underwent fundamental changes and now relies increasingly on new computer technologies as well as a rapidly expanding service sector. Parallel to these techno-economic changes, in the last several years, we have also witnessed fundamental changes to traditional inter-governmental relations and responsibilities between the existing three tier system of government. In Ontario, municipalities now shoulder a heavier burden of responsibility for essential social services. In general, municipalities have increasingly become the place where citizens access key services such as health, recreation education and social services. However, during this period of crucial change in responsibilities and roles of governments, the important issues of governance and policy development in relation to immigrant settlement have remained in limbo. Although the province and the federal government commenced discussions on settlement renewal in Ontario almost ten years ago, to date they are no closer to an agreement on reforming the current top-down and short-term basedneeds service system.

As a result, settlement planning and programming continue to be subsumed and overshadowed by the dictates of unpredictable national immigration policy. In the meantime, the challenges faced by immigrants and local authorities in major cities like Toronto continue to highlight not only the need for reforming current service delivery, but also for a comprehensive settlement policy and planning framework that delivers meaningful benefits equally to both local host communities and new immigrants.

In the case of Toronto – the main focus of this paper – the need for a comprehensive settlement planning and programming policy is highlighted by a number of demographic, resource allocation and settlement imperatives.

Toronto's reputation as one of the most socially and economically livable places in the world is invariably linked to the contribution of a steady stream of immigrants in the last fifty years. In addition to contributing to Toronto's general well-being, immigrants from all parts of the globe have also transformed its cultural environment. Three quarters of all household heads in the city have at least one parent that was born outside of Canada, ranging from 170 different countries and speaking over 100 languages. Today, Toronto is an incredibly multicultural city of about 4 million people. A recent city of Toronto report: "Immigration & Policy Framework" (Chief Administrative Officer, 2001), noted that Toronto's linguistic and socio-economic diversity is one of the key competitive aspects that must be strengthened. However, one of the most overlooked aspects of this rich human and cultural investment is the challenge of settling recent immigrants with very different expectations and needs into the life and systems of existing urban communities and neighbourhoods.

In recent times, the majority of all immigrants to Canada – over 70 percent – settle in three major cities – Vancouver, Montreal and Toronto. About 30 percent of the most recent immigrants settle in Toronto. Over the last decade, immigration rather than natural birth rate has emerged as the most significant contributor to the population growth of Canada's three major cities. Due to an aging workforce and declining birth rates, immigration has played a key role in augmenting Canada's workforce. Since the second world war, immigration has become a primary force not only in broad economic and demographic terms, but also in shaping the Canadian urban environment. Immigration impacts on the city's streetscape, residential housing development, neighbourhood continuity, and delivery of municipal services (Harold Troper, 2000).

The transformation of Toronto into a global multicultural city has not come without challenges. Many immigrants require settlement services when they first

arrive as well as linguistically- and culturally-appropriate health and social services throughout their years of adaptation. A good settlement service sector is crucial to ensuring effective settlement of immigrants, and continued public support for the need to recruit more immigrants. Reitz (1998) has shown in a comparative study of different countries that the level of public support for settlement is vital to both the economic success and socio-political inclusion of new immigrants. Recent findings by social researchers point not only to an increasingly challenging settlement process for many newcomers, but also to increased stress on the host social systems at the neighbourhood level. The current trend of escalating poverty among immigrant groups could undermine the well-being of Toronto's inner city neighbourhoods, and in the process fuel the erosion of public support for the current balance of Canada's immigration policies.

According to a report by the city of Toronto "Immigration and Settlement Policy Framework" (Chief Administrative Officer, 2001) the city requires more resources to respond to the growing need for housing, employment and community services for newcomers. The report warns that the services currently provided to many new immigrants are not adequate. The challenge of effectively settling new immigrants is not unique to Toronto. At a recent meeting of the leaders of five major cities in Canada convened by the prominent urban affairs scholar Jane Jacobs, the mayors unanimously agreed to pursue the federal government for the right to be consulted on relevant policy and program development concerning immigrants and refugees "C5 Conference in Winnipeg" (Maytree Foundation, 2001). The five mayors are also seeking reimbursement for municipal services rendered to immigrants and refugees. The city of Toronto's report (Chief Administrative Officer, 2001) also outlined its case for a new policy and planning framework for dealing with the challenges of service delivery to newcomers. Other major cities in the greater Toronto area are in the process of developing an urban settlement strategy to coordinate action in tackling the challenges of settling newcomers in local neighbourhoods.

1.1 Why this Report?

This report was commissioned by the Maytree Foundation of Toronto to highlight the issues and challenges facing Toronto as the primary settlement destination of an increasing number of new immigrants. The challenges of settlement are experienced both by individual newcomers and by surrounding social systems, especially at the neighbourhood level. According to reports by key social scientists, Ornstein M. (2000) and Harvey et al. (2001), today's immigrants are experiencing inequitably high levels of poverty compared to non-immigrant residents. This disturbing trend, if not checked, will not only undermine the well-being of city neighbourhoods, but also erode public support for the current balance of Canada's immigration policies.

According to key community stakeholders in Toronto's settlement policy and service sector, a critical element in attacking these challenges is the need to reform the existing governance system for policy, planning and delivery of settlement services. In a consultation organized by the Maytree Foundation, in 1999, participants made up of researchers, community organizations and government representatives discussed the benefits of the city taking greater control of settlement services. Many participants at the consultations stressed that the existing approach to settlement services for immigrants and refugees is not working well due to the current resource and power relationship between the federal, provincial and municipal governments.

Based on the terms and references of the study, this report will:

- examine the main challenges faced by newcomers and host communities or neighbourhoods,
- illustrate the problem of current mismatches between settlement needs and services, and responsibilities and resources,
- provide parameters for a new policy, planning and service delivery relationship between the main governmental and non-governmental stakeholders in responding to the settlement challenges of new immigrants in Toronto.

The main stakeholders include the city of Toronto, local residents including immigrants and refugees, community-based providers of settlement services, private funders and the various federal and provincial departments involved in immigrant settlement.

Historically, in Canada, issues of immigration and settlement have been the responsibility of the federal and provincial governments. While the federal government is solely responsible for enforcing immigration rules and regulations, including selecting new immigrants to Ontario, they are partners with the province in funding settlement services. In recent years, major Canadian cities

like Toronto have increased their role in providing settlement services to new immigrants. Due to increasing demand for settlement services, and the financial squeeze caused by recent federal and provincial devolution policies, municipal leaders have become very active in seeking added financial support as well as a greater role in immigration policy and planning.

In response to the growing demand for settlement services, private foundations and community charities in Toronto have increased their funding to the immigrant services sector. Community charities, like the United Way of Toronto, for example, have augmented their existing support for immigrant services with an exclusive stream of funding to support the work of immigrant serving agencies. The Maytree Foundation a private, Canadian charitable foundation established in 1982 to enhance public discourse and contribute to the process of developing good public policy, now has a full program that funds newcomer community-based settlement initiatives. The Foundation's mandate includes a commitment to reducing poverty and promoting equality in Canada and building strong civic communities. To realize these objectives the foundation has created the Caledon Institute of Social Policy and a distinct Refugee and Immigration program, along with numerous other initiatives. In addition to direct service support, the Maytree Foundation is very keen to explore policy innovations to improve the overall well-being of the settlement sector. The commissioning of this report by the Maytree Foundation reflects its desire to contribute to the effective settlement of newcomers and the reform of the sector's governance and policy, planning and delivery framework.

This report is relevant not only to government and private foundations, but also to a diverse infrastructure of community-based agencies that play a key role in the delivery of settlement services to new immigrants. In addition to service delivery, over the past years, community-based providers of settlement services have assumed greater responsibility in cross-sector coordination and management of settlement services. The injection of federal funding into the creation of centers of immigration research excellence several years ago (the Metropolis Project) added a significant chunk of financial resources to the university community for research on immigration and settlement issues. All these welcome developments reflect a growing public policy interest in immigration and settlement issues in major cities. This trend will continue to be a prominent feature of Canadian social policy development in the new millennium.

Over the last five years, a large volume of research on Canadian immigration trends and settlement challenges has been generated by researchers and policy

analysts from the academic, community and government sectors. This report is based on these findings, as well as on confidential selected interviews with key informants to validate the interpretation and test the proposals.

The following basic assumptions are at the foundation of this report:

- Toronto is uniquely positioned to pioneer the development of an urban settlement policy and coordinated settlement service delivery framework because of its high population of recent immigrants and extensive network of settlement services. In 1996, there were 878,000 recent immigrants in Toronto, over 40 percent of all immigrants living in Canada.(Recent Immigrants in the Toronto Metropolitan Area – A comparative Portrait Based on the 1998 Census – Citizenship and Immigration Canada May 2000).
- The settlement service sector has grown into a major part of the social service terrain, and effective settlement services require coordination with municipal policies, planning and service delivery;
- Toronto needs a broad vision of settlement policy that not only deals with short- term and intermediate needs of immigrants and refugees but also establishes as long-term goals the elimination of barriers to accessing existing city services and the promotion of full participation and inclusion in city neighbourhoods;
- The city needs a local settlement service delivery framework that promotes partnership with respect to planning, accountability, and effective delivery in settlement services involving community-based delivery agents, municipal services and school boards as well as the appropriate federal and provincial departments with mandates related to settlement and economic integration;
- The city also needs a local settlement framework that provides greater scope for the participation of immigrants in policy formulation and service planning;
- The city needs a local settlement service delivery framework that promotes partnership with respect to planning, accountability, and effective delivery in settlement services involving community-based delivery agents, municipal services and school boards as well as the appropriate federal and provincial departments with mandates related to settlement and economic integration;
- An effective local newcomers' urban settlement policy must also be developed with a view to preventing the segregation and exclusion of visible minorities and the racialization of poverty, and enhancing the economic and social benefits of immigration;

- Large urban regions – like Toronto – should have the right to a diverse and larger share of tax dollars in order to fulfill their mandate to meet the needs of its immigration-driven population and economic growth.

An important premise of this paper is that investment in settlement is a necessary public good because immigration is beneficial to both Canada and Toronto, and successful settlement multiplies the economic benefits of immigration. Canada in general and Toronto in particular continue to need immigrants for their vital contributions to the labour force and to a healthy demographic balance. In addition, immigrants continue to contribute substantially more than they receive in terms of services from governments. A recent study by Lucia Lo et al. on the economic status of immigrants in Toronto, using 1995 tax year contributions, involved a balance sheet analysis of immigrants' per capita income tax contributions, per capita welfare benefits receipts, per capita employment benefits and tax- benefit ratios. It found that Toronto immigrants made a net contribution of $578.2 million to Canada's treasury receipts with a ratio of income tax to benefits of 1.7:1, i.e. for every $1 benefit in employment insurance and welfare collected there was $1.7 in income tax contribution. (Lo Lucia et al., 2000). Although, as expected, immigrants paid less income tax than Canadians, they also had a lower welfare dependency rate and lower employment insurance usage rate than the general population.

Apart from direct contributions through taxes, immigrants also contribute through other avenues such as the business investment program which brought in close to one billion dollars to Ontario alone and $2-3 billion to Canada (Simich L., 2000). It is also estimated that Toronto's total brain gain from its highly-educated pool of immigrants is over one billion dollars (Murray, 1998). A case study of the Chinese economy in Toronto showed that this sector has grown to include retail, wholesale and manufacturing enterprises that have strong and growing backward and forward linkages to traditional Canadian business enterprises (Lo and Wang, 2000). Although the full dimensions and contributions of the "ethnic economy" require more investigation, it appears evident from this study that they are significant in both micro- and macro-economic terms.

In this respect, it must also be noted that the economic contributions of immigrants and refugees would be significantly higher if Canada were capable of properly utilizing their foreign-based experience, education and skills. The growing pressure for real progress in the area of Access to Trades and Professions (ATP) comes from a recognition by key stakeholders that we are quite simply wasting the talents of our new citizens. It is bitterly ironic for the immigrants and refugees,

and those who try to assist them, that the various licensing and professional bodies appear to deny the legitimacy of the very skills and education that gained them admittance to our country. One unfortunate outcome of barriers to trades and professions is that many skilled people are forced to look to the exploitative grey market where conditions are unregulated and exploitative. Serious reform in this area is therefore essential to the development of successful settlement.

Overall then, the evidence is clear that immigration provides a net economic benefit. Providing adequate resources for settlement services in all their forms therefore must be seen as an essential investment in our collective economic prosperity. Likewise, providing for a system of governance, planning and policy-making that ensures that cities and local communities maximize the benefits of immigration is of utmost importance. The next section examines the unique challenges faced by immigrants and communities in the city of Toronto.

2.0 The Urban Newcomer Settlement Challenge

The settlement of newcomers poses challenges for the individual immigrant and the host society, and successful settlement requires a process that provides benefits to both parties. There are various reasons why different stakeholders in the settlement sector have questioned the efficacy of the existing governance and settlement service planning and delivery system. According to Councillor David Miller of the city of Toronto, the current system has created extra pressure on the resources of municipal governments because of the added effects of downloading of responsibilities to municipalities by senior levels of government: severe cutbacks to public spending; the amalgamation of municipalities; and the lack of government policy on immigration and refugee settlement issues (Chief Administrative Officer, 2000).

This paper will focus on three main reasons why questions have been raised about the current settlement system: service needs and barriers, service overload to municipalities and neighbourhood segregation and poverty among urban immigrants.

2.1 Service Needs and Barriers

The settlement of immigrants to Canada during the last century can be looked at within the context of three major waves. The first wave of immigrants involved agricultural immigrants from Europe and compelled labour such as Chinese railway builders. Many of the immigrants in this era relied primarily on employers – such as railway companies – and voluntary local community help to meet their initial settlement needs. The second wave of immigrants involved people who came to Canada – mostly from Europe – to work in the growing post world war manufacturing sector. During this period the federal and provincial government gradually added its support to the voluntary sector to deliver settlement services, in particular English language classes and job search services to a growing number of non-English speaking immigrants. The third wave of immigrants is generally considered to be the groups of immigrants that began arriving in large numbers in the late seventies/early eighties, mainly from non-traditional source countries in Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and South America. The arrival of these recent immigrants coincided with a period of transition in Canada's economy to an economic base that is increasingly reliant on new computer technologies and a fast expanding service sector. This reality combined with the multicultural nature of recent immigrants has highlighted the need for a new approach to immigrant settlement, away from a traditional focus on integration services to an approach based on investment in skills and cultural bridging.

For most new immigrants, the settlement journey typically begins with immediate needs for assistance and reception services such as food, clothing, shelter and orientation about Canada or Toronto along with translation and interpreting and initial language instruction. These needs are met, in varying proportions for different newcomer communities, by NGO service providers and emergency relief agencies as well as by the newcomers' families and communities.

In the middle or intermediate stage newcomers require assistance with access to various Canadian systems and institutions including municipal services in order to develop or upgrade skills, and bridge cultural and lifestyle differences. The principal needs during this stage of settlement is usually centered around timely and equitable access to the labour market. Other important needs in the intermediate stage include access to housing, health services, legal assistance, and advanced or employment-specific language instruction.

In the long term or final stage of settlement, immigrants and refugees strive to become equal participants in Canada's economic, cultural, social and political life. In general, the final stage of settlement is characterized by the individual motivation of newcomers as well as the struggles of their communities against

various systemic barriers to equal participation in Canadian society. While the outcome of the third stage is vital to successful settlement, it is during the first and second stages that formal service provision has the most impact. Currently however the majority of federal and provincial settlement programs are based on meeting needs of the first stage of settlement, while the most important barriers to successful settlement are most prominent in the second.

Earlier in 2001, as part of the process of developing a settlement policy framework, the city of Toronto conducted seven focus groups to discuss the main settlement challenges faced by new immigrants. (Chief Administrative Officer, 2001). The issues identified were much the same as those brought out by various community research initiatives over the past few years:

- Lack of access to information about what to expect in the settlement process;
- Lack of employment opportunities for newcomers;
- Lack of recognition of professional credentials from abroad;
- Lack of access to housing due to shortages of affordable housing as well as discriminatory practices; and
- Lack of access to generic health, recreation and social services.

These challenges to a large degree are rooted in systemic barriers such as those identified by Reitz (1995) including: lack of appropriate services in immigrants' first languages, lack of culturally-sensitive services, user fees, lack of service availability in terms of location or schedule, or simple lack of availability of required services. Similar systemic barriers were identified in Toronto more than a decade earlier in a study by Doyle and Visano (1987), who found that immigrants' access to services was impaired by lack of interpretation service among mainstream service providers, administrative barriers such as waiting lists and English-only application forms and costs related to day care and transportation.

Systemic barriers hindering access to services by new immigrants exist not only at the level of direct services but also with respect to policy and service coordination. At a forum to discuss the management and coordination of settlement services, organized by the Maytree Foundation in late 1999, participants identified a number of reasons why settlement services were not as effective as they needed to be. Among the reasons identified were a lack of coherence in public policy related to immigration and immigrant economic integration, and a "governance limbo" or lack of clarity about the respective roles of the federal, provincial and municipal governments in Ontario's settlement service sector. Participants at the forum spoke of a growing distance between policy makers and

service delivery agencies in identifying and overcoming the settlement challenges faced by immigrants and refugees. The forum identified a number of indicators of a systemic breakdown in the immigrant settlement sector (Simich, 2000), including:

- Extensive delays in economic integration of immigrants;
- Persistent barriers to fair access to professions and trades;
- Declining health status of immigrants after arrival to Canada; and
- Growing link between poverty and segregation of immigrants in major cities, especially in Toronto.

A study by Geronimo (2000) from an NGO service delivery framework identified the absence of a integrated immigration and settlement policy framework as a major flaw with respect to planning, service coordination, labour market adjustment, employment training and development, and the provision of general social services such as health, housing and welfare. In effect, there is a lack of a common vision and related strategic goals to provide an integrated immigration policy with respect to both selection and settlement. One crucial element of this discrepancy – not the only one by far – between selection policies and settlement challenges is the fact that immigrants are selected for entry to Canada on the basis of a skills assessment formulae that is not recognized by many of the professional and trades associations within Canada, with the result that many highly-skilled and highly-educated immigrants are excluded from continuing in their professions or trades after arrival in Canada.

2.2 Resource Concentration and Service Overload

Another fundamental problem affecting the effective planning and delivery of settlement services is the ongoing discrepancy in the concentration of resources within various federal departments while demand for services grows at the local, municipal level. This problem is caused by three main factors: a 'leadership limbo' in the management of settlement services in Ontario, upper-tier government tax gouging, and the impact of federal and provincial devolution of additional service responsibilities to Canadian municipalities, without the necessary resources to shoulder this extra burden.

Over the last several years, the federal government has been engaged in a process of devolving its responsibility from the direct administration and funding of settlement services to partners at the provincial or local level. Greater autonomy in settlement policy had already been given to Quebec and more recently, negotiations for a transfer of responsibilities were successfully completed with other Canadian provinces including Manitoba and British Columbia. To date, however, no agreement has been completed with the province of Ontario. The result, according to Owen (1999), has been confusion amongst service providers and civil servants alike, severely limiting any medium- or long- term program planning efforts. Since the existing Canadian constitutional arrangement does not permit the federal government and municipalities to deal directly without agreement from the provincial government, this state of affairs also represents an impasse with respect to a larger role for the city of Toronto. Due to the resulting 'governance limbo', decisions about the allocation and priorities for federal settlement funding – estimated to be over $50 million last year – continue to be made with no avenue for effective formal input by local stakeholders, including the city of Toronto. Concern about this state of affairs was manifested clearly at the stakeholders consultation forum sponsored by the Maytree Foundation in October 1999, when participants called for an audit of how settlement dollars are spent in Toronto, and specifically what programs are being funded and who is being served.

Another aspect of the resource concentration problem that impacts negatively on immigrants settlement is tax gouging by higher levels of government at the expense of the financial well-being of cities. In a recent forum of mayors from five major cities in Canada, the Mayor of Toronto, Mel Lastman, bitterly complained that the city of Toronto is in a serious financial crisis because of provincial devolution – more appropriately referred to as downloading – of added responsibilities in housing, transit and other social services without a corresponding increase in financial resources. He pointed out that Toronto only receives 4.8 percent of taxes collected with the rest going to the provincial and federal governments.

As a result, the city now relies on a very restricted revenue base primarily from property taxes to fund a growing volume of local services, including services for immigrants that make up half its population. (Maytree Foundation, 2001).

Toronto like other major immigrant host cities in Canada is very concerned about the resulting service overload problem caused by the mismatch of federal resource supply versus increasing local service demand. In his recent speech to the mayors of five major cities in Canada, the Mayor of Toronto also complained that the Federal government is not providing enough financial resources to support services to new immigrants. According to the Mayor,

- the city is spending up to $30 million a year to look after non-status refugees. In addition, according the City's Immigration and Settlement Policy Framework, 2001, the city is spending about 20 million dollars annually to provide social assistance to refugees and immigrants as result of sponsorship breakdown.
- the city spent an additional $4.3 million last year to house refugees in emergency shelters.
- the city reports that Toronto's increasing public health expenditure $1.63 million per year – is primarily due the high incidence of tuberculosis among immigrants from countries where the disease is endemic and treatment inadequate.

Other direct costs identified by the city of Toronto in the report cited by the Mayor of Toronto include grants to ethno-specific agencies, and translation and interpretation services. The city also devotes substantial resources to identifying and eliminating cultural and linguistic barriers to its services. The same report makes the point that Toronto wants to continue providing these services, but can't do so without more funding support from higher levels of government which have access to greater resources through taxation.

The Toronto Board of Education, another important stakeholder in the local settlement service delivery sector, is also experiencing a serious service overload problem. The board currently provides English as a second language (ESL) classes to new immigrants at a cost of about $100 million dollars annually. Due to reduced funding from the provincial government, the board is struggling to keep up with the growing demand for ESL services to immigrant children and families. Like the city of Toronto, the board would like higher levels of government to help meet these growing costs.

The resource constraints and systemic problems in the settlement sector have overloaded the settlement service infrastructure to the extent that it has compromised effective service delivery. Many community-based providers of

settlement services have been forced to curtail their services drastically or even to close their doors. According to reports by local social planning agencies, services provided by ethno-racial organizations have been most adversely affected by government funding cut-backs. The marginalization of the ethno-racial settlement sector has been accelerated, firstly, by the preference of funders to work with larger agencies with the formal administrative capacity to manage programs delivered on a contractual basis; secondly by the lack of acceptance of community development as a federally funded role of settlement agencies. As a result of these trends, many ethno-specific agencies are closing down, while the remaining agencies are experiencing a serious service overload problem. Reduction in the overall number of service providers has left the surviving medium- to large-size settlement service agencies scrambling to meet the demands of increased numbers of immigrants speaking over 100 languages. Naturally this situation has had serious negative impacts on the settlement process for many newcomers to Toronto.

2.3 Poverty and Neighbourhood Segregation

One of the most disturbing consequences of the current settlement service system is that it is ineffective in combating the accelerated emergence of concentrated pockets of an immigrant underclass. This trend if not checked will result in the long-term "ghettoization" of immigrants in a number of Toronto's inner suburbs and downtown neighbourhoods. Although the traditional cycle of newcomer settlement in Canada suggests that over time many immigrants improve their economic well-being and relocate to higher-income neighbourhoods, recent studies conclude that not only is it taking much longer for immigrants to breakout of poverty, but that a high number are destined to remain in poverty in the long term. Although immigrants continue to be important contributors to Toronto's socio-economic growth, these latest trends raise the very real possibility that we are witnessing an accelerating evolution towards a permanent immigrant underclass in Toronto. To a great extent, this phenomenon underlines the high human and social costs of the continued impasse in the system of settlement governance, policy, and service delivery.

A recent study by Harvey et al. (2001) found that poverty levels for all immigrants have increased between 1991 and 1996, with visible minorities in Toronto

showing the largest increase, from 20.9 percent to 32.5 percent. The study also shows that visible minorities are much more at risk of experiencing persistent poverty than immigrants who are not visible minorities. Harvey's study confirms earlier findings by Michael Ornstein (2000) based on 1996 Census data showing increased unemployment, under-employment, and individual and family poverty for recent immigrants and visible minorities in Toronto.

Linked to the general trend of increasing poverty among many recent immigrants, is the escalating phenomenon of racialization and segregation of visible minority immigrants in poor neighbourhoods in Toronto. Although residential concentration of immigrants is not unique to visible minorities, and in many instances may reflect group desire, it is the coincidence of poverty and poor housing, racial minority immigrant concentration and segregation that is of great concern. In a recent study of Residential Segregation Patterns in Toronto, based on 1996 Census data, Eric Fong (1999) found that the residential segregation levels of visible minority groups are higher with the older European immigrant groups than with recent European immigrant groups. A recent study by Kazemipur and Halli (2000) found that larger urban centres – Montreal, Winnipeg, Quebec City, Toronto, Saskatoon, Regina and Vancouver – had large concentrations of visible minority immigrants in neighbourhoods with a poverty rate of 40 percent and higher. The study also revealed that in Toronto, immigrants are more likely than non-immigrants to live in neighbourhoods with high rates of poverty. Unless these trends are addressed as part of a broad urban agenda, they will act as barriers to a healthy settlement process, create permanent ghettos of immigrants and undermine the public's perception of the value of immigration.

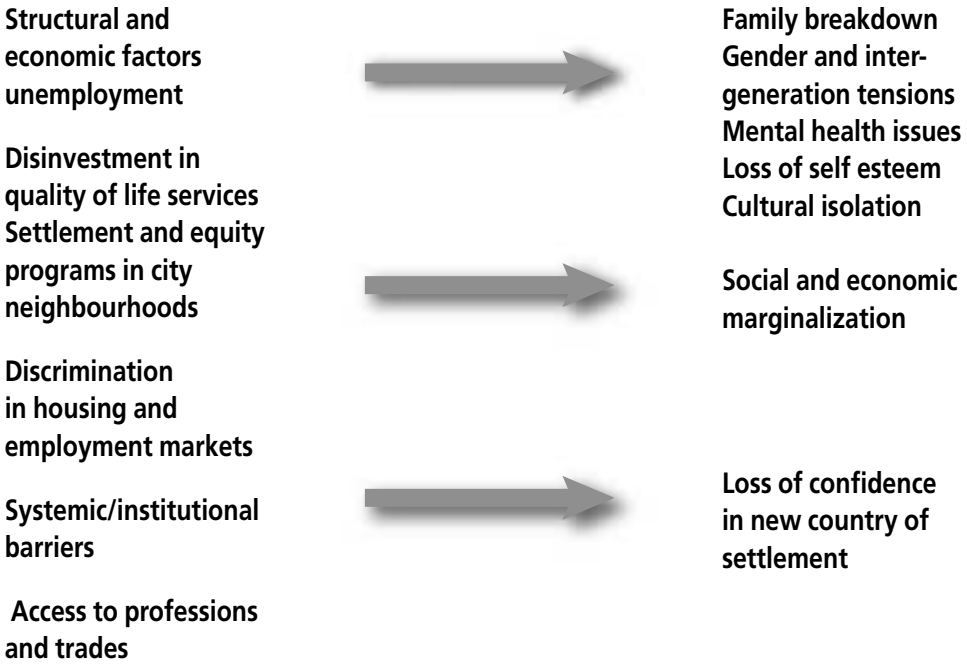
While there is a healthy debate about the positive and negative impacts of the concentration of various ethno-racial communities in particular neighbourhoods, there is no doubt that concentration in neighbourhoods of poverty acts as a barrier to social and economic integration of new immigrants and their children. Many new immigrants for example find themselves trapped in poor housing conditions from which they cannot escape because of lack of connection to Canadian social networks and limited economic resources. As noted earlier, the situation is made even more difficult due to their common experience of marginalization in the Canadian labour market, as regulatory barriers continue to exclude the foreign-trained from many Canadian trades and professions and force them to work in the lower-paid service sectors and unregulated exploitative work places.

Researchers such as Goetz (2000) and Kazemipur and Halli (2000) have pointed out that living in areas of concentrated poverty has adverse impacts on a

whole range of life experiences. In the case of new immigrants it leads to family conflicts, loss of self-esteem, and a sense of despair about future prospects in the new country of settlement. Young immigrants that grow up in such conditions develop a culture of alienation both from their parents and community of origin and from that of the host society. Over time this "no man's land culture", if not addressed adequately, can lead to desperation and the type of social disorders seen recently in the United Kingdom.

The following model depicts the cause and effect of systemic barriers on the settlement experience of immigrants:

Cause and Effect Flow Chart of Newcomer Settlement Challenge



CASE STUDY:
Housing Newcomers

Each year, between 70,000 and 80,000 immigrants and refugees make Toronto their destination. Finding housing in Toronto's tight rental market is very challenging. Given that home ownership is not an option for most immigrants when they initially arrive, rental housing is their only choice of accommodation. Most immigrants face immense barriers in accessing rental in Toronto because they do not meet a number of the landlord requirements, such as credit or previous landlord references. According to Toronto Social Housing Connections, immigrants and refugees make up 46 % of the waiting list designated for disadvantaged households. In addition, access to private rental housing is limited by affordability problems and discrimination on account of receipt of public assistance, race, ethnicity and immigration status.

Several federal policies that limit access to settlement services and work permits, especially in the case of refugees, leave people with no choice but to resort to the city's shelter services. Cities then end up responsible for housing many immigrant families including bearing a significant portion of the direct costs of sheltering immigrant and refugee families that cannot find housing. Since 1996, due to the lack of affordable housing in the private and social housing sectors, the city of Toronto resorted to housing homeless immigrants families in motels, especially along Kingston Road in Scarborough. Over time, with the increasing demand for more shelter space, the city resorted to using motels in surrounding municipalities to house immigrants and other homeless people. Often, the motel accommodation that is provided is one bedroom per family. Many families are forced to use the one room space to sleep, cook and to play in the case of children during the winter. According to various research reports, newcomers who live in motels, often for extended periods of time, have a very difficult and stressful settlement experience in Toronto. Many immigrant children are isolated in schools because they do not want their peers to know that they live in a one-room motel. Social tensions develop in communities with high concentrations of immigrants living in motels, further undermining prospects for long term integration into local neighbourhoods.

Given its limited financial resource base, the city of Toronto cannot afford to continue housing new immigrant families in motels and shelters. Although the cost of motel shelter is shared 80-20 with the province,

because the cost of shelter is high in Toronto, the city ends up paying close to thirty percent of over $20 million in motel accommodation costs annually. Add this estimate to $4.3 million that the city spends directly to provide accommodation to immigrants in its own shelter system and it is evident that the total costs are very significant. Because the city of Toronto relies primarily on limited property tax resources it cannot implement the range of solutions necessary to address this problem. According to a report of Toronto's – Mayors' Task Force on Homelessness, 1999, – the city needs to add at least 2,000 affordable units to meet yearly demand. In addition, a city staff report – Final report of the review of the Use of motels, 1999 – also pointed out that the city needs to invest $8 million in a new family shelter and an estimated $6.6 million per year to move people out of motels. Because the province and federal government, with way more revenue, including income tax, have downloaded housing responsibilities to the cities, Toronto has been left holding the bag. As a result of this mismatch of city resources and immigrant housing needs, many families are ending up homeless or continue to live in motel type of accommodation for extended periods at a very high expense to taxpayers.

Providing the city with the necessary share of resources will enable the development of appropriate housing solutions based on local needs and priority considerations.

2.4 Current Institutional Responses to Settlement Challenges

The current institutional system for governance and policymaking with respect to settlement services is one of the main reasons why the problems in the settlement sector persist in terms of: unmet immigrant needs, service overload to service providers and increasing impoverishment and segregation of immigrants.

Traditionally, most Federal funding for settlement services is channeled to local institutions and community-based agencies to deliver settlement services directly to newcomers. In the period 1998–99, for example, Ontario received over 5 million through ISAP and more than 50 million for the LINC program (Simich, 2000). In addition, the lack of agreement between the federal and provincial governments on devolution of settlement services has resulted in significant addition to federal settlement monies for Ontario over the past few years, in the range of $35 million annually. Because these latter dollars are not permanent, most of the money has been allotted to information and education initiatives, and special/pilot projects.

The major portion of funding for settlement services in Toronto is allocated by the Ontario branch of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) in the form of two programs: Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC), and the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP). LINC provides language training in one of Canada's official languages to adult immigrants in order to facilitate their social, cultural, economic and political integration into Canada. ISAP funding is provided to facilitate the adaptation, settlement and integration of newcomers to Canadian systems.

Service providers have maintained for many years now that the CIC-funded programs, designed initially to deal primarily with the most basic elements of the first stages of settlement, are seriously crippled with respect to both client eligibility and range of services. Among those ineligible for service are refugee claimants, immigrants who have been in Canada more than three years, and immigrants who have acquired Canadian citizenship. The scope of services available has been stretched over the years to include:

- referral to community resources;
- paraprofessional counseling and general information and employment readiness programs; and
- reception, orientation, translation and interpretation and language training programs.

However, the scope of settlement services does not include community development or access programs for housing, health and general social services. The federally-funded programs are therefore weakest in dealing with the area of greatest need – the second stage of settlement – involving labour market integration and equitable access to general health, housing and social services.

Federal policy and program planning continues to operate in a top-down format with little regard to the principle of conducting policy development and service planning at the level that is closest to the people that are most affected. As a result, there is considerable scepticism locally not only about how federal officials determine what settlement programs to fund but also how they determine which agencies and organizations to fund.

Until recently, the province of Ontario was a leading funder of settlement services for new and recent immigrants. In 1994, for example, the province provided through various ministries as much as 42 percent of the total funding to community-based settlement service providers (Richmond, 1996). But after the election of Mike Harris as premier in 1995, the Ontario government cut back on funding direct services for immigrants, even going so far as to shut down its network of welcome houses which provided one-stop settlement services to newcomers in major urban centers in Ontario. Funding for settlement agencies through the Newcomer Settlement Program (NSP) continued, but at a much reduced level, and with a shift from core to project funding. Ontario of course remains a major funder of general health, education and social services essential to immigrants as well as the Canadian-born. Nevertheless, it seems clear that settlement is not a priority for the current Ontario government, as witnessed by the cutbacks in services and subsequent downloading in 1997 of many services vital to immigrants to the municipal level (e.g. social assistance, social housing, child care and public health) without a corresponding transfer of revenues.

The city of Toronto has an obligation to assume greater responsibility in policy-making coordination and service planning of settlement services. Cities are a key element in the settlement sector. Through its grant programs to community agencies, it is estimated that the city of Toronto provides over $2 million to provide services to new immigrants. In addition, most immigrants are eligible for municipal services. The city directly supports newcomers in need of emergency shelter, social assistance, recreation and public health services. These services are especially important to refugees and family class immigrants in the early stages of settlement in Toronto. However, as noted earlier, in spite of the contribution of the city of Toronto, there is no federal and provincial desire to provide the city

with the financial resources and powers to play a primary role in settlement policy and program planning, in spite of the fact that most immigrants to Ontario end up in Toronto.

The other key players in the settlement service system are non-governmental organizations – NGOs. Toronto has a network of more than 100 such organizations (Owen, 1999), ranging from very small agencies specializing in particular services or rooted in particular ethno-racial communities, to rather large multi-service and multi- ethnic agencies. In recent years this sector has been submitted to pressures much more complex than, as commonly believed, simple funding cutbacks. An increasing emphasis from the major funders on short-term, program-specific contractual agreements accompanied by elaborate and costly administrative accountability demands have led to a growing concentration of programs within the larger agencies, and a corresponding decrease in the diversity of sizes and types of agencies involved in settlement services. At the same time all the surviving agencies, big or small, multi-ethnic or ethno-specific, multi-service or specialized, struggle collectively with the burdens of service overload, and lack of funding. Because most community-based agencies have few connections to funders and upper levels of government they have very little impact on policy development and program planning.

The problems associated with the centralization of resource allocation and exclusion from policy making and program planning also affect other agencies and institutions that play an important, and growing, role in settlement in Toronto. About two-thirds of Toronto's inner-city schools, for example, offer English as a Second Language (ESL) classes to immigrant students and their parents; and recently with Ontario CIC funding school boards have begun collaborating with NGO's to place settlement workers directly in a number of schools with high concentrations of immigrant and refugee students. Like other local settlement service providers they encounter problems emanating from the lack of program and policy consistency between upper tiers of government. For example, the federal and provincial governments language training programs fund English classes in the same schools but use different funding and reporting processes.

It is clear that the mandate of settlement goes beyond basic welcome services currently provided by federal settlement programs. It is clear that many services that are required by immigrants to support effective long-term settlement are provided by lower levels of government. Given the current trend towards

devolution of responsibility for most employment, housing, public health and recreation services to the local jurisdictions or municipalities, it is recommended that large cities like Toronto should play a larger role in settlement policy and program planning and coordination. In the next section, this report outlines a number of key parameters of devolving settlement policy and program planning to the local level.

3.0 Taking Local Responsibility for Settlement Policy and Program Planning

In light of the urban settlement challenges faced by immigrants, local communities and service providers, there is growing recognition of the need to end the current limbo in settlement devolution. This is necessary in order to tackle the problems of unmet immigrant service needs and service overload to municipalities and community service providers, and to confront growing poverty and segregation faced by immigrants. A new settlement deal that includes a key role for cities in policy and planning is necessary in order to correct a problem that is increasingly evident – upper tier governments continue to benefit from tax revenues contributed by immigrants while local communities and municipalities carry most of the costs of medium and long-term immigrant settlement. The devolution of service responsibilities and resources is critical to ensuring that cities, local communities and newcomers benefit fully from immigration.

3.1 The Role of City Authorities in a New Settlement Deal

Efforts towards the goal of local responsibility for settlement policy and planning must promote and eventually consolidate a system of decision-making that takes into account the needs of diverse immigrant communities and especially the growing challenges of immigrant settlement in city neighbourhoods. Whereas the NGO sector – funded by federal and provincial programs – has traditionally catered to most short and medium- term transitional settlement services, the city is critical in providing leadership in addressing medium and long-term needs of immigrants and their host neighbourhood communities. In order for the city to effectively participate in a new local settlement deal, it is imperative that it develops a comprehensive urban settlement policy covering the following key domains: leadership and governance, policy development, planning and programming, service delivery and coordination.

3.1.1 Leadership and Governance

City authorities need to exercise leadership in advocating and implementing a new local settlement policy and planning framework that is inclusive and cognisant of the roles of all stakeholders. Positive leadership involves a recognition that to benefit from immigration cities must invest in eliminating the barriers that inhibit the realisation of the full social and economic benefits of the diverse groups of people in Toronto. The city must distance itself from the kind of exclusionary approach advocated by Hazel MacCallion, the Mayor of Mississauga. Early last year, she objected to the presence of refugees and sponsored immigrants because of the extra stress to the education and health system and cost of welfare benefits to tax payers. (National Post, May 8th, 2000) However, as Haroon Saddiqui, (Toronto Star, August 5th, 2001) points out this is a short sighted perspective that does not take into account the contribution of immigrants – that make up 40 percent of Peel – to the city of Mississauga and the Region of Peel's hefty reserve fund. We know that immigrants contribute millions of dollars in consumer goods, services and property taxes to cities. Municipalities that intend to exercise positive leadership in the development of effective local settlement planning and programming frameworks must therefore desist from the kind of approach that picks on the segment of immigrants facing a difficult settlement process.

Aug. 5, 2001

Liberal MP punctures Peel's political posturing

Haroon Siddiqui
STAR COLUMNIST

WHEN I recently criticized Mississauga Mayor Hazel McCallion for saying that refugee claimants and sponsored immigrants are an undue burden on municipal taxpayers, some readers thought I was too tough on the venerable politician. On reflection, I wasn't tough enough, due, no doubt, to my own long-time admiration for her.

Her argument - that the feds control immigration but municipalities pay for some of the initial costs of settling some newcomers - has populist appeal. But it is fundamentally flawed and intellectually dishonest, as we shall see.

Mississauga is not alone in asking for more money from the federal government. Toronto, Vancouver and other urban centres routinely make similar demands, as do the provinces. But McCallion was skewered, including by many in Mississauga, for lumping legal and illegal immigrants, deliberately or otherwise.

A tidier case is made by the Regional Municipality of Peel and the City of Toronto.

Peel Chair Emil Kolb has been invoicing Ottawa for money spent on refugees and sponsored immigrants. Mayor Mel Lastman, as is his wont, has been ranting and raving.

Refugees can work, and 77 per cent do, while waiting for the processing of their claims. They can get social assistance only between their arrival and when they get employment authorization and find work - three months, on average.

Sponsored immigrants, mostly parents, can claim social assistance only if their sponsor, who must be financially viable to start with, fails to live up to his or her financial guarantee, due to loss of job or business. The failure rate was said to be 14 per cent. A new federal study, due soon, will show it at 10 per cent.

In other words, 90 per cent of the sponsorships work fine. There is no scandal here.

Kolb's own figures show Peel spending about $2 million a year on sponsorship breakdowns. And about $1.4 million on refugees. Out of an annual Peel budget of $1 billion.

Toronto, which gets the highest number of refugees, spent $23.7 million last year on social assistance on them and failed sponsorships, plus temporary accommodation for refugees. Not a huge amount in a budget of $6 billion.

Queen's Park pegs total welfare expenditure on refugees across Ontario at $20 million a year, a small sum in a budget of $64 billion.

Yet the topic generates hysteria because immigrant baiting is popular sport. It taps into mindless nativism, if not racism. The media play along, foolishly or knowingly.

Carolyn Parrish has seen through it. The Liberal MP for Mississauga Centre got tired of Kolb's invoicing stunts and fired off an angry letter July 11 against his "political posturing."

Peel is 40 per cent immigrant, she noted. "It boasts the lowest crime rate and the lowest unemployment in one of the richest regions. Who do you think helped create these statistics?

"Peel and Mississauga have reserve funds in the billions. Those funds were collected from, among others, immigrants. Lot levies, of questionable legality, were collected from hard-working immigrants who purchased thousands of homes... How dare you complain about $10 million in social assistance over a 10-year period while failing to mention $2 billion in reserve funds those refugees and immigrants help put in your coffers?

HAROON SIDDIQUI

"I find it appalling that you are able to separate immigrant and refugee social assistance costs from the general welfare rolls...

"How many welfare recipients does the region support who are *not* refugees or immigrants? How many are habitual users of social services?"

On failed sponsorships, she reminded Kolb that "Peel attracts more than its fair share of highly skilled and well-educated individuals. They contribute hundreds of millions through consumer goods, services and property taxes. They create thousands of jobs."

So given the "very minor short-term failure rates" for sponsorships, "it is petty on your part to keep up this whining.

"You should truly be ashamed of yourself."

Kolb wrote back, still droning on how the two expenditures are unfair to Peel taxpayers.

But they are far less unfair, Parrish said Friday, than, say, all Peel taxpayers paying $5 million in the last three years for the Living Arts Centre in Mississauga, "the white elephant used by less than 1 per cent of the population."

Kolb and McCallion do not understand that tagging one set of people for blame opens the door to dozens of other such comparisons.

Similarly, Toronto, which technically has a better case than Peel's, should be careful even as it joins others in the turf war against Ottawa.

Toronto is Canada's biggest beneficiary of immigration. But for immigrants, it would have suffered a population decline in the last decade - and all the attendant economic ills. About 54 per cent of its citizens are immigrants, including many who came as refugees. They pay the major share of personal property and business taxes, by patronizing businesses or starting a disproportionate number themselves. Immigrants are Toronto's biggest economic engine.

Bellyaching about a relatively small expenditure in helping to settle some of them is shortsighted and divisive.

Let's not be fooled by politicians playing the blame game, which can lead to unintended consequences for our interdependence. To wit: Why should Toronto taxpayers pay for the roads used by suburbanites commuting to work downtown? Why should the young, mostly immigrants, subsidize the pensions and health care of the old, mostly Canadian-born?

Let's not go down this dangerous road.

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Given the current problem of 'governance limbo' created by a breakdown in talks between the province and the federal governments on settlement renewal, the city should be empowered to fill this gap based on the principle of local governance for settlement policy. Such responsibility should include negotiations with the federal government over the impact of selection policy on the settlement process, as the mayors of five Canadian cities recently articulated (Chief Administrator's Office, 2001).

3.1.2 Policy Development

The unique role of the city in policy-making is defined largely by the fact that the settlement of new immigrants is principally a long-term urban experience. The experience of new immigrants is shaped by the specific character of the city, including its opportunities and barriers, its cultural and social life, and its institutions of governance and community participation. At the same time, the settlement of large numbers of newcomers to Toronto continues to transform the life of the city, especially its neighbourhoods. A new urban settlement policy will enable the city to guide the fusion of the settlement goals of newcomers and larger community goals.

The city of Toronto is currently in the process of developing a settlement policy framework. This is a step forward, but not enough because it is still focused on fiscal funding issues as opposed to advocacy for a new comprehensive settlement policy, planning and programming framework for Toronto. The city needs a comprehensive urban settlement policy that is based on a vision of the extended 3 stage process of settlement. Such a policy must address issues ranging from the provision of basic welcome and language and adaptation services to broader systemic action to eliminate barriers to access and to stem growing poverty and segregation of new immigrants in city neighbourhoods.

The city's policy-making role should focus on settlement policy, as opposed to immigration policy. A new settlement deal should distinguish settlement policy-making from the selection process of immigrants. Today, both selection and settlement are part of federal "immigration policy". For the city to effectively participate in settlement policy-development there must be a distinction between **selection policy** and **settlement policy**. While both elements of immigration policy are important, the distinction between the two is vitally important.

Selection policy is about determining who comes in, both as immigrants and refugees, and the enforcement of due process to ensure fairness and accountability in the admission process. The selection process is motivated by economic considerations, Canadian and international human rights issues, and increasingly (since September 11, 2001) considerations of security. The selection process is and likely will continue to be principally a federal responsibility, as witnessed, for example, in the numerous legislative changes associated with the recent passage of Bill C-11 – the proposed new immigration act – by the Canadian Parliament and Senate.

Settlement policy, on the other hand, concerns the entire range of policy, program, planning and resource issues associated with support for immigrants and refugees once they arrive in Canada. Settlement policy should be within the domain of cities because they are the location where immigrants experience settlement into local communities and neighbourhoods. Settlement policy is naturally and inevitably the proper affair of a variety of major stakeholders including not only the federal government but also provincial and municipal governments and the service agencies, as well as public institutions such as school boards and hospitals and health clinics, community charities and private foundations, and the diverse immigrant and refugee communities. The city should play an important role in developing an urban settlement policy which takes into account the unique contributions of all the different stakeholder sectors.

Effective devolution of settlement policy should delineate settlement policy as a matter of local responsibility and retain immigrant selection as a federal function. The city's urban settlement policy should be consistent with the core values of the Canadian social union such as sharing, equity, individual responsibility, flexibility, inclusion and compassion. A new settlement policy framework should be designed to be responsive to local priorities and circumstances, citizen participation, governmental collaboration, transparency and public accountability. Incorporation of these elements will help make political connections with the progressive reform of settlement and others building alliances in areas where people are working to enhance similar values.

3.1.3 Planning and Programming

Given the plethora of NGO and government agencies involved in settlement services, the city needs to play a definite role in coordination of the sector. In addition, the city's role should include convening stakeholders in order to plan, set priorities and define protocols of accountability for the sector. The role of the city in settlement coordination and planning should take into account the three main stages of settlement noted earlier, and the different players involved.

A critical gap that the city should fill is in the area of program planning. The current system is relatively unsuccessful when it comes to eliminating barriers to access, especially in the medium and long term phase of settlement. As noted earlier, this is because both human and economic resources are often allocated primarily to meet immediate settlement needs. Current federal resource allocation for settlement services is often dictated by demands and ad-hoc changes in immigration policy priorities. Often, programming becomes quite simply out-of-date, with both funders and service providers desperately and unsuccessfully trying to meet the needs of the second stage with the program and funding criteria of the first. Perhaps the most critical gap is the lack of involvement of many key institutions whose support is essential to success in the second stage of settlement. Within the context of an urban settlement policy framework, the city should play a critical role in ensuring the involvement of all key players. This should include federal and provincial departments – such as education, health and economic development – that do not currently have a direct mandate for immigrant settlement, but contribute immensely to an effective settlement.

It is important to point out that the role of the city in policy-making and program planning articulated in this report should not be confused with the notion of the city taking control of existing settlement services. Such an approach would be wrong on several counts. First, the existing funders of settlement services must continue to play a vital role not just in providing resources but also in planning and coordinating services; and more federal and provincial departments with mandates for labour market, health services and education must be drawn into the provision and coordination of settlement services. Second, the NGO settlement service sector has developed into a vital component of Ontario's system of health and social services whose expertise must be valued and autonomy respected.

A viable urban settlement policy will require strong linkages between settlement service providers and municipal programs and governance. Over the years, the city of Toronto has enhanced its role in assisting newcomers in the intermediate settlement stage through its services in housing, social assistance, public

health, recreation, community grants and equity programs. This relationship between municipal and settlement programs has evolved more by default than design. With the added pressure on municipal budgets due to downloading of services by higher levels of government, the city of Toronto is currently seeking additional federal resources for municipal programs serving newcomers as well as re-visioning its settlement framework. The opportunity exists therefore for a re-negotiation of the relationships between the city and all the stakeholders involved in settlement services.

In brief, as custodian of short and long-term settlement needs of immigrants and host communities, the city should ensure that programming includes not only welcome services – as in current federal and provincial programs – but also programs that result in the full and meaningful participation of newcomers in all aspects of city life.

CASE STUDY:
English as a Second Language Services

Toronto's reputation today as a thriving global multicultural city, is primarily due to the cultural-linguistic diversity of its population. Toronto's remarkable evolution into a major multicultural city is mainly due to the impact of immigrant communities from traditional western countries, but more recently from Eastern Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa. Prior to 1961, most immigrants – 92% – came from Western Europe, especially the United Kingdom (22%). One of the main challenges emanating from the city's diversity is the need to ensure that all its residents have access to mainstream social and economic systems that use English as the primary language of communication. As a result, many immigrants often need to learn English as a second language (ESL).

Proficiency in English is critical in ensuring an effective and meaningful settlement experience for newcomers to Ontario. Proficiency in English is the key to opening doors in employment, housing and mainstream social and cultural activities. ESL programs provided by the Toronto District School Board are accessed by about 25% of the student population, which makes it one of the most frequently accessed programs. The majority of students from Sri Lanka, Philippines, Africa and Iran are enrolled for the board's ESL program. In addition, both the number of community-based agencies that provide ESL programs, and the total number of adult immigrants taking ESL has increased tremendously.

In Toronto, like other parts of the province, the federal and provincial governments provide funding to agencies and public institutions that deliver ESL programs. The federal government spends close to $45 million for language training, assessment and delivery assistance projects in Ontario. The province spends over $20 million for ESL programs through the board of education and other public education institutions. In total, the two levels of government spend well over $50 million for ESL programs in the city of Toronto, which is way more than the $35 million that the city provides to community agencies through its community grants program. Due to the current top-down system of government the city is neither resourced nor mandated to provide ESL services. In spite of all the dollars spent on ESL many inner city immigrants continue to experience difficulties in accessing employment and rental housing opportunities, and enduring marginalization from mainstream music/arts, cultural and recreational activities.

The absence of a strategic framework to plan and guide the delivery of ESL programs locally means that newcomers attending ESL classes are not effectively connected to the realities of the local economy.

Because the city has no say in ESL funding, programming and planning decisions, there is a real danger that as the Toronto District School Board continues to experience financial difficulties – due to funding cuts by the provincial government – they will drop or drastically cut back on ESL programs, like they are proposing to with popular but un-protected services like swimming pools in schools. As a result, the city of Toronto – as the government of last resort – will end up bearing the consequences of inadequate second language services. Without adequately funded ESL programs many more non-English speaking immigrants will experience greater difficulty in accessing basic needs such as employment, education and housing. Ultimately, the costs associated with lack of adequate settlement services such as ESL are borne by the city. Many immigrants end up in city shelters and welfare rolls.

Providing the city with the necessary resources and mandate will enable it to provide leadership in coordinating and planning ESL programs that support broader settlement outcomes for immigrants in the city.

3.1.4 Service Coordination and Delivery

To date, most direct service delivery in the settlement sector is done by NGOs. The city should ensure that NGOs continue to play a key role in providing initial settlement services, albeit within the parameters of an overall city settlement policy and plan. The city should continue to reform its own systems to eliminate barriers and ensure access to it own services, such as housing and recreation. The city should continue to play an important advocacy role in improving access to important services outside its jurisdiction such as employment and health.

It is important that city authorities recognize at the outset that the settlement sector does not lend itself to overly-centralized governance or decision-making mechanisms. Planning and delivery of settlement services in a diverse environment is more effectively done in a horizontal framework and inclusive environment. An important question raised in discussions on the future of service delivery is whether settlement services should continue to be a separate entity or should be merged into municipal services and equity programs. This report does not support the integration of settlement services with social services currently provided by the city. Over the years, the settlement sector has evolved into a major part of Ontario's overall social service terrain with very unique methods of delivering culturally sensitive services. Given the sheer size, diversity of immigrant needs and unique nature of settlement work, it is simplistic to argue that the settlement sector should be subsumed into current municipal services and response to equity. Any future locally governed settlement service delivery infrastructure must include the full range of existing providers including, government and non-governmental organizations.

More specifically, a local urban settlement policy and planning framework will require the appropriate mechanisms for both consultation and negotiation involving various departments of all three levels of government, the service agencies, other funders including community charities and private foundations, major public institutions such as school boards and health agencies, and the diversity of ethno-racial umbrella, advocacy and community associations articulating the concerns of Toronto's newcomers.

3.2. The Way Forward

The development of a local urban framework for immigrant settlement depends on a long-term investment perspective for settlement. Equally critical is the need for secure and adequate resources to support settlement programming. The future of a healthy and locally beneficial settlement process has to be built within a local planning and policy framework that will mobilize the expertise of all the major stakeholders. In conclusion, this report would like to identify a number of current enablers and constraints that will impact on the necessary action steps to end the current limbo in settlement policy and planning in Toronto.

Among the enablers or opportunities are the following:

- Since negotiations between the federal government and the province of Ontario with respect to responsibility for settlement continue to be at an impasse, there should be more openness to exploring alternative local mechanisms for the administration and planning of settlement services.
- In May, 2001, the Prime Minister announced the creation of a task force on urban issues to consult with citizens, experts and other orders of government on strengthening the quality of life in large urban centers. Included in its mandate is the issue of the needs of new immigrants and other disadvantaged groups. This initiative signals the federal government's desire to get more involved in addressing the impact of the settlement of new immigrants on major cities.
- Since 1996 the Ontario provincial government has been withdrawing from direct involvement with settlement services and devolving a wide range of services required by both immigrants and the Canadian-born to the municipal level. The province may therefore be obliged to consider the necessity of a new city-based mechanism for governing the settlement sector.
- During the year 2000, the city of Toronto formally proposed a new deal with upper levels of government (Council Meeting, May 2000, Towards a New Relationship with Ontario and Canada). The new legislative arrangements proposed by the city would enable it to communicate directly with the federal government on matters of urban infrastructure, housing and immigration settlement. Progress in implementing these new arrangements would enable the city to assume greater responsibilities for immigrant settlement, including the initiation of negotiations towards appropriate mechanisms for multi-stakeholder planning.

- Over the past decade there has developed a steadily-growing recognition of the vital importance of Toronto's extensive infrastructure of community-based settlement service providers. Over the same period the leaders in this sector have become increasingly articulate spokespersons for the necessity of settlement policy and program reform. Given due political respect and adequate resourcing, the NGO settlement sector can make vital contributions to the development of a new local urban framework for immigrant settlement.

*The **challenges** or **constraints** to the development of a new settlement framework include:*

- Currently both the federal and provincial governments operate within a very narrow and short-term view of settlement programming and planning, with a patchwork of overlapping departmental programs that often miss the most fundamental needs. This makes it difficult for them to work cooperatively with NGO service organizations and municipal authorities to address the broader social and systemic impact of immigration on major cities.

- To date, within the Canadian Constitution, municipalities are creatures of the province lacking the autonomous authority to initiate negotiations with the federal government. Furthermore, the province of Ontario currently appears reluctant to grant such authority, as witnessed by its recent refusal to allow the federal government to work directly with municipalities to combat the growing crisis of homelessness in urban areas.

- Currently, there is a distinct lack of clarity concerning the respective roles of the federal, provincial and municipal governments in settlement services, as well as a number of overlapping programs and program gaps. Sorting out this confusion represents a major challenge in the development of a local settlement framework.

- The recent public positions of the City of the Toronto are primarily concerned with mitigating the revenue deficits created by federal and provincial downloading. While justifiable, this approach is far too narrow to provide a basis for leadership in the development of a new urban settlement framework, and risks promoting a climate of confrontation and blame rather than the needed perspective of consensus-building in the development of new solutions.

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Appendix 1:

Select Demographic Statistics
About Immigrants in Toronto

TORONTO
City Planning Research

This bulletin focuses on patterns of settlement of immigrant communities throughout the City of Toronto. Future bulletins will explore other demographic, social and economic characteristics of Toronto as additional data are released by Statistics Canada. This report can also be accessed via the City's website at **www.city.toronto.on.ca**

profile TORONTO

NO. 2 – JUNE 1998

Immigrants in Toronto

CENSUS AT A GLANCE

Immigrants help the City to constantly renew itself. They bring new ideas and new ways of doing things. The 1996 Census paints a vivid picture of immigrants in Toronto.

- **Toronto is Canada's main immigrant centre:** The City of Toronto has 1,125,000 immigrants, or one in every four immigrants living in Canada.
- **Immigrants make up a large proportion of Toronto's population:** Nearly half of Toronto's population are immigrants.
- **Toronto's immigrants come from all around the world:** Over 100 countries have each supplied more than 1,000 immigrants to the Toronto region.
- **Asia has replaced Europe as the main source of immigrants:** The countries which supplied the highest numbers of Toronto's recent immigrants were Sri Lanka, China, Hong Kong, the Philippines and India.
- **Most of the GTA's immigrants live in the City of Toronto:** 61% of the GTA's immigrants live in Toronto, compared with 52% of the total population.
- **Recent immigrants are spread across the city:** Over 30% of all recent immigrants to Canada currently reside in the City of Toronto, with large concentrations found in areas with large apartment complexes.
- **The post-war suburbs have become the main immigrant settlement areas:** Over 15% of the population of the former municipalities of North York and Scarborough arrived in Canada after 1991.

	Population	Recent Immigrants (since 1991)	%
Canada	28,528,125	1,038,990	3.6
Ontario	10,642,790	562,985	5.3
GTA	4,628,700	446,515	9.6
City of Toronto	2,385,400	315,470	13.2

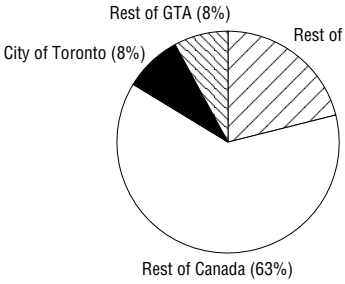
The source of the data in this bulletin is Statistics Canada's 1996 Census. See data notes on page 8 for more information on who was counted.

Toronto is Canada's Main Immigrant Centre

Almost half of Canada's immigrants come to the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). The GTA has 43% of Canada's recent immigrants, compared with shares of 18% in Vancouver, 13% in Montreal, 4% in Ottawa, and 3% in Calgary. For its size, the City of Toronto has three times as many immigrants as the rest of Canada, and four times as many recent immigrants (those who arrived after 1990).

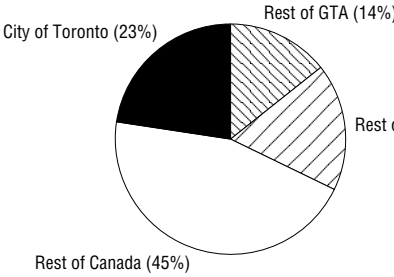
CHART 1:

CANADA'S POPULATION



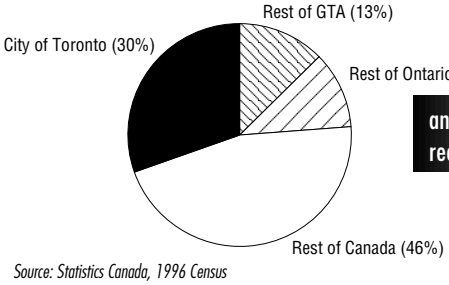
Toronto has 1/12th of Canada's population …

CANADA'S IMMIGRANTS



but 1/4th of Canada's immigrants …

CANADA'S RECENT IMMIGRANTS



and 1/3 of Canada's recent immigrants.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

Immigrants make up a large proportion of Toronto's population

The City of Toronto has 1,125,000 immigrants – or nearly half of its total population of 2,400,000. This is a much higher proportion than the rest of Canada. The only other large urban area which approaches the same concentration of immigrants is Vancouver, where one-third of the population are immigrants. Only 18% of Montreal's population are immigrants.

About one-in-eight residents of the City of Toronto is a recent immigrant, compared with a ratio of one-in-36 in the rest of Canada. Vancouver has a similar level of recent immigrants as Toronto (10% of its population). All other large cities have relatively far fewer recent immigrants.

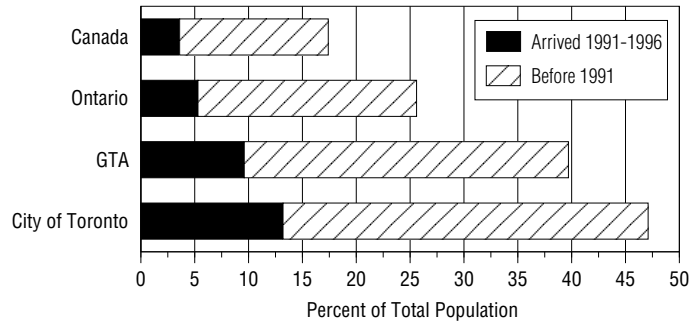
The 315,000 immigrants who settled in Toronto after 1990 are equivalent to a city the size of Victoria or Halifax. They represent about 63,000 immigrants per year – or equivalent to the population of places like North Bay, Cornwall and Ajax.

TABLE 1: TORONTO AS AN IMMIGRANT CENTRE

	Canada	Ontario	GTA	City of Toronto
Total Population	28,528,125	10,642,790	4,628,700	2,385,400
% of Canada's Population	100.0	37.3	16.2	8.4
All Immigrants				
Number	4,971,070	2,724,485	1,837,035	1,124,410
% of Total Population	17.4	25.6	39.7	47.1
% of Canada's Immigrants	100.0	54.8	37.0	22.6
Recent Immigrants				
Number	1,038,990	562,985	446,515	315,470
% of Total Population	3.6	5.3	9.6	13.2
% of Canada's Immigrants	100.0	54.2	43.0	30.4

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

CHART 2: IMMIGRANTS AS PROPORTION OF POPULATION



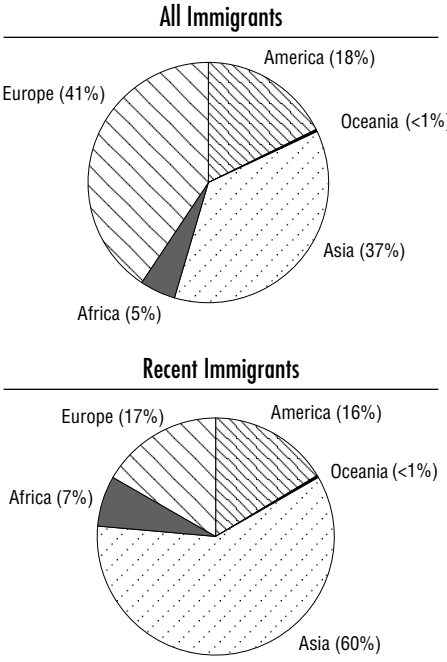
Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

Toronto's immigrants come from all around the world

There is good reason for the oft-repeated claim that Toronto is one of the world's most multicultural cities. Of the 19 regions of the world listed in Table 2, only Oceania and Central Africa have less than 10,000 immigrants living in the Toronto region. Most of these regions are still supplying a steady stream of immigrants to Toronto.

The Census lists 222 separate places of birth for Canada's immigrants. Of these, 106 nations were each the place of birth for more than 1,000 current GTA residents. Even in the five years after 1990, 56 different countries contributed more than 1,000 people each to the Toronto region's population. They accounted for 93% of the recent immigrants; the remaining 7% came from 114 other countries.

CHART 3:
ORIGINS OF IMMIGRANTS (TORONTO CMA)



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

TABLE 2:
PLACES OF BIRTH OF TORONTO'S IMMIGRANTS – TORONTO CMA

Region	Total Immigrants	Recent Immigrants
All Immigrants	**1,772,905**	**441,030**
America	**314,420**	**72,415**
North America	36,370	5,860
Central America	20,365	8,945
Caribbean and Guyana	216,430	46,330
South America	41,255	11,275
Europe	**719,005**	**73,470**
Western Europe	63,160	2,935
Eastern Europe	158,000	40,305
Northern Europe	176,755	7,605
Southern Europe	321,090	22,625
Africa	**85,470**	**30,270**
West Africa	12,060	6,765
East Africa	44,625	15,365
North Africa	15,210	5,510
Central Africa	1,485	605
Southern Africa	12,085	2,475
Asia	**647,165**	**262,890**
West Central Asia	36,525	16,660
Middle East	38,645	14,615
East Asia	238,090	98,295
Southeast Asia	152,635	49,750
South Asia	181,275	83,565
Oceania	**6,030**	**1,440**

Note: These data are for the Toronto CMA, which is about the same as the GTA, except that it excludes Clarington, Oshawa, Whitby, Burlington and Halton Hills.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

Asia has replaced Europe as the main immigrant source

The main sources of Toronto's immigrants have changed remarkably over the past 40 years.

The immigrants who arrived before 1961 came mainly from Europe (92%), especially from the United Kingdom (22%).

By the 1990's, Asia was the main source of new immigrants, accounting for 60% of those who arrived in Toronto between 1991 and 1996 - nearly four times the number that arrived from Europe during this period.

Immigration from the Caribbean has declined from its peak in the 1970's, when it was the source of about 20% of immigrants.

Before 1961, the top ten places of birth for Toronto's immigrants were all in Europe, except for the United States, which was ninth on the list. In the 1990's, nine of the top ten countries were found in three distinct regions (Table 4):

- East Asia (Hong Kong, China, Philippines, Vietnam), with 129,000 immigrants;
- South Asia (Sri Lanka, India), with 70,000; and
- West Indies (Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago), with 41,000.

Italy and the United Kingdom are still the top two countries of origin for all immigrants as measured against the population of the City of Toronto and of the GTA (Chart 5). After them, however, the only European countries in the top ten are Portugal and Poland (7th and 9th in the GTA).

TABLE 3: ORIGIN OF TORONTO'S IMMIGRANTS

Place of Birth	GTA	Toronto	% in Toronto
Total Population	**4,628,700**	**2,385,400**	**52**
Total Immigrants	**1,837,035**	**1,124,410**	**61**
United Kingdom	180,720	74,250	41
Italy	149,240	85,105	57
Hong Kong	111,605	62,315	56
India	101,535	47,215	47
Jamaica	88,790	56,670	64
China	88,165	65,960	75
Portugal	82,280	53,470	65
Philippines	81,810	55,440	68
Poland	78,180	46,850	60
Guyana	62,050	41,320	67
Sri Lanka	54,255	45,760	84
Viet Nam	50,510	38,990	77
Other Countries	707,895	451,065	64

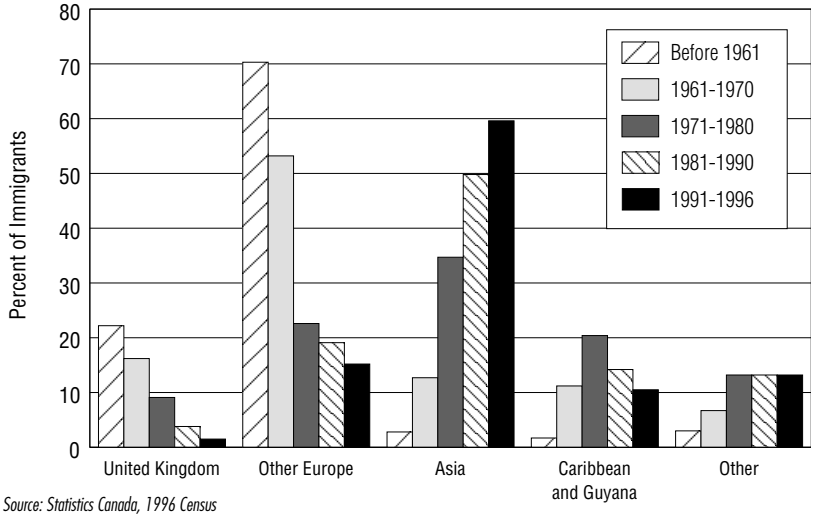
Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

TABLE 4: ORIGIN OF TORONTO'S RECENT IMMIGRANTS (1991-1996)

Place of Birth	GTA	Toronto	% in Toronto
Total Recent Immigrants	**446,515**	**315,470**	**71**
Hong Kong	48,730	25,355	52
Sri Lanka	36,835	32,175	87
China	35,460	26,260	74
India	33,575	17,215	51
Philippines	33,560	25,780	77
Poland	19,120	11,485	60
Jamaica	17,050	12,500	73
Guyana	13,310	10,145	76
Viet Nam	12,425	10,045	81
Trinidad & Tobago	11,695	7,500	64
Iran	11,060	8,930	81
Pakistan	10,760	6,750	63
Other Countries	162,935	121,330	74

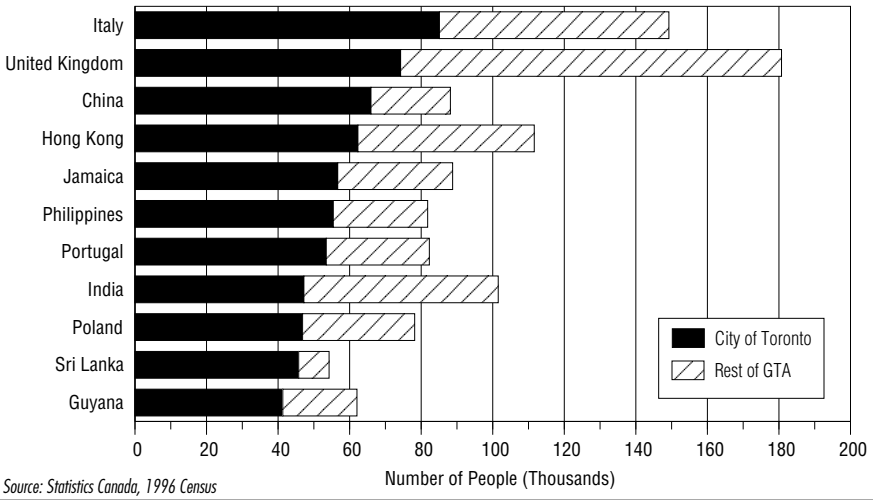
Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

CHART 4: PLACE OF BIRTH AND PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION – TORONTO CMA



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

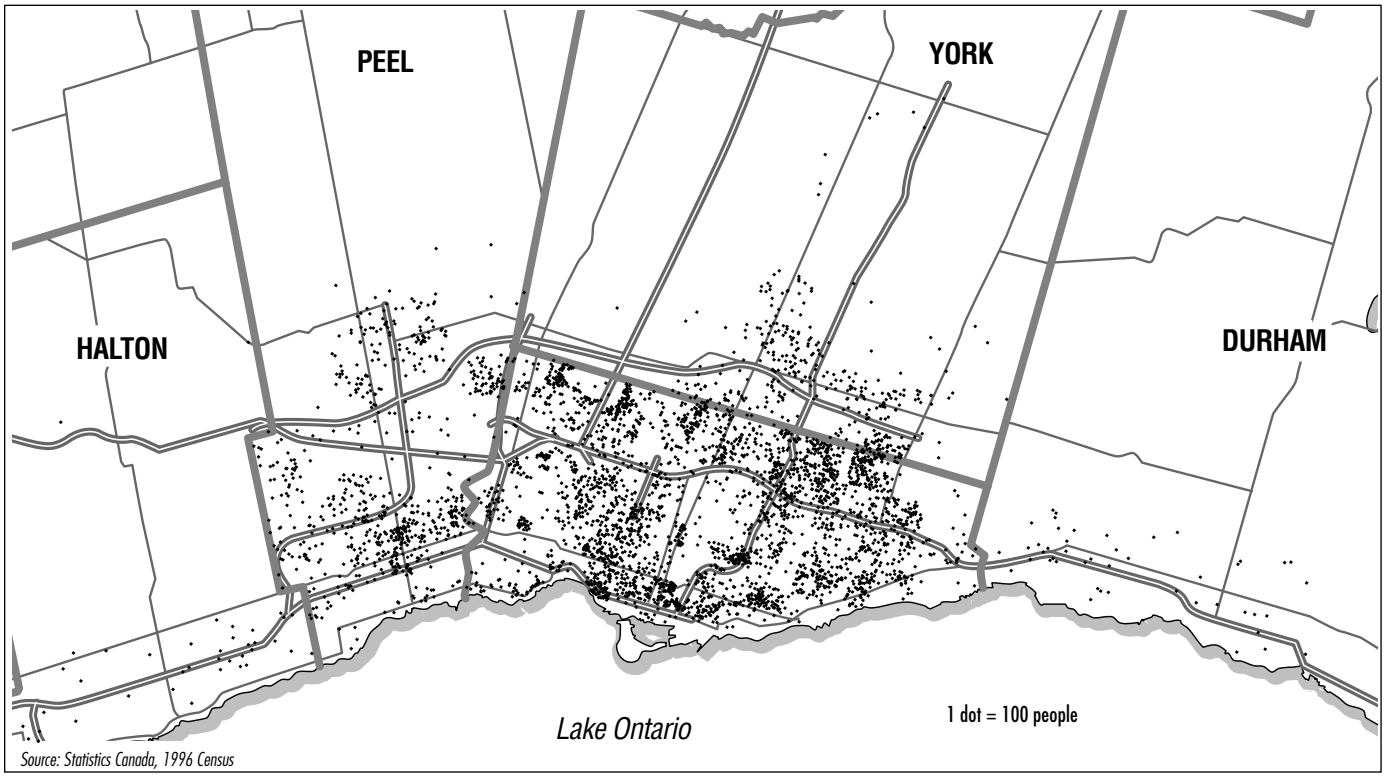
CHART 5: LOCATION OF ALL IMMIGRANTS BY PLACE OF BIRTH
City of Toronto vs. Rest of the GTA



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

Most of GTA's immigrants live in the City of Toronto

MAP 1: SETTLEMENT PATTERN – RECENT IMMIGRANTS TO THE GTA: TOTAL = 446,515



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

The City of Toronto has proportionately more of the GTA's 1,837,000 immigrants than do the suburban parts of the GTA: Toronto has 52% of the GTA's population, but 61% of all its immigrants and 71% of recent immigrants.

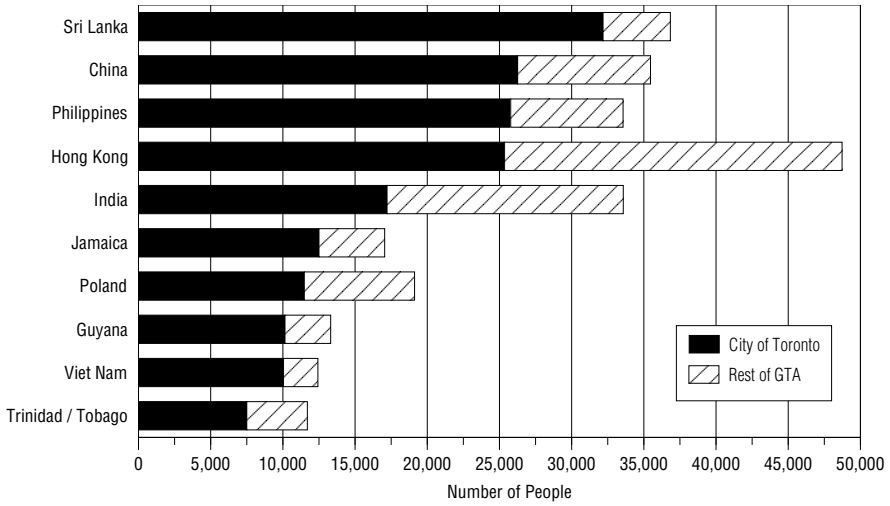
Of the 12 largest immigrant groups to the GTA, only residents from the United Kingdom and India are more likely to live in the suburban areas outside of the City of Toronto. (Table 3) Of the smaller immigrant groups, residents from Germany, the Netherlands, Croatia, South Africa, Kenya, Denmark and Belgium are more likely to live in the suburban areas outside of the City of Toronto.

Map 1 shows the distribution of recent immigrants in the urbanized area of the GTA. Mississauga, Markham and Richmond Hill have levels of recent immigrants similar to the City of Toronto (over 10% of their population).

Although most groups of recent immigrants are concentrated in the City of Toronto (Table 4), recent immigrants from India and Hong Kong are almost equally divided between the City and the suburban areas outside the city.

Of the largest groups of recent immigrants, those most concentrated in the City of Toronto are Sri Lankans, Vietnamese, and Chinese. Somalis, although a relatively small group (8,900), almost exclusively live in Toronto (96%).

CHART 6: LOCATION OF RECENT IMMIGRANTS BY PLACE OF BIRTH
City of Toronto vs. Rest of the GTA



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

The post-war suburbs have become the main immigrant settlement areas

Immigrants make up a large proportion of the population in each of Toronto's six former municipalities, but in North York, Scarborough and York they make up over one-half of the population.

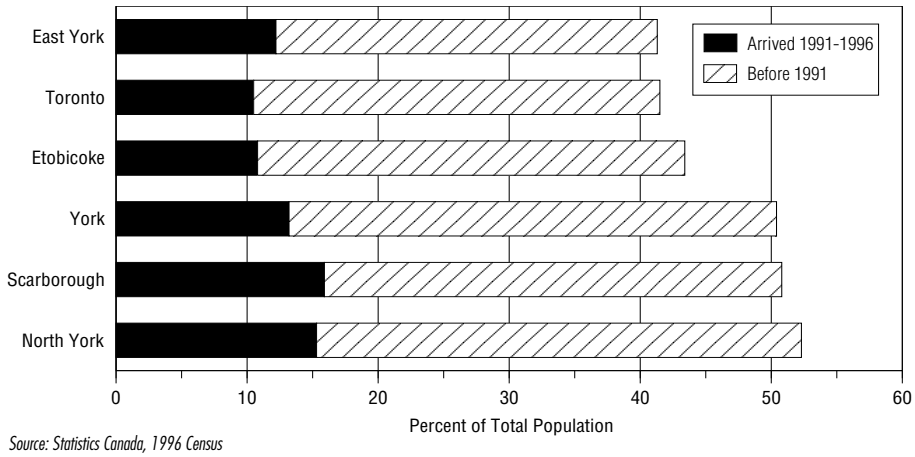
This concentration in the former suburban municipalities is even more marked with recent immigrants. Scarborough and North York have about 90,000 recent immigrants each, compared with 68,000 in the former City of Toronto. Recent immigrants make up 15.9% of Scarborough's population, and 15.3% of North York's, compared with 10.5% of the population residing in the old city of Toronto.

TABLE 5: IMMIGRANTS IN TORONTO

Place	Population	Non-Immigrants	ALL IMMIGRANTS Number	ALL IMMIGRANTS % of Population	RECENT IMMIGRANTS (1991-1996) Number	RECENT IMMIGRANTS (1991-1996) % of Population
City of Toronto	**2,385,400**	**1,260,990**	**1,124,410**	**47.1**	**315,470**	**13.2**
East York	107,800	63,305	44,495	41.3	13,140	12.2
Etobicoke	328,700	186,175	142,525	43.4	35,645	10.8
North York	589,700	281,535	308,165	52.3	90,120	15.3
Scarborough	558,960	274,735	284,225	50.8	88,710	15.9
Toronto	653,700	382,475	271,225	41.5	68,435	10.5
York	146,500	72,730	73,770	50.4	19,410	13.2

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

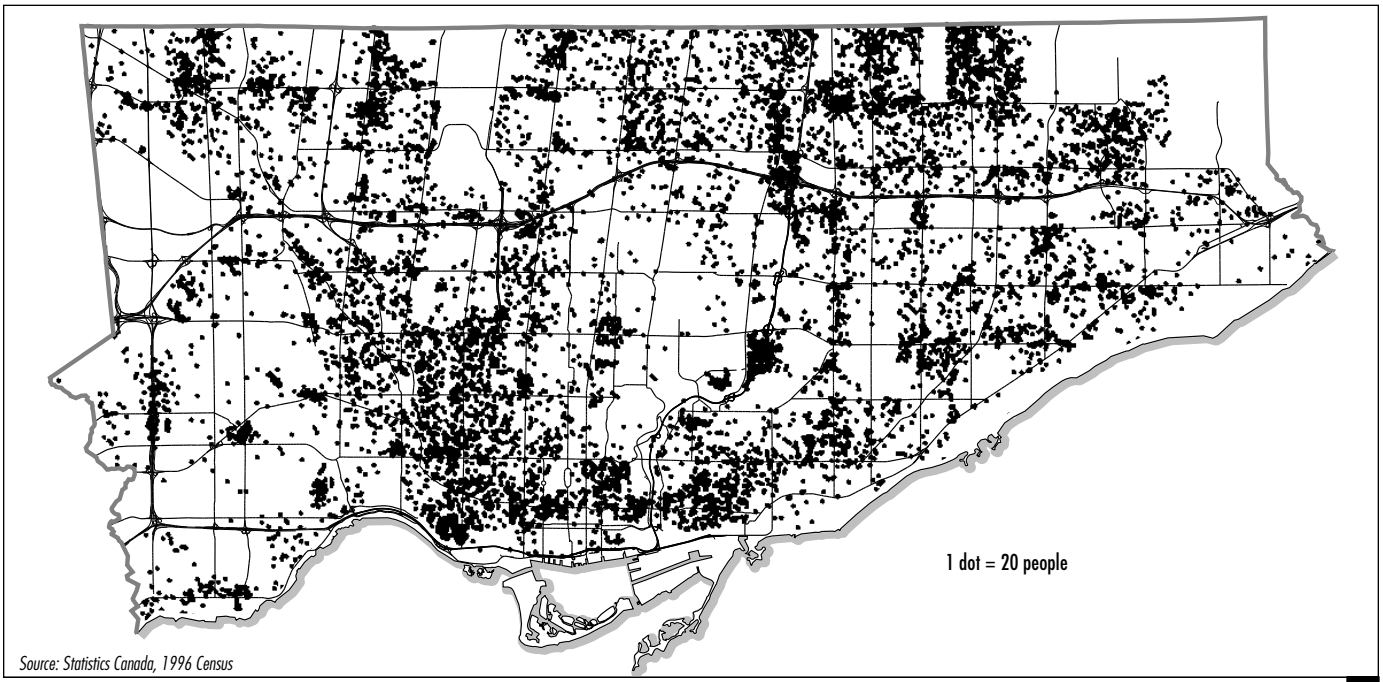
CHART 7: TORONTO'S IMMIGRANTS BY COMMUNITY COUNCIL DISTRICTS AS PROPORTION OF POPULATION



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

Recent immigrants are spread across the City

MAP 2: SETTLEMENT PATTERN – RECENT IMMIGRANTS TO TORONTO (1991-1996): TOTAL = 315,470

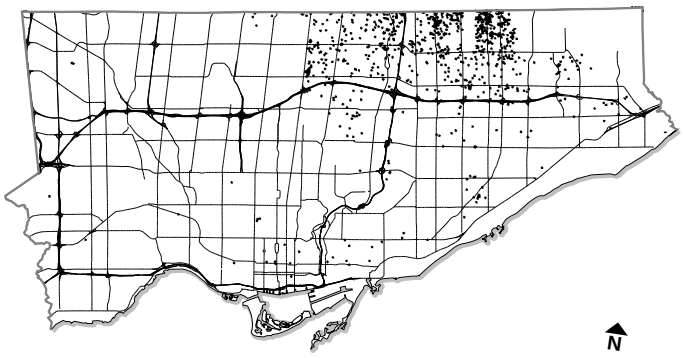


Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

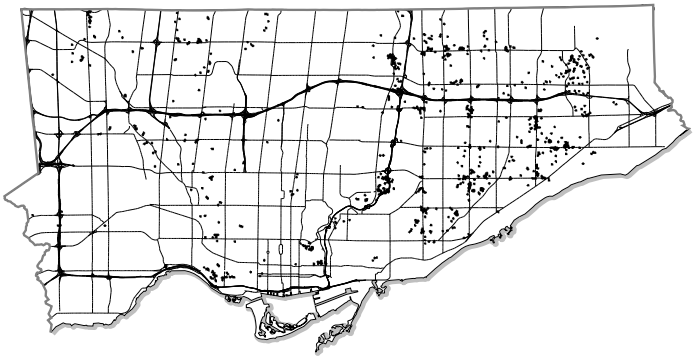
Settlement Pattern of Recent Immigrants by Place of Birth (1991-1996)

1 dot = 20 people

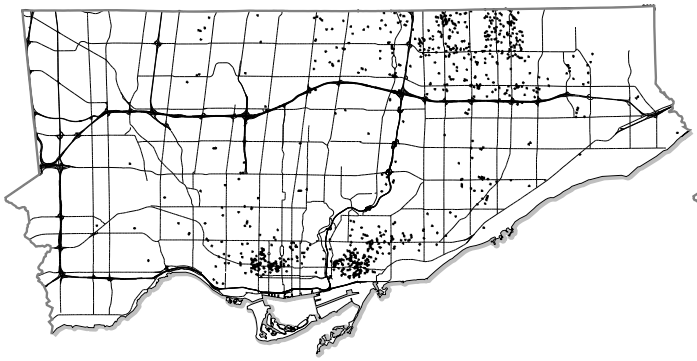
MAP 3: HONG KONG – 25,355



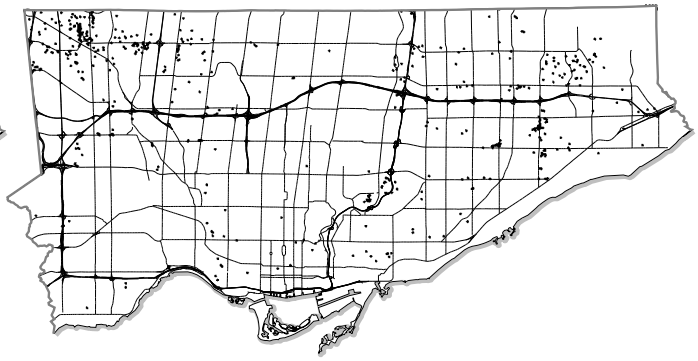
MAP 4: SRI LANKA – 32,175



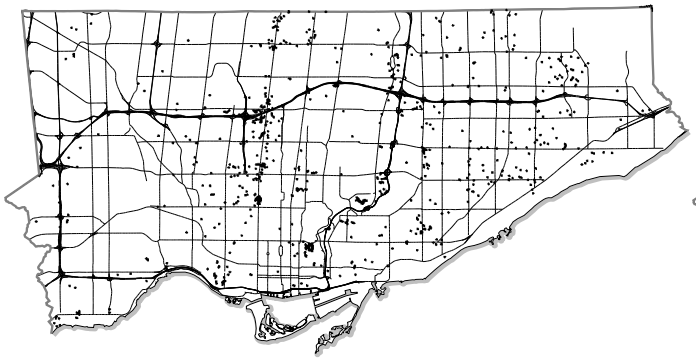
MAP 5: CHINA – 26,260



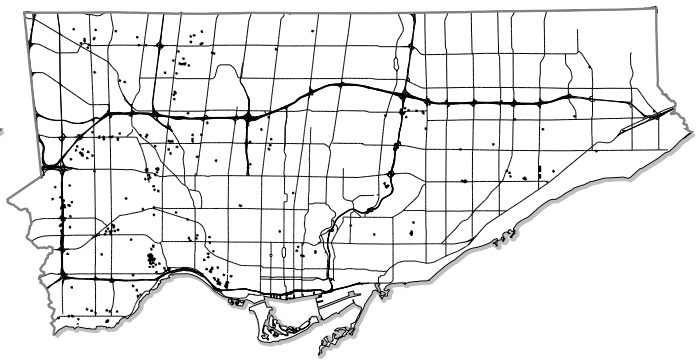
MAP 6: INDIA – 17,215



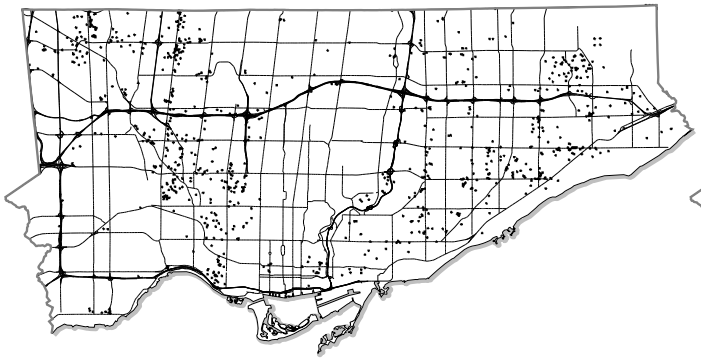
MAP 7: PHILIPPINES – 25,780



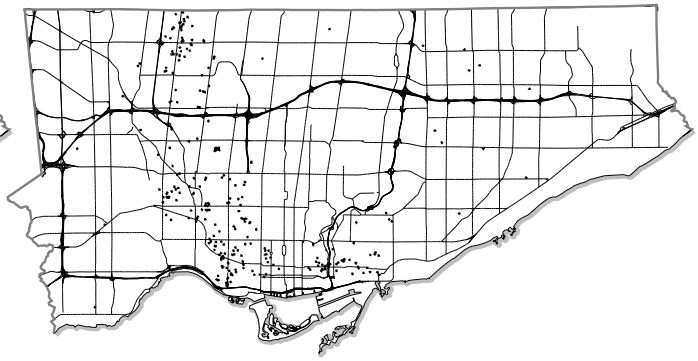
MAP 8: POLAND – 11,485



MAP 9: CARIBBEAN (Jamaica, Trinidad & Tobago, and Guyana) – 30,145



MAP 10: VIET NAM – 10,045



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

Map 2 shows the distribution of recent immigrants in Toronto. They are spread across the city with some concentrations:

- There are concentrations of recent immigrants in large apartment complexes throughout the city, for example, Bloor/Islington/Dundas, Dixon Rd, Jane Corridor, Parkdale, St. James Town, Flemingdon Park, Don Mills/Sheppard, Kennedy/401, and Eglinton/Markham. Most of the heavy concentrations of dots on the map coincide with such apartment complexes.
- There are large numbers of recent immigrants in the low density neighbourhoods of northern Scarborough, York, and the east and west ends of the former city of Toronto.
- There are some areas with relatively few recent immigrants, particularly most of Etobicoke south of Highway 401, the central part of the city from Bathurst to the Don Valley and Bloor up to Sheppard, and the neighbourhoods along the waterfront from the Beaches to the east end of Scarborough. These areas tend to have more expensive housing.

Maps 3 to 10 show the distribution of the main groups of recent immigrants by place of birth and the number of people who arrived from these countries between 1991 and 1996. They are not spread evenly across the city or even in the areas of recent immigrants. We can measure the extent to which these groups are separated from the rest of the population with an *Index of Dissimilarity*. The higher the index value for a group, the more it is separated from the rest of the population. (See "How to Interpret the Index").

The values for the main recent immigrant groups are:

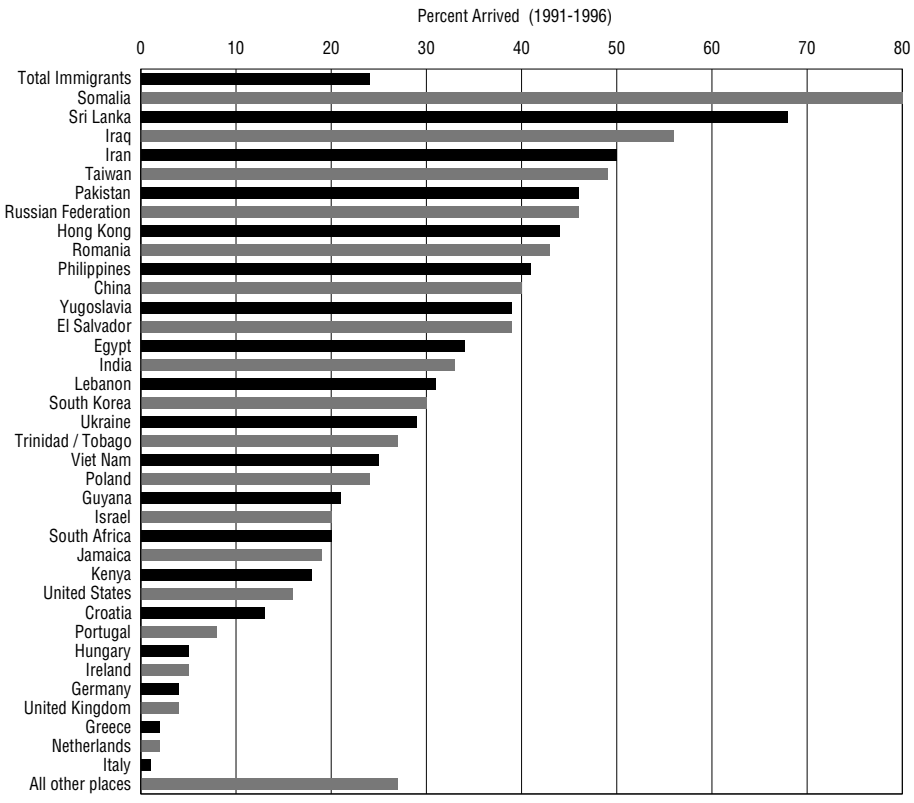
GROUP	Index of Dissimilarity
All Immigrants	21
All Recent Immigrants	29
Hong Kong	70
Viet Nam	66
Poland	61
Sri Lanka	61
China	55
India	54
Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad &Tobago	45
Philippines	44

HOW TO INTERPRET THE INDEX

The higher the index value for a group, the greater its separation from the rest of the population. The value can range from 0 to 100, where a value of 100 means the group is totally separate from the group it is being compared with, and a value of 0 means it has the same distribution as the other group. The index compares the size of each group in subareas of the city. The value for a group is the percent of the population in that group that would have to move so that its distribution would be the same as the other group. We have used Census Tracts, but we could also have used larger areas (such as the former municipalities) or smaller areas (enumeration areas). When we look at the maps in combination with the index value we can get an idea of the extent to which recent immigrants are found mainly in certain areas.

Most of these groups show relatively high values, confirming the impression from the maps that the groups tend to be found in certain areas of the city rather than others. The residential separation we see in the maps reflects initial settlement choices, which are probably based on existing family ties and cultural and commercial facilities.

CHART 8: RECENT ARRIVALS AS PERCENT OF TOTAL IMMIGRANTS FROM EACH COUNTRY



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census

What does it all mean?

Immigrants are part of the process by which the city constantly renews itself. Immigrants add to the city's vitality and make it a more interesting place in which to live. They bring new ideas and new ways of doing things. They bring entrepreneurial energy, restaurants, shops, and cultural events. They also bring links to, and knowledge of, new markets in their homelands. The widespread distribution of immigrants throughout Toronto also means that these benefits are spread across the city.

But there are social costs associated with the immigrant settlement process: costs that have been born in the past by senior levels of government, but which increasingly have implications for municipal government. Toronto bears a disproportionate share of Canada's settlement costs because almost one-half of all recent immigrants to Canada have chosen to settle in the GTA. These settlement costs include:

- costs and services associated with new residents settling in, finding a place to live and a job;
- the costs of providing English language instruction for a large proportion of immigrants, and the related difficulties of gaining comfort in a new society without English proficiency;
- the difficulties of educating children in classes where there is a variety of first languages and where children may not speak English at home;
- the need to adjust existing services, such as recreation, libraries and adult education, to meet new needs; and
- the social stress associated with the sudden integration of a new group into the host society, especially where the two groups have different cultural norms and values.

The relative ease with which new immigrants feel at home in the city is affected by the size of the immigrant community already living here. New immigrants from Italy or Portugal are able to rely on established communities complete with retail districts, business opportunities, community newspapers and social service networks. Some recent immigrant communities do not have such an established base to rely on and will probably have more difficulty adjusting to their new home. This could also mean they will be more dependent on public funds for settlement assistance, because there will be less informal assistance available. Chart 8 illustrates the degree to which the size of specific immigrant communities are characterized by those who have come to Canada since 1991. For example, fully 80% of the GTA's Somali community are recent arrivals; about 68% of the Sri Lankan community have arrived since 1991; 56% of all Iraqis, etc. Meanwhile, overall, about 25% of the GTA's immigrants are recent arrivals; only 2% of the Italian community and only 8% of the Portuguese community have arrived since 1991. None of the countries at the top of Chart 8 have English as a mother tongue, although Sri Lanka, Pakistan, and Hong Kong have English in their recent colonial past.

Changing immigration policies over the past 25 years, and especially the pattern of movement among people from the developing nations, along with the unstable nature of the Canadian economy in recent years, have meant that many new immigrants are reliant on publicly funded services to help them settle. This was not such a concern during the predominantly European wave of immigration in the 1950's and 1960's; a period which saw the relative ease of integration for workers during a period of strong economic growth. The 1996 Community Agency Survey (a joint Metro Toronto-City of Toronto-Social Planning Council project) indicated that settlement services for immigrants and refugees have been hit hard by funding cuts in each of the last two years.

The large flow of new immigrants to the city has increased the pressure on the city's rental housing stock. In the absence of new rental construction, there is evidence of doubling up and overcrowding in some large apartment complexes, as a tightening rental market makes it more difficult for new arrivals to find affordable housing.

New immigrants may be more dependent on public transit, so it is important that transit route planning recognize their settlement patterns. For those living in the post-war suburban areas of the city not well served by the subway system, this transit dependence can only add to the difficulties of settling in.

Similar concerns may apply to other city services. The maps of the distribution of the settlement pattern for the largest groups of recent immigrants (Maps 3 to 10) may be helpful in targeting some city services as well as focussing the efforts of settlement services offered by community-based service agencies.

Data Notes

The Census records the place of birth of Canada's population. All permanent residents born outside of Canada are immigrants. Recent immigrants are those who were born outside of Canada and immigrated between 1991 and 1996. Refugees seeking permanent status are not included. Children born to immigrants in Canada are not counted as immigrants.

The Census tells us how many people living in a particular place were immigrants. This does not necessarily mean they have lived in that place ever since they arrived in Canada.

The Census does not count the total number of arrivals in a particular period. Some will have died; others will have returned home.

The Census does not identify the immigration class of immigrants. Annual data from Citizenship and Immigration Canada show that from 1991 to 1996 landed immigrants to Ontario were distributed by immigrant class as follows:

Family	42.3%
Refugee	15.8%
Independent	40.1%
Other	1.8%

Future issues will examine other demographic, social and economic indicators. For further information, contact Peter Moore, Urban Planning and Development Services at (416) 396-7016 or e-mail at moore@city.scarborough.on.ca