

The rise of public sector unionism: Implications for labour and local government employers

By: Jen Harmer, Graduate Fellow March 15, 2024

Project components

Fibre art installation

• To be featured at the Spring Showcase and/or the head office

News release

Appropriate area of the website that could host content: https://schoolofcities.utoronto.ca/news-media/sofc-news/MunicipalLabour

Research summary

Appropriate areas of the website that could host written content: **Areas of focus:** SchoolofCities/Areas of Focus/Governance/MunicipalLabour **Blog Post:** SchoolofCities/CityBeatsBlog/MunicipalLabour

Image gallery of urban municipal labour

- Assembled from the archives of urban centres in Ontario
- May be featured on the School of Cities website

School of Cities welcomes fibre art installation celebrating municipal labour

Author/ Jennifer M. Harmer, Graduate Fellow, School of Cities

Date/ April 1, 2024

GOVERNANCE



Starting this month, visitors to the School of Cities headquarters will find a new fibre art installation in the office, encouraging them to reflect on the critical role of municipal labour in public service delivery.

Created by Jen Harmer, Graduate Fellow, as part of her Knowledge Mobilization

Project, this textile project visualises the important role of the 235,000 municipal workers who help power local governments across the province and deliver the services citizens depend on. This artwork is accompanied by a research project that explores labour matters relating to municipal work. A historic look at urban municipal labour is also available in the <u>new library with photographs sourced</u> from municipal archives across the province.

At 3x4 feet, and consisting of more than 32,000 stitches, this project was created over a period of 6 months using the slowstitch method of hand stitching, and without the use of a sewing machine.

This slower, labour-intensive approach to hand sewing is a mindful process, providing time and opportunity for reflection on the key themes and historic roots of labour, and making deeper connections to the project and the



experience of crafts persons. In this way, the work is very much about the process of creation, and not simply the outcome. This improv quilt work method also incorporates differences and imperfections in the final product, with unique and varied patches representing our many different communities across the province.



444 individual patches, representing each of the 444 municipalities in the province, have been stitched together. Blocks were assembled with contrasting colours representing both urban and rural municipalities. The blocks were stitched together and tacked down to the cotton batting and textile backing, and then finished with binding, tabs, and a wooden dowel. The piece is primarily comprised of natural materials including cotton and linen.

The textile uses handmade techniques available before the industrial revolution. The industrial revolution changed the means of work and ushered in an era of mass production made possible by sewing machines – a standardized process that also changed the worker's relationship with the output. By employing the slow-stich approach, the art installation engages the techniques of the trades people involved in the early craft guilds. Pre-industrial revolution, artisans and tradespeople organized themselves into guilds to advance their work; these are the predecessors to modern-day unions.

The tradition of quilt creation has a history in the labour movement. Torontonians will find a commemorative quilt at York Mills subway station dedicated to the memory of 5 construction workers who died in the 1960 Hoggs Hollow Disaster, a tunnel fire during a municipal infrastructure project that led to major reforms in workplace health & safety legislation.

While the School of Cities piece embraces traditional methods, it also recognizes the place of technology in the future of work, featuring a scannable QR code which links to the online digital compendium on municipal labour. This virtual component enables those unable to visit the office to learn about the municipal labour project findings.

The textile art is complemented by a <u>research project</u> documenting the history, importance, and role of municipal labour and the rise of public sector unionism in Canada.



The public sector has been a lifeline for unionism in this country. The last 20 years has

seen significant union density decline in the manufacturing industry, as well as union growth in the service industry, primarily the public sector. These changes indicate that union composition is changing, with the typical union member identifying as female and working in the service industry, for the public sector. This shift has implications for union leadership, priorities, and strategy, and this, too, has consequences for public sector employers.

This project critically looks at the data on, and the cost of, municipal labour, and offers recommendations for unions and municipal employers going forward.



The installation will be in the office until the end of 2024.

Learn more:

The Rise of Public Sector Unionism: Implications for labour and local government employers

Urban municipal labour library

The Rise of Public Sector Unionism: Implications for labour and local government employers

Author/ Jennifer M. Harmer, Graduate Fellow, School of Cities

Date/ April 1, 2024

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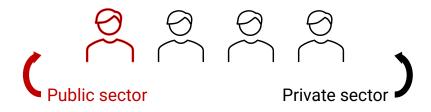


Street railway strike meeting at Massey Hall in Toronto, 1919 City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 8056

While municipal infrastructure has received significant attention over the last few years, our most costly (and perhaps most complex) asset is our human capital. The individuals behind our public services conduct our most important business. Duties range from the essential to the heroic. Municipal employees drive our ambulances, administer vaccines, and extinguish fires. They also turn on our park lights, sharpen our skates, and inspect our eateries among other duties. This report offers a snapshot of municipal work and explores the statistics and emerging issues for labour and urban government employers.

The future of unions is public

Of the 20 million Canadians working in all industries, 4 million are public sector employees (Statistics Canada, 2024a). Once we adjust for the self-employed, we find that the public sector is roughly 25% of Canadian employees. This means the public sector is a sizeable component of all workers in Canada.



We must also consider the role of organized labour in public service delivery. Over 5.3 million workers are covered by a collective agreement in this country (Statistics Canada, 2024b). This means more Canadians than ever are represented by a union. When we divide the number of those covered by a collective agreement by the total workforce, we arrive at a union density rate of around 30% for all industries. When we look closer and break this down by sector, we find that public sector workers are represented by a union at a rate of 77% compared to 16% in the private sector (Statistics Canada, 2024b). These numbers indicate that the public sector workforce is unionized at a rate far higher than the private sector, and we can confidently assert that the public sector plays a critical role in the labour movement in this country.

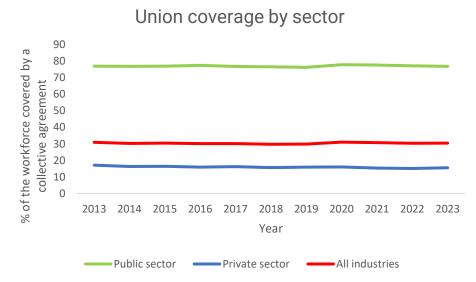


Figure 1 Union coverage rate by industries Canada, 2002-2023 Source: Statistics Canada. Table 14-10-0132-01 Union status by industry

While *Figure 1* shows us that the union rate has held steady over the last 10 years, when we consider the long-term picture, we find that the union density rate has declined significantly from around 33% to 30% in the last 25 years (Statistics Canada, 2024b). This has implications for the labour movement as it affects revenue generation (union dues typically consist of a percentage of worker salaries) and broad labour power.

The emergence of the public sector as an important source of union membership is new. Historically, unionized private sector workers made up the lion's share of union labour. With the shift to the public sector, unions have experienced significant demographic changes. *Figure 2* shows us that around the year 2008, females surpassed males as the greatest number of unionized workers. We now find that the typical unionized worker is female and works in the public service. This has implications for unions, from the internal composition to leadership and priorities.

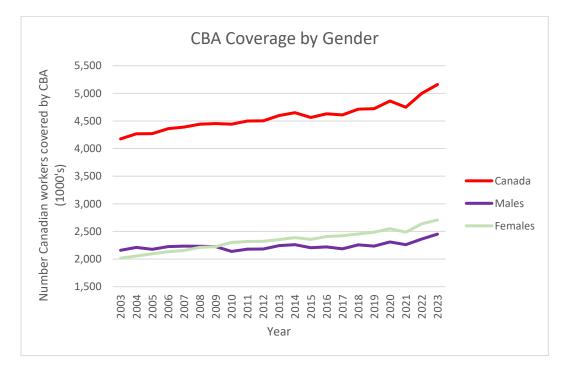


Figure 2Gender of workers covered by a Collective Bargaining Agreement in Canada,
2002-2023
Source: Statistics Canada. Table 14-10-0129-01 Union status by geography (x
1,000)

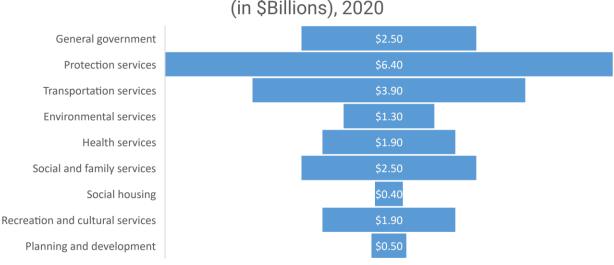
Putting a price on labour

In 2022, almost 235,000 individuals were employed by municipalities in Ontario. This includes 157,000 full-time workers, 58,000 part-time workers, and 19,000 seasonal workers. Labour is expensive, with \$23.5B spent on salaries, wages, and benefits in municipalities across Ontario in 2022. These labour costs account for almost 44% of all municipal operating expenses (Government of Ontario, 2024a).



\$23.5B – the annual cost of municipal employees

The costliest labour comes from protection services. In 2020, over \$6.4 billion was spent on salaries, wages, and benefits, including policing and fire services. This means that labour costs represent 78% of all operating expenses affiliated with the delivery of protection service, followed by transportation services at \$3.9 billion including public transportation and roads workers (Government of Ontario, 2024b).



Total municipal spending on salaries, wages and benefits (in \$Billions), 2020

Figure 3 Spending on salaries, wages and employee benefits in Ontario municipalities, 2020

Source: Financial Information Return 2020: Provincial Summary (Schedule 40, Consolidated Statement of Operations: Expenses)

The financial cost of labour remains a challenge for municipalities. Rising inflation and a higher cost of living mean bargaining units are asking for significant gains in wages. The budget approval process is a political one with pressure to limit spending. There are limited revenue tools, and a reliance on revenue from property taxes. Further, there are limited unconditional grants from other levels of government, and no access to debt financing for operating purposes. Opportunities to introduce or expand revenue-generating tools (such as increasing user fees and charges) would help fund labour expenses. However, this course of action may require amendments to provincial policy, as well as a willingness to implement them at the local level.

When work stops

The presence of unions mean that we need to consider work stoppages, including strikes and lockouts that are typically restricted to the period after a collective agreement has expired. In 2023, there were 69 work stoppages in the public sector. While this number seems small, the highest number of employees involved in any one work stoppage was almost 137,000. Overall, these work stoppages equal almost 1.7-million-person days not worked. When we compare the private sector to the public sector, the average duration was 41 days vs. 114 respectively (Statistics Canada, 2024c). This indicates that public sector work stoppages affect some large workplaces and are considerably longer than private sector strikes and lockouts. This has social and financial impacts on employees and the public.



Billboard, 1929/1930 City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1488, Series 1230, Item 3970.

Looking back

The 1919 Winnipeg General strike was a significant event for labour. Tensions were high between employers and employees when public and private sector workers walked off the job. Municipal workers, including police, firefighters, and utilities workers, were a part of the nearly 30,000 workers that left their jobs. Workers in cities across the country walked out in support of the strikers, culminating in the largest general strike in Canadian history (Canadian Labour Congress, 2015), and marking a key moment in the history of seeking collective bargaining recognition.

March 1960 marked North York's *Hoggs Hollow Disaster*. Young Italian immigrant construction workers were working on an underground watermain when a fire erupted in the tunnel. The financial woes of a contractor and provincial labour inspectors who failed to act were named as contributing factors. Safety measures were non-existent and five individuals working on this municipal project died. A Royal Commission was held and led to a major overhaul of the province's labour laws and the establishment of the Ontario Labour Safety Council. In 2010, a commemorative quilt was installed at York Mills subway station (Goldenberg, 2021). This artwork inspired the development of a new textile installation at the School of Cities dedicated to municipal labour.

Many public sector workers were prohibited from collective bargaining and striking until 1965 when the Canadian Union of Postal Workers went out on an illegal, nationwide strike (Canadian Labour Congress, 2015). This action saw the extension of bargaining rights across much more of the public service. Another significant challenge to government legislation that restricted striking and bargaining power was recently made by transit workers in Toronto. In 2023, the Ontario Superior Court overturned an earlier move by the province (and city) to deem Toronto transit an essential service (CBC News, 2023). This decision reinstated transit workers' right to strike and will significantly impact their future bargaining power. Public sector workers also took the provincial government to court for their wage constraint legislation that capped wages of broad public sector workers (CBC News, 2024). This means that recent court decisions have recently sided with union efforts and have supported the notion that decisions need to be worked out collectively with workers at the bargaining table.

Recognizing municipal labour

We began by acknowledging the important role of municipal work in service delivery. Local government processes translate into opportunities for improved accountability and transparency. These processes can also result in the politicisation of the labour relationship, with pressures to cut or constrain investment in human capital. This can also mean government administrators are in a crunch to do more with less. Looking through the archives of urban service delivery shows us the evolution of municipal service delivery. Some city services have been outsourced, privatized, or eliminated altogether. While the literature is mixed on the cost benefit of outsourcing municipal work, communities need to invest in rigorous contract administration and customer service protocols along with the decision to outsource service delivery. It is fair to say that communities have been experimenting with forms of alternative service delivery since the formal incorporation of our communities in Canada. Workers delivering municipal services have varying relationships with their employers, whether they are directly employed by the municipal organization or not. City governments have a responsibility to ensure that those delivering municipal services have decent work that is safe and recognizes the constitutional right to organize a union and collectively bargain in good faith.



North York (Toronto) employee Safety Promotion, 1962-1966 City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 217, Series 249, File 304.

What this means going forward...

Municipal employers

- Need to watch the evolving legislation, court, and labour board decisions relating to the law of work
- Need to ensure the day-to-day management practices and organizational policies reflect best practices in human resources management (HRM)
- HRM needs to take place at every level every frontline manager and senior leader needs to know the applicable collective agreements, labour & employment law, and best practices in people management
- Need to assess labour needs and be competitive for workers (e.g. wages and working conditions)
- Need to consider what innovative technologies will support the workplace and develop a strategy to help workers adjust to workplace that uses artificial intelligence and automation. (e.g. invest in training).

Labour unions

- Need to adapt to changing membership demographics and focus on inclusion
- Need to understand the interests of the public sector workforce and the members they represent
- Develop new strategies to organize and reach out to casual, part-time workers, and workers in jobs that have been outsourced
- Explore micro-organizing in smaller workplaces (public or private) because the labour movement as a whole is losing ground in the private sector and there is limited future growth in public sector
- Develop affiliations with other public sector unions to share resources, organize workers, and learn best practices in union administration
- Should consider how to prepare workers (e.g. training) for a future with increased automation and artificial intelligence in their workplaces.

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- Statistics Canada (2024c). Statistics Canada. Tables Table 14-10-0352-01. "Work stoppages in Canada, by jurisdiction and industry based on the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS)" DOI: https://doi.org/10.25318/1410035201-eng

The Canadian Encyclopedia (2024). *Winnipeg General Strike of 1919*. https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/winnipeg-general-strike

Appendix – Urban municipal labour image gallery

Description: North Toronto townhall and horse-drawn fire wagon with ladder, 1907

Copyright: Public domain – free to use



Month Poronto Fire Dept 19077 Montgomery Str.?

City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 7

Description: Firemen walk down Lansdowne Avenue in Toronto, 1910-1920

Copyright: Public domain – free to use

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City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 15

Description: Toronto firefighters at Exhibition fire hall, 1928

Copyright: City of Toronto archives – free to use



Description: Toronto fire rescue boat, 2010

Copyright: City of Toronto – free to use



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 219, Series 2311, File 2986, Item 115

Description: Police Inspector Gilks, Toronto, approx. 1908

Copyright: Public domain – free to use



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 125

Description: Policeman direct traffic in Toronto, 1912

Copyright: Public domain – free to use



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 1008

Description: Toronto police pose for a picture, 1929

Copyright: Public domain – free to use



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1266, Item 15995

Description: Mervin Noble works on the bars at the Don Jail, 1952

Copyright: City of Toronto archives – free to use

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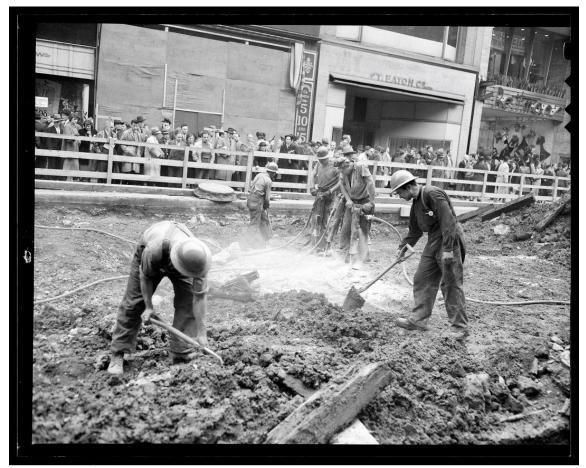


City of Toronto Archives,

Description: Road work takes place at Yonge and Queen in Toronto, 1949

Copyright: City of Toronto archives – free to use

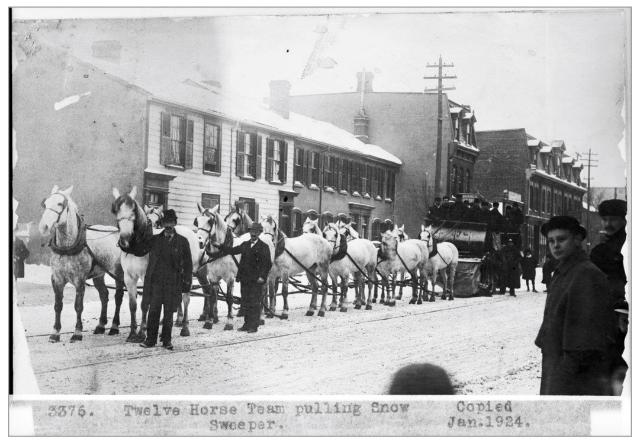
https://gencat.eloquent-systems.com/city-of-toronto-archives-mpermalink.html?key=725382



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1567, Series 577, Item 3

Description: Twelve horse team pulling snow sweeper, 1891

Copyright: Public domain-free to use



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 16, Series 71, Item 3376

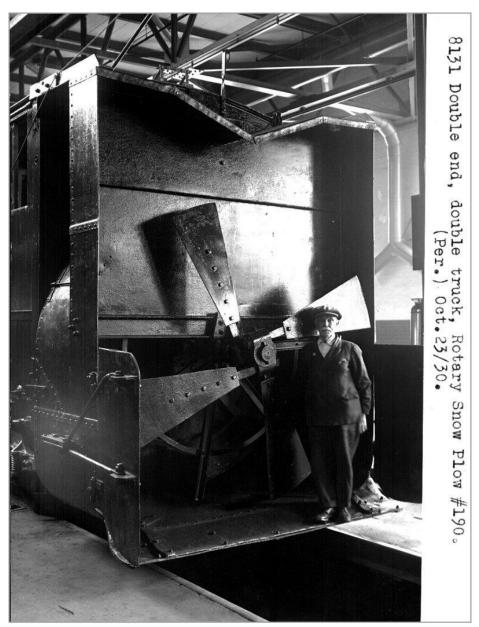
Description: Worker shovels snow off streetcar tracks in London, ON, 1900 **Copyright:** Public domain – free to use

https://images.ourontario.ca/london/2370820/data?n=20



Description: Worker stands in rotary snow plow, Toronto, 1930

Copyright: Public domain-free to use



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 16, Series 71, Item 8131

Description: Horse-drawn snowplow, Toronto, 1931

Copyright: Public domain - free to use

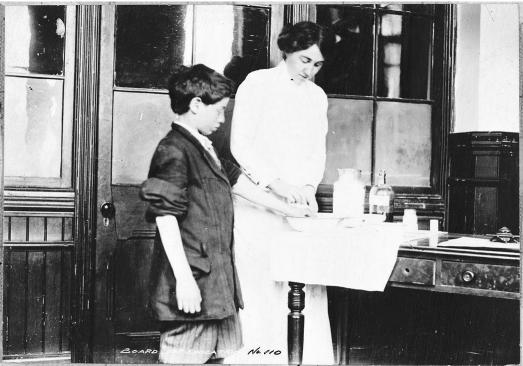
https://gencat.eloquent-systems.com/city-of-toronto-archives-mpermalink.html?key=308328



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1266, Item 23376

Description: Public health nurse conducts a medical check, Toronto, 1914

Copyright: Public domain- free to use



City of Toronto Archives, Series 372, s0372_ss0011_it0110

Description: Public health nurse shows a mother how to prepare baby's bottle, Toronto, 1947

Copyright: Public domain- free to use



ity of Toronto Archives, Series 372, s0372_ss0032_it0943

Description: Nurse from the Public Health Department works at her desk, Toronto, 1942

Copyright: Public domain- free to use



City of Toronto Archives, Series 372, s0372_ss0032_it0976

Description: Dental services provided by the health department, Toronto, 1942

Copyright: Public domain- free to use



City of Toronto Archives, Series 372, s0372_ss0032_it091

Description: High Park, baby deer and Keeper, 1926

Copyright: Public domain- free to use



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1266, Item 7865

Description: A worker tends to monkeys at the Riverdale Zoo, Toronto, 1928

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City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1266, Item 14895

Description: Street sweeper, Toronto, 1923

Copyright: Public domain- free to use



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 7290

Description: Horse drawn wagon for street cleaning, Toronto, 1926

Copyright: Public domain- free to use



City of Toronto Archives, Series 372, s0372 ss0070 it0191

Description: City of Toronto, Department of Street Cleaning Truck, 1929

Copyright: Public domain- free to use

https://gencat.eloquent-systems.com/city-of-toronto-archives-mpermalink.html?key=80218



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1231, f1231_it1128

Description: Toronto Street Cleaning Department float exhibited at the Labour Day parade, 1946

Copyright: Public domain- free to use



City of Toronto Archives, Series 372 s0372_ss0100_it0525

Description: Department of Street Cleaning Baseball team, Toronto, 1948

Copyright: Public domain- free to use



City of Toronto Archives, Series 372 s0372_ss0100_it0524

Description: During the garbage strike in Hamilton, 1950

Copyright: Hamilton Public Library

https://preview.hpl.ca:8443/Sites/#1706216403575_74



Description: Picket line during the garbage strike in Hamilton, 1950

Copyright: Hamilton Public Library

https://preview.hpl.ca:8443/Sites/#1706216478370_82



Description: Municipal workers during the Garbage Strike in Toronto, 2002

Copyright: City of Toronto- free to use



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 219, Series 2311, File 1542, Item 122

Description: Garbage strike at Christie Pits Park, Toronto, 2002

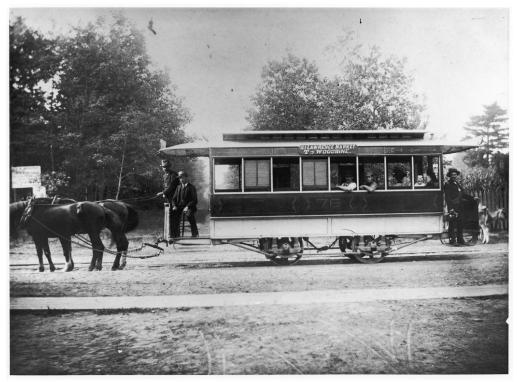
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City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 219, Series 2311, File 1542, Item 33

Description: Horse drawn streetcar, Toronto, 1892

Copyright: Public domain- Free to use

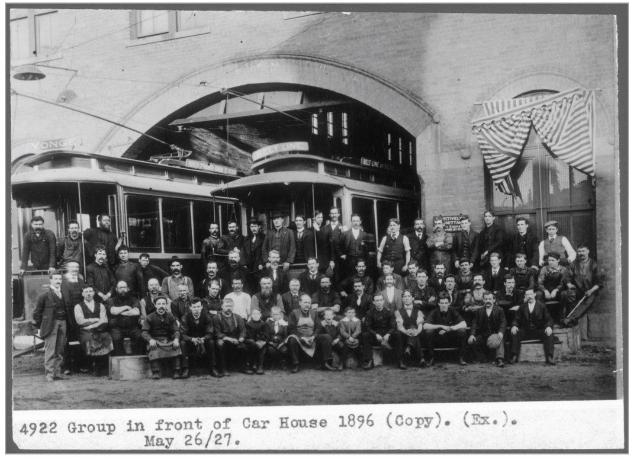


City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 1356

Description: Workers in front of streetcar house, Toronto, 1896

Copyright: Public domain- Free to use

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City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 16, Series 71, Item 4922

Description: Horse drawn streetcar, Sarnia Street Railway, before 1901

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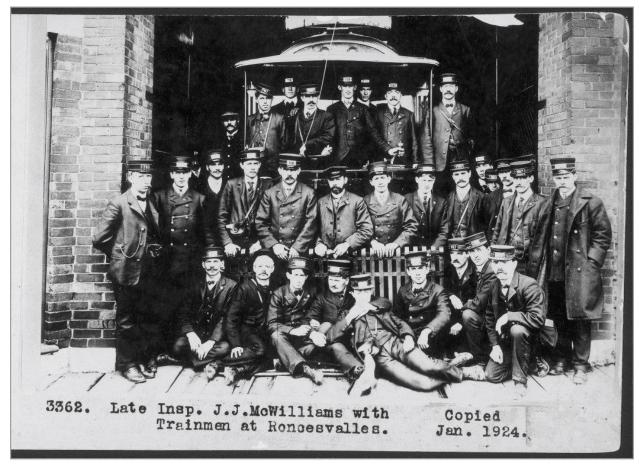


City of Toronto Archives, Series 393 f1548_s0393_it0035

Description: Toronto Transit trainmen, 1905

Copyright: Public domain- Free to use

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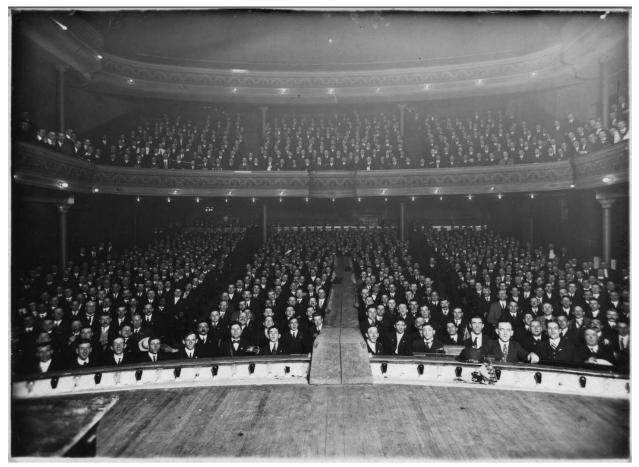


City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 16, Series 71, Item 3362

Description: Street railway strike meeting at Massey Hall in Toronto, 1919

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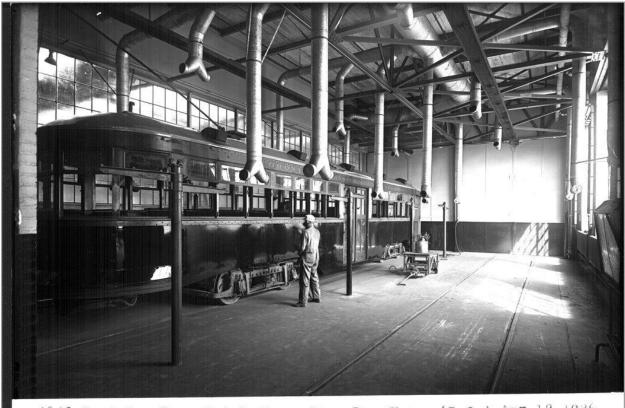
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City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 8056

Description: Worker in the spraying room of the general repair shop, 1926

Copyright: Public domain- Free to use

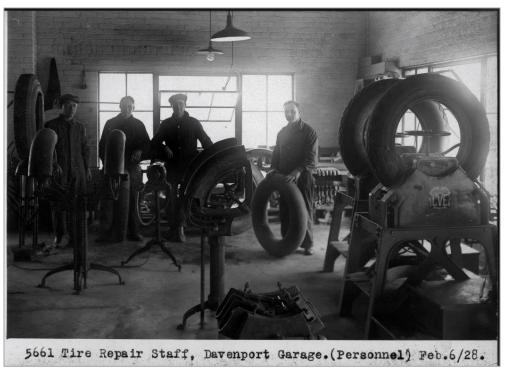


4242 Spraying Room Paint Shop, Gen. Rep. Shop, (R.S.) Apr. 17, 1926.

City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 16, Series 71, Item 4242

Description: Toronto Transit tire repair staff, 1928

Copyright: Public domain- Free to use



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 16, Series 71, Item 5661

Description: TTC ferry at waterfront, Toronto, 1920s

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City of Toronto Archives, Series 1465, File 119, Item 60

Description: TTC ferry boats uniform worn by worker, Toronto, 1928

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City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 16, Series 71, Item 5950

Description: Worker using monorail at the Hillcrest Shops, Toronto Transit Commission, 1930

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City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 16, Series 71, Item 7679

Description: London street railway, London, ON, 1945

Copyright: Public domain- Free to use

https://images.ourontario.ca/london/2409505/data?n=6



Description: City of Toronto water supply system, 1895

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City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 200, Series 376, File 3, Item 9c

Description: Worker in water pumping station, Toronto, 2009

Copyright: City of Toronto- Free to use



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 219, Series 2311, File 2764, Item 10

Description: A city ski instructor teaches a youngster how to snowboard in Toronto, 2008

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City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 219, Series 2311, File 2511, Item 8

Description: Lifeguard boats and lifeguards, Woodbine Beach, Toronto, 2008

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City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 219, Series 2311, File 2547, Item 98

Description: Worker drives the Toronto Hydro-Electric System Trouble Wagon, 1915

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City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1231, f1231_it2092

Description: Toronto Hydro-Electric System, station Construction Department employees, 1917

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City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1231, f1231_it0313

Description: Adding machine staff on election night, Toronto, 1926

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City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1266, Item 8837

Description: Miss Kathleen Dunn works in the Motor Coach Department, 1929

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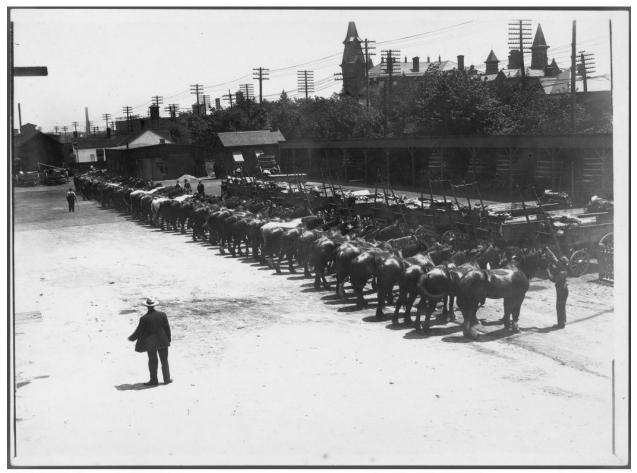


City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 16, Series 71, Item 6645

Description: City of Toronto work horses, 1910s

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https://gencat.eloquent-systems.com/city-of-toronto-archives-mpermalink.html?key=52935



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 1306

Description: North York (Toronto) Employee safety promotion featuring the Commissioner of Personnel and Safety inspector, 1962-1966

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https://gencat.eloquent-systems.com/city-of-toronto-archives-m-permalink.html?key=44235



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 217 f0217_s0249_fl0304_it0001

Description: Men reading the want advertisements for jobs, Toronto, 1919

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City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 526

Description: Torontonians claiming mail with identification cards during the Postal strike, 1919

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https://gencat.eloquent-systems.com/city-of-toronto-archives-mpermalink.html?key=52569



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 1000

Description: "Give a Man a Job" billboard, Service Clubs of Toronto. 1929/1930

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City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1488, Series 1230, Item 3970