RACE, ETHNICITY, IMMIGRATION AND JOBS: LABOUR MARKET ACCESS AMONG GHANAIAN AND SOMALI YOUTH IN THE GREATER TORONTO AREA

by

Shaibu Ahmed Gariba

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto

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This thesis uses focus group interviews and survey questionnaires to examine perceptions of Ghanaian and Somali youth, residing in Toronto, about barriers to their labour market access. The emphasis is on perceptions that deal with labour market discrimination based on race, ethnicity and recency of immigration. The results show that perceptions of discrimination based on these factors are widespread among all of the participants interviewed or surveyed. This suggests a very strong belief that employment discrimination is pervasive and persistent in the Toronto labour market. The findings also show that the perceptions of discrimination are largely driven by ‘lived discriminatory’ experiences faced by the participants as well as revealing their desire for fairness and equality in society. The perceptions of discrimination negatively affected the level of trust the research participants have in people and institutions as well as impacting their sense of belonging to their communities and the wider society. The relationship between perceptions of discrimination and low levels of trust and sense of belonging is established in the findings of the Ethnic Diversity Survey. The consequences of this impact on the research participants and their communities are high levels of unemployment, high poverty rates and participant dissatisfaction with their own communities and society at
large. It is my belief that this thesis contributes to the debate about the significance of discrimination due to race, ethnicity and immigrant status in the Canadian labour market.
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KEY WORDS:

**Business Class** - Immigrants who have the experience and resources to contribute to the Canadian economy. Business immigrants include investors, entrepreneurs, and self-employed immigrants.

**Canadian citizen** - person who is Canadian by birth or who has applied for citizenship through Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and has received a Canadian citizenship certificate

**Census** - a survey of all Canadians conducted every five years across Canada by Statistics Canada. Used to determine population characteristics such as number of people, ages, education level attained, employment, unemployment, occupations, earnings, etc.

**Convention Refugee** - a person outside of his country of nationality who is unable or unwilling to return because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion.

**Demographic Characteristics** – information on population such as statistics on birth, death, age, sex, marital status, family size, education, geographic location, occupation and disease.

**Employment Discrimination** - negative employment decisions based on statuses such as birthplace or origins, rather than based solely on credentials and qualifications directly related to the potential productivity of the employee

**Family class** - permanent residents sponsored by a Canadian citizen or a permanent resident living in Canada who is 18 years of age or over

**Labour Force** - that part of the working-age population participating in work or actively job searching.

**Labour Force Survey** - a survey conducted monthly across Canada by Statistics Canada of approximately 48,800 households in 10 provinces representing 100,000 respondents.

**Labour Market** - arena where those who are in need of labour and those who can supply the labour come together

**Labour Market Outcomes** - refers to the employment situation of individuals in any given occupation evaluated by factors such as earnings, access to jobs, mobility, and relative unemployment rates.
Permanent resident - person who is legally in Canada on a permanent basis as an immigrant or refugee, but not yet a Canadian citizen (formerly known as landed immigrant)

Racism - set of beliefs which assert the natural superiority of one racial group over another, at the individual but also the institutional level. In one sense, racism refers to the belief that biology rather than culture is the primary determinant of group attitudes and actions. Racism goes beyond ideology; it involves discriminatory practices that protect and maintain the position of certain groups and sustain the inferior position of others.

Refugee claimant - a person who requests refugee protection status

Self –employed - workers who work for themselves at their main job.

Unemployed - when an individual is not employed, is looking for work, and is available for work.

Visible Minorities - The Canadian Employment Equity Act defines visible minorities as persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.
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DEDICATION

dedicated to my:

parents: Late Asuli & Amusimi

&

Nana Ama, Amira and Hasiya

for the love and support they gave me and the patience and tolerance they showed during my PhD misadventure.

&

Kwame for his support,

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

This thesis examines perceptions about the labour market access experienced by Ghanaian and Somali youth that reside in the Toronto Metropolitan Census Area (CMA). Its primary objective is to examine the effects, impact and consequences of perceptions held by black youth regarding the significance of race, ethnicity and recency of immigration as these impact their labour market access and the implications of these perceptions for their socio-economic integration.

The Ghanaian and Somali communities have been found, in studies by Ornstein (2000, 2006), to be at the margins of the socio-economic life of the Toronto CMA. It is a study about the perceptions of labour market access held by the youth of two black transitory immigrant communities at the margins of Canada’s largest metropolitan area, communities that are facing high levels of unemployment and poverty.

The thesis contributes to the ongoing debate about the significance of race, ethnicity and immigrant status in the labour market access and performance of non-European immigrants in Canada. It builds on existing studies that have found labour market discrimination based on race, ethnicity and immigrant status to be significant barriers to recent immigrants accessing jobs and performing well in the Canadian labour market.
Essentially, the thesis examines the ‘lived labour market’ experiences of focus group participants and survey respondents and explores their perceptions about barriers to their labour market access. The idea is to examine the relationship between the ‘lived’ experiences and perceptions. The thesis also examines the effects of participants’ perceptions related to discrimination on their bonding and bridging networks and the consequences of these perceptions for the participants and their communities. The focus on Ghanaian and Somali immigrant youth partially fills an important gap in studies on labour market integration of non-European recent immigrants in Canada.

Toronto is a major centre of commerce in Canada and home to a very large recent immigrant, multicultural and multi-ethnic population that is largely in transition. An estimated 50 per cent of Toronto’s population is foreign-born (Statistics Canada 2006 Census). There are about 2.17 million immigrants living in the Toronto CMA which constitutes two-thirds of Ontario’s total immigrant population. Data from the 2006 Census point to the city as the most attractive destination for recent Canadian immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2006 Census).

Data from the 2006 Census also show that over five million Canadians described themselves as members of a visible minority. This accounts for 16.2 per cent of the total Canadian population, an increase over 2001 when the proportion was 14.4 per cent. An estimated 19.1 per cent of Ontario’s population is made up of visible minority persons. This translates to 2.8 million visible minority individuals in the province. Toronto CMA has the largest share of these in Ontario, with an estimated 2.2 million or 36.8 per cent of its population. Toronto’s visible minority population represents 80 per cent of the
province’s visible minorities, and 15 per cent of the total population of Ontario (Canadian Census 2006).

As evident in the statistical profile of Toronto CMA presented above, Toronto is home to a large immigrant and visible minority population mostly made up of recent immigrants. In addition, it has also got large and growing Ghanaian and Somali communities and there is evidence that these two communities are part of the most underprivileged sections of a growing number of visible minority immigrant communities in the city. The 2001 Census estimates a combined population of about 30,000 for the two communities in Toronto. This profile of Toronto makes its labour market an ideal place to examine the significance of race, ethnicity and immigration with regard to access to employment.

1.2 Why Study Immigrants in Toronto’s Labour Market?

Immigration has long been integral to the growth of Ontario’s labour market. In recent times, it has assumed even greater importance as the province’s population continues to age and its fertility rates remain low (Government of Ontario 2005). The result is that immigrants are beginning to account for a higher proportion of the provincial population increase and projections by the provincial government indicate that immigrants may be the only source of labour force growth in the province by the next decade (Government of Ontario 2005).

Due to the growing importance of immigrants to Ontario’s labour force, there are ongoing discussions and debates on immigrant integration strategies among academics,
employers, policy makers and advocacy groups in the province\textsuperscript{1}. As well, immigrant integration has attracted the attention of politicians, prompting the provincial government to announce several immigrant integration programs in its 2006 Budget and political parties to make it one of the important issues in Ontario’s 2007 Election.

As well, the Ontario government also sees immigrants playing an important role in addressing its projected specific labour market skill shortages in the near future. In a recent report, the Ontario Ministry of Finance identified better use of immigrant skills as a very important factor in the province’s strategy to develop a skilled and adaptable workforce that can increase the province’s productivity and income growth in the next two decades (Ontario Ministry of Finance, 2006). Reitz (2001) rigorously addressed the underutilization of immigrant skills and its costs to the Canadian economy.

Despite Ontario’s interest in integrating immigrants and utilizing their skills, immigrants still face many obstacles when seeking employment in the province. There is a significant lack of recognition of their foreign education credentials, skills, training and work experience (Reitz 2001; Alboim and The Maytree Foundation, 2003). This has partly contributed to higher than average unemployment among recent immigrants, particularly the youth. It is within the context of this background that the thesis undertakes its investigation of the perceptions about labour market access among Ghanaian and Somali youth in Ontario’s largest city, Toronto and the impact these perceptions have on their communities.

\textsuperscript{1} For example, a forum was held on June 21, 2006 on immigrant integration strategies and the role of tertiary institutions, co-sponsored by Ryerson University and the Council of Ontario Universities, which brought together academics, policy makers and immigrant advocacy groups.
1.3 Rationale for Studying Ghanaian and Somali Youth

There are a number of reasons for choosing the Ghanaian and Somali communities in Toronto. First and most important, the two communities are black and have a large and growing recent immigrant population as well as high youth unemployment. Estimates in the 2001 Census indicate there are just over 30,000 Ghanaians and Somalis living in Toronto CMA. Secondly, Ornstein (2000) found the two communities, together with the Ethiopian and Afghan communities in Toronto, to be the most underprivileged ethno-racial communities in the Toronto CMA. Ornstein’s study found that among families from Ghana, 87 per cent lived in poverty, that nearly 70 per cent of Ethiopian families in Toronto were poor, as were 63 per cent of Somalis. This suggests that the three communities are having difficulties integrating into the economy of the city and makes studying their labour market experiences, perceptions about their access to jobs and the impact of all these on their communities more urgent and pressing in order to enhance our understanding of the socio-economic challenges they are facing.

A third reason is that, though both communities are black and African, Ghanaians are largely Christian and English- speaking and the Somalis are mainly Muslims and speak Somali as their first language. This presents an opportunity for also exploring perceptions about the effects of religion and language background on labour market experiences and access in the Greater Toronto area.

Finally, my personal location as an immigrant from Ghana and my extensive work in the African Canadian community in Toronto and my advocacy for minority rights shaped this current intellectual project in a very positive way. Based on the reasons
identified above, the study promises to offer fundamental new insights into the dynamics of the youth labour market in Toronto.

1.4 Locating the Study

The context for examining perceptions about access to the labour market by Ghanaian and Somali youth in Toronto is the broad area of socio-economic integration of non-European immigrants in Canadian society. There is a large body of literature in Canada that deals with the socioeconomic integration of immigrants and a growing part of this literature focuses on the labour market access of non-European immigrants. Much of this literature is Canada-wide (for example: Aydermir et al., 2005; Swidinsky and Swidinsky 2002; Pendakur and Pendakur 2002a, 2002b, 1998; Reitz 2001 and 2004; Galabuzi 2001; Warner 1998; Boyd 1992, 1985; Li 1988; Balakrishnan 1988) but there is a sizeable proportion specific to Toronto (Ooka and Wellman 2006; Ornstein 2006, 2000; Darden 2005; Wong 2000; Dion and Kawakami 1996; Calliste 1996; Reitz 1990, 1980; James 1990, 1993, 1995; Henry 1989; Kasozi, 1988; Henry and Ginzberg 1985).

While some controversy still exists in the Canadian labour market literature regarding the significance of race and ethnicity in labour market outcomes (Reitz, 2007), there is consensus in the literature about the existence of disparities in earnings and employment between ethnic and racial minorities that are immigrants and those who are native born. But there are competing explanations about the sources of these disparities.

Many of the works cited above point to race, ethnicity and recency of immigration as contributing factors to the disparities. For example, field research undertaken in Toronto by Frances Henry and Effie Ginzberg, published in 1985, used black and white
actors to apply for jobs advertised in the Toronto Star and found discrimination in the job search process. The study found that for every three job offers given to white applicants, blacks got one. As well, black applicants were subjected to more discourteous and negative treatment during the course of the job application. Although a follow-up study in 1989 for the Economic Council of Canada found improvements, there continued to be vast differences in the treatment of blacks and whites by employers. These results suggest that discrimination affects the ability of blacks in Toronto to access the labour market.

A study of Africans in Toronto by Kasozi (1988) also discusses racial discrimination in the Toronto labour market and how it is impacting negatively upon the participation by African immigrants in the labour market. Furthermore, surveys have found that in general blacks tend to report higher levels of perceived discrimination than other minorities in Toronto (see Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, and Reitz 1990; Dion 2001). A more recent study by Darden (2005) found support for his hypothesis that race was a significant factor in the poor occupational achievement of black males and females in Toronto compared to their white counterparts even when they have the same characteristics (i.e., education, experience and immigration status). These findings corroborate the conclusions of Frances et al (1985) and Galabuzi 2001 and other studies that have found race and ethnicity to be significant factors in labour market access in Canada.

It is against this backdrop of research establishing how race, ethnicity and immigrant status affect accessibility to the Canadian labour market that this thesis undertakes its task. Essentially, the thesis probes the “lived labour market” experiences of the Ghanaian and Somali youth and the influence of these experiences on their
perceptions about barriers to their labour market access. As well, it examines the impact of these perceptions on the youth’s relationships, networks and employment prospects.

1.5 Conceptual Framework for the Thesis

The main task of the thesis is to examine perceptions of research participants, particularly those that relate to discrimination, the factors that drive these perceptions and the impact of these perceptions on their employment prospects, relationships and the development of social networks linked to the labour market and the consequences for their communities. In this regard, the thesis uses a social capital framework to examine these issues.

Social capital theory is becoming the preferred theory for studies of the socio-economic integration of recent immigrants. Admittedly, the theory does not deal with power relationships and the resistance (Das 2006) often present in minorities and immigrants’ socioeconomic integration. However, as a framework that focuses on relationships and social networks, the theory can help explain what makes some immigrant communities and individual immigrants more successful in the labour market than others, especially when these communities are of similar racial backgrounds. All things being equal, the argument is that social capital provides mechanisms and resources that can facilitate or impede labour access.

Social capital used in this thesis comes largely out of the analysis of Putnam (2000). According to Putnam, social capital operates in two different forms, namely bridging and bonding. Putnam distinguishes bonding and bridging social capital to be
based on participation in two types of social networks. The first bonds together members of a community and the second bridges and links communities to each other. On this basis, the thesis takes bonding capital to include closed networks of family, friends, neighbours and community-based organizations, and bridging capital as the open networks that bridge the youth and their communities with resources and assets outside these communities.

Increasingly, the social capital framework is gaining favour among academics and policy makers in Canada as the framework of choice for exploring questions and problems associated with the socioeconomic integration of recent immigrant communities\(^2\). This framework has the ability to link aspects of human relationships at the individual, family, group, organizational, community and societal levels to the livelihoods and economic activities of the immigrants (Anucha et al, 2006). As indicated earlier, one of the tasks of the thesis is to investigate how the perceptions of young people about the labour market access affect their bonding and bridging social capital. The two forms of capital are critical ingredients in the youth’s successful job search as well as determinants of the type of employment they find.

Mitchell (2005)\(^3\) argues that social networks such as extended family, friends, neighbours and communities which constitute the core of bonding networks can provide visible minority families with some useful resources (e.g., cultural, information and support), but may also be problematic in their integration with the larger society. As noted by Granovetter (1973, 1974) weak ties that link individuals to distant acquaintances

\(^2\) http://policyresearch.gc.ca/page.asp?pagenm=rp_sc2 Updated:13/03/2006
\(^3\) http://www.pch.gc.ca/multi/canada2017/7_e.cfm
are of greater value in job seeking than the strong ties that link them to relatives or intimate friends.

Liu (1995, 1997) and Liu and Norcliffe (1996) examined the role of networks in the early stage adaptation of recent mainland Chinese immigrants in metro Toronto and found that even though closed networks help in entry to the labour market, they generally lead only to low level jobs. This suggests that there are forms of social capital networks that impede labour market integration and other forms that facilitate access to employment opportunities.

The community and neighbourhood characteristics of immigrant groups can be both facilitating and constraining to their labour outcomes. Social networks such as extended family, friends, neighbours and communities referred to in the literature as bonding social capital can provide immigrant families with a number of social capital resources such as cultural, information and support networks, but may also be problematic. The reason here is that if the bonding networks are strong they can be counterproductive and prevent networking outside the community (bridging networks).

Strong ethnic or racial community ties can enable the retention of ethnic identity and the maintenance of religious, educational and welfare institutions that are critical for the social interaction of the group. However, they can also impede the acquisition of language skills, and education, work experience and connecting to other networks that will enable members of the community to access resources and means of livelihood outside that community. This suggests that strong bonding ties can restrict one’s employment opportunities to jobs generated in the community, while strong bridging capital widens access to employment opportunities.
For communities that have a large concentration of poor recent immigrants with high unemployment and low-income rates, strong community ties may impede the settlement process. Therefore, the tendency for recent immigrants to cluster in minority communities can affect their economic outcomes and the overall economic conditions of their community (Hou and Picot, 2004). Research indicates that socially, first-generation immigrants tend to maintain a higher degree of involvement in their ethnic social networks than second or subsequent generations (Reitz, 1980; Isajiw, 1990).

There is a common saying among Ghanaian immigrants in Toronto that the place where a new immigrant first puts his/her luggage ultimately determines the trajectory of that immigrant’s integration into Canadian society. In many ways the wisdom in this saying is in the idea that the relationships that immigrants develop and surround themselves with and the location in which they live will ultimately determine their settlement trajectory and how well they integrate in the socio-economic life of Canada. The thesis explores the ‘lived labour market’ experiences of Ghanaian and Somali youth in Toronto CMA and their perceptions of barriers to employment within a framework of social capital.

1.6 Summary of Data Sources

The thesis uses three data sources for the study. These sources included secondary data from Public Use Microdata File (PUMF) of the 2001 Canadian Census and Labour Force Survey of Statistics Canada used to provide a background of the broad labour market outcomes of youth in Toronto CMA, focus group interviews and a survey questionnaire that collected information on the labour market experiences and
perceptions of the participants about the employment challenges facing youth of the two communities. Information is also collected on how these experiences and perceptions affect their trust in friends, family, neighbours and institutions as well as their sense of belonging to their communities and the wider society.

The PUMF and Labour Force Survey data are used to generate descriptive statistics of demographic characteristics and labour market activity profiles of the racialized and immigrant youth groups in the two data sources. As well, a multinomial logistic regression model is fitted to selected variables of 2001 Census PUMF data for Toronto CMA to assess the odds ratios of the different racialized groups being unemployed compared to a reference group (non-visible minorities or whites).

A focus group session was conducted for each of the two study populations to primarily uncover labour experiences of the participants as well as their perceptions about factors that affect youth labour market outcomes in their communities. Finally, an in-depth survey questionnaire is administered to 15 participants from each of the study populations. The interviews were semi-structured in nature and collected demographic information as well as experiences of the Ghanaian and Somali youth and their perceptions of how their race and ethnicity and social capital facilitated or impeded their labour market entry.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

This is an exploratory study and uses very small sample sizes for both the focus groups and survey questionnaire respondents to render any definitive findings. A much larger follow-up study is in the works. The study uses a sample pool of eight Ghanaian
and nine Somalis for the focus groups and 15 from each study group for the in-depth one-on-one interviews. As well, the method used to recruit participants for the study also poses some limitation on its findings.

To recruit participants for both the focus groups and survey interviews, I used several youth employment counselling centres in Toronto and Ghanaian and Somali community organizations, and neighbourhood community services agencies and churches and mosques, to compile a list of potential participants from which the actual participants were selected. The samples are not random but were selected to reflect issues and research questions the thesis seeks to answer. The samples were therefore not representative samples and traditional generalizations of the findings are not possible.

1.8 Personal and Subjective Location

My point of entry into the area of labour market research of Ghanaian and Somali youth is rooted in my background and experience as a youth employment consultant of many years with many African-Canadian youth clients, and also as a leading member of the African-Canadian community in Toronto. This background has given me first hand, in-depth knowledge of employment issues affecting young people from the African-Canadian community in Toronto. I approach this study as an advocate of black youth employment and an anti-racist activist.

Between 1990 and 1994, I managed a provincially funded youth employment-counselling centre that served a large number of youth from the African-Canadian community. From 1992 to 1996 I taught a course in Cross-Cultural Counselling in the Settlement Worker Certificate program at George Brown College of Technology in
Toronto. This program trained settlement workers to work with recent immigrants. Teaching in the program gave me the opportunity to exchange views and ideas with frontline workers involved in helping new immigrants find jobs.

I have many years of experience facilitating pre-employment workshops for new immigrants in Toronto. Between 1993 and 1997, I was one of the resource persons for pre-employment and cross cultural workshops at the annual professional development training of the Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants. This background helped to expose me in a more direct way to the difficulties that new immigrants of different racial and ethnic backgrounds face finding employment in Toronto’s labour market.

I am also a Managing Editor of a community-based newspaper called “African Connection” that serves primarily the African and black communities in Toronto. I have held this position since July 1999 and it has afforded me the opportunity of working with both the Ghanaian and Somali communities and giving them a voice to express their views and opinions on issues affecting them. My work with the newspaper opened more channels of communication with the African-Canadian community in Toronto and has facilitated my access to these communities.

Currently, I am an Economic Specialist with the Labour and Skills Unit at the Labour and Demographic Analysis Branch of the Ontario Ministry of Finance. In this position, my responsibilities, among other things, include doing background research to support labour market policy and school-to-work transitions policy issues. A large part of my work also involves research on labour market integration of immigrants and access of youth to the labour market. These responsibilities tie in well with my thesis research.
It is against the backdrop of my varied roles in the African-Canadian community, particularly those that dealt with the youth and pre-employment workshops and training that my interest in further exploring the subject matter is founded. More specifically, it generated my interest in studying— in a more systematic way— the barriers that racial and ethnic minority youth in Toronto face in accessing the city’s labour market.

1.9 Problem Statement

In the last few decades, the growing importance of non-European immigration to Canada has generated interest in studies of the settlement challenges that recent non-European immigrants face in the country. This interest has further catalyzed the old debate in Canada on the effects of race, ethnicity and recency of immigration on the socioeconomic status of immigrants. The debate originally gained currency in the aftermath of the publication of John Porter’s book, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* in 1965 (Leo Driedger, 2003). Kazemipur (2002) further attributes the renewed interest in the debate, in part, to the arrival of a new crop of academics that replaced recently retired academics, people such as Isajiw, Abu-Laban, Balakrishnan, Breton, Boldt and Driedger4, and the introduction of initiatives such as the Multiculturalism Program and the Metropolis Project. The interest has resulted in a large volume of studies (see review of research by Pendakur and Pendakur, 2002b and Kazemipur, 2002).

In the literature that has emerged in the debate, there is some consensus that the settlement trajectories of non-European immigrants differ greatly from those of their

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4 These are ethnicity and immigration researchers in Canadian academia that began their academic careers during the 1960s and most of them are now retired.
earlier European counterparts. However, beyond this point there is no agreement on how the settlement processes are unfolding for non-European immigrants. In particular, there is a divergence of viewpoints on the roles that race, ethnicity and recency of immigration play in the eventual socioeconomic status of these immigrants (Kazemipur, 2002; Reitz, 2007). Despite the divergence of views, the literature is replete with studies on earnings disparity between whites and blacks with similar qualifications (Boyd 1992; Reitz and Sklar 1997; Reitz 2001) and non-European immigrants facing greater employment disadvantages than their white counterparts (see works by Galabuzi 2005; Reitz 2001; Calliste 1996; and McDade 1988).

Unfair and discriminatory treatment in the labour market transcends wage and employment disparities. As demonstrated by the field research of Frances and Ginsburg (1985), labour market discrimination may also take other forms in the hiring process including subjecting black applicants to discourteous and negative treatment compared to their white counterparts. On this basis and as noted by Banerjee (2006), studying the perceptions of minority jobseekers may capture many instances of labour market discrimination that are likely to be missed using traditional approaches that focus on income and employment disparities generated using secondary data sources.

In a contribution to the debate on discrimination, Statistics Canada and Citizenship and Immigration jointly conducted the Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) in August 2002 that among other things focused on perception of discrimination among different groups of Canadians. While a significantly small numbers of Canadians indicated they had ever experienced discrimination in the past five years, a large number of visible minorities indicated they had ever experienced discrimination in the past five
years. As well, respondents whether visible or non-visible minorities who perceived discrimination generally were less trusting.

The central problem to be addressed in the thesis research is whether race, ethnicity and recency of immigration are significant factors in determining accessibility to the Canadian labour market. Despite numerous attempts to address this problem, the answer remains controversial. The specific focus in this study, indicated earlier, will be on Ghanaian and Somali youth that reside in the Greater Toronto area and it examines their “lived labour market” experiences and probes their perceptions of barriers to their labour market access focusing on the perceptions of discrimination based on their race, ethnicity and time of immigration and the impact of these perceptions on their social relationships and networks.

According to Banerjee (2006), perceptions of discrimination in the workplaces are often a function of both the lived experiences of inequality and the awareness of rights and expectations for equity by the individual reporting the discrimination. Similarly, perceptions about labour market discrimination based on race, ethnicity and immigration status held by individuals are also a product of their lived labour market experiences and their expectations of fairness in the hiring and performance evaluation process. In this regard, perceptions are subjective and may not accurately reflect discriminatory treatment in the labour market. However, perceptions can have real consequences for jobseekers and their communities.

The point of departure of this study from existing works is that, unlike many of the existing studies which use secondary statistical data largely from Statistics Canada to show disparities in wages and levels of employment between non-European immigrants
and Canadian born and between visible minorities and non-visible minorities, this study examines perceptions of black youth about labour market discrimination and the factors that determine these perceptions, the effects of these perceptions on them and the ways in which they deal with discrimination.

Studies that rely on secondary data sources such as Statistics Canada tend to circumscribe their conclusions. In particular, those that use Census-based data have methodological challenges grouping these immigrants into ethno-racial groups. This point is discussed extensively by Ornstein (2000). As well, Census data tell us little about the social and economic context in which people are living and working. For example, they do not describe the types of jobs and working conditions that recent immigrant visible minorities find in the labour market.

1.10 Research Questions and Objectives of Study

The main research question of this thesis is formulated as follows: how are race, ethnicity and recency of immigration perceived by recent immigrant black youth to affect their access to the labour market, what drives these perceptions and what are the consequences of these perceptions? In order to approach the main research question, the following sub-questions are to be answered on the basis of the results received from the focus group interviews and survey questionnaire responses.

i. What are the ‘lived labour market’ experiences of the Ghanaian and Somali youth respondents of the focus groups and survey questionnaire and what factors determine these experiences?
ii. What are the perceptions of these respondents regarding barriers to their labour market access particularly those related to discrimination due to race, ethnicity and recency of immigration and what factors drive these perceptions?

iii. What are the consequences of these perceptions for those who are affected and in what ways do they attempt to cope with discrimination and how do these perceptions impact on their communities, particularly in relation to social problems?

iv. In what ways can the labour market access of the youth in the two communities be improved?

The research objectives of the study are to:

i. Discuss the perceptions of Ghanaian and Somali youth participants about labour market discrimination in the context of their “lived labour market” experiences and determine the factors that drive these perceptions.

ii. Examine how Ghanaian and Somali youth respondents feel about discriminatory experiences and their response to these experiences.

iii. Explore the impact of perceived discrimination on the community.

iv. Recommend ways of improving labour market successes of Ghanaian and Somali youth resident in Toronto CMA

v. Examine the relevance of the findings of the thesis to the ongoing controversial debate about the significance of labour discrimination based
vi. Suggest possible areas of future related research.

The learning objectives of the study are to:

i. Learn about the factors that drive the perceptions of participants of the research about the role of racial origin, ethnicity and recency of immigration in the labour market access experienced by black youth.

ii. Increase our knowledge of the effects of perceptions of discrimination among black youth of African descent on relationships within and outside their communities.

iii. Enhance our knowledge and understanding of how transnationalism affects bonding and bridging social capital in recent African immigrant communities in Toronto.

1.11 Differences between Landed Immigrants and Refugees

Canada admits immigrants in a variety of ways. Immigrants can come into the country as landed immigrants, a term used for a person who has been admitted to Canada as a non-citizen permanent resident. There are basically five groups of landed immigrants based on the criteria used to grant landed immigrant status. These include: Skilled Workers and Professionals; Provincial Nominees: Investors, Entrepreneurs and Self-Employed Persons; Family Members and Humanitarians. The first three categories relate
to immigrants admitted to Canada for economic reasons and are classified as Economic Class Immigrants. They are admitted using an established process through which they must meet qualifying criteria relating to matters such as level of education, language skills, and employment prospects. The fourth group represents Canada’s commitment to allow its citizens to sponsor a family member under the Family Class to join them in Canada. The fifth group is made up of individuals who are refugees and are applying to be admitted to Canada.

As a signatory to the UN Convention on refugees, Canada has committed to protecting persecuted and stateless persons. As well, Canada is also one of the very few countries that offer not just temporary protection to asylum seekers but the option of becoming permanent residents with landed immigrant status. Asylum seekers are admitted into the country as refugees and are permitted to remain in the country until their refugee claim is determined. Unsuccessful asylum seekers are often deported or granted stays under a ministerial humanitarian and compassionate facility. When an asylum seeker’s refugee status is confirmed, the person becomes a Convention refugee and can then apply for landed status.

The difference between landed immigrants and refugees is in their rights and responsibilities. Landed immigrants hold many of the same rights and responsibilities as Canadian citizens except they cannot vote in Canadian elections, run for elected office, hold Canadian passports, or work in government jobs. On the other hand, while refugee claims of asylum seekers are being processed, they are permitted to work in Canada but do not enjoy the rights of landed immigrants. The sample of survey participants and focus
group participants for this thesis research is made up of Ghanaian and Somali youth that have landed immigrant status or citizenship.

The African immigrant community in Toronto is made up of people with various immigration statuses including citizens, landed immigrants, Convention refugees, students and asylum seekers whose refugee claims are yet to be processed. It is useful to point out the differences between these categories of immigrants, and especially differences among landed immigrants, Convention refugees and asylum seekers, categories that are common in the African communities. These distinctions are important for the analysis of the thesis as they ascribe different rights and responsibilities to the holders.

Despite the importance of the differences in immigrant status and their implications with regard to the integration and labour market access of immigrants, many of the few existing studies on the integration of immigrants from the African communities do not explicitly identify which category of immigrants are being studied (Wong 2000; Donkor 2000; Opoku-Dapaah 1993b and 1993c; Kasozi 1988). Consequently, for study purposes, there is a lumping together of immigrants with different immigration statuses and different trajectories to acquiring permanent residence, and this approach unfortunately does not reveal important details in integration. Such errors can result in misleading findings. For example, asylum seekers and Convention refugees tend to face more difficult challenges accessing the labour market than landed immigrants or citizens. As well, landed immigrants that were previously asylum seekers in the country tend to face more challenges and difficulties than refugees that were
sponsored into the country as landed immigrants. The latter group often benefits generously in settlement assistance from the state.

1.12 Ethno-Racial Groups in Toronto CMA

Ornstein (2006) presents a detailed demographic and socioeconomic profile and trends of ethno-racial groups in Toronto CMA using data from Censuses covering the period 1971 – 2001. According to Ornstein’s analysis, in 1971 non-European immigrants accounted for 5 per cent of the 2.6 million people living in Toronto CMA. In 2001, they accounted for nearly 40 per cent of the 4.6 million living in the area.

Among the ethno-racial groups in Toronto, Ornstein found the African ethno-racial groups to be the youngest with 40 per cent of their populations under 18, and less than 3 per cent of its population over 65. The oldest ethno-racial groups in the city are those of European background. Ornstein also found that more than one-quarter of African and Caribbean ethno-racial group members live in female–headed, one parent households compared to their European counterparts. This in a way may explain the high levels of poverty among members of these communities.

1.13 Ghanaians and Somalis in Toronto

The size of the populations and socioeconomic characteristics of the Ghanaian and Somali communities in Toronto have not been adequately discussed in the literature. In particular, the estimated numbers of persons in these communities keep changing depending on who is talking. As well, the two communities have encountered
considerable difficulties settling in Toronto. For example, Ornstein (2000) shows that more than 50 per cent of families with African roots in Toronto were living below Statistics Canada's poverty line. Among them, 87 per cent of families from Ghana lived in poverty as did 63 per cent of Somalis. As well, other studies have found that in general, visible minorities have much lower relative household incomes, and higher poverty rates, than do ethnic groups of European origin (Kazemipur and Halli 2000a, 2000b)

A majority of the members of the Ghanaian and Somali communities in the Toronto CMA came into the country under the refugee category of immigrants but as discussed by Opoku-Dapaah (1993a, 1993b and 1995), a majority of the Somali immigrants came into the country as sponsored refugees with landed status while a majority of the Ghanaian refugees made their asylum claims in the country. This distinction is important in understanding the integration trajectories of immigrants. As indicated earlier on, sponsored refugees are assisted financially while those who make asylum claims in the country cannot work or go to school until they are determined to be Convention refugees, a process that can take several years to complete.

The 2001 Census estimates that there are 13,450 Ghanaians and 18,220 Somali residents in the Toronto CMA. However, many believe these figures to be on the low side and nonofficial estimates have put these populations threefold above the Census estimates. For example, Farah (1999) estimates the number of Somalis in Toronto to be between 35,000 and 40,000 and Ghanaian opinion leaders often quote the number of Ghanaians in Toronto at 25,000 to 30,000. In fact, some ridiculous estimates of the size
of these communities have been made. A case in point is the recent quote attributed to the
Ghanaian High Commissioner in Ottawa that there were 100,000 Ghanaians in Toronto.  

Social networks that new immigrants develop are important in assisting them to
integrate in their new community. According to Murdie and Teixeira (2003), most
immigrants on arrival in Toronto seek neighbourhoods that make them comfortable. In
most cases, these are neighbourhoods that contain relatively large numbers of people
from the same ethnic background. With respect to the residential patterns of Ghanaians
and Somalis, unlike those of the earlier European immigrant groups such as Italians,
Portuguese and Greeks who arrived before the 1960s and created neighbourhood
enclaves (Murdie and Teixeira, 2003), Ghanaian and Somali immigrants did not create
enclaves but rather lived in high concentrations usually in a few buildings in poor
neighbourhoods in different parts of the city (Owusu 1996; Farah 1999).

In terms of location, most Ghanaian immigrants tend to live in the older suburbs
of Toronto and they are often highly concentrated in particular neighbourhoods, and in
particular in buildings that are privately owned, but publicly assisted. This residential
concentration has been attributed to their need for low-rent accommodation, the desire for
proximity to fellow Ghanaians, and the reliance on Ghanaians for information about
housing (Owusu 1996).

A large number of Ghanaian immigrants, particularly the most recent ones that
settled in Toronto, tended to locate in Toronto’s old suburbs in Etobicoke, North York
and York (Owusu 1996; Opoku-Dapaah, 1993a; Opoku-Dapaah, 1993b). However, as

5 http://www.canada.com/ottawacitizen/diplomatica/story.html?id=01f123c0-de6f-474b-9eb5-
8bdf5051e0aa&amp;k=51299
discussed by Murdie et al. (1996), many of them eventually moved away from these areas of high concentration to other poor neighbourhoods in the city.

Working with Somalis in Toronto, Opoku-Dapaah (1995) found their residential patterns to be similar to those of Ghanaian immigrants. Just like the Ghanaian immigrants, the Somalis also tend to be concentrated in pockets located in poor neighbourhoods all over the Greater Toronto area. The works by Farah (1999) and Opoku-Dapaah (1995) and later studies, especially the one by Murdie (2002), point out that much like the Ghanaian immigrants, low family incomes and larger households are major determinants in the concentration of Somali families in high-rise rental accommodations in Toronto.

During the high wave of arrivals of Somalis in Toronto in the late 1980s, many of them located in the Dixon Road and Islington Avenue area which became known as Little Somalia (Farah, 1999); however, they are now spread all over the city. Murdie (2002) found that Somalis tended to locate to Dixon Road as a way of dealing with their language problems and also to be among other Somalis where they would feel comfortable and avoid discrimination. A CBC Television documentary on the Somali settlement on Dixon Road in Etobicoke entitled "A Place Called Dixon," revealed the resistance by non-Somali tenants in the buildings to the Somalis coming to live in their buildings.

The Jane and Finch area in North York, an area that has gained notoriety in the city as a high crime area, is home to many Ghanaian and Somali immigrants. The area is economically depressed and has received unnecessary bad publicity in the media. Jane-Finch has been labelled the problem area of Toronto. The community has a reputation for
violence, drugs, poverty, and other social problems (Hodge, 1983) and it is one of the most densely populated areas in Toronto with the highest percentage of single-parent families in the city (40-45%) (Carey 2002).

As noted by Danso and Grant (2000), housing and its location plays a crucial role not only in the initial and more permanent establishment of immigrants but also in providing access to other indispensable resources and opportunities in the host country. New immigrants choose to live near their previously established immigrant friends and relatives, a process referred to as "chain" immigration because these persons are their source of housing referral (Owusu 1996).

As indicated earlier, the Ghanaian and Somali communities are part of a category of immigrants facing high unemployment in the city. According to Ornstein (2000), the unemployment rate of the African, Black and Caribbean groups in Toronto is 19.0 per cent, double the overall rate for the city, with Ghanaians, Ethiopians, and Somalis unemployed at rates of 46.8 per cent, 24.4 per cent and 23.6 per cent respectively. The poor socio-economic status of these communities is in large measure linked to where they live.

This thesis will enrich our understanding of Ghanaian and Somali youth’s labour market trajectories and barriers to their labour market access by identifying and discussing what these youth perceive to be the challenges they face as they strive to find employment. As well, it will throw some light on the ways in which Ghanaian and Somali youth attempt to cope with discrimination and the consequences of discrimination for the youth and their communities. The thesis contributes to the debate about the
significance that race, ethnicity and immigrant status have in hindering accessibility to Canadian labour markets.

1.14 Thesis Format

The thesis consists of nine chapters. The first chapter deals with the background of the thesis. It introduces the subject matter of the thesis and discusses my personal and subjective connection to the field of study. The chapter also discusses the rationale for studying Toronto-based Ghanaian and Somali youth, the research questions for the study and the research and learning objectives of the thesis. Chapter two reviews related literature. The third and fourth chapters deal with the theoretical framework and research design and methods used in the study of the thesis. Chapter five examines issues in the Toronto’s youth labour market to provide a context for understanding the labour market access for Ghanaian and Somali youths in Toronto. Chapter six discusses the backgrounds of Ghanaian and Somali communities in Toronto CMA. The seventh and eighth chapters discuss the focus groups and survey questionnaire responses. Chapter nine concludes the study.
CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews previous literature. The review is focused primarily, but not exclusively, on existing Canadian research related to the labour market access of non-European immigrants. The objective is to examine and discuss how existing research has dealt with questions the thesis seeks to answer. The emphasis of the review is on literature that discusses factors affecting the labour market outcomes of non-European immigrants particularly, literature related to labour market discrimination based on race, ethnicity and immigration status.

The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section introduces discussions in the chapter. Section two discusses literature on issues affecting the socioeconomic integration of immigrants. The third section reviews literature on the economic performance of immigrant children. Section four examines literature on labour market inequality and perceptions of labour market discrimination based on race, ethnicity and immigrant status in Canada. The final section concludes the review with a discussion of the point of departure of the thesis from existing research and also identifies the contribution of the thesis to knowledge in the field.

2.2 Issues in socioeconomic integration of non-European Immigrants.

This section discusses research findings on the socioeconomic integration of racial and ethnic minority immigrants in Canada. Essentially, the review focuses on
areas such as the integration and adjustment of immigrants and the economic performance of immigrants. The objective is to identify major Canadian research findings, particularly those related to visible minority immigrants’ labour market access.

There is a large amount of research on immigrants’ progress in Canada. Typically, most of the studies emanating from this research have viewed immigrants and their socioeconomic status in Canada from an assimilationist perspective by comparing how immigrants are doing with respect to education, occupation, and income of native-born Canadians (Li, 1996). There is significant labour market domain in the research but immigrant youth remain an invisible population in public discourse about immigrants’ labour market access and outcomes.

John Porter’s 1965 publication is credited with laying down the foundation for many studies dealing with social inequality in Canadian society, including studies of social mobility and the role of education in the occupational attainment process, and immigrant integration and ethnic inequality (Kazemipur, 2002; Driedger, 2003). Essentially, Porter used occupational data from the 1931, 1951, and 1961 Censuses to show how ethnic groups were disproportionately distributed in the Canadian occupational structure. He concluded that immigration was responsible for the ethnically stratified occupational structure in Canada (Porter, 1965).

While Porter’s study influenced, as well as generating, interest and debate about race, ethnicity and immigration in the labour market, its relevance in explaining the present day role of race, ethnicity, immigration in labour market issues in Canada is in question and itself a subject of several debates (Kazemipur, 2002). According to Li (1996), the debate generated by Porter’s thesis, which produced claims and counter
claims about its validity, has contributed to many methodological refinements of the measurement of ethnic occupational differentiations.

Kazemipur (2002) undertook an extensive review of the literature dealing with the intersection of race, ethnicity, recency of immigration and the socioeconomic status of immigrants. Essentially, his review focused on the debate that was started by Porter’s vertical mosaic thesis on the correspondence between immigration status and the socioeconomic situation of immigrants, the decline in the importance of ethnicity in the determination of occupation along with its rising importance in the determination of earnings.

Most of the studies Kazemipur (2002) reviewed concluded that in the present day labour market, if occupation is taken together with income and ethnicity is combined with race, the underlying premise of Porter’s thesis is correct, as race and ethnic minorities have been experiencing higher unemployment rates and earning lower incomes. Porter’s premise is even truer if we combine immigration, race and ethnicity. A confounding issue regarding Porter’s idea of the declining importance of ethnicity in the determination of occupation over time is the growing concentration of certain ethnic groups in certain occupations (Reitz, 1990; Galabuzi, 2001; Kazemipur, 2002). The existence of an ethnically segregated job market and consumer market further suggests the presence of an economic sector that is sustained by ethnic businesses and immigrant populations (Li, 1996). This most certainly points to the continued importance of ethnicity in the occupational structure of Canada.

There are numerous studies about the immigrant enclave economy and its impact on the labour market access of immigrants. In simple terms, the immigrant enclave
economy can be defined as a concentration of minority-owned firms which operate largely in a defined immigrant community and rely on this community for its consumers and labour supply (Li, 1993). As argued by Wilson and Portes (1980), the enclave economy offers immigrants an alternative mode of social mobility. However, some researchers, while agreeing that ethnic entrapment can be useful to helping immigrants get into the labour market, dispute the notion that it offers social mobility. On the contrary they see it as a possible mobility trap (Li, 1996).

Evolving patterns of recent immigrant settlement have been attracting both public concern and research interest. These settlements can be examined in several ways, including residential segregation, spatial assimilation, and homeownership (Myles and Hou, 2004). A number of studies have examined visible minority immigrants’ patterns of settlement and their economic performance, with inconclusive results. For example, Hou and Picot (2004) argue that the tendency for recent immigrants to cluster in minority communities can affect their economic outcomes and the overall economic conditions of their community. However, in a study by Balakrishna and Maxim (2005), the authors found a weak relationship between segregation and the socioeconomic achievement of visible immigrants.

The patterns of ethnic residential segregation observed among visible minority immigrants have been given several explanations in the literature. Driedger and Church (1974) see ethnic residential segregation as having the ability to provide immigrants with a strong sense of institutional completeness (Driedger and Church, 1974), and Reitz (1980) describes residential segregation as an indicator of ethnic cohesiveness.
A lot has been written on labour market discrimination based on race, ethnicity and immigration status but a very limited number of these studies deal with the youth labour market. Furthermore, many of these studies are circumscribed by their exclusive reliance on secondary data sources. For example, the few studies that dealt with the labour market access of visible minority youth (Kunz et al., 2000; and Kunz, 2003) relied heavily on the Census data with a few focus group interviews. This warrants a fresh focus on future research of the labour market access of visible minority immigrants in Canada. The analysis in this thesis will therefore draw heavily on findings of studies not focused on youth.

A number of studies have been undertaken on the socioeconomic status of ethnic and racial minority groups and recent immigrants. Many of these studies have argued that labour market disadvantage based on race, ethnicity and immigration is one of the most enduring problems of the Canadian labour market (Galabuzi 2001; Pendakur and Pendakur 2002b). This section of the review takes a critical look at the literature on the intersection of race, ethnicity and immigration and the labour market with a view to summarizing the findings and issues arising from the findings and their implications for youth labour market outcomes.

Pendakur and Pendakur (2002b) reviewed research dealing with ethnic minorities and labour market discrimination in Canada and concluded that there was a broad consensus in the research that immigrants, especially visible minority immigrants, have poorer labour market outcomes than Canadian-born workers. Beyond this consensus however, there is debate over which specific ethnic groups are disadvantaged in the labour market and whether the labour market disadvantage is context-specific. The
evidence of differences in the labour market disadvantage among segments of Canadian society raises an important question and underscores the need for more ethnic specific labour market analysis including ethnic specific youth labour market studies.

Another interesting finding in the literature reviewed by Pendakur and Pendakur (2002b) is that contrary to widespread belief that visible minority females are less well off in the labour market than their male counterparts, the evidence in the literature is that when sexes are compared, females fared better than males.

Labour market discrimination, variation in ethnic groups’ employment and incomes, occupational segregation and concentration have for a long time been features of labour market outcomes of ethnic minority groups. Pendakur and Pendakur (2002b) find empirical evidence in the literature indicating that for some visible minority ethnic groups, notably blacks, the labour market disadvantage faced by Canadian-born members of this group is a phenomenon that has persisted for at least the 25 years that data has been analyzed. In an analysis of the 1996 Canadian Census data on Toronto CMA, Ornstein (2000) also finds that in terms of education, employment and incomes of ethno-racial groups, there are enormous and significant variations among ethno-racial groups in the community, with the most disadvantaged being visible minorities. This finding is corroborated by the review of Pendakur and Pendakur (2002b) and the work of Kunz (2003). A study by Reitz (1990) on ethnic concentration in occupations in Toronto also finds evidence of ethnic occupational segregation and considerable differentiation among the different ethnic groups he studied. The existence of this evidence underscores the pressing need for the current research.
In a study of income, sectoral occupation, and unemployment based on Canadian data covering the period 1996-1998, Galabuzi (2001), using a segmented labour market framework, concluded that racialized labour markets are an endemic feature of the Canadian economy. This market, he argued, is usually characterized by the overrepresentation of racialized (particularly women) members of the society in low paid, low end occupations and low income sectors, offering primarily temporary work. Reitz (2002) also documented extensively the waste to the Canadian economy of excluding foreign-trained human resources and estimated it at about $15 billion Canadian. While Galabuzi (2001) sees the existence of a racialized segmented labour market, Reitz (2001) highlights the exclusion of foreign-trained professionals from plying their trades. The conclusions of these two studies make a strong case for further targeted and focused studies on the labour market access of racial minorities and recent immigrants.

Kunz et al (2000) in a study profiling the education, employment and income levels of the different Canadian racial groups found, among other things, that visible minorities are under-represented in the labour force despite the fact that they have a higher level of educational attainment than the general Canadian population. This finding contradicts the predictions of human capital theory and is, therefore, significant in the debate over ethnic and race specific studies as it brings to the fore the significantly different experiences that minorities and immigrants face in the Canadian labour market. Li (1988) succinctly echoes this point with his assertion that racism and discrimination are part of the daily lives of people of colour.

There is evidence in the literature that the population of visible minority immigrants is growing. Smith and Jackson (2002) forecast that immigration would
account for virtually all of the net growth in the Canadian labour force by the year 2011 and they argue that visible minorities will form a sizeable proportion of these immigrants. By the 2001 Census, visible minority groups made up about 13.4 per cent of the total population, compared to just 6 per cent in 1986. Smith and Jackson estimated that three in four recent immigrants to Canada now belong to visible minority groups, making them more vulnerable to racial discrimination and social exclusion. This underscores the need to study the labour market access of visible minority youth, a vulnerable section of the growing visible minority population.

A survey undertaken by Grayson (1997) on employment outcomes for freshly graduated York University students in Toronto reveals race and class disparities in the labour transition outcomes of the graduates. Grayson’s results should have prompted further research on the impact of race and class variables in the youth labour market transition processes. However, Canadian researchers have shown little interest in this area of study. Other studies have also shown class bias in youth labour market outcomes. For example, a study of teenagers by the Canadian Council on Social Development (1998) found that those in middle and upper income families continue to be more likely to have employment than their counterparts, and immigrant teens are significantly less likely than Canadian-born youth to have had any work experience. The question that arises is why have Canadian researchers ignored undertaking primary research that investigates the roles that race, ethnicity, class and immigration play in youth labour market outcomes?
2.3 Economic Performance of Non-European Immigrant Children.

The economic performance of immigrants and their children has long been considered a critical indicator of the health of Canada’s immigration program. However, as discussed in the previous section, there is a paucity of literature on the integration challenges facing immigrant children. This section explores the limited studies available on immigrant children’s socio-economic integration.

There is evidence in the literature that immigrant children of well-educated parents do well in school (Worswick, 2001), a fact which is eventually translated into labour market advantage. According to Worswick, research has consistently found a strong link between parents’ education levels and children’s success in school. For example, many children who immigrated to Canada during the 1990s fared better in school than those who arrived in the 1970s and 1980s, corresponding to the 61 per cent of working-age immigrants who arrived in Canada in the 1990s with postsecondary qualifications, compared to 48 per cent for immigrants of the 1980s and the 1970s.

This suggests that the higher educational attainments of recent immigrants is having a positive effect on their children’s performance in school and consequently will affect their labour market integration. Essentially, Canada’s immigrant selection process is largely derived from a human-capital based points system (Reitz, 2005) which resulted in immigrants selected through this process having higher than average educational credentials than those of native-born Canadians.

Some studies have found that the economic and labour market success of the children of immigrants to be correlated strongly with their educational attainments and less with the occupational status of their parents. For example, Monica Boyd et al. (2000)
found a declining correlation between fathers and sons’ occupational status but found that education became increasingly important in the determination of immigrant children’s occupational success.

It has been established in the literature that experiences of second-generation non-European immigrants are better indicators of how well these immigrants will eventually succeed in integrating into society in the long term (see the works of British researchers Rex and Tomlinson, 1979; and Reitz and Somerville, 2004). As argued by Reitz and Somerville (2004), first-generation non-European immigrants are not good indicators of how well their communities will integrate into Canadian society in the long term because they face unique adjustment problems in their new country due to language difficulties and the possession of educational credentials that are not easily transferable. I argue that these adjustment challenges relate far more to the adult first-generation immigrants than the first-generation immigrant youth, especially those who enter the country at preschool age (see Kunz, 2003; Pendakur and Pendakur, 2002b; and Fry, 2002).

There are studies in the U.S. that show that immigrant children's prospects are associated with their age-at-arrival in the host country (Fry, 2000). Similarly, there are studies such as those done by Kunz (2003) and Pendakur and Pendakur (2002b) that also show that minorities born in Canada and those who came at a relatively young age have much better labour market prospects than immigrants who arrive later in life. This suggests that first-generation youth who came into the country in the early years of their lives (the 1.5 generation) will in some ways exhibit characteristics that approximate those of second-generation youth.
In Ontario, immigrants and their children represent an increasing proportion of Ontario’s population. Data from the 2001 Census show that among the provinces in Canada, Ontario has the highest proportion of people born outside Canada. According to the 2001 Census, 3 million people or 26.8 per cent of the population of Ontario were foreign-born, up from 23.7 per cent ten years earlier. About one million of Ontario’s foreign-born population arrived in the past 10 years, between 1991 and 2001. These individuals accounted for 9 per cent of the Ontario population.

A large number of non-European immigrant children in Ontario have Asian heritage, the result of an increasing number of immigrants coming to Ontario from the Asian sub-continent. Data from the various Census years indicate that the proportion of immigrants from Asia entering Ontario has been increasing. They represented 58 per cent of all immigrants to Ontario in the 1990s, and 45 per cent in the 1980s. Before 1961, just 2.3 per cent of immigrants who came to Ontario were Asian-born. The proportion of immigrants from Africa to Ontario has also been increasing. In comparison, European immigrants accounted for the vast majority (92.7 per cent) of the immigrants who came to Ontario before 1961. Since then, the proportion of European immigrants has declined steadily, falling to 20 per cent in the 1990s.

Research also shows that the success of immigrant children is often embedded in family relationships. These relationships, if they work well, can strengthen community structures and increase the bridging networks that facilitate the social integration of children. It is against this backdrop that this thesis explores the contribution of bonding and bridging networks to the economic and social integration of immigrant youth and the effect of their perceptions of discrimination on these bonds.
2.4 Inequality and Perceptions of Discrimination in the Labour Market

This section reviews literature that discusses employment and wage disparities, workplace discrimination and perceptions of employment discrimination in Canada affecting visible minorities and recent immigrants. As discussed in section 2.2, there is a rich literature on the socio-economic integration of non-European immigrants in Canada. Despite its richness, no consensus has emerged in the discourse on the significance of race, ethnicity and immigration in labour market outcomes.

Canadian labour market research has documented several forms of disparities in the labour market affecting immigrants of racial and ethnic minorities. These range from barriers of employment for immigrants related to the discounting of their credentials and training (Reitz, 2001; McDade (1988), employment discrimination based on racial background (Henry and Ginzberg 1985; Henry 1989; Calliste 1996) to visible minorities earning less than whites with similar qualifications (Beaujot et al., 1988; Boyd 1992; Reitz and Sklar 1997; Reitz 2001; Darden 2005).

Some of the studies in the literature discuss earnings disparity between immigrants from different countries. For example, a study by Beaujot et al., (1988) using the 1981 Census revealed that immigrant men and women from Europe and the US earned higher employment income than immigrants of the same gender group from Asia and Africa. Similar racialized disparity results are reported by Reitz and Breton (1994) who also found evidence in the 1986 Census showing black and Asian immigrant men and women earning less than their white counterparts.

Other studies have focused on employment and wage disparities between native and foreign born visible minorities and between visible minorities and non-visible
minorities. For example, studies such as Pendakur and Pendakur (1998; 2002b); Kunz (2003); Kunz et al., (2000) and several others have reported an earnings gap between Canadian-born white men and Canadian-born visible minority men and between non-European immigrants and Canadian-born visible minorities.

There are also studies such as Ornstein’s (2006; 2000) which, among other things, focused on household incomes and found evidence of racialized poverty. Ornstein’s analysis of the data from the 1996 and 2001 Census revealed low levels of household incomes and high poverty rates among recent immigrant ethno-racial groups in Toronto compared to the general population. This suggests that these groups are not integrating very well in Canadian society and may be experiencing undue economic hardships.

There are competing explanations of these wage and employment disparities. For example, there are several studies in the literature that explore workplace discrimination and perceptions of discrimination in Canadian labour markets among visible minorities (see Reitz and Banerjee 2007; Banerjee 2006; Jackson 2002; Beck et. al. 2002; Budha 2001; Brouwer 1999; de Silva et. al. 1996; and Calliste 1996). Some of these studies such as de Silva’s argue that earnings disparities between immigrants and Canadian-born are not the result of discrimination, while other studies such as those of Reitz and Banerjee (2007) and Banerjee (2006) have tried to uncover the factors driving the strongly held perceptions of discrimination among visible minorities.

The study by de Silva (1996) examines earnings of immigrants (not broken down into visible and non-visible minority categories) and concluded the disparity in earnings are due to differences in the quality of educational qualifications rather than discrimination. On the contrary, Reitz and Banerjee (2007) and Banerjee (2006) analyzed
the Statistics Canada and Citizenship and Immigration Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) and found that visible minorities are more likely to perceive far greater discrimination than their white counterparts. Implicit in these two studies is that while the idea that discrimination is based on race, ethnicity and immigration is being challenged in some circles, visible minority immigrants have strongly held feelings of being discriminated against in the labour market.

Several studies have also examined perceptions held by racial minority immigrants about labour discrimination. For example, Nodwell and Guppy (1992) studied experiences of labour market discrimination of visible minority immigrants by examining self-reported experiences of discrimination by Indo-Canadians living in Vancouver in 1983 and found half of the respondents to have perceived experiencing some form of discrimination including workplace discrimination. Basran and Zong (1998) also examined underlying discrimination in promotions or upward mobility among visible minority immigrant professionals and found experiences of downward mobility for immigrants of Chinese and East Indian descent holding professional jobs in British Columbia compared to white immigrants holding similar jobs. Another study by Magee, Fong and Wilkes (2008) also found Chinese immigrants living in neighbourhoods with a high concentration of other Chinese residents more likely to perceive employment discrimination against Chinese people as a group, and were also more likely to report exposure to ethnically motivated verbal assaults than Chinese immigrants living elsewhere.

In many ways, employment and wage disparities based on ethno-racial or immigrant status may be valid and legitimate grounds for claims of the existence of
labour market discrimination. However, as argued by Bannerjee (2006), these differences are only indicators rather than evidence of discrimination. Several productivity-related reasons are often cited in the literature for the existence of employment and wage disparities in the labour market. For example, the disparities have been attributed to the result of recency of immigration of job seekers, difficulties in comparing foreign educational credentials and training with Canadian credentials or inferior language skills of jobseekers.

As argued by Pendakur and Pendakur (2002b), conceptually discrimination depicts unequal treatment, and inequality refers to unequal outcomes and the two do not necessarily imply each other. But at the same time, as discussed in several studies cited above, there is a strongly held perception among visible minorities, particularly those that are recent immigrants, that employment and wage rates disparities are results of discrimination.

Perceptions of labour market discrimination, whether valid or not, can have real consequences for the welfare of those holding such perceptions. On this basis, while some of the disparities in the labour market revealed in the literature may be the result of productivity-related issues, the prevalence of strongly held perceptions of labour market discrimination among visible minorities in Canada (see Reitz and Banerjee 2007; and Banerjee 2006) underscores the need for more extensive primary research on these issues. Especially urgent is the need to understand the factors that drive these perceptions among visible minorities and their implications for the welfare of these groups.

As discussed by Reitz and Banerjee (2007) and Banerjee (2006), the extent to which visible minorities and recent immigrants feel discriminated against in Canada is
revealed in the findings of the EDS released by Statistics Canada in 2003. The EDS was conducted jointly with Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the Policy Research Initiative. It was undertaken–by telephone–from April to August 2002 with an estimated 42,500 people aged 15 years and over in the 10 provinces. The survey contains detailed information about ethnicity, perceptions of discrimination, trust, sense of belonging to an ethnic group and country, and socio-economic status. It provides a better understanding of how the settlement process unfolds for new immigrants.

The EDS asked respondents two key questions to explore perceived discrimination. First, the Survey asked people whether there were instances in the past five years or since they arrived in Canada, where they felt they had experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly by others because of ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language accent or religion. The Survey also asked respondents how often—often, sometimes, rarely—in the past five years or since they arrived in Canada had they experienced discrimination.

The findings of the EDS indicate that a significantly small number of Canadians, about seven per cent, indicated they had ever experienced discrimination in the past five years because of their ethno-cultural characteristics. However, while five per cent of the non-visible minority population reported being treated unfairly sometimes or often, 20 per cent of visible minority persons reported experiences of discrimination. South Asians and blacks were most likely to report experiences of discrimination (31 per cent and an estimated 26 per cent, respectively), while an estimated 18 percent of Hispanics and Chinese and 12 per cent of whites also report such incidents.
There is a gender difference in reported discrimination but this was largely among the non-visible minority group (3 per cent men compared with 22 per cent women). Black men and women reported similar rates — 26 per cent and 27 percent, respectively. Overall, discrimination based on race/ethnicity was recorded at 23 per cent. However, among visible minorities, more than 7 in 10 or 71 per cent reported sometimes or often experiencing discrimination or unfair treatment as result of race or skin colour. This suggests that the most common reason for perceived discrimination among visible minorities appears to be race or colour.

The most common places where respondents experienced discrimination was at work or when applying for a job or promotion. The survey findings indicated that 56 per cent of those who reported sometimes or often experiencing discrimination because of their ethno-cultural characteristics in the past five years reported that it occurred at work or when applying for work.

The EDS also explored the impact of these perceptions of discrimination on aspects of social capital. The Survey asked respondents whether, generally speaking, they found people trustworthy or not. As well, respondents were asked to indicate their level of trust for people in family, neighbourhood and work or school using a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means cannot be trusted at all and 5 means can be trusted a lot.

The findings indicated that respondents whether visible or non-visible minority who perceived discrimination generally were less trusting of people. Blacks who perceived discrimination were more likely (72 per cent) to be less trusting of people than South Asians (52 per cent) and Chinese (45 per cent). With respect to time spent in Canada, 56 per cent of second generation respondents who perceive discrimination were
less trusting of people as were 52 per cent of first generation. However, by the third
generation this was down to 45 per cent. The generational differences suggest that with
respect to being affected by perceptions of discrimination, immigrants in the first two
generation are far more affected than those in subsequent generations. On the whole, 53
per cent of those who perceived discrimination indicated they trusted people they work or
go to school with compared to 70 per cent of those who did not perceive discrimination.

The Survey further explored respondents’ satisfaction with their lives and their
sense of belonging to family, ethnic or cultural group(s), town, city or municipality,
province and Canada using a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means not satisfied or not strong at
all and 5 means very satisfied or very strong. In response to these questions, respondents
who perceived discrimination were less likely to say they were very satisfied with their
lives (4 or 5 out of 5 on the scale). For visible minorities, 69 per cent of those who
perceived discrimination were satisfied with their lives compared to 83 per cent of those
who did not perceive discrimination.

An interesting dimension of the EDS is that a higher proportion of those who
perceived discrimination had a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic group (strong
bonding capital) than those who did not. Among visible minorities, Chinese who perceive
discrimination were less likely to have a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic group.
In contrast, blacks who perceive discrimination had a stronger sense of belonging to their
ethnic group than those who did not perceive discrimination. This suggests that among
blacks, perceptions of discrimination or discrimination tends to reinforce their bonding
social capital.
Whitley and Kite (2006) argue that most research on prejudice and discrimination tend to be unidirectional and often investigates where and how these acts are perpetuated by the dominant group. As result, most research fails to consider the effects of discrimination on the victims. However, as shown by the EDS findings, negative labour market experiences and even perceptions of labour market discrimination based on race, ethnicity and immigration can isolate recent immigrant communities and lead to dissatisfaction and disgruntlement among them.

There is evidence in the literature that shows a discrepancy between individuals’ perceptions of discrimination against them and that expressed against the group they belong to. For example, Verkuyten (1998) investigated the relationship between perceived discrimination and self-esteem among minority adolescents in The Netherlands and found, among other things, that the research participants were more likely to perceive a higher level of discrimination directed at their group as a whole than at themselves as individuals. This suggests that the higher perceived discrimination among visible minority EDS respondents against them may translate to a more likely higher perceived discrimination against their ethno-racial groups.

2.5 Summary

The literature reviewed in the chapter reveals a number of interesting issues. The review dealt with the generational debate and the resettlement of non-European immigrants. The evidence in the literature points to the existence of a broad consensus that immigrants, especially visible minority immigrants, have poorer labour market outcomes than Canadian-born workers. The evidence also reveals that visible minorities
are under-represented in the labour force despite the fact that on the average they have higher levels of educational attainment than the general Canadian population. However, there is disagreement over the causes of these disparities in the labour market.

As shown in results from the EDS, perceptions of discrimination are widespread among visible minorities. According to the survey responses, a majority of visible minorities were more likely than others to say that they felt unfairly treated or discriminated against because of their ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion. The most frequently cited place where respondents felt this treatment was at work or when applying for work.

To summarize, my study’s point of departure from existing labour market research that explores the issues of discrimination in labour market outcomes based on race, ethnicity and immigrant status is that it uses primary data collected from focus groups and through a survey questionnaire. This is different from much of the existing research which uses secondary statistical data for exploring these issues.

As well, the current study bases its analysis on perceptions of black youth from transitory marginal immigrant communities regarding barriers to their labour market access, the kinds of experiences on which these perceptions are based and the ways in which these youth attempt to cope with discrimination. It also probes the respondents’ perceptions of the consequences of discrimination for them, the youth of their communities and their views of the impact on their communities and their social isolation from mainstream society. In this respect, it also departs from Das (2006) analysis of power based on labour theory as it focuses on race and difference.
By using primary data for its analysis, the study establishes a point of departure from existing similar scholarly works such as those of Banerjee (2006); Kunz et al (2000) and Kunz (2003) that are undertaken within the circumscribed data from Statistics Canada’s sources. The study is therefore one of the first to probe perceptions of labour market access among recent immigrant black youth about labour market discrimination in a large Canadian metropolitan area and document some of the effects of this discrimination on the individual youth and their communities. Finally, another point of departure from existing works is the study’s focus on race and difference in the labour market.

To conclude, the contribution of this thesis to knowledge in the field lies in the new evidence it brings to bear on the debate over the significance of discrimination in the Canadian labour market. The thesis probes not only the perceptions of black youth about labour market discrimination and the experiences under which they occur but it explores, as well, the efforts these youth made in response to discrimination and the consequences of discrimination for them and their communities.
CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to identify and discuss a conceptual framework for answering the research questions of the thesis. Essentially, the thesis examines perceptions of Ghanaian and Somali youth that reside in the Toronto CMA about barriers to their labour market access in the context of their “lived labour market” experiences and assesses the impact of these perceptions on them and their communities.

There is very little research on how children of recent visible minority immigrants integrate in the Canadian labour market. Because of this, there are no ready-made conceptual frameworks in the literature that can be used without the need for adjustments, adjustments that are needed in order to study the labour market experiences and perceptions of barriers to labour market entry of the Ghanaian and Somali youth.

There are many theories that have emerged over the years explaining the phenomenon of labour market disadvantages of racial minorities that are recent immigrants. First, the chapter reviews some of the relevant conceptual approaches that have been used in research on recent immigrants’ socioeconomic integration and research on youth labour market access and entry. The goal is to contextualize the conceptual approach that will be used to explain the findings of the thesis.

Since John Porter’s work on the Vertical Mosaic came out in 1965, several Canadian researchers have been grappling with questions around the intersection of immigration, race, ethnicity, and the labour market. The majority of these researchers
come largely from the disciplines of economics and sociology and to a lesser extent from geography. Despite coming from different disciplines and using different intellectual tools for their analyses, a majority of these researchers rely on the assimilation model to interpret their results and findings. As a consequence, the conclusions reached by these researchers are remarkably convergent.

Essentially, the main assumption of the assimilation model is that over time the characteristics of members of immigrant groups and host societies come to resemble one another. In other words, immigrant groups will share similar socio-economic characteristics with the native-born, over time. The dependence on the assimilation model has resulted in the current state of research being primarily preoccupied with empirical comparisons between immigrants and native-born Canadians in terms of the patterns and trends of their socio-economic indicators such as educational achievement and labour market outcomes, to mention just a few.

Simplifying and summarizing the integration models in use in North America, Boyd (2003) points out that the most commonly used models in studies predict three possible outcomes for children of immigrants. The first is what she referred to as “the straight line or linear assimilation model” in which assimilation is achieved after two to three generations. The second is a segmented assimilation model, a version of the Modified Assimilation model, in which there are some socioeconomic improvements for the children of some of the immigrant groups from generation to generation but that these groups consciously preserve their ethnicity and their ethnic solidarity. The third, which is also a segmented assimilation model, suggests that children of immigrant groups, particularly those groups with few networks and community resources, are visibly
different usually in skin colour from the dominant majority group and tend to have socio-
economic disadvantages. Here too ethnicity and ethnic solidarity are valued and kept.

The segmented assimilation theory has been used extensively in the literature for
explaining the diverse experiences of assimilation among immigrants and their children.
In general, assimilation of immigrants entails many challenges and may take several
generations. The current study focuses on first- generation immigrants that are just
beginning the assimilation process. The segmented model would not be appropriate for
studying this group of immigrants. This point is discussed by Portes and Zhou (1993)
who argued that the segmented assimilation theory is designed for understanding the
process by which second generation - the children of contemporary immigrants – become
incorporated into the socio-economic system of the host society.

This chapter seeks a conceptual framework that will help us view issues around
the intersection of immigration, race, ethnicity, and the youth labour market more acutely
so that we will be able to see details that otherwise might not be apparent in other
frameworks. In this respect, the conceptual framework for the thesis will identify three
main components in the labour market integration process of recent immigrant youth that
are visible minorities. These include: an ability to help understand the past labour market
experiences of recent immigrant youth that are visible minorities; explaining the sources
of the unequal labour market outcomes for immigrants compared to the native- born and
for different immigrant groups; learning about the factors that influence and drive
perceptions regarding their employment prospects and access to the labour market; and
also learning the consequences of these perceptions for the youth and for the community.
The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section introduces the chapter. Section two discusses and traces the roots of the theoretical models commonly used in the literature to study the integration of recent immigrants and their communities in host societies. As well, the section also discusses conceptual frameworks in the literature that explore unequal labour outcomes among different racial, ethnic and immigrant groups. The third section evaluates the relevance of existing youth labour market conceptual frameworks for studying the employment experiences of visible minority youth that are recent immigrants. Section four identifies and discusses a conceptual framework for the study. The final section summarizes the discussion in the chapter.

3.2 Conceptual and Theoretical Issues in Immigrant Integration

This section traces and examines the roots of conceptual and theoretical approaches used in research on social inequalities and issues surrounding the immigration process and integration of immigrants in the labour markets of host societies. In addition, the section also reviews the most commonly used theoretical models in the literature to study immigrant socio-economic integration. The objective is to assess the effectiveness of these approaches in responding to the research questions of the thesis. As indicated earlier, the majority of the theoretical approaches commonly used in the literature to study the integration of recent immigrants come from economists and sociologists who dominate research in the field.

One of the classic preoccupations of sociologists has been identifying sources of inequality in society. This preoccupation has resulted in a diversity of theoretical approaches in the literature that have been used to study social inequalities in societies. A
majority of these approaches come largely out of two intellectual sociological traditions: functionalism/utilitarianism and conflict structuralism traditions. These traditions have been employed in various ways to postulate concepts, hypotheses and theories for explaining how immigrants integrate in the labour market and to identify the sources of unequal labour market outcomes that exist between recent immigrant groups and native-born and among recent immigrant groups.

The dominant paradigm which influenced the development of the assimilation and segmented assimilation theories is structural functionalism. According to Farley (2000), the functionalist school is linked with sociologists such as Talcott Parsons, Kingsley Davis, Wilbert Moore, and Emile Durkheim. Farley asserts that this school sees society as consisting of a number of interdependent parts and the functioning of society depending on the operation and the coordination of these interdependent parts. Therefore, a change at one point in society will have an impact elsewhere.

The functionalist also sees society gravitating towards stability and equilibrium. A major disturbance or change somewhere in the system would make society dysfunctional and put the survival of the entire system in jeopardy. In this respect, society will resist wholesale change, but tolerates minor adjustments in society. Therefore, functionalists consider consensus and stability to be desirable in society and tend to be concerned with majority/ minority relationships that have the potential to cause serious disruptions of society (Farley 2000).

Functional analysis does not emphasize conflict and sees change as evolutionary and gradual. Parsons’ major concern is with integration as he viewed society’s tendency toward equilibrium. Followers of Parsons such as Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore
came out with the Davis-Moore hypothesis that claims that social stratification or social inequality is functional for society (Farley, 2000). This suggests that, for the functionalists, if a group experiences social problems (e.g., unemployment), they probably lack the necessary skills that are required in the labour market.

For the functionalists, the way to deal with the effects of majority-minority differences is to reduce the cultural differences between the two groups, eliminate institutional barriers created by the dominant group and put in place measures to assist minorities to develop skills that would allow them to participate in society. This approach ultimately leads to assimilation (Farley, 2000).

A limitation of the Functionalist tradition lies in its understanding of the dynamics of inequality in Durkheimian terms. In the Durkheimian tradition, if a society has inequality then that inequality must either be meeting some kind of social need in the society, or more likely it is a result of some social condition that is in some ways useful to society. This view, while acknowledging the existence of inequality in the labour market, makes the Functionalist framework problematic in explaining the sources of the unequal labour market outcomes of visible minorities compared to those of non-visible minorities or the role that race and ethnicity play in creating differential labour market outcomes. As well, it does allow for agency.

Contemporary conflict theories come largely out of two traditions namely, the Weberian tradition which does not see conflict as always inevitable but dependent on the nature and extent of exploitation. Dahrendorf, Louis Coser and Randall Collins are part of this tradition. The second is the critical tradition that is concerned with the critique of
society. Among this tradition are the radical sociology of C. Wright Mills, the Marxist
and neo-Marxist theorist and the Frankfurt School.

The critical conflict tradition has influenced a large number of conflict theories
that have been used to analyze majority-minority relationships. These conflict theories
tend to see majority minority relationships as a matter of domination and exploitation. In
essence this conflict perspective is a critique of functionalism. For conflict theories,
etnic stratification is an unintended by-product but exists because it serves the interests
of the dominant elite (Farley 2000).

Agency is a critical part of the critical conflict theories. As noted by Mills,
sociological imagination “enables its possessor to understand the large historical scene in
terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals. It
enables him to take into account how individuals, in the welter of their daily experience,
often become falsely conscious of their social position. By such means, the personal
uneasiness of individuals is focused upon explicit troubles and the indifference of the
public is transformed into involvement with public issues” (Mills, 1959).

A variety of conflict theories have been used in race and ethnic relations
activities. Farley (2000) identifies some of these theories as the Marxist theories, split
labour market theories and internal colonialism theories. According to Farley, Marxists
see inequality as being based mainly on class – owners of the means of production and the
rest of society who works for wages. Marxist theories therefore see racism as a
mechanism that keeps the working class from recognizing their own interests. The split-
labour market theory argues that there are three classes: the owners of the means of
production, higher paid labourers and lower paid labourers and the owners are interested
in getting the best workers for the lowest wage. The third group, the internal colonialism theory, argues that societal inequality is largely based on race and ethnicity with the dominant racial or ethnic group establishing the system of inequality for its benefit (Farley 2000).

In the Canadian context, John Porter’s book The Vertical Mosaic, published in 1965, catalyzed Canadian intellectual discourse on the intersection of race, ethnicity, immigration and the labour market. Porter set both the tone and the agenda for streams of research on social inequality, including studies of social mobility and the role of education in the occupational attainment process; immigrant integration and ethnic inequality uses a framework from the conflict structuralism tradition.

While Porter’s study influenced as well as generated interest and debate on race, ethnicity and immigration in the labour market, there is a lack of consensus in the literature on his conclusions, particularly the relevance of his thesis that "immigration and ethnic affiliation have been important factors in the formation of social classes in Canada" (Porter, 1965) to present day race, ethnicity, immigration and labour market issues in Canada (Darroch, 1979). Essentially, Porter adopted a Weberian framework that resulted in his emphasis on the inequality in the distribution of scarce resources and rewards rather than on class exploitation used in the Marxist approach that focuses on the class relationships underlying the capitalist economy. Essentially, Porter's thesis pertains to the relationship between ethnicity and correctly occupational status rather than class.

Over the years, sociologists have accumulated substantial empirical information about the existence of racial inequality, but there is no general agreement about why this inequality exists and how it is maintained and how it can be changed. One area of
controversy centers on the role of class in generating racial inequality. Divergent opinions have been expressed on the subject. For example, sociologists like W.E.B. Du Bois, Oliver Cox, and William Wilson who use class conflict framework of analyses argue that racial inequality is ultimately explained by class relations, but other sociologists including Gunnar Myrdal, Robert Merton, and Elijah Anderson reject the class-based explanation. In his book entitled the Declining Significance of Race, William Wilson (1978) concluded that the main barriers to the advancement of blacks in the US are now those of class rather than explicit race discrimination.

While class origins may contribute to differences in labour market outcomes, the interplay and overlapping tensions between race, ethnicity, class and gender are far more complex and require rigorous study to reveal how they are interconnected. However, social class origins of ethnic minorities, especially those of youth, have never received much study in Canada. In response to a paper I presented at a conference in Halifax in 2003, a group of Canadian academics attributed this partly to the lack of data; the main data sources such as the Census have not included a question on class origins (Gariba 2003).

Economists have traditionally focused on the explanation of earnings differentials and levels of unemployment. A central explanation has been the individual’s human capital. In general, education and length of experience in the labour market are often used as measures of human capital. For example, with respect to labour market integration of recent immigrants and ethnic minorities, economists will emphasize the important role that human capital (education, work-related skills and work experience) of individuals

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6 “Race and ethnicity as the missing link in school-work transition research on Canadian youth.” A paper presented at the CSAA 2003 ANNUAL MEETING by Gariba, Shaibu
plays in their labour market outcomes, particularly in their level of earnings and their employment success.

Economists tend to rely on neo-classical economic models that have roots in the Functionalist/Utilitarian intellectual tradition. Neo-classical economics labour market theories are often distinguished as either supply side, demand side or supply-demand interactive theories (Livingstone, 2000). Supply-side theories basically focus on things that increase skills and productivity of labour, while the demand side theories are concerned with the factors that motivate employers to employ certain kinds of labour.

The most prominent of the supply side theories that is in current use in labour market analysis is the human capital theory given prominence by economist Gary Becker in his 1964 publication, Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education. In simple terms, human capital theory contends that investments in human capital (i.e. education, training and skills) will lead to higher productivity and hence higher wages and higher employment rates (Becker, 1964).

There are other theories with roots in the Functionalist/Utilitarian tradition that some economists have used to explain unequal access to labour market outcomes. This group of theories, even though they rely on neoclassical tools of analysis, focuses on the degree of segmentation existing in the labour market. One of the theories commonly used is the one based on the conceptualization of the labour market as a dual labour market (Doeringer and Piore, 1971). This segmented labour market theory assumes the existence of distinct segments in a labour market with different wage determination mechanisms and employment policies with limited mobility between the segments. Typically, the
labour market is assumed to consist of two segments: one market in which jobs are paid higher wages coexisting with another market segment with low-wage jobs.

A related approach to the segmented labour market theory is one based on the ‘taste’ model of leading human capital theorist Gary Becker (1971). Becker’s model, often referred to as the “taste model”, contends that employers with a "taste for discrimination" will forego profits in order to indulge in their desire to employ a specific type of worker. For example, in the US situation which is very similar to the Canadian situation, the assumption is that employers with a taste for discrimination against racial minorities will employ less than the profit-maximizing number of racial minorities (see discussion in Alexis, Marcus 1980). Becker’s prediction that discrimination would disappear as a result of competitive markets is yet to materialize in any capitalist economy which exposes the limitation of the theory.

Other approaches are discussed in anti-racist scholarly Canadian works such as Dei (1996), Calliste (1996), Ighodaro (2007), Das (2006) and many others that address educational and labour market equity, social justice and change. These works argue that an essential way to achieve these goals is to analyze the intersections of race, class, gender and sexual oppression using an antiracism theoretical framework. These approaches speak well to examining questions of why discrimination occurs and how its growth can be countered. However, as argued elsewhere in the thesis, the focus of this thesis is limited to examining perceptions of black youth about labour market discrimination and the consequences of these perceptions for their employment prospects and the development of social networks linked to the labour market.
3.3 Current Theoretical Approaches in Youth Labour Market Analysis

Youth labour market integration has received considerable attention in Canadian research. However, despite the attention, not much is known about the determinants of success in the employment of visible minority youth who are recent immigrants. This section reviews conceptual frameworks that have been commonly used in the literature to study youth labour market outcomes in Canada. The objective is to seek a theoretical framework for analyzing perceptions about the labour market access experienced by Ghanaian and Somali youth who reside in Toronto.

There is a large body of research on youth labour market outcomes in Canada produced by economists at Statistics Canada. Many of these studies rely on theoretical frameworks that have roots in neo-classical economic thought that has its roots in the Functionalist/Utilitarian tradition. Essentially, these economic models are based on the human capital hypothesis and therefore tend to be limited in their application as they place too much importance on years of schooling and skill levels in labour market outcomes. The overemphasis in the human capital hypothesis on education and skills leads to the exclusion or minimization of other important variables such as race, ethnicity and immigration and the roles they play in labour market outcomes.

The human capital theory has been used extensively to assess and analyze the Canadian youth labour market (Jennings, 1998; Fortin and Fortin, 1999; Lavoie and Bejaoui, 1998) and it continues to dominate youth labour market research. In many ways, the theory has been responsible for the limited amount of research in youth labour outcomes because it focuses on the relationship between labour market outcomes and the educational level of youth.
By placing too much emphasis on the role that young peoples’ level of education and skills play in the labour market, the human capital theory ignores the effects of other important variables such as gender, race, ethnicity, disabilities, recency of immigration, age-at-arrival and class all of which have been shown to be important in the labour market research using alternative theoretical approaches. For example, empirical evidence provided in studies such as Kunz et al (2000) finds higher unemployment among visible minorities even though they were found to have higher levels of educational attainment than the general Canadian population. Livingstone (1997) also challenges the relevance of the human capital theory at the macro or societal level. According to Livingstone, existing evidence indicates that since the early 1970s school enrolment rates have continued to increase while average incomes have stagnated and unemployment rates have mainly fluctuated upwards. Despite its limited focus, the human capital framework remains the most dominant approach used for analyzing youth labour market outcomes in the literature.

Many of the studies on the integration of non-European immigrants in Canadian society have explained the difficulties that these immigrants experience in the labour market using what I describe as the modified human capital conceptual framework. Typically, these studies focus on aspects of human capital correlates such as English proficiency, education, skills acquired in their country of origin and lack of Canadian experience as predictors of the relative success or failure of these immigrants in the labour market.

The popularity of the human capital theory in labour market research has contributed to the emergence of other capital- oriented approaches in labour market
research that are also in use in labour market studies. Theories such as the social capital theory and the cultural capital theory have gained acceptance in labour market literature. This may have prompted Thiessen (2001) to lump these theories together with the human capital theory and refer to them as capitalization theories in recognition of their emphasis on capital as a very important variable in youth labour analyses.

Social capital, as a counterpoint theory to human capital, focuses on the production, investment and returns of the elements or resources embedded in social structures, relationships and networks rather than on the individual attributes emphasized by human capital theory. While an individual's skills and experience are important predictors of success, I argue that the advantages that social capital provides in explaining the relative success or failure of minority and immigrant youth in labour market outcomes far surpass those of human capital.

Putnam (1995) describes social capital as "any aspect of informal social organization that constitutes a productive resource for one or more actors." More exclusively, Coleman (1988) who proposed the first major theoretical statement on the concept defines it as "the process by which established human relations-such as those rooted in ethnic communities-act as resources for economic cooperation." Social capital can therefore be defined as the network of relationships that surround a person and it includes family relations, community relations and other social infrastructure available to the individual (Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993; Portes 1995).

For the social capital theoretical approach to labour market analysis, youth who are endowed with extensive social capital are considered to have better prospects of making a successful transition from school/training to jobs. This theory can inform our
understanding of the roles that family background, race/ethnicity, recency of immigration and age-at-arrival play in the labour market. As well, it can also help us understand the labour market experiences of recent immigrants. An essential task of this thesis is to examine the impact that the perceptions of the youth have on their bonding and bridging social capital.

Woolcock (1998) defines social capital as the information, trust, and norms of reciprocity inhering in one's social networks and Portes (1998) describes it as the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures. As discussed in Chapter 1, my thesis uses Putnam’s conceptualization of social capital as bonding and bridging social capital as its framework for analysis.

Correlates of social capital include a network of family and friends that, combined with one’s community resources and opportunities, one can use to access from. This network is to some extent related to human capital and cultural capital, which points to such things as work ethic, discipline, assertiveness or risk-taking, that growing up in a certain culture could provide. For most immigrant communities, social capital comes in the form of friends, family, community organizations and institutional networks that bond together as well as connecting to a wider society. It can be extremely influential.

As pointed out by Kazemipur (2002), the social capital theoretical approach can throw more light on the socio-economic situation of non-European immigrants. According to Kazemipur, social capital can be a helpful analytical tool for explaining differences in a labour market that are not explained by factors such as human capital and assimilation effects and discrimination. He therefore suggested the need to do a comprehensive study of the stock of social capital differences among ethnic, racial and
religious groups in the country to assess their function in shaping the socio-economic status of these groups.

3.4 A Conceptual model for the Thesis: Social Capital and the Labour Market

As I have argued throughout the thesis, the labour market experiences and perceptions of visible minority youth that are recent immigrants in many ways are grounded in their lived experiences and identities of class, race, ethnicity, immigration status, gender and transnationalism.

This study explores the perceptions of the youth regarding their labour market access, their perceptions of discrimination, factors that drive these perceptions and their impact on participants’ relationships, sense of belonging and labour market prospects. Building relationships and a sense of belonging to a community and society are core building blocks of social capital theory. Therefore, the conceptual model for the thesis is the social capital framework conceptualized by Putnam.

It is documented in the literature that access to some aspects of social capital can improve the job prospects of recent immigrants. The social capital theory has the capacity to explain the social interactions and changes among racial groups and ethnic minority immigrant groups and their socio-economic integration, while accounting for the unique trajectory each of the individual groups assumes.

Another basic assumption of the social capital framework is that immigrants integrate and eventually assimilate into host societies. This implies a theoretical framework that allows for integration. An approach I find useful for explaining and
understanding the nature and patterns of the labour market access of immigrant groups such as the Ghanaian and Somali youth that reside in Toronto CMA is therefore one that combines the transnational identities with aspects of social capital and that speaks to how Ghanaian and Somali youth integrate in the host society together with aspects of the social capital defined as bonding and bridging networks to assess the impact and consequences of their perceptions about discrimination.

As documented by many studies in the transnational literature, increasingly the social lives and economic activities of many immigrant communities in the West are taking place across borders because of advances in technology. Consequently, these transnational communities of immigrants are redefining notions of Diaspora and homeland, a fact that is impacting on their integration in the host countries (Tonah 2007; Mazzucato 2005; Manuh 2001; Wong 2000; Owusu 2000). Many immigrants are maintaining active connections to the economic, social and political spheres of their country of origin (Portes 1997, 2003; Portes et.al. 2003; Castles 2002) and some lead dual lives, frequently maintaining homes in two countries (Portes 2003, 1995; Owusu 2003).

The Ghanaian and Somali communities are endowed with fewer networks and community resources (i.e., social capital) than the larger community. Members of the two ethnic communities have darker skins than the white ones of the dominant group, and they experience higher levels of poverty and unemployment than the general society. As well, the communities are recent and are just beginning to assimilate. In addition, they have had different migration pathways to Canada. The two communities also have
different levels of transnational ties with the home country and different levels of social capital.

A basic assumption in the framework of the thesis is that the level of transnational ties impacts on the level and type of social capital that an immigrant community can access. A stronger tie to the community’s homeland inhibits socio-economic integration and impairs success in new labour markets.

There is a growing consensus in the literature that aspects of social capital such as bonding and bridging networks can secure benefits for immigrants and immigrant communities or impede them in their settlement efforts. Increasingly, the concept of social capital is becoming a commonly used research framework to understand ways in which immigrants benefit from resources and relationships in their communities and networks outside their communities to help in their socio-economic integration.

Basically, the aspects of social capital that capture the networks of support are essential for the labour market success of youth. Coleman (1990) discussed the notion of social capital as an intangible social resource that individuals can draw upon to facilitate action and relations to promote certain ends. This definition suggests that social capital functions as a resource which individuals and their communities can use to better their situations. Implicit in this interpretation is that those who have social capital have access to resources that they can use to their advantage.

Social capital resides in the spatial, structural and relational links inside and outside the communities of the participants and can produce both economic benefits and economic disadvantages. Essentially, it creates and supports formal and informal institutions and networks among those possessing the social capital.
This thesis analyzes the consequences of perceptions of discrimination on the relationships and networks of participants. It collects data through the focus groups and survey participants about labour market experiences and the perceptions about labour market access, trust in friends, neighbours, parents, communities and community groups and organizations. As well, it also collects data on participants’ social networks to reveal how they relate to social capital and link to the labour market, and how they are affected by labour market experiences and perceptions.

3.5 Summary

In this chapter, I reviewed conceptual approaches used in research regarding the main features of recent immigrants’ socio-economic status as well as research on youth labour market access and entry that synthesized a theoretical model capable of providing answers to the following research questions of the thesis. I also identified a conceptual framework for the thesis.

The framework for the thesis assumes that transnational identities of the participants and their access to social capital determine their lived labour market experiences. It also assumes that access to social networks and the amount of social capital in the form of bonding and bridging capital is tempered by the degree of transnational ties participants and their communities possess. As well, the amount of relevant labour market social capital that can be accessed is influenced by perceptions about labour market access. The nature of the migration process of Ghanaians and Somalis to Toronto and the strength of their ties with their homelands affects their settlement and economic performance including their labour integration.
CHAPTER FOUR
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined a theoretical framework for the thesis. This chapter introduces the empirical research that was conducted for the thesis and discusses the methods and methodology used in the research. The aim of the chapter is to justify and defend the methods and methodology used in the research as well as to make explicit the assumptions underpinning the research design. This will enable the reader to evaluate the conclusions of the thesis.

The participants for the thesis research were made up of youth aged between 19 and 24 years old from the Ghanaian and Somali communities in the Greater Toronto Area. These samples are comprised of 18 youth in two focus group interviews and 30 youth who completed survey questionnaire. All youth participants in the study were landed immigrants or citizens who were either employed full-time/part-time or indicated a desire to find employment. Although, they are from two communities, they have a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds (one or two parent household, well educated and less educated families etc). As well, there were more females in the focus groups and more males in the group that completed the survey questionnaire. As a result of these characteristics of the participants, the samples were very diverse and provided rich source of data for the research.

Basically, data for the research was obtained in three ways. First, secondary data was accessed from the PUMF of the 2001 Canadian Census and Labour Force Survey (LFS) used to examine broad labour market outcomes of youth in Toronto CMA by
racialized and immigration characteristics. This analysis is followed by a focus group interview for each of the study populations that explored the labour market experiences of the participants and their opinions of the challenges facing the youth of their communities in finding employment. The focus group discussions also explored the perceptions of participants about the role that social capital plays in the employment success of youth in their communities. Finally, a survey questionnaire was administered to 15 youth from each of the study populations to collect information about youth’s labour market experiences, their perceptions about barriers to their labour market access of youth in their community and the impact of these perceptions on them and their communities and their perceptions about the consequences of discrimination to the development social networks that link to the labour market.

The ultimate aim of this chapter is to discuss the methods and methodology used in this thesis. As discussed above, the methodology of the thesis enabled the use of secondary micro data set from the 2001 Census PUMF to supplement as well as complement primary data obtained from traditional approaches of focus group discussions and survey questionnaires. The thesis, therefore, uses a methodology that mixes quantitative and qualitative methods. This mix of quantitative and qualitative methods to answer the research questions helps to enhance the reliability of the results as well as providing a socio-cultural context for understanding the findings and conclusions of the thesis.

As observed by Chambo et al., (2000), research is not mere gathering and interpretation of information but a social and cultural activity grounded in the concrete realities of everyday life. It is a process that is shaped by the experiences, institutional
arrangements and knowledge of the community where the research is undertaken. The methodology used in the research was constructed to provide a cultural context for the interpretation of results of the research. For example, in the focus group discussions, participants were asked to discuss what the quantitative results obtained in chapter five mean to them.

4.2 Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods

Traditionally, social science researchers use either quantitative or qualitative research. One possible explanation for this is that only few researchers have all the skills needed to successfully combine the two approaches. This situation has been changing recently, as there has been an upsurge of interest in the combined use of qualitative and quantitative methods. Mixed methods research is finding acceptance in peer-reviewed journals where increasing numbers of published articles are using the technique. Despite its increasing popularity, mixed method research results are more often than not published separately in peer review journals, making them appear as if the two are separate and unrelated analyses put in one article.

Different types of mixed methods research designs have been used in the social science literature. Essentially, they are distinguished by their order of implementation and how they seek to analyze the subject under study. In an evaluation of mixed method research designs, Creswell et al, (2003) identifies six different types of major mixed methods research designs. These include: sequential explanatory, sequential exploratory, sequential transformative, concurrent triangulation, concurrent nested, and concurrent transformative.
As argued by Creswell et al. (2003), in designing a mixed methods study, four issues need to be considered. These include priority, implementation, integration, and a theoretical perspective. First, it must be clear on which of the methods the analyses of the study places its priority. In other words, is the emphasis in the study on the quantitative or qualitative method? Second, the strategy of implementation must be stated clearly. How will the data collection be implemented? Will it be in sequence or concurrently? Third, there must be clarity on the way the different methods are going to be integrated. How will the qualitative and quantitative be integrated? Finally, it is useful to assess whether a theoretical perspective is evident regarding the mixed methods that are being used.

The merits of combining qualitative and quantitative methods are well documented in Jacobs (2006) and Yoshikawa et al. (2006). In this thesis, a combined methods approach is particularly useful for overcoming theoretical and recruitment problems specific to labour market research with a small subset of racial and ethnic minority youth from groups that have high proportions of recent immigrant populations and whose communities are still in transition. For example, in the thesis quantitative and qualitative methods are used to address different but complementary parts of the thesis research. The approach in the thesis therefore uses three different sources of data that are analyzed sequentially and integrated to reinforce the overall findings of the study.

Multi-method research design is generally intended so that one source of information can supplement and/or complement another to strengthen the findings of the research. This approach to research allows the researcher to use different data sources to approach a research problem from different points of view. In general, quantitative and qualitative research methods simply respond in different ways to research questions.
Therefore, an approach combining the two methods can also help the researcher to capitalize on the strengths of each approach and offset their different weaknesses. This form of research methodology can contribute to providing more comprehensive answers to research questions by going beyond the limitations of a single approach.

In the thesis research, qualitative data collected from the focus group discussions and survey questionnaires were valuable in providing context for the outcomes of the quantitative analysis undertaken in chapter five. For example, the views of many of the focus groups and survey participants that racial discrimination poses a big challenge for them in the labour market may partly explain the lower employment outcomes observed for the entire visible minority youth groups in the PUMF data set analyzed in chapter five.

As articulated by Yoshikawa et al. (2006), diverging data across methods can contribute to enhancing the quality of the results of the different methods used. In this thesis research, the quantitative analysis undertaken in chapter five and the focus group discussions generated questions that were included in the survey questionnaire. As well, the focus group method, in some way, also acted as a pre-test for the survey interview. Therefore, it can be argued that the methodology used in the thesis ensured that the quantitative and focus group methods contributed to enhancing the quality of the survey method, thereby helping to reduce some of the reliability problems often associated with small sample sized surveys- as is the case for this thesis.

According to Yoshikawa et al. (2006), multi-method research techniques can also contribute to further inquiry and refinement of the theory of the study. A methodology of mixed methods social inquiry allows researchers to incorporate scope conditions into
their theories. As well, it also allows the researcher to use information and evidence from one method to clarify issues and findings in the other method. For example, in the thesis research some of the responses to the survey questions given by respondents had to be further clarified using information and findings from both the analysis of PUMF and focus group discussions.

A methodology that uses quantitative and qualitative methods sequentially at different stages of the research, as done in this thesis, has advantages. The interplay of qualitative and quantitative methods in this study has been beneficial in a number of ways. First, it helped to clarify the relationships between some of the ideas and issues that the research questions covered. Second, findings from the quantitative research informed the content and direction of the questions used subsequently in the focus groups and the survey questionnaire.

Yoshikawa et al (2006) also argue that the research issues should determine whether and how qualitative and quantitative methods should be combined. The most common suggestion in the literature is that whenever researchers find that a qualitative study alone or a quantitative study alone will not completely meet the needs of a study, mixing different research methods may be the only logical way to proceed with the research.

In summary, while mixing research methods may represent an opportunity to increase the reliability of results, it presents possible risks for researchers. This approach to research is recent and still grappling with legitimacy issues. As well, it may lead researchers to abandon the traditions of their disciplines and cause them to face challenges in securing identity within their disciplines. Furthermore, combined methods
research has the potential of leading researchers to approach theory from an eclectic standpoint.

4.3 Data Collection Methods: Theoretical basis and Justification

Three research data collection strategies are used sequentially in the thesis. First, PUMF data from the 2001 Census and LFS are analyzed to determine broad patterns and trends of labour market outcomes among racialized youth groups in the Toronto CMA. Second, two focus group discussions are undertaken, one for each of the two study communities. Finally, survey questionnaire interviews are conducted with 15 Ghanaian and 15 Somali youth that reside in the Toronto CMA. The respondents for both the focus groups and survey interviews are between 19 and 24 while the age range for the PUMF was 15 to 29.

4.3.1 Why Public Use Microdata and a Labour Force Survey?

The Census and the LFS are both robust sources of estimates on the Canadian labour market generated by Statistics Canada. The census is an extremely vast database with detailed data for small domains. LFS, on the other hand, is the first indicator of the pulse of the Canadian economy, and provides timely estimates of employment and unemployment. LFS has more questions when classifying the employed and unemployed than the census, and since 2006 annual LFS data has included immigrant categories allowing for the analysis of labour market by immigrant categories. In addition to immigrant categories, the census also allows for the analysis of the labour market by other relevant socio-demographic variables.
In general, microdata provide economic information about individuals, households and firms. The data can either appear as cross-section data that refer to conditions at the same point in time, or as longitudinal data (panel data) that refer to the same observational units over a number of years. The 2001 Census PUMF used in the thesis research contains data based on a sample that represents approximately 2.7% of the population enumerated in the census.

Lane (2003) describes the benefits of using microdata for analysis as “myriad.” According to Lane, the increasing and greater availability of microdata and the emergence of powerful computers are opening up entirely new possibilities in research. Lane asserts that with microdata, researchers have been able to examine many new issues at the individual level. For example, with respect to youth labour market analysis, we can explore things like the factors that affect the employment outcomes of individual youth; the economic incentives that affect individual youth choices regarding staying in school or finding work; and what the effects of different labour-market and educational programs on an individual youth’s income and employment are.

The U.S. has led the field in the release of microdata. The first microdata files were released from the 1960 U.S. Census but retrospective microdata files were later extracted for earlier years. The U.S. microdata was first called the Public Use Sample (PUS), and renamed as the Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) in 1980. Canada first released its public use microdata files from the 1971 Census and has since continued this policy for every five-year census. Australia first produced microdata files for its 1981 Census. In the U. K., the practice of releasing samples of records was accepted by the Census Offices in 1989, a step that was influenced by the US and Canadian experiences.
The sample size for the original set of microdata files from the 1971 Canadian Census was 1 per cent. This increased to two per cent in the 1980s for the individual file and was increased to 3 per cent for all three files for the 1991 Census. The sample size went down to 2.8 per cent for the PUMF from the 1996 Census. The PUMF for the 2001 Census contains data based on a 2.7 per cent sample of the population enumerated in the census.

Microdata fit the needs of a research that requires very large samples in order to reach an inference or description of broad scope. This data allows researchers to choose their own units of analysis and population, or analyze subgroups of the population based on their own selection from the sample of individual records. The researchers can have detailed variable categorizations that allow them to develop their own classifications according to the hypotheses or the patterns they are studying. This is useful to the study in this thesis as it enabled the study to explore the labour market profile of Toronto youth based on racialized and immigration characteristics. This provided a context for the study of Ghanaian and Somali youth that reside in Toronto.

The quantitative approach used in the thesis involved cross tabulations and a logistic regression using data from the 2001 Canadian Census PUMF. Cross tabulations are used to compare employment trends and patterns of youth grouped into racialized categories of Black, South Asian, Chinese, Other Visible Minority and Non-Visible Minority youth. The PUMF variables used in the analyses include labour force activity, sex, visible minority category, highest level of schooling, age-at-immigration, year of immigration, total years of schooling and age. The cross tabulations are complemented with a logistic regression to determine the odds ratio of the different racialized groups being unemployed.
Canadian Census data is released every five years and was first compiled in 1971. Since 1996, the Census database has included data on population by gender and age, place of birth, age-at-immigration, labour force activity, education and income. The Census public use microdata files that usually include only a small percentage of the total population; as a result, the sample sizes for many ethnic and racial groups are too small to be included as separate categories in PUMF. This explains why PUMF data based on racial and ethnic categories are aggregated into five bigger groups - Blacks, South Asians, Chinese, Other Visible Minority and Non-Visible Minority. This limited our quantitative analysis to racialized categories instead of ethnic groups that include the Ghanaian and Somali ones.

The analysis of the PUMF begins with descriptive statistics of demographic characteristics and a labour market activity profile of the racialized groups. This is followed by fitting a multinomial logistic regression to the variables selected from 2001 PUMF data for Toronto CMA to assess the odds ratios of the different racialized groups being unemployed. The multinomial model gives estimates of factors associated with youth unemployment of the different racialized groups in the Toronto CMA. The objective of this analysis is to show how the labour market access experienced by Black, Chinese, South Asian and Other Visible Minority racialized groups compare to that of youth from the Non-Visible Minority group.

The quantitative analysis provided a broad overview of the labour market outcomes of the black community in Toronto CMA as compared to other groups. This provided a context for locating the study of the labour market experiences of Ghanaian and Somali youth that reside in Toronto CMA. It revealed the employment patterns and
trends of black youth giving a broad picture that was then complemented by the qualitative data collected through the survey and focus group interviews of Ghanaian and Somali youth that reside in the CMA.

4.3.2 Negotiating Entry: Establishment of Trustworthiness

To undertake the collection of primary data from any community requires the researcher to negotiate entry into that community. As noted by Smith (1999), negotiating entry into a community or a home can be a daunting task for researchers. However, entry can be made easier if the researcher is part of the community and/or well connected to it. Getting the co-operation of members of the Ghanaian and Somali communities to work with me was crucial to my research. These two communities are of African descent and as a Ghanaian living in Toronto since 1989 I have been part of these communities and have had the opportunity of establishing wide networks in the communities.

I have, over the years, played various leadership roles in the Toronto African community including being a co-founder of the now defunct African Trade and Investment Council. For many years, I was a board member of the Black Business Resource Centre. As well, I have also played varied and frequent roles in other visible minority communities in Toronto. Additionally, I am currently the Managing Editor of the African Connection Newspaper, a community-based newspaper serving primarily the African community in Toronto. I have been in this position since July 1999 and have had the opportunity of providing a forum to both the Ghanaian and Somali communities through which they can express their views and opinions on issues affecting their communities.
I have an in-depth knowledge of employment issues affecting young people from the African community in Toronto. In the past, I managed a provincially funded employment program for youth that served a large number of youth from the Ghanaian and Somali communities. I have also had the experience of teaching a course in Cross-Cultural Communications in a largely immigrant patronized Settlement Worker Certificate program at George Brown College of Technology in Toronto. Many of the settlement workers for recent immigrant groups have taken this program. Furthermore, over the years, I have facilitated several employment-related workshops for various visible minority groups, particularly new immigrant groups in Toronto. My work in these different roles with many members of the African community in Toronto brought to my attention the employment difficulties of the youth. With this background, I had no difficulty negotiating entry into the two communities. I easily found willing recruits for both the focus groups and survey interviews.

4.3.3 Focus Group

The thesis research sequentially conducted two different types of interviews with participants. The first was a two-focus group interviews with eight Ghanaian youth and nine Somali youth. These were followed by survey questionnaire interviews for 15 participants each from the Ghanaian and Somali communities. The focus group interviews and the surveys used different set of participants from the two communities. In this section, I discuss the focus group interviews.

As discussed by Wolf et al. (1991), focus groups can be used in conjunction with a sample survey interview. In fact, Wolf et al., suggest that focus groups and sample
surveys can be used to complement each either sequentially or concurrently to achieve different research objectives. Using the two research methods sequentially, as done in this thesis, has the advantage of making the focus groups act both as a method that addresses the research questions of the thesis and also as a pre-test for issues to be included in the survey questionnaire.

The focus group as a research method has the ability to draw upon respondents’ attitudes, feelings, beliefs, experiences and opinions in a way that would not be feasible with other methods and can therefore be a useful complement to other research methods (Gibbs, 1997). Focus groups interviews can elicit insights and understandings in ways that a survey questionnaire cannot. Combining the focus groups with two other research methods provided a diversified and rich source of data with which to respond to the research questions of the thesis.

The two focus group sessions conducted for this research were essentially designed to identify and explore perceptions- of the Ghanaian and Somali youth who participated in the sessions- about factors that affect youth labour market outcomes in their communities. As a backdrop to the exploration of these perceptions, the focus group interviews also investigated the knowledge of participants about labour market outcomes, terminology and job search strategies, their labour market experiences, their perspectives on the results of the quantitative analysis in chapter three as well as their perceptions about the educational system and aspects of social capital in their labour market outcomes.

Participants for the focus groups were selected based on eligibility criteria specified for the research. These eligibility criteria are in Appendix ‘A’ but are also
discussed in the sections below. Various methods of recruitment were used for each of
the two communities and efforts were made to select participants who did not know each
other (Dawson et. al. 1993). As well, consistent with suggestions in the literature, a focus
group discussion is fully optimized when done among people with similar characteristics
(Morgan 1988). The participants selected for the two focus groups shared either
Ghanaian or Somali national origins by birth or parental ancestry.

In general, a focus group process relies on a transparent and trusting environment
that does not attempt to influence participant’s opinions (Krueger, 1994). According to
Krueger and Casey (2000), a focus group is a carefully planned series of discussions
organized in a non-threatening environment that seeks perceptions of participants on
issues. Therefore, the facilitator/moderator/researcher must be honest and keep
participants informed about the expectations of the group and the issues to be discussed
without pressuring participants to speak (Edmunds, 1999).

Focus groups can be designed to achieve various ends. For example, they can be
used at the preliminary or exploratory stages of a study as a pre-test for the study itself
(Kreuger 1988). They can be used during a study to evaluate or develop a particular
program of activities (Race et al 1994). Focus groups can also be used as a research
method on their own or as a complement to other methods (Wolff et al, 1991). Finally,
focus groups when used sequentially with survey questionnaire interviews can help to
explore and generate questions and issues to be included in survey questionnaires and
interviews (Hoppe et al 1995; Lankshear 1993).

Despite their usefulness in research, focus groups also have disadvantages. The
researcher usually has less control over a group than in a one-on-one interview and this
can lead to time wasting on irrelevant issues. For example, a comment may encourage a train of thought in a different direction from what was being focused on. This may in turn make participants develop new ideas and ways of connecting their personal stories to specific situations making them the primary guides of the flow and direction of questioning (Panyan, Hillman, & Liggett, 1997; Glitz, 1998). As well, because of their small sizes, the findings of focus groups cannot be projected onto the entire population. In addition, the results of focus groups are often dependent upon the interaction between the respondents and the moderator, and any moderating problems can lead to inaccurate conclusions (Greenbaum, 2000).

As already indicated earlier, the focus groups in this research were designed to achieve two ends. Primarily, they were designed to respond to the research questions and generate data to complement findings of the survey. Second, they also acted as a pre-test for developing questions and issues to be included in a survey questionnaire that would gather data on what youth perceive to be factors affecting youth labour market opportunities in their communities. Based on these objectives, the focus group sessions explored the perspectives of youth unemployment in their communities, their labour market outcomes and the impact of their labour market barriers on them and their communities, particularly, on aspects of social capital in their communities that link to the labour market.

Both focus group sessions started with discussions of the guiding rules and principles for the sessions as well as the roles of the facilitator and participants (see Appendix ‘B’ for the rules). The questions of the focus group discussions dealt extensively with the participants’ perceptions of barriers to their labour market access and
that of youth in their communities, in particular the roles that their demographic characteristics play in the access. The questions also explored perceptions by youth of the role that social capital defined as their bonding and bridging networks in the labour market access of youth in their communities (see appendix A for focus group questions).

4.3.3.1 Focus Group Design and Recruitment

This section provides an overview of the processes used in the design and organization of the focus group. In late 2004, I undertook a series of consultations with opinion leaders, parents and youth in the Ghanaian and Somali communities in Toronto. The purpose of the consultations was to better understand the underlying issues, gaps and barriers encountered by youth of the two communities in accessing the labour market. As well, the consultations were also intended to prepare the groundwork for recruiting and setting up the focus groups. Based on these consultations and an extensive review of the literature on socio-economic integration of recent visible minority immigrants, youth labour market access and a review of literature on the theory and practice of focus group discussions, I developed my recruitment strategy and questions and rules for the focus groups sessions.

To recruit participants for the focus groups, I worked through Ghanaian and Somali community organizations and Ghanaian churches. I also attended a Somali youth awards night to familiarize myself with some of the issues confronting Somali youth and to also further prepare me for the session with them. The presentations at the awards night included personal stories from them on their educational and labour experiences and trajectories. As well, I was able to discuss my research extensively with some of the
youth and they gave me feedback on where and how to recruit participants for the focus groups and the survey interviews.

The location for the Somali focus group meeting was in an office at 1593 Wilson Avenue in North York and the Ghanaian youth session took place at the residence of the Pastor of the Church at 40 Via Cassia Drive in the City of York. The two locations are areas commonly visited by youth of the two communities and were suggested by some youth from these communities; therefore, the participants were comfortable with these locations as the indicated in the interviews. Both sessions were held in February 2005.

Each focus group session lasted an hour and half but the recorded part lasted an hour and fifteen minutes. Discussions were recorded on audiotape and hand-written notes were also taken. The notes were primarily intended to capture the overall discussion. As well, they were also intended to record noteworthy quotes, observations of group dynamics, body language, and possible follow-up questions. There were several follow-up questions in the two focus groups and participants readily participated by sharing their stories and experiences. In both the Ghanaian and Somali groups, the main rules of the focus group sessions were respected and discussions were cordial and focussed on the labour market experience of participants, on youth of their communities and on issues related to the subject.

The focus groups were all conducted in English. Two participants from each of the groups had part-time jobs and a few others had previously worked. The majority were looking for part time or full time jobs. Some of them were in school or looking forward to going to school and others were not. After the sessions ended, I debriefed the participants
in each of the groups and checked their perceptions of the discussions that took place by summarizing the issues and views expressed in their comments.

4.3.4 Survey Interview

The survey uses a sample of 30 respondents from the two communities. The survey was conducted in 2005 and 2006 at various locations in the Greater Toronto area. The two communities are estimated in the 2001 Census to have a combined population of over 25,000. This makes the 30 participants a very small sample. The findings are therefore suggestive rather than conclusive of any patterns and trends regarding the labour market access experienced by Ghanaian and Somali youth in the Toronto CMA.

In general, larger sized samples are considered to have smaller standard errors, less uncertainty and allow for making better inferences than do small samples. Caution is therefore urged in drawing any strong conclusions from an analysis based on a small survey sample alone (Crouch and McKenzie 2006). While the sample used for this study is small, its respondents are very diverse and it can be taken as a reasonably representative data source from which some general inferences can be made about the labour market experiences of Ghanaian and Somali youth in the Toronto CMA. These inferences are strengthened when they are integrated with findings from other analyses done elsewhere in the thesis. The conclusions of the thesis are drawn from these integrated findings.

In more specific terms, the limitations of the survey findings noted above are minimized by integrating them with results of the quantitative analysis of the 2001 Census PUMPF undertaken in chapter three and the analysis of the discussion of the
focus group interviews in chapter seven. The integrated findings of the three chapters provide much stronger grounds from which to draw some useful conclusions about labour market trends and access among youth of the two communities. This task is undertaken in chapter ten.

The survey involved 30 participants, 15 each from the Ghanaian and Somali communities. The choice of this small sample size was taken for two reasons. First, there are resource and time constraints that would have made working with a bigger sample very challenging. Second, I have intimate and in-depth knowledge of the two communities that would augment my data and analysis.

The survey questionnaire required about one hour to complete. First, I administered a draft survey questionnaire to Ghanaian and Somali youth clients of The Northwood Neighbourhood Services, a United Way agency that helps immigrants with employment and settlement services. Based on their responses to the questionnaire, I prepared a second draft questionnaire that I field-tested with Ghanaian and Somali youth studying at the York University. The field-test responses aided in the preparation of the final survey questionnaire that was administered to the 30 survey participants.

The survey questionnaire interview involved an in-depth interview of each of the participants. The interviews were semi-structured in nature and designed to collect demographic information as well as produce open-ended life stories of labour market experiences of Ghanaian and Somali youth and their perceptions of how their race and ethnicity and social capital facilitate or impede their labour market entry. The interviews were carried out face-to-face.
4.3.5 Recruitment Process

All my data was collected from Ghanaian and Somali youth who reside in the Toronto CMA. The recruitment process involved the following steps: Compilation of a list of prospective participants; Informal Interviews with prospective participants to select participants; Completion of Consent form; Completion of Survey Questionnaire.

I contacted some youth employment counselling centres in the Toronto area that have high Ghanaian and Somali clientele. I also contacted various community/religious groups in the Ghanaian and Somali communities for participant recruitment purposes. I distributed solicitation flyers on notice boards at the employment centres and agencies and also at the colleges and universities.

4.3.6 Assessing Representativeness of Samples

The research design explores in non-rigorous way the representativeness of the focus groups and survey samples. As I have indicated, the samples for both the focus group interviews and survey respondents are not random – i.e., all members of the Ghanaian and Somali youth population are not equally likely to be included in the sample. Furthermore, these samples are also too small.

While the use of use of a small size does not necessarily lead to ‘bias’ - a systematic under- or over-estimation of the true results - when a small sample size is combined with a selection technique that is not random, it has a high likelihood of
leading to bias in outcomes. In general, small sample sizes that are not random are more likely to be unrepresentative of the population and hence lead to biases in the results.

Key characteristics of the focus groups and survey samples are matched with similar characteristics in 2006 Census data for youth Ghanaian and Somali populations aged 15 to 24 years that reside in the Toronto CMA.
CHAPTER FIVE
RACIALIZED GROUPS IN TORONTO’S LABOUR MARKET

5.1 Introduction

While there is evidence of a high unemployment rate among all young people in Ontario, the rate has been found to be much higher for visible minority and recent immigrant youth. In a 2000 study, the Ontario Association of Youth Employment Centres (OAYEC) estimated unemployment rates from custom tabulations of the 1996 Census and found that visible minority youth aged 15-24 in Ontario were experiencing an unemployment rate of 25 per cent compared to 18 percent for all Ontario youth (OAYEC, 2000). Various explanations have been given for this labour market disadvantage. Kilbride and Anisef (2003) summarized these explanations thus: a lack of Canadian work experience, limited language skills and the lack of a social network to facilitate a successful job search.

Table 5.1
Labour Market Characteristics by Sex and Immigrant Type, 2007
Ontario Youth (15 to 24 years)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Both Sexes</th>
<th>Participation Rate %</th>
<th>Unemployment Rate %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Born in Canada</td>
<td>67.4</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very recent Immigrants, 5 years or less</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent Immigrants, 5 to 10 years</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Established Immigrants, over 10 years</td>
<td>61.6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Participation Rate %</th>
<th>Unemployment Rate %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Born in Canada</td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very recent Immigrants, 5 years or less</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent Immigrants, 5 to 10 years</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Established Immigrants, over 10 years</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Participation Rate %</th>
<th>Unemployment Rate %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Born in Canada</td>
<td>68.7</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very recent Immigrants, 5 years or less</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent Immigrants, 5 to 10 years</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Established Immigrants, over 10 years</td>
<td>57.7</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Labour Force Survey
High unemployment among visible minority and immigrant groups is well documented in the literature. Table 5.1 shows participation and unemployment rates of Ontario youth population by immigrant type for 2007. As evident in the table, the more recent the immigrants are the higher their unemployment rate and the lower their participation rate.

The objective of this chapter is to provide background information to the study of the perceptions of Ghanaian and Somali youth about barriers affecting their labour market access and outcomes. The two communities as discussed earlier belong to the black community in Toronto. The chapter therefore analyzes and discusses the labour market profiles and outcomes among the various racial youth groups in Toronto using data primarily from the Census 2001, Public Use Micro data File and to lesser extent data from the LFS.

In the chapter, comparison of the profile and outcomes are made among the following Census-defined racialized categories: Blacks, South Asians, Chinese, Other Visible Minority and Non-Visible Minority youth. The Other Visible Minority category is used in the Census to refer to Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Japanese, Korean, Visible Minority, n.i.e., or Multiple Visible Minority. The Other Visible Minority, n.i.e. group also includes respondents who reported a single write-in response indicating a Pacific Islander group (for example, Fijian or Polynesian) or another single write-in response, likely to be a visible minority group (for example, Guyanese or West Indian).
5.2 Data Source, Definition, Description and Qualification

The analysis in the paper uses data from the 2001 Census Public Use Micro Data File (PUMF). The 2001 Census PUMF on Individuals is compiled from the Census undertaken in May 2001. It contains data based on a 2.7 per cent sample of the population enumerated in the census. This data file provides information on the demographic, social and economic characteristics of the Canadian population. Data from PUMF is flexible and allows socio-economic researchers to group and manipulate the data to suit their research requirements.

The microdata or PUMF is an original sample data that contains every individual record (person, household, etc.). It provides very large samples for analysis and helps the researcher to make a broad inference or description. It also allows researchers to choose the units they want to analyze, and gives them the possibility of analyzing subgroups of the population based on their own selection from the sample of individual records. Using the PUMF data set allows for detailed variable categorizations and for developing classifications according to hypotheses or the patterns to be studied.

The PUMF variables used include labour force activity, sex, visible minority category, highest level of schooling, age-at-immigration, year of immigration, total years of schooling and age. In PUMF, labour force activity uses a reference week. The term labour force activity is used to refer to the labour market activity of the population aged 15 and over in the week (Sunday to Saturday) prior to Census Day (May 15, 2001). Respondents are classified as either employed, or unemployed, or as not in the labour force. Employed refers to persons who worked for pay or were self-employed in 2000. Respondents were asked to report whether the weeks they worked in 2000 were full-time
weeks (30 hours or more per week) or not, for all the jobs held. Respondents with a part-time job for part of the year and a full-time job for another part of the year were to report the information for the job at which they worked the most weeks. Hours worked for a salary or in the self-employment variable were also used in the analysis. This variable refers to the number of hours respondents worked for pay or in self-employment in all jobs held prior to the Census Day. Table 5.2 presents the definition and description of the variables used in the analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.2 Description of Variables.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Census Variables</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YRIMMIGP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMMIAGEP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VISIMINP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGEP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEXP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLOSP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTSCHP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LFACTP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HRSWKp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3 Previous Related Studies

Kunz (2003) uses a similar approach to analyze the profile and labour market outcomes of immigrant and visible minority youth in Canada with data from the 1996
Census Public Use microdata file. Kunz’s study covers youth aged 15 to 29 and compared the labour market outcomes of Canadian-born and foreign-born youth and Visible Minority and Non-Visible Minority youth.

Kunz uses the following PUMF variables in the study: immigration status, year of immigration, age-at-immigration, visible minority indicator, age, sex, knowledge of official languages, highest level of education, total years of schooling, school attendance, labour force activity and income status, to estimate the probabilities expressed in terms of odds ratios of Canadian born and foreign-born youth being unemployed. These estimations are done separately for male and for female.

Kunz’s study uses a logistic regression methodology. The dependent variable for the study has two categories (employed and unemployed) and these are assigned the values zero and one. Four logistic models are then fitted to the data set. The study found, among other things, that for the male population, Canadian-born Visible Minority youth are more likely to be unemployed compared to their Non-Visible Minority counterparts; immigrant Visible Minority youth are also more likely to be unemployed than Non-Visible Minority immigrant youth. For the female group, there were no significant differences in access to employment between Canadian-born Visible Minority and Canadian-born Non-Visible minority. However, for the female immigrant group, visible minorities were more likely to be unemployed than their Non-Visible Minority counterparts.

In summary, Kunz’s study highlights the difficulties that youth who are immigrants and minorities have in accessing the labour market compared to their counterparts. This is a phenomenon referred to by Kunz as “less attachment” to the
labour market than their counterparts. Arguably therefore, recency of immigration and visible minority status are key barriers to labour market access in Canada.

Another related study, Ornstein (2000), also uses the 1996 Census to present a detailed description of the socio-economic status of 89 ethno-racial groups with a minimum population of 2,500 living in Toronto. Unlike Kunz (2003), this study does not focus exclusively on youth but on the whole adult population. Ornstein uses education, employment and income as indicators to evaluate the socio-economic status and to determine how well the various ethno-racial groups studied are doing in Toronto. In terms of education, Ornstein focused on the educational attainments of adults aged 25 to 64 and on the school attainment and enrolment of youth. To operationalize employment and income, Ornstein used rates of labour force participation and unemployment, percentage of part-time work, the extent of income from self-employment, the distribution of seven occupation categories and median income. Ornstein’s study concluded that the ethno-racial groups most disadvantaged in Toronto CMA are visible minority groups with a high concentration of a recent immigrant population.

5.4 Framework for Analysis

A regression analysis is a useful framework for comparing characteristics of groups whose members have a number of differences but also common characteristics such as age in the current analysis. Regression analysis in used in this thesis to determine

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7 The seven occupation categories are High Level Managers, Mid-Level Managers, Professionals, Skilled Non-Manual workers, Skilled Manual workers, Less Skilled Non-Manual work and Less Skilled Manual work.
how employment gaps among youth groups can be attributed to differences in the
demographic characteristics of the youth.

When dealing with a nominal categorical dependent variable, use of the usual
ordinary least squares (OLS) regression model is not appropriate. A more appropriate
model to use for such analysis is the logistic model. A logistic regression model
calculates changes in the log odds of the dependent variable as opposed to changes in the
dependent variable itself, as the OLS regression does. This model allows for comparing
all possible outcomes of the categorical dependent variable. For example, it allows the
researcher to assess the probability that one category such as unemployment will be
observed from two or many categories such as employed full-time, employed part-time or
not in the labour force.

5.4.1 Logistic versus Ordinary regression

In an ordinary regression model of a given dataset, the coefficients of the
independent variables have a straightforward interpretation. For example, suppose the
regression equation linking wages of recent visible minority immigrants to their age and
years of schooling in Canada is given by:

\[
Wages = 5.5 + 0.25 \times \text{age} + 0.33 \times \text{years of schooling in Canada}.
\]

All things being equal, wages will jump by a quarter for every year difference in age and
by about a third for every year difference in years of schooling in Canada. However, if
the wages were considered only in relative terms, for example as either above or below
the poverty line, then the regression model involves a binary dependent variable (e.g.
with above-poverty level = 1 and below –poverty level = 0). In such a case, data is
usually fitted with a logistic regression model in which the coefficients of the resulting equation is no more a straightforward linear relationship as in the ordinary regression model.

A more elaborate form of the binary or binomial logistic model is the multinomial logistic model. This is an extension of the binary logistic model discussed above. However, instead of two categories in the dependent variable, as is the case with the binary model, there are more than two categories. This model is a far more useful approach than the successive binary logistic regression used by Kunz (2003) to analyze the 1996 Census public use microdata files we have discussed earlier in the paper. The multinomial model enables the analyst to fit, for example, all the equations in one model for male and female with the same dependent variables and independent and do a simultaneous estimation of the parameters. The multinomial logistic estimates can be interpreted in two ways, either as a discrete change in probabilities or as a factor change in the odds. Multinomial logistic regression models are best for a case of dependent categorical variable with more categories than two. When multiple classes of the dependent variable can be ranked, then using an ordinal logistic regression is preferred to a multinomial logistic regression.

5.5 Analysis and Results

In Table 5.3 the data is grouped into Visible Minority group and Non–Visible Minority and a labour force activity profile is presented for the two groups. As is evident in the table, the Visible Minority group has a lower per cent employed at 54.2 per cent compared to the 70.8 per cent for Non-Visible Minority group. 5.8 per cent of
the Non-Visible Minority group is unemployed, a rate well below the 7.5 per cent unemployment level experienced by the Visible- Minority group.

Table 5.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial Category</th>
<th>Employed per cent</th>
<th>Unemployed per cent</th>
<th>Not in Labour Force per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visible Minority</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Visible Minority</td>
<td>70.8</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N= 25318
Source: Census 2001, Public Use Micro Data File (2.7 per cent Sample).

Table 5.4 presents some demographic characteristics of the different racial groups. The gender distribution for males and females of all groups is fairly close. With the exception of the Chinese group and the Non-Visible Minority group, females outnumber males in all the groups with the difference bigger for the Black and South Asian than it is for the Non-Visible Minority group.

In terms of age distribution grouped under the categories: 15 –19; 20 –24; and 25 –29, the spread within each group is fairly uniform with the exception of the South Asian and Non-Visible Minority groups which have a higher proportion of their samples being older youth (24 –29). The Chinese and Black groups have a fairly young youth population.

Over half of the Chinese group has a university education and more than half of the Black group has only high school education or is still in high school. A comparable percentage (33 per cent) of the Other Visible- Minority and the Non-Visible Minority Groups has university education. About 37 per cent of the South Asian group has university level education. Blacks recorded the lowest level of university graduates,
estimated at 20 per cent, but the highest community college graduates were at 26 per cent.

With respect to labour force activity, 55.8 per cent of Blacks are employed and 9.1 per cent unemployed, the highest unemployment level among the racial categories. 35.1 per cent of Blacks are not in the labour force. This is consistent with the findings of Ornstein (2000, 2006) and Kunz (2003). In the case of the South Asian group, 55.9 per cent is employed, 7.6 per cent unemployed and 36.5 per cent not in the labour force. The Chinese group has 46.4 per cent employed. This is the lowest employment level among the groups. While having a low employment percentage and a high not in the labour force percentage, the Chinese group has a 7.2 per cent unemployment level, a rate lower than that of Blacks and South Asians. A probable explanation for the low Chinese labour force activity statistics is that many of its members may be in school. The Other Visible-Minority group has 57 per cent of its members employed, 6.6 per cent unemployed and 36.4 per cent not in the labour force while the Non-Visible Minority group had the highest employed (70.8 per cent) and lowest unemployed (5.8 per cent). The group also had the lowest not in the labour force at 23.4 per cent.

Table 5.4 also presents data on age-at-immigration and year of immigration of the racial groups. As evident in the table, the percentage of Non-Visible Minority entering the country has been declining since the 1971 –1980 period. During this period, the Non-Visible Minority constituted about 37 per cent of immigrants coming into the country. However, between 1981 and 1990, it fell to 30 per cent and again dropped to 19 per cent between 1996 and 2001. The percentage of Black and Chinese entering the country rose from the 1971 –1980 period to a peak in the 1991 – 1995 period and then declined.
slightly in the 1996–2001 period. Since 1981–1990, the percentage of South Asian immigrants entering the country has been rising. The South Asian group recorded the highest percentage of immigrants in the 1996–2001 period. A point worth noting is that although it has fewer numbers coming into the country, nevertheless the Non-Visible Minority group has more of its members coming into the country at a younger age than the Visible Minority groups.

A multinomial logistic regression is fitted to the variables selected (Table 5.2) from 2001 PUMF data for Toronto CMA to assess the odds that members of the Black, South Asian, Chinese and Other Visible Minority youth groups would be unemployed compared to the Non-Visible Minority group being unemployed. The multinomial model gives estimates of factors associated with the odds that members of a particular group will be unemployed compared to a reference group.

The dependent variable for the logistic regression is labour force activity, which has three categories: unemployed, employed, and not in labour force. These were given the values (0, 1, 2). The independent variables included sex, highest level of education, racial group, age-at-immigration, age group and year of immigration. The results of the logistic regression are contained in Table 5.5.
### Table 5.4

Profiles of Toronto CMA Youth Residents Aged 15 – 29 by Racial Groups - 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex (% within group)</th>
<th>Black (%)</th>
<th>South Asian (%)</th>
<th>Chinese (%)</th>
<th>Other Visible Minority (%)</th>
<th>Non-Visible Minority (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>50.4</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>50.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>49.6</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td>49.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group’s proportion of sample</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>59.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age (% within group)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 -19</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 29</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>36.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education (% within group)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No High School</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>44.6</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>50.4</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>33.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labour Force Activity (% within group)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>55.9</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>70.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not in Labour Force</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-at-Immigration (% within year group)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 – 4</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>37.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 – 12</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 – 19</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 – 24</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 – 29</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Immigration (% within year)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971 – 1980</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981 – 1990</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991 – 1995</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996 - 2001</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N= 25318
Source: Census 2001, Public Use Micro Data File (2.7 per cent Sample).
The results in Table 5.5 present odds ratios of being unemployed based on characteristics such as gender (female compared to male), age group, highest level of education, racial group and year of immigration. With the exception of highest level of education and year of immigration, all the coefficients of independent variables are statistically significant at < .05 level.

With respect to gender, males were used as the reference group and the odds ratio of females being unemployed compared to their male counterparts was found to be 1.2 times. In terms of the racialized category, which is the main focus of the chapter, Blacks were found to be about twice (1.94 times) as likely to be unemployed when compared to Non-Visible Minority and Chinese were about 1.6 times more likely to be unemployed compared to Non-Visible Minority. The South Asian group fared better than Blacks and Chinese with the category’s likelihood of unemployed to be 1.3 times compared to the Non-Visible Minority. This suggests that the visible minority racialized groups were therefore more likely to be unemployed compared to the Non-Visible Minority. This is consistent with the conclusions of Kunz (2003) who undertook a similar study with data from the 1996 Census PUMF for youth in all of Canada.

One explanation why highest level of education is not statistically significant at < .05 level may be due to insufficient data of the variable in the equation. Table 5.6 presents the number of persons in each level of education in the sample. As can be observed from the Table, some of the numbers in some of the educational levels are just too small to be estimated, making them statistically insignificant at < .05 and < .01. A solution to this problem would be to acquire more data.
### Table 5.5

Factors Associated with Unemployment of Youth Aged 15 – 29 in the Toronto CMA, 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig</th>
<th>Exp(B) Odds Ratio</th>
<th>95 per cent Confidence Interval</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
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<td>.166</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>.210</td>
<td>.088</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.017</td>
<td>1.234</td>
<td>1.039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Highest Level of Education</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No High School</td>
<td>8.553E-02</td>
<td>.308</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.781 NS</td>
<td>1.089</td>
<td>.596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
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<td>.117</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.321 NS</td>
<td>.890</td>
<td>.708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>-.251</td>
<td>.477</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.599 NS</td>
<td>.778</td>
<td>.305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>-6.202E-02</td>
<td>.119</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.603 NS</td>
<td>.940</td>
<td>.744</td>
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<tr>
<td>University*</td>
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<td>.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Racial Group</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
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<td>.155</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>1.936</td>
<td>1.429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asian</td>
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<td>.134</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.093</td>
<td>1.252</td>
<td>.963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>.144</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>1.641</td>
<td>1.237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Visible Minorities</td>
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<td>.130</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.052</td>
<td>1.287</td>
<td>.998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Visible Minority*</td>
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<td>.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age-at-Immigration</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 – 4</td>
<td>-.845</td>
<td>.381</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.027</td>
<td>.430</td>
<td>.204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 – 12</td>
<td>-.824</td>
<td>.298</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.006</td>
<td>.439</td>
<td>.245</td>
</tr>
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<td>13 – 19</td>
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<td>.218</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.480</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 – 24</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.547</td>
<td>.382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 – 19</td>
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<td>.000</td>
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<td>1.746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 – 24</td>
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<td>.131</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>1.666</td>
<td>1.287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>.0</td>
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<td>.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Year of Immigration</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971 - 1980</td>
<td>-.393</td>
<td>.367</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.285 NS</td>
<td>.675</td>
<td>.329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981 - 1990</td>
<td>-6.813E-02</td>
<td>.200</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.733 NS</td>
<td>.934</td>
<td>.632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996 – 2001*</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sample Size</strong></td>
<td>8691</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2 Log Likelihood</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

- *= reference group
- NS = not statistically significant at < .05 and < .01
- All other coefficients are statistically significant at < .05 and < .01

N= 25318
Table 5.6
Number of persons in each educational level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No High School</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>3701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>1658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>3075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>8691</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N= 25318

An investigation of why year of immigration was not statistically significant at < .05 level revealed the existence of multi-collinearity between age-at-immigration and year of immigration. Table 5.7 below presents results when age at immigration is controlled for. As evident from the table, this has resulted in year of immigration becoming statistically significant at < .05 level, supporting the multi-collinearity between age-at-immigration and year of immigration. A common cause of multi-collinearity is when a variable in the equation is derived or computed from another variable in the equation. As discussed earlier and shown in Table 5.2, age-at-immigration is derived from age and year of Immigration which are included as independent variables in the regression.

Some studies, particularly those that use a dual labour market framework such as Galabuzi (2001), argue that most jobs that racial, ethnic minorities and new immigrants find come from the secondary labour market that is characterized by low wages, low end occupations from low income sectors, and offering primarily temporary and part-time work. To verify aspects of this argument, the profile of the employment of the youth in terms of hours worked per week was analyzed to determine the distribution of part-time and full-time jobs among the racialized groups.
Table 5.7: Factors Associated with Unemployment of Youth Aged 15 – 29 in Toronto CMA, 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
<th>Exp(B)</th>
<th>95% Confidence Interval for Exp(B)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lower</td>
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<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
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<td>.146</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>1.040</td>
<td>1.040 – 1.466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>.211</td>
<td>.088</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>1.234</td>
<td>1.040 – 1.466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male*</td>
<td>0(a)</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>1.234</td>
<td>1.040 – 1.466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Group</td>
<td>0(a)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>1.234</td>
<td>1.040 – 1.466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 – 19</td>
<td>.679</td>
<td>.133</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>1.972</td>
<td>1.520 – 2.558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 – 24</td>
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<td>.100</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>1.347</td>
<td>1.107 – 1.640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 – 29 *</td>
<td>0(a)</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>1.234</td>
<td>1.040 – 1.466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest Level of Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>.917NS</td>
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<td>.566 – 1.884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>.165</td>
<td>.850</td>
<td>.677 – 1.069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>.585NS</td>
<td>.771</td>
<td>.303 – 1.962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
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<td>.118</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.368NS</td>
<td>.899</td>
<td>.713 – 1.133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University*</td>
<td>0(a)</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>1.234</td>
<td>1.040 – 1.466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial Group</td>
<td>0(a)</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>1.234</td>
<td>1.040 – 1.466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>.646</td>
<td>.154</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>1.909</td>
<td>1.410 – 2.584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asian</td>
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<td>.134</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.106</td>
<td>1.241</td>
<td>.955 – 1.613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>.492</td>
<td>.143</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>1.636</td>
<td>1.235 – 2.166</td>
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<td>Other Visible Minorities</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>.060</td>
<td>1.275</td>
<td>.990 – 1.643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Visible Minority*</td>
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<td>.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>1.234</td>
<td>1.040 – 1.466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year of Immigration</td>
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<td>.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>1.234</td>
<td>1.040 – 1.466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971 – 1980</td>
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<td>.211</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.432</td>
<td>.286 – .654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981 – 1990</td>
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<td>.111</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.690</td>
<td>.555 – .858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996 – 2001 *</td>
<td>0(a)</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>1.234</td>
<td>1.040 – 1.466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample size</td>
<td>8691</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

• *= reference group;  • NS = not statistically significant at < .05 and < .01
• All other coefficients are statistically significant at < .05 and < .01
N= 25318
Table 5.8 presents the result of a cross tabulation of hours worked per week by the racial groups. As evident from the table, a larger proportion of the visible minority groups (over half) of each of the groups worked less than 15 hours a week. This is further evidence of the weak labour market attachment visible minority groups have compared to the Non-Visible Minority group; the former had the lowest members (38.2 per cent) working less than 15 hours per week. About 61 per cent of the employed Chinese youth worked 15 hours or less per week compared to 52.1 per cent of Blacks; 50.9 per cent of South Asians worked similar hours. As well, the Non-Visible Minority group had the highest proportion—about 49.1 per cent of the group—working over 30 hours a week. In terms of full-time employees (over 30 hours per week), the Chinese group had 30.8 per cent, Blacks 35.3 per cent and South Asians at 40.1 per cent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hours Worked</th>
<th>Black (%)</th>
<th>South Asian (%)</th>
<th>Chinese (%)</th>
<th>Other Visible Minority (%)</th>
<th>Non-Visible Minority (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 15 Hours per Week</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>50.9</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 to 24 Hours per Week</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 to 30 Hours per Week</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 30 Hours per Week</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>49.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census 2001, Public Use Micro Data File (2.7 per cent Sample). N= 25318

Finally, I undertook a non rigorous test to assess the effect of including the “not in labour force” category in my analysis, as many members of that category may be in school preparing themselves for better opportunities in the labour market. Since the subgroup of the sample most likely to be in school falls in the 15 to 24 years category. I looked at the distribution of the group’s labour force participation and found 67 per cent of them to be in the labour force and 33 per cent in the “not in the labour force” group.
My expectation is that the proportion of those in the labour force among the older youth of the sample (25 to 29 years) will be higher and significant proportion of this subgroup’s “not in labour force” category may not be in school.

As well, as shown in Table 5.3, among the whole sample (15 to 29 years old), about 76 per cent of the Non-Visible Minority category and 62 per cent of the Visible Minority are in the labour force. Implicit in this is that a higher proportion of the “not in labour force group are in the Visible Minority category. As studies such as Dei el. al. (1997) show, school drop-out rate among black youth is estimated at about 40 per cent. It is therefore reasonable to assume that a sizeable proportion of “not in labour force” group may be discouraged job seekers. By including the variable, while it unnecessarily adds youth in school preparing for better job offers, it also allows for incorporating experiences of discouraged youth job seekers – the most vulnerable section of the youth that choose not to participate in the labour market.

5.6 Discussion and Summary

The analysis in this chapter supports the conclusions of several studies in the literature that contend that visible minority and other minority racial groups have more difficulty accessing the labour than the Non-Visible Minority youth cohorts (Kunz, 2003; Kunz et al., 2001; Galabuzi, 2001; Ornstein, 2000). As demonstrated by the results of the analysis in the chapter, not only has the Non-Visible Minority group the highest level of employment, it also records the lowest level of unemployment of all the measured racialized groups in the Census PUMF data set. The Black group demonstrated the weakest attachment to the labour market among all the racialized
groups. It is to this group that our study population belongs. This conclusion is consistent with the findings of several studies. For example, studies such as Grayson, 1997; Ornstein, 2000; Galabuzi, 2001; Reitz, 2001; Anisef and Kilbride 2003 have provided some evidence to support the significance of labour market discrimination based on race, ethnicity and immigrant status in relation to visible minorities having access to the labour market.
CHAPTER SIX

GHANAIANS AND SOMALIS IN TORONTO

6.1 Introduction

The Ghanaian and Somali communities in Toronto are part of the city’s growing recent racial and ethnic minority groups. Toronto is home to many transitory visible minority communities like the Ghanaian and Somali communities and, as observed by Ornstein (2000; 2006), many of these communities live in poverty. Both the Ghanaian and Somali communities belong to the larger African community that is one of the fastest growing immigrant groups in Canada ever since the early 1980s. A majority of the African immigrants entering Canada settle in the Toronto area (Statistics Canada 2003; Kasozi 1992; Mwarigha 1991).

Toronto’s visible minority population generally is large and has been growing over the years. The 2001 Census estimates the number of visible minorities in Toronto CMA at 1.7 million. This constitutes 36.8 per cent of the areas’ population and 80 per cent of Ontario’s visible minorities or 15 per cent of the total provincial population. Between 1996 and 2001, the number of visible minorities in the Toronto CMA increased by 19.1 per cent (Statistics Canada 2003).

The growing numbers of visible minority immigrants in Toronto is a global phenomenon that is occurring in many other big cities in the West. This is the direct result of a change in the source countries of immigrants. For example, in Canada, Statistics Canada estimates indicate that about three-quarters or 73 per cent of immigrants
who came to Canada in the 1990s were members of visible minority groups (Statistics Canada 2003).

In Ontario, the visible minority and non-visible minority mix of immigrants has changed significantly in favour of visible minorities. As shown in Table 6.1, before 1961, 92.7 per cent of immigrants to Ontario identified Europe as their place of birth but between 1991 and 2001, this number was reduced to 20.2 per cent. During the same period, the share of immigrants from Asia rose from 2.3 per cent to 58.1 per cent and that of Africans increased from 0.4 per cent to 6.8 per cent. This clearly suggests a shift away from traditional European sources of immigrants to non-European sources such as Asia and to a lesser extent Africa. This shift is what is driving the demographic mix of Toronto where a majority of immigrants settle. Many immigrants settle in big cities elsewhere in the world as well.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Birth, Immigrants to Ontario, 2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In general, migration and subsequent integration of migrants often entails adjustments which are a direct result of the nature of the migration process, the density
and strength of ties of the immigrants with their home countries and cultures and the immigration policies and practices of the receiving country (Tonah 2007; Mazzucato 2005). Migration facilitates transnational flows of people leading to improved global communications, and a freer flow of ideas, investments and money across countries. Invariably, it transforms both migrant-sending and migrant-receiving countries and this transformation can tamper with the integration of immigrants in their adopted country. Castles (2000) argues that current migration trends are so closely linked to the processes of globalization that increasingly it is becoming difficult for governments to control the flow of migrants into their countries, the settlement processes of these immigrants and their eventual socio-cultural integration. Through the creation of transnational communities in their country of residence, immigrants have become active players in the globalization process, establishing dense networks between their places of origin and their places of settlement (Boswell and Crisp 2004).

As documented by many studies in the transnational literature, increasingly the social lives and economic activities of many immigrant communities in the West are taking place across borders because of advances in technology. Consequently, these transnational communities of immigrants are redefining notions of Diaspora and homeland, a fact that is impacting on their integration in the host countries (Tonah 2007; Mazzucato 2005; Manuh 2001; Wong 2000; Owusu 2000). Many immigrants are maintaining active connections to the economic, social and political spheres of their country of origin (Portes 1997, 2003; Portes et.al. 2003; Castles 2002) and some lead dual lives, frequently maintaining homes in two countries (Portes 2003, 1997; Owusu 2003).
In a paper presented at the Compas Annual Conference in July 2007 in Oxford on the relationship between transnationalism and integration, Engbersen (2007) pulled together findings of a survey of six immigrant groups, a survey of first and second generation ethnic entrepreneurs and semi-structured interviews with migrants and concluded that there existed a strong relationship between transnational activities and identifications, socio-economic position and legal status of immigrants. Engbersen uses the concept of “transnational capital” (a specific combination of economic, cultural, social and legal capital) to show different levels of transnational capital and to explain the differences in transnational practices among immigrant groups. According to Engbersen, transnational capital was more crucial for economic survival of first generation than second generation immigrants.

The key objective of this thesis is to investigate the labour market experience of Ghanaian and Somali youth that reside in the Toronto CMA and their perceptions regarding barriers to their labour market as well as their perceptions about labour market discrimination due to race and ethnicity. Ornstein’s report on ethno-racial groups in Toronto found the Somali community to have better labour market outcomes and lower poverty levels among its households compared to the Ghanaian community.

This finding contradicts what the literature tells us. For example, a recent British study found the principal factors that influence migrants’ labour market outcomes include education – which generally has a positive effect on employment and participation for migrants; where qualifications are obtained- the closer they are to the British system of education the better the employment prospects; English language fluency – migrants from ethnic minority groups who are fluent in English have a higher probability of
employment estimated at about 20 per cent and a potential to have higher wage levels; and years since immigration – recent immigrants usually have a lower probability of participation and/or employment which gradually improves the longer they stay in the UK. This suggests a degree of socio-economic integration over time (The UK Home Office, 2002).

As well, studies have also shown that the differences in assimilation rates can be accounted for by race, language of origin, and the religion of immigrants (Warner and Srole 1945). Furthermore, as discussed by Siegel (2007), differences in characteristics of immigrant groups, particularly educational attainment, language ability, work force participation and migration history, can result in different integration patterns among immigrant groups (Siegel 2007).

Ghana is an English-speaking country and many Ghanaians speak English when they arrive in Toronto. Somalis, on the other hand, are not from an English-speaking country and many of them require language training upon arrival. Additionally, the Ghanaian community in Toronto is older than the Somali community. There is some consensus in the literature that factors such as the ability to speak one of Canada’s official languages (English and French) and length of stay in Canada contribute to superior labour market outcomes for immigrants. This is, however, not the case when the Ghanaian and Somali communities’ labour market outcomes and poverty levels are compared. This suggests an unexpected integration differences between the two communities.

A recent study by Chiswick (2007) attributes differences in assimilation among immigrant groups to differences in their consumption patterns. According to Chiswick,
consumption patterns are often specific to each group and not shared by other members of the larger society. These differences may involve consumption of goods such as food and clothing items, religion, music, or ethnic newspapers, radio, and TV stations. As well, it is also argued by segmented assimilation theorists that the assimilation of new immigrant groups are not similar and therefore take divergent assimilation paths (Portes and Zhou 1993). On the strength of these two hypotheses, it can be argued that the Ghanaian and Somali communities in Toronto have their own unique patterns and trajectories of integration and these trajectories are influenced by the goods they consume and the transnational capital they can access.

Many factors may lie behind the superior labour market outcomes and lower poverty levels of the Somalis in Toronto compared to those of their Ghanaian counterparts as observed by Ornstein. However, it is my contention that a large part of the explanation of the puzzle may be found in the migration and transnational literature. I argue that the difference in labour market outcomes between the two communities may be due largely to the differences in the degree and density of transnationalism in the two communities, things that play a role in the integration transition in the two communities.

The transnational literature has challenged the classical assimilation model of immigrant integration in host countries. Cornell and Hartmann (1998) assert that the assimilation model was constructed to analyze the incorporation of early 20th century European immigrants into the U.S. However, the model fails to represent the experiences of recent non-European immigrants (Castles and Miller 1998; Schuck and Munz 1998)

According to transnational theories, when migrants enter a new country they often maintain their pre-existing social, economic, and political ties to their home country. The
strength of these ties may affect settlement of the immigrants. Examining the experiences of the Ghanaian and Somali communities in Toronto from a transnational perspective can help explain the “reverse” labour market outcomes differences between the two communities. Highlighting important intra-group differences between the Ghanaians and Somalis can reveal how diverse their transnational ties are, and how these ties affect their labour access.

It is not unusual to find studies in the literature that discount the significance that the length of stay has in an immigrant receiving country with regard to its effect on labour market outcomes of immigrants. For example, in a study of black males in the US, Nii-Amoo Dodoo (1997), found male African immigrants, even though were the most recent to arrive in the US, earned more than their Caribbean counterparts, who in turn earned more than the African-Americans. Even when favourable characteristics of the Africans in the sample such as their education are controlled for, their earnings are at par with African-Americans but slightly below the Caribbean immigrants.

This chapter explores relevant issues in the migration literature, and Canadian immigration policies and practices that will help us understand the adjustments and integration of recent immigrants in Canada, particularly among Ghanaian and Somali immigrants that reside in Toronto. As well, as discussed in chapter one, this chapter will further elaborate how the backgrounds and current situations of Ghanaian and Somali communities in Toronto and the level of transnationalism in these communities influence their labour market outcomes, particularly those affecting youth.

The chapter is divided into twelve sections. The first section provides an introduction to the chapter. Section two discusses issues in international migration that
impact the integration process of immigrants. Essentially, the section reviews trends in
global migration and issues in these trends that affect immigrant integration. The third
section examines issues in Canadian immigration practices and policies that impact on
immigrant integration in the country, particularly in Ontario and Toronto. The fourth
section explores the socioeconomic performances of recent immigrants in Canada and
Toronto. Section five discusses the economic performance of recent immigrants in
Canada. Section six provides an overview of Ghanaians and Somalis in Toronto. In
sections seven, eight, nine and ten, the background and level of transnationalism in the
two communities are discussed. Section eleven highlights the differences and similarities
between the two communities. The final section summarizes discussions in the chapter.

6.2 Trends in Global Migration and Immigrant Integration.

The United Nations (UN) estimates that as of 2005, there were 191 million
international migrants (stock) in the world. The United Nations Educational Scientific
and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defines the term migrant as "any person who lives
temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born, and has acquired
some significant social ties to this country."8 The 2005 UN migrant estimates translate to
one out of every 34 persons in the world being an immigrant.

According to the UN, between 1960 and 2005, the number of global immigrants
rose from 75 million to 191 million, constituting a 153 per cent increase in global
migrants. As a percentage, this increase in migration exceeded the world’s population

8 http://portal.unesco.org/shs/en/ev.php-
URL_ID=3020&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html
increase, which rose from 3 billion to 6.5 billion, an increase of 114 per cent\(^9\) during the same period. This suggests the growing importance of migration as a force of globalization and economic change. For many developed countries such as Canada, international migration has become not only an essential source of labour supply, but also a complementary building block for replenishing their populations (Government of Ontario 2005; Statistics Canada 2003).

People migrate for many different reasons. The reasons can be economic, social, political or environmental. Some people choose to migrate while others are forced to migrate. Often those forced to migrate become refugees. It is estimated that among global immigrants during the period 1960 to 2005, the refugee component of the group grew faster than any other group of immigrants. It increased from 2 million in 1960 to 13 million in 2005. Currently, refugees are estimated to account for 7.1 per cent of the stock of global immigrants, a 4.4 per cent increase from 1960 levels\(^10\). While a majority of refugees find asylum in countries in Africa and Asia,\(^{11}\) a considerable number of them migrate to Europe and North America. These immigrants often face numerous unique adjustment challenges in the new society that other categories of immigrants do not face. Consequently, these challenges impact on their integration trajectories. A majority of the members of the Ghanaian and Somali communities in the Toronto CMA came into the country under the refugee category of immigrants, although the category has been estimated to be bigger among the Somalis than the Ghanaians (Opoku-Dapaah, 1995; 1993b).

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Another dimension of international migration is that it is increasingly concentrated in the developed world and in only a small number of developing countries. The fastest increase in immigrant population among regions of the world is in Europe where numbers of immigrants rose sharply from 14 million in 1960 to 64 million in 2005. As of 2005, the share of immigrants in Europe’s population stood at 8.8 per cent, a big increase from the 1960 level of 3.4 per cent. This is in part due to the European Union and also the creation of new states in Europe as a result of the break-up of the Soviet Union and other former Eastern bloc countries.

North America also experienced a big increase in its stock of immigrants, from 13 million in 1960 to 44 million in 2005. With respect to the U.S. it had the single largest increase in stock of global migrants. It is estimated that between 1960 and 2005, the U.S. stock of immigrants rose from less than 10 million in 1960 to 38 million in 2005 which constituted 20.1 per cent of the world’s immigrant stock that year. During that same period, Canada experienced more than a 10 per cent increase, thus raising Canada’s share of the Global migrant stock to 3.1 per cent.

According to the 2006 Census, nearly 20 percent of Canada's population, or 6,186,950 people, are foreign-born. This implies that one in five Canadians are now foreign-born, the highest proportion since 1931, when foreign-born people made up 22.2% of the population. The proportion of the total population that is foreign-born is higher in Canada than in the US. A recent study by Passel and Cohn (2008) of the PEW Centre indicate that as of 2005, one in eight Americans or 12 per cent of the American

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population was foreign-born. This is forecast to rise to nearly one in five Americans or 19 per cent by 2050.

Canada categorizes its immigrants in three classes: economic class, family class and refugees. In terms of classes of immigrants entering Canada in 2005, an estimated 60 per cent of immigrants or 156,310 that came to the country were in the economic class – 61,614 principal applicants and 94,696 spouses and dependants while refugees accounted for 14 per cent of immigrants in 2005 with a total of 35,768 people. The family class, made up of spouses and partners, parents and grandparents and other dependants including children, accounted for 24 per cent of Canada’s immigrants in 2005.\(^{13}\)

The large influx of immigrants to North America, particularly recent non-European immigrants, has engendered some negative public sentiment towards them. This has implications for the socio-economic integration of these immigrants. Some studies indicate that Canadians' views of immigrants reflect a hierarchy of preferences based on race or country of origin (Filson, 1983; Li, 1979; Richmond, 1974; Pineo, 1977; Driedger and Peters, 1977).

An examination of the links between international migration and integration of immigrants in host countries is critical to understanding the plight of immigrants in their host countries. The transnational migration literature has discussed extensively the relationship between transnationalism and immigrant integration in the host country (Tonah 2007; Mazzucato 2005). Transnational perspectives view migrants and refugees as engaged in a variety of economic, political, social and religious transnational practices.

\(^{13}\) http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/monitor/issue13/05-overview.html
that directly impact their integration in the host country and also affect development in their country of origin (Levitt and Sorenson 2004).

6.3 Canadian Immigration Policies and Recent Immigrants

Canada’s immigration policies and practices are informed by environments inside and outside the country. Externally, the international migration environment has changed as there is increasing international competition among developed countries for immigrants with skills to fill both permanent and short-term employment. As well, recent security concerns in the post-9/11 period have also affected the way people are admitted to the Western developed nations. There is increased border security and more careful monitoring of inflow of personnel\(^\text{14}\).

According to Green and Green (1999), historically Canada’s immigration policies were initially designed to adjust the inflow of immigrants to correspond to short-term economic conditions of the country to enable the country’s labour market to absorb the immigrants. However, since the late 1980s, this approach has been abandoned and the federal government has set immigration levels independently of short-run economic conditions. For example, in the early 1990s when the country faced high unemployment rates and slow growth, Canada continued to admit immigrants in the range of 200,000 or more a year.

This new approach to immigrant selection has brought with it a set of new immigrant adjustment and integration problems that were not experienced by earlier

\(^{14}\text{Biometrics: Implications and Applications for Citizenship and Immigration}}
immigrants to the country. In particular, the rate and success of labour market integration of immigrants has been declining; recent immigrants are experiencing falling wages and employment rates when compared to immigrants in earlier arrival cohorts (Bloom and Gunderson 1991). This is resulting in higher poverty rates among recent immigrant households compared to their pre-1980s counterparts.

Several major issues affect the integration of recent immigration in the country. While immigration levels are now independent of short-term labour market conditions, their focus is still based on human capital. Immigrant selection uses a point system based on educational level and language fluency to determine admissibility of an immigrant. Under this system, Canada admits immigrants that are professionally trained in certain selected fields. Despite being admitted on the basis of their training, upon arrival in the country, immigrants find their qualifications often not recognized by their respective professional regulating bodies (Alboim and McIsaac 2007). Consequently, they are unable to market themselves in the labour market using their skills.

A second major issue that affects immigrant integration in the country is the problem of language. Under Canada’s immigration laws, immigrants are expected to show that they can speak, read and write English and/or French at a functional level. However, implementing the language requirement has been difficult particularly with the refugee class, family class and sections of the economic class. These immigrants are unable to work well in English or French and therefore often turn to doing unskilled jobs. Even though they are able to find unskilled jobs, the lack of language skills creates problems for these immigrants far beyond the workplace. These barriers are bigger obstacles to recent Somali immigrants than they are for Ghanaians and therefore make
the poverty difference between Ghanaian and Somalis observed by Ornstein puzzling and strange. But as argued earlier on, the differences may be due to the level of transnational ties these communities have with their country of origin. The stronger the ties, the more likely the community will integrate at a much slower pace.

Migrants often bring to the receiving countries many customs, practices and behaviour patterns from the home country recreating smaller branches of the original culture in host countries. These tend to threaten native-born citizens and can elicit resentment among the citizenry thus compounding the integration process. The resentment has the potential to lead to the marginalization of these immigrants and their communities and relegate them to the informal economy with its high unemployment, low incomes, and unskilled jobs. For example, Filson (1983) cites the results of Canadian respondents in a 1977 national survey which indicated that, in terms of perception about the numbers of immigrants admitted to Canada, the greatest hostility was towards immigrants from Indian and Pakistan, followed by those from the West Indies compared to the mild or non-existent hostility towards British and American immigrants.

Reitz and Banerjee (2007) also examined the findings from Statistics Canada’s 2002 Ethnic Diversity Study and found, among other things, that perception of racial prejudice and discrimination among the children of visible minority immigrants was higher than that experienced by children of their European born counterparts. Reitz and Banerjee estimated the percentage of those born in Canada who reported experiences of discrimination to vary between 34 percent for Chinese, 43.4 percent for South Asians, and 60.9 percent for Blacks, compared with 10.9 percent for the children of immigrants of European origin.
More recently in Quebec, there has been a bid to temper protracted public debate about immigrant integration. Quebec Premier Jean Charest announced in the early part of 2007 a new commission headed by philosopher Charles Taylor and sociologist Gérard Bouchard that would hold public hearings on cultural differences and immigrant integration. The hearings were fuelled by a series of events including a blunt immigrant code of conduct in Hérouxville, and later a ruling against Muslim girls playing soccer while wearing headscarves\textsuperscript{15}.

Negative public perceptions about immigrants in their host countries can lead to the minimization of the important contributions that immigrants make to development and the quality of life in both their host societies and their country of origin. Immigrants contribute to the economic development of their host country in many ways. They can fill skill shortages, invest in the economy of the country; and they foster international trade through knowledge of overseas markets, business networks, cultural practices and languages other than English\textsuperscript{16}. Currently, international migrants have become an important source of population growth in Canada (Government of Ontario 2005; Statistics Canada 2003).

6.4 Recent Immigrants in Ontario

The rapid growth of Canadian immigration during the past three decades and the shift away from traditional sources of immigrants coming into the country has shaped both Ontario’s population and its labour force. The population is becoming more ethnically diverse and there is a growing reliance on immigration as a source of

\textsuperscript{15} http://www.cbc.ca/canada/montreal/story/2007/09/10/qc-taylorbouchard0910.html\#skip300x250
\textsuperscript{16} http://www.region.peel.on.ca/social-services/immigrsn-stat.htm
population growth and skills and labour force growth. As Ontario’s population continues to age and its fertility rates remain low, immigrants that are now largely dominated by visible minorities are accounting for a higher proportion of the province’s population and labour growth. Forecasts by the provincial government indicate that immigrants may become the only source of labour force growth in the province by the next decade (Ontario Provincial Government, 2005).

Ontario has the highest proportion of people born outside the country. About one million members of Ontario’s foreign-born population are recent immigrants, having arrived in the past 10 years, between 1991 and 2001 (Statistics Canada 2003).

As shown in Table 4.1, immigrants to Ontario are increasingly from Asia. The 2001 Census estimated immigrants from Asia to be about 58 per cent of all immigrants to Ontario in the 1990s, versus 45 per cent in the 1980s. Before 1961, just 2.3 per cent of immigrants who came to Ontario were Asian-born. In comparison, European immigrants accounted for the vast majority (92.7 per cent) of the immigrants who came to Ontario before 1961. Since then, the proportion of European immigrants has declined steadily, falling to 20 per cent in the 1990s (Statistics Canada Censuses).

Of the one million immigrants to Ontario who arrived between 1991 and 2001, 14.6 per cent came from the Americas, up from 4.4 per cent before 1961. In the 1990s, more than 80 per cent of those from the Americas came from Central America, the Caribbean or South America. Immigration from Africa has also increased significantly in recent decades. People born in Africa made up 6.8 per cent of immigrants to Ontario in the 1990s, up from 0.4 per cent of immigrants who arrived prior to 1961.
From Table 6.2, it is evident that similar to other recent immigrant groups coming to Canada, large numbers of African-born immigrants are settling in Toronto. Among the African-born recent immigrants, Toronto appeals to the Ghanaian-born more than any of the African groups. In 1996, 70 per cent of Ghanaian-born immigrants entering Canada settled; by 2001, this had risen to 72 per cent. The percentage of Somalis, Ethiopians and Egyptians settling in Toronto declined between 1996 and 2001. In 1996, 53 per cent of Somali immigrants settled in Toronto. In 2001, this fell to 50 per cent.

### Table 6.2
**Recent African immigrants to Canada by Country of Birth and % living in Toronto (Top Four Countries)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Recent Immigrants to Canada – Country of Birth and Share living in Toronto CMA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>11,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>16,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>13,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>15,100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada: Recent Immigrants in Metropolitan Areas (1996 and 2001 Census)

Table 6.3 above shows Ontario’s immigrants in 2001 by immigrant class. As is evident from the table, about one-quarter of the immigrants were selected on the basis of their skills. An estimated 60 per cent of the recent immigrants coming to Ontario recorded in the 2001 Census were “skilled worker” principal applicants, their spouses and dependents. About 25 per cent or 36,533 of all immigrants were principal applicants in the “skilled worker” category, selected on the basis of a point system concerning their labour market skills and attributes. In 2001, skilled workers required at least 70 of a
possible 110 points. About 1 per cent of all immigrants to Ontario were principal applicants in the “business immigrant” category. The business class is composed of entrepreneurs, investors and self-employed who required a minimum of 25 points to be eligible for permanent resident status in 2001.

In addition to the one-quarter of all immigrants to Ontario who came on the basis of their skills, a significant percentage of the immigrants in the other admission categories intended to enter the labour force, many in skilled positions. For example, of those aged 15 and over, about 49 per cent of the “family class” and 78 per cent of “refugees” stated that they intended to enter the labour force as employees or self-employed. Summing up across all categories, including the 36,553 in the skilled worker principal applicant category, about 76,000 or 66 per cent of all immigrants stated their intention to work.

Table 6.3  Ontario’s Immigrants in 2001 by Immigrant Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>SUB CLASS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS</th>
<th>PER CENT DISTRIBUTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALL IMMIGRANT CLASS</td>
<td></td>
<td>94,112</td>
<td></td>
<td>63.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Skilled Workers</td>
<td></td>
<td>88,990</td>
<td></td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal Applicants*</td>
<td></td>
<td>36,553</td>
<td></td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouses &amp; Dependents</td>
<td></td>
<td>52,437</td>
<td></td>
<td>35.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Business Immigrants (includes entrepreneurs, investors &amp; self-employed)</td>
<td></td>
<td>5,122</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal Applicants**</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,368</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouses &amp; Dependents</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,754</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAMILY CLASS</td>
<td></td>
<td>40,983</td>
<td></td>
<td>27.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFUGEES</td>
<td></td>
<td>12,139</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER (includes live-in caretakers, retired)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,010</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>148,244</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Citizenship & Immigration Canada; compiled by Ontario Ministry of Citizenship
Notes: *Selected on point system ** Selected partially on point system
6.5 Economic Performance of Recent Immigrants

The Labour Force Survey (LFS) of Statistics Canada has introduced new variables to capture experiences of immigrants in the labour market. The first data containing these variables has been released for 2006. The data indicate that in general immigrants who landed in Canada prior to 1996 have labour market outcomes comparable to the Canadian-born. Very recent (those landed five years or less) and recent immigrants to Canada (those who landed after 1996) have more difficulty in the labour market compared to established immigrants and the Canadian-born (Zietsma 2007).

Working with the same LFS database, Zietsma (2007) found that in 2006, the unemployment rates for established immigrant youths (aged 15 to 24) and that of Canadian-born youths were not significantly different (12.8 per cent vs. 11.2 per cent). However, the unemployment rate for very recently-landed youths was 17.2 percent in 2006, well above the unemployment rate for Canadian-born youths at 11.2 per cent.

In general, immigrants settling in Ontario with higher educational qualifications at landing have a greater propensity to have higher employment earnings than those with lower educational qualifications. As well, average employment income increases with greater educational attainment at time of landing. It is estimated that for each level of educational attainment, the earlier the period of immigration, the higher the average employment income. For example, immigrants who landed with master’s degrees/doctorates in the 1980-84 period made 3.4 times more than those who immigrated in the same time period with only 0-9 years of schooling. In contrast, for
recent immigrants from 1995-1997, those with masters/doctorates made only about 1.5
times more than those with only 0-9 years of schooling\textsuperscript{17}.

The propensity to receive social assistance decreases with greater educational
attainment at time of landing. Of the total 1980-1997 immigrants, those arriving with 0-9
years of schooling were 3.4 times more likely than those with masters or doctorates to be
receiving social assistance in 1998. This trend is particularly evident for earlier
immigrants. Among those arriving between 1980-1984, those with 0-9 years schooling
were 7.5 times more likely than immigrants with higher degrees to receive social
assistance payments. For the most recent immigrant group, those with 0-9 years of
schooling are only 1.9 times more likely. Among those with higher levels of education,
the more recent the immigration period, the higher the incidence of social assistance
required.

6.6 Overview of Ghanaian and Somali Communities in Toronto

The two study populations of this thesis are the Ghanaian and Somali youth that
reside in the Greater Toronto area. Toronto is located on the north shore of Lake Ontario
and it is both the capital of Ontario and the largest metropolitan city in Canada. Ontario is
the most populous province in Canada and by far the largest receiver of immigrants. The
Toronto CMA is reported as having two million immigrants, two-thirds of the Ontario
total immigrant population. Over 100 languages are spoken in Toronto, and one third of
Toronto residents speak at home a language other than English. An estimated 50 per cent

\textsuperscript{17} Statistics Canada and Citizenship and Immigration Canada: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to
of the city’s population is foreign-born (Statistics Canada, 2003). Toronto is therefore made up of many ethno-racial groups.

Ghanaians are from a country called Ghana, located in West Africa. It is a former British colony and a member of the Commonwealth and its lingua franca is English. Ghanaians are predominantly Christian. This is reflected in the Ghanaian community in Toronto, which is largely Christian with a small number of Muslims. Churches therefore play important roles in the Ghanaian community. In the 2000 Ghanaian Businesses Directory, which compiled a database of Ghanaian businesses and Ghanaian community groups, 18 churches are listed. It is commonplace to find Ghanaians with first Western names such as John, Peter, James etc., because of their Christian religion. In its colonial history and background, Ghana has a lot in common with Canada.

Somalis are from Somalia, a country situated in East Africa that forms the cap of the Horn of Africa. It is bordered by Kenya in the south, Ethiopia in the west. Djibouti borders it in the northwest, the Gulf of Aden in the north, and the Indian Ocean in the east. Somalia covers a landmass of about 638,000 square kilometres (Putman and Noor 1993; Scott 2003). Somalia was created in 1960 through the merger of the British Somaliland Protectorate and Italian Somaliland.

In order to explore the conditions of the Ghanaian and Somali immigrants today, it is necessary to examine the historical framework on which the two communities are based. Both communities belong to the larger community in Toronto often referred to as the African-Canadian community, a term commonly used among the ethno-racial groups in Toronto to refer to persons who migrated from the African continent and persons of African descent living in Canada. The Canadian Encyclopaedia traces African migration
to Canada back to the 1940s. According to the publication, from 1946 to 1950 Africans comprised 0.3% of new immigrants to Canada; this figure rose to an average of a little over 1% over the next 20 years. However, with the 1966 White Paper on Immigration that led to the introduction of the points system, a less discriminatory screening process, the proportion of African immigrants rose to an average of approximately 2% from 1968 to 1970.\(^\text{18}\)

Mwarigha (1991) traces the first group of African immigrants to Toronto to the 1970s. According to Mwarigha, they were highly educated and most of them came to Canada to further their education in disciplines such as medicine, engineering and business. However, this group of African migrants was few in number. In 1972-73, following the expulsion of Ugandan Asians by Iddi Amin, Canada accepted 7000 of the Ugandan Asians and this raised the proportion of African immigrants to 6.8% of total Canadian immigrants.\(^\text{19}\)

Significant African immigration to Canada began only during the 1980s and 1990s (Opoku-Dapaah, 1993c, 1995; Scott, 2001). The major sources of African immigrants during the 1980s and 1990s were South Africa, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Kenya, Ghana, Somalia, Uganda and Nigeria (Mwarigha, 1991; Opoku-Dapaah, 1993a). Some came as part of the African ‘brain drain’ to the West, in search of better opportunities. Others were refugees fleeing war, political instability and economic malaise in their home countries. (Ainsah-Mensah 1996). According to the 1981 census, there were 45,215 persons of African origin in Canada, comprising a mere 0.19% of the total population. By contrast, the 1996 census indicates a marked increase to an estimated 223,545 persons, or

\(^{18}\) http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0000055
\(^{19}\) http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0000055
0.78% of the Canadian population. This rise in the number of Africans reflected the political instability, factional wars and violence that occurred in many parts of the African continent during that period.

The Toronto CMA has the largest population of Ghanaians and Somalis in Canada (Ornstein 2000). Statistics Canada estimated in its 2001 Census data that 72 per cent of Ghanaians and 53 per cent of Somalis in Canada lived in the Toronto CMA (Statistics Canada 2005). The majority of the Ghanaians migrated to Canada in the 1980s (Opoku-Dapaah 1993b; Ainsah-Mensah 1996; Donkor, 2000; Akosa-Sarpong 2004). Somalis, on the other hand, began leaving their country in great numbers in the 1990s following the political turmoil that confronted Somalia under Siad Barre (Putnam and Noor, 1993) and most of them arrived in Canada during that period (Scott, 2001). Both Somalis and Ghanaians in Canada have practices and belief systems that make them different from mainstream Canadian society (Opoku-Dapaah, 1993c, 1995; Scott, 2001).

Ornstein presents a detailed demographic and socio-economic profile and trends among ethno-racial groups in Toronto CMA using Census data covering the period 1971 – 2001. According to Ornstein’s analysis, in 1971 non-European immigrants accounted for 5 per cent of the 2.6 million people living in Toronto CMA. In 2001, they accounted for nearly 40 per cent of the 4.6 million living in the area. Among the ethno-racial groups in Toronto, Ornstein found the African ethno-racial groups to be the youngest with 40 per cent of its population under 18 with less than 3 per cent of its population over 65. The oldest ethno-racial groups in the city are those of European background. Ornstein also found that more than one-quarter of African and Caribbean ethno-racial group
members live in female-headed single parent households. This in large part explains the high levels of poverty among members of these communities.

The Ghanaian and Somali communities are part of the African, Black and Caribbean group of immigrants. This group as a whole is facing high unemployment in the city. According to Ornstein (2000), the unemployment rate of African, Black and Caribbean category in Toronto is 19.0 per cent-- double the overall rate for the city. Ghanaians, Ethiopians, and Somalis are the communities that are faring badly in the group with unemployment rates of 46.8 per cent, 24.4 per cent and 23.6 per cent, respectively in 1996. The poor socio-economic status of Ghanaians and Somalis in Toronto is in large part linked to their migration process and experience, their residential geographies and the strength of their transnational ties.

6.7 Background of the Ghanaian Community in Toronto

Three major waves of migration from Ghana to Europe and North America are documented in the literature (Toner 2007; Bump 2006). Toner (2007) categorizes these waves as generations, the first of which occurred in the 1970s. According to Toner, the first generation of migrants from Ghana was mostly made up of government-sponsored students who came to study and stayed, and a few professionals, who gained entry because of their skills and education. The second group of migrants left the country between the late 1970s and the mid-80s when the country experienced a period of severe economic decline (Toner 2007; Bump 2006). This group mainly consisted of blue-collar workers but had a few highly trained professionals. The third generation of migration, which is the largest in terms of numbers, occurred in the mid 1980s to early 1990s. This group was dominated by large numbers of unskilled and uneducated Ghanaians.
According to Akosah-Sarpong (2003), the relaxed screening that resulted from the 1966 White Paper on Immigration raised the percentage of Africans arriving in the country from a very insignificant number to an average of 2 percent of immigrants admitted in the country from 1968 to 1970. This included a sizeable number of Ghanaians. The White Paper introduced immigrant selection based on a point system that was intended to reduce the subjectivity that characterized the earlier method of selecting independent immigrants. While the point system was an improvement in the process, immigration bureaucrats still wielded a lot of discretionary powers in the process. In the points system, immigration officers assign points up to a fixed maximum in each of several categories such as education, employment opportunities in Canada, age, the individual’s personal characteristics, and degree of fluency in English or French. Despite its many flaws, it nevertheless increased the number of African immigrants accepted into the country.

The immigration of Ghanaians to Canada is a relatively recent phenomenon. It is estimated that between 1973 and 1976 about 220 Ghanaians entered Canada annually. This dropped to below 200 for the next nine years and hit a low of 85 in 1982 (Donkor, 2000). Donkor attributes the decline in the inflow of Ghanaian immigrants in the early 1980s to the policies of the Conservative Party. While some Conservative Party policies may have contributed to that decline, the dramatic drop in the number of Ghanaians entering the country in 1982, may have had more to do with the Coup d’état in Ghana by Flight Lt. Jerry John Rawlings which temporarily closed the borders of the country and later required departing citizens to obtain “exit permits.”
After the 1982 lull in the number of Ghanaians entering the country, which attributed in the preceding paragraph to emanating from political developments in Ghana, numbers rose again in the mid 1980s and the trend increased well into the late 1990s as a result of a large influx of Ghanaian refugees to Canada and a large number of sponsored immigrants from Ghana (Donkor, 2000). The refugees were largely unskilled workers and a reasonable number of educated classes who had clashed with the emergent social and political system under the regime of Flight Lt. Rawlings (Akosah-Sarpong, 2004).

Ghanaians have a very complex historical migration pattern. It is estimated that about two million people left Ghana between 1974 and 1981 and the primary destinations for most of these migrants were Nigeria and Côte d'Ivoire. A large number of these immigrants were unskilled or semiskilled and found work in construction, truck driving, food distribution, and ports. They were complemented by a significant number of skilled professionals working as doctors, engineers, surveyors, pharmacists, teachers, and nurses (Bump, 2006). In the later 1970s and the early 1980s, Nigeria's boom turned to bust and many Ghanaians were expelled from the country. Some made their way to Europe and North America.

To summarize, the migration of Ghanaians to Toronto is the result of a combination of factors. First, there is the group that came to study and stayed. Second, there are those professionals who migrated to Toronto as independent immigrants. Then there are those who left the country because of political turmoil, harsh economic conditions, scarcities of goods and foodstuffs in the markets, high inflation, and job layoffs that made life in Ghana difficult. The biggest wave of Ghanaian migration happened in the 1980s when many people fled Ghana because of fears of politically motivated
executions, disappearances, imprisonment without trial, confiscation of property, and public floggings. It is estimated that between 1982- just after the December 31, 1981 coup in Ghana- and 1991, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) registered 97,536 asylum applications from Ghana making the country among the top refugee producing countries at that time (Bump 2006).

6.8 Transnationalism and the Ghanaian Community in Toronto

There is evidence that the Ghanaian diaspora lives a very transitory life. According to Peil (1995), a majority of Ghanaian migrants do not intend to migrate permanently and few seek citizenship in their country of residence even after living in these countries for a considerable amount of time. While this may be true of Ghanaians in Europe, Akyeampong (2000) argues that many Ghanaian professionals in the West have acquired permanent residency or citizenship. Even in North America, where many Ghanaians are acquiring citizenship, there is evidence of a transition mentality among many of them. For example, as observed by Owusu (2003), the high homeownership in Ghana by the diaspora is indicative of their intention to return.

Higazi (2005) discussing remittances of Ghanaian migrants noted the frequency of trips that Ghanaian migrants make back to Ghana and concluded that they are highly mobile between Ghana and their country of residence. This mobility and high remittances to Ghana is also common among Ghanaians in Canada (see Owusu 2003) and may suggest their strong maintenance of contact with the home country. But, this may also suggest that Ghanaian migrants have some discretionary income that is often not captured in official statistics and the poverty level among this community in Toronto or may be
living prudent lifestyles that allows them to save for use in Ghana (see Ornstein 2000 and 2006) may be overstated.

As well, as a member of the Ghanaian community in Toronto, there are many cases known personally to me of deceased Ghanaians’ remains being repatriated to Ghana for burial. In many ways, the daily lives of Ghanaians in Canada occur in three spaces: a Ghanaian space, a Canadian space and a space in between Ghana and Canada. This makes the Ghanaian community in Toronto a very transitory one.

Owusu (2003), Manuh (2001), and Wong (2000) have explored the types and strengths of transnational ties between Ghanaian immigrants in Toronto and Ghana. These studies have found substantial and varied ties that Ghanaians maintain with Ghana including frequent communication by telephone and email, remittances of money, repeat migration, supporting development and cultural activities (Owusu 2003; Manuh 2001; Wong 2000), and investments, especially in home ownership and small businesses (Higazi 2005; Addison 2004, Owusu 2003).

There are also very strong ties to political activities in Ghana with the three major political parties in Ghana having branches in Toronto. Prior to being elected into power in Ghana, the current governing political party held several fundraising activities in Toronto. These ties provide organizational structure through which the immigrants seek to address their political needs in Ghana. There is evidence that the adoption of a dual citizenship Act in Ghana in 2002 was in part due to pressure from groups like the Toronto-based “Ghanaian Dual Citizenship Coalition” (Rahemtullah 2006).

The Ghanaian community in Toronto has several organizations that maintain strong links with Ghana. Akyeampong (2000) identifies two main forms of associations
among the Ghanaian diaspora in the U.S. namely churches and ethnic associations.

Similarly, Owusu (2003) found Ghanaian immigrants in Toronto maintaining collective ties with their homeland through a network of ethnic associations and churches. Through these organizations, Ghanaians in Toronto maintain strong networks with their ethnic groups in Ghana providing them with financial support for local economic development.

Many of the churches in Toronto have projects in Ghana including medical clinics, schools and water projects. The Toronto-based church “All Nations Church” has even established a university in Ghana. There are other types of organizations that link with the homeland including local branches of fan clubs of Ghanaian sports organizations. For example, there is an Ashanti Kotoko (a leading soccer club in Ghana) Supporters Fan Club that is actively supporting soccer in Ghana. This Fan Club has also held successful soccer tournaments in Toronto.

To conclude this section, Ghanaian immigrants in Toronto have very strong ties outside Canada. Most of these ties are to Ghana. They travel frequently to Ghana, own homes and small businesses in Ghana and undertake development projects in Ghana. They are also involved with political activities in Ghana and were part of the Ghanaian diaspora movement that lobbied Ghanaian politicians to pass the Dual Citizenship Act in 2002 and the Representation of People's Amendment Act (ROPAL) in 2006 that gave voting rights to Ghanaians abroad.

6.9 **Background of the Somali Community in Toronto**

Ethnically and culturally, Somalia is the most homogeneous country in Africa. With the exception of a few minorities such as people of Bantu descent living in farming
villages in southern Somalia and Arab enclaves in the coastal cities as well as a small number of Europeans, mostly Italians, the majority of the people of Somalia are ethnic Somalis who speak dialects of the same language. As well, Somalis practise the same religion, Islam, and most of them are Sunni Muslims (Putman and Noor 1993; Scott 2003).

Somalis identify themselves along clan lines and this poses a challenge for unifying Somalis. As a people, they tend to give greater allegiance to lineage than to nation. It is however important to point out that while Somalis traditionally identify with their clans, their greater identity as Somalis takes hold in front of strangers, particularly when their community is threatened. Somalis also deeply value the family, which provides them with strength and support in times of need (Putman and Noor 1993; Israelite et al. 1999).

In 1969, General Siad Barre overthrew the elected civilian government in a military coup. Since the fall of the Siad Barre regime in 1991, Somalia has not had a central government due to the civil war and the declaration of independence by those living in the northwest part of the country who proclaimed an independent Republic of Somaliland. With the exception of the Republic of Somaliland, much of the rest of the country has remained fragmented with competing rival clans battling for control. Insecurity is still a big problem in many parts of Somalia and many Somalis in Canada have testified to having experienced violent persecution, mass repression, and torture in the past (Opoku-Dapaah 1993).

Prior to Somalia’s independence in 1960, English and Italian served as the languages of administration and instruction in schools, while Arabic was used for
unofficial transactions or personal correspondence. However, this changed in the 1970s when the Somali script was introduced as a medium of instruction at the primary, intermediate, and secondary levels. The result of the change is that only a few among the post-independent generation can communicate in English (Putman and Noor, 1993). This has implications for the integration of Somali immigrants into Canada as they require language training on arrival in the country before entering the labour market.

Islam is very influential among Somalis and most Somalis have Muslim names. The importance of Islam to Somali immigrants is much evident among Somalis in Toronto as mosques play important and dominant roles in their daily lives. According to Siad (1991), the most important place of gathering for Somali newcomers in Toronto is the Mosque. As well, Somalis are very family-oriented and their social structure is based on a clan-family system traced through patrilineal descent (Israelite et al., 1999).

The 2001 census estimates that 33,725 Somalis were living in Canada and a little over half of them, 17,380, resided in Toronto. The migration of Somalis to Toronto started in the late 1980s and gained momentum in the 1990s when Siad Barre's military rule ended and the civil war erupted. Most Somalis came to Canada as refugees. According to Opoku-Dapaah (1993c), the total number of Somalis who applied for refugee status from within Canada between 1985 and 1991 was 12,957. However, the peak influx of Somali refugees was reached in 1994-95 (Reitsma 2001). Somalia was the source of the second largest number of refugee claimants in Canada in 1991 and 1993.
Transnationalism and the Somali Community in Toronto

Migration has been a long-standing feature in Somali society with its large traditionally nomadic clans movements in the Horn of Africa; however, large scale migration of Somalis, particularly their immigration to Canada, was first prompted by the repressive rule of Siad Barre and later by the civil war dating back to the late 1980s. During this period, Somalis began entering the country as refugees and settling in Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal. However, the Somali community in Canada really started to grow in the early 1990s as insurgent clans in Somalia forced the regime of Siad Barre out of power and replaced it with a hugely destructive civil war (Hamza 2006, Israelite et al. 1999; Putman and Noor 1993).

After the fall of the military government of Siad Barre and the anarchy and civil war that followed, many Somalis fled the country seeking protection in many countries around the world. Most ended up in Tanzania and refugee camps in Kenya and Djibouti but significant numbers were also accepted as refugees in countries in Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand.

Even though many Somalis fled the country because of the civil war, there are others who left Somalia for economic reasons (Perouse de Montclos 2003 et. al). According to the “Somali Canadians Community Today”, an online website sponsored by Heritage Canada, there are millions of Somalis scattered around the world with the great majority living as refugees in neighbouring countries in East Africa and in the Middle East and to a lesser extent Europe and North America. According to the website, the largest Somali population outside of Africa and the Middle East is located in Canada.20

20 http://www.somalicanadians.ca/history/index.html
Clan loyalty permeates the social lives of Somalis. This is evident among Somali immigrants in Canada as clan divisions have persisted and continue to influence community relations. The clan divisions explain the large number of Somali community organizations that have come into being in Canada. For example, clan affiliation in Toronto gave rise to many clan-based Somali community organizations in the city. It took the federal government’s intervention to establish a cross-clan service organization named Midaynta or ‘Unity’ which brought together all state-funded services for Somalis under one umbrella organization.

The anarchy that began in 1991 has yet to abate in Somalia and large parts of the country have experienced great destruction. Security is essentially non-existent. This makes travelling to Somalia very challenging and it appears to be impacting return trips by Somali immigrants. For example, in 2005, Joseph Winter- a BBC journalist- travelled to Somalia and reported there were no regular international flights there except for rickety Russian planes that land on dirt runways well outside the capital. On his flight to Mogadishu, Mr. Winter reported meeting two young Somalis who had grown up in Europe and were returning to see their families and they expressed deep apprehension about travelling to Somalia. As well, Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada recently issued an advisory against all travel to Somalia by Canadians. Currently, there is no resident Canadian government office in Somalia, and the Government of Canada is not capable of providing consular assistance to Canadian citizens in distress in Somalia.

As noted by Fangen (2004) in a study of Somalis in Norway, there is a general feeling among the Somalis that they cannot move back to live in Somalia until the area

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21 http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/ecp/content/somalis.html
22 http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/low/africa/4076011.stm
becomes safer. This appears to be a widely held perception among the Somali diaspora. Most people consider Somalia to be a failed state. The country has not had a central government since the fall of Siad Barre in 1991 and a recent attempt to install one does not appear to be holding. This, in many ways, suggests that Somalis are living abroad, even if they intend to return Somalia, because they have little choice.

According to a discussion I had with someone in the Somali community involved in money transfers, Somalis in Canada remit monies outside the country mainly to Somalia, other East African countries and to a lesser extent to relatives in the Middle East and Europe. The Somali remittance system known as hawala allows Somalis in Canada to send money to virtually inaccessible areas in Somalia. The Somali hawala firms in Canada and in other places with substantial Somali residents are the only available channels for Somalis to transfer money in the absence of a banking sector in Somalia. Hamza (2006) argues that these transfers are fuelling new globalized wars in Somalia. There is a regular flow of resources from Somalis in Canada to Somalia and to Somalis in refugee camps in Africa and other parts of the world.

Based on the foregoing, it can be argued that transnationalism among the Somalis in the diaspora and for that matter Canada, includes networks and contacts with Somalia and other Somali communities around the world including the refugee camps. Horst (2006) investigates issues underlying the Somali word ‘buufis’ commonly used in the Kenyan Somali refugee camps of Dadaab to refer to a person's dream of resettlement. She found that the hopes and dreams that refugees experience locally in Dadaab are often determined by transnational factors in the form of transnational flows of remittances and information to these refugee camps.
Hamza (2006) links Somali transnationalism to ongoing conflict in Somalia. According to Hamza, some Somalis maintain contact with Somalia using new technologies and improved communication to assert their continued allegiance to their clans, which further causes destabilization of the country, while others have sought to use their contacts to reduce conflicts and break up clan divisions. This suggests that the transnational ties of Somalis in Canada are feeding the ongoing civil war in Somalia.

According to Nwogu (2005), the immigration goals of the Somali Diaspora range from going back home to intentions of settling permanently in their country of residence. Judging by the settlement activities of Somali immigrant services organizations in Toronto, it appears the main thrust of Somali immigration to Canada is more towards permanent settlement than a return to Somalia. These organizations are concerned with not only short-term needs of assisting newcomers to settle by providing services in housing, language training and health but also with long-term needs such as vocational training and defending civil rights and cultural traditions of Somalis.

6.11 Comparing Ghanaian and Somali Communities in Toronto

As discussed in the chapter, a number of factors influence the way immigrants settle in Canada. There are differences in the motivation for their immigration; there are differences in the transitional circumstances of Ghanaian and Somali migrants in Canada; and there are differences in their evolving identities and the amount and level of social capital in their communities. These factors must be taken into consideration to accurately understand how the integration trajectories of the two immigrant groups unfold in
Canada. In this chapter, the similarities and differences between Ghanaian and Somali communities in Toronto in areas identified above were discussed.

There are similarities between the Ghanaian and Somali communities. First, as already discussed, both communities share a common origin – the African continent. Furthermore, the two communities are fairly young in Canada although the Ghanaian community is slightly older having had its migration to Canada peak in the early 1980s compared to the Somali community whose migration numbers only peaked after the fall of the Siad Barre regime in 1991. Additionally, as articulated in the Ornstein report, the two communities are experiencing high levels of unemployment and poverty. Despite these similarities, the integration trajectories of the two communities as evident in their labour market outcomes and poverty levels found by Ornstein are quite different.

This chapter argued that the different labour market outcomes experienced by the two communities may be attributed in large part to their different reasons for immigrating to Canada, their patterns of immigration, the differences in their transnational ties, and the differences in the levels and types of social capital discussed in chapter one that the two communities possess. In many ways, the two communities are very different in the way that their social and community relations are organized. The Somali community relies heavily on its clan system, while the Ghanaians are loosely organised around various types of relationships including tribal, towns/villages, high schools attended and Ghanaian political party affiliations.

Another important difference is that the Ghanaians are English- speaking West Africans and predominantly Christian while the Somalis are East African Muslims whose first language is not English. Consequently, most Ghanaians come to Canada already
speaking English while a majority of Somalis speak little or no English on arrival in
Canada. As argued earlier, this should give the Ghanaians an edge in the labour market
over the Somalis. However, as reported by Ornstein, the Somalis have better labour
market outcomes compared to the Ghanaians. This is not consistent with the argument by
Dustmann (1996) that the earlier migrants come to a country, whether their migration is
temporary or permanent, the larger are the economic benefits that accrue to them. As
argued in this chapter, this anomaly may be due in large part to the differences in the
transnational ties of the two communities.

Both the Ghanaian and Somali communities in Toronto have transnational ties
with their country of origin; however, these ties appear to be stronger among the
Ghanaians than the Somalis. Ample evidence in the literature points to Ghanaians
travelling frequently to Ghana, owning homes and small businesses in Ghana and
undertaking development projects in Ghana (Higazi 2005; Addison 2004, Owusu 2003;
Manuh 2001; Wong 2000). As well, Ghanaians are also involved with political activities
and several organizations that maintain strong links with Ghana (Owusu 2003). The
Somalis also maintain contact with Somalia. However, because of the ongoing civil war,
travelling to Somalia has become very challenging and this appears to be impacting on
return trips of Somali immigrants. This suggests a higher level of transnationalism among
the Ghanaians than that found in the Somali community in Toronto.

The nature of the Ghanaian and Somali migrations to Canada are different. The
migration of Ghanaians to Canada occurred in three waves. The first was made up of
government-sponsored students who came to study and stayed. The second wave was
prompted by the severe economic decline that afflicted the country in the late 1970s and
early 1980s. The third wave occurred in the mid 1980s to early 1990s, essentially prompted by the excesses of the military regime in the country at the time. The Somalis on the other hand fled Somalia because of the civil war. Consequently, the way the two communities migrated to Canada affected and influenced their transnational ties to their country of origin. Because of the nature the migration of the Ghanaians, the community has relied heavily on the family unification facility of immigration to bring the spouses, children and parents to Canada. In a nutshell, Ghanaians have developed very strong transnational ties compared to the Somali community.

6.12 Summary

To summarize, even though both Ghanaians and Somalis in Toronto are from the African continent and as recent immigrant groups have encountered similar structural obstacles to social and economic integration in Canada, their peculiar characteristics set them apart. Their migration patterns and pathways to Canada were different. As well, they have different levels of transnational ties with the home country and different levels of social capital. These differences may impact differently on the way they navigate the social and institutional terrain of Canadian society and ultimately their trajectories of integration. The unique situation occupied by each of these communities may explain the differences in unemployment poverty levels found in the two communities in Ornstein’s reports.
CHAPTER SEVEN

FOCUS GROUPS DISCUSSIONS: LABOUR MARKET VIEWS, OPINIONS AND EXPERIENCES

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses participants’ narratives and their views and opinions expressed at the two focus group sessions held separately with Ghanaian and Somali youth who resided in the Greater Toronto area in 2005. The focus groups form an integral part of the research methods used in the thesis. As stated in the previous chapter, the methodology of the thesis required the use of data from three sources to produce both qualitative and quantitative analyses to answer the research questions of the thesis.

First, data was accessed from Statistics Canada’s Census PUMF and Labour Force Survey and used to generate a labour market activity profile of Toronto youth and also used to assess how the labour market outcomes of the different racialized groups categorized by Statistics Canada in the Census data compare with each other. This was followed by focus groups and survey interviews undertaken with a different set of participants for each of the methods. The focus groups were conducted with eight Ghanaian and nine Somali participants and the survey questionnaire interviews with 15 participants from each of the two communities.

The objective of the chapter is to invite the views and opinions of the focus group participants regarding barriers to their labour market access and the kind of labour market experiences these opinions and views are based on. As well, the chapter also explores the consequences of perceptions of discrimination held by the participants about their communities. The fundamental aim is to discuss the impact these perceptions have on
relationships within and outside the two communities as well as on social problems these communities face.

Following discussions of guidelines and rules for the focus groups, the session started with an exploration of participants’ knowledge of labour market outcomes, job search techniques and labour market terminologies. The objective was to determine the level of preparation that participants needed in order to meaningfully participate in the sessions. This task was accomplished with a few questions on labour market outcomes, job search strategies and some of the terminology likely to arise in the focus group session.

Most of the participants indicated having had previous work experience and the few who had never worked indicated they had in the past participated in some form of career preparation or job search workshops. Virtually all of the participants were conversant with basic labour market outcomes and terminology. Participants had very clear ideas of what constituted labour market outcomes – full-time and part-time employment, employment with benefits and without benefits and unemployment. Some of them were even conversant with less frequently used labour market terms like underemployed and underemployment.

Many of the participants had specific ideas about the kind of jobs they wanted to do but had varied opinions of how these careers goals were going to be achieved. There were a few participants who were unsure of their career goals and how they were going to achieve them. In general terms, all participants recognized the importance of career preparedness, enhanced employability skills and effective job search strategies in making
a successful entry into the labour market. By and large, the participant pool was fairly well informed about the dynamics of the labour markets.

An interesting issue that emerged during the focus group discussions was the revelation among the participants that they were ambivalent about their identities. Almost all of the participants used multiple identities to describe themselves during the sessions. Some of the time they referred to themselves as Canadians, other times as Ghanaian-Canadian or Somali-Canadian; less frequently, a few referred to themselves as Ghanaians or Somalis.

The problem of ambivalent identities among the participants may, in some ways, suggest the existence of weak and uncertain attachments to communities and to Canadian society. However, it can also be argued that the problem may possibly be a phase in the assimilation process that new immigrants pass through. For example, there are studies that have shown that immigrants’ perceptions of their identities are not easy to analyze. According to Shahsiah (2006) the identities of those who are racialized or otherwise ‘othered,’ represent a thoroughly complex and multi-layered experience and are often closely tied to time, geographical location, their own on-going relationships and mood.

Participants talked extensively about their labour market experiences and offered many opinions on the labour market challenges facing the youth in the two communities. Essentially, the discussions highlighted the difficulties that youth face in finding employment. Participants identified many barriers in the labour market including strongly held perceptions about labour market discrimination, noting facts that underscored the high levels of youth unemployment documented for the two communities in the two reports by Ornstein.
The next sections of the chapter discuss in detail the participants’ profiles, their views and opinions expressed at the focus group sessions. Discussions are presented under key themes of the thesis and quotes from participants are included in the discussions. The discussions come under two main themes: Participants’ perceptions of labour market barriers and their experiences that determine these perceptions; and the impact of these perceptions, particularly those related to labour market discrimination on family relationships, schools, social, and community ties and on social problems confronting the communities of the participants.

7.2 The Focus Group Participants

Consistent with the methodology of the thesis, this section presents a brief background of the focus groups’ participants to permit the reader of the thesis to assess how representative the participants are of the community. To protect the identity of participants, I have assigned them pseudonyms.

All the participants in the focus groups were between 19 and 24. The Ghanaian focus group comprised eight youth made up of an equal male and female mix while the Somali group had 10 participants with more females than males. The Somali group had four males and six females. In terms of educational background, the participants for the two groups varied from those currently in universities, community colleges, college and university bound participants, high school graduates, to those who had dropped out of school. All the participants were born outside Canada and they were all landed immigrants.
Consistent with the literature, a recommended good size for a focus group discussion is between six to ten participants per session. Researchers such as Tang & Davis (1995) are even more generous with sizes of focus groups by suggesting that they range from a low of four to a maximum of 12. The reason often given for the suggested small number of participants in the literature is that a bigger size will make the group unwieldy and smaller sizes can render them ineffective. According to Tang & Davis, any group bigger than the suggested 12 may not provide adequate opportunities for participants and the facilitator to meaningfully exchange views and discuss issues related to the topic or group of topics that are being studied. The two focus groups for this research had eight and ten participants for the Ghanaian and Somali groups respectively and therefore met the criterion of a reasonable size for a focus group.

7.2.1 Participants’ Profiles

Ghanaian Participants

Participant One: Paul

Paul is a male youth aged 20. He came to Canada at age six. He has two older siblings, a sister and a brother. He dropped out of high school at 17. He is currently unemployed but has had short-term jobs in the past year with placement agencies. He lives with both his parents who completed their high school education in Ghana and are currently employed and are leaders in their community church. His father works in the automotive sector. He is not very involved in community activities but likes to attend community summer picnics.
Participant Two: Matilda

Matilda is a 19 year old female. She came to Canada at age three and currently lives with her two sisters and her mother who is divorced from her father. Her mother, who did not complete her high school education, is self-employed and her father works with a delivery company and graduated from a Technical (vocational) school in Ghana. She has never worked and plans to go to a community college to study nursing. She is very involved with the church.

Participant Three: Aba

Aba is a 22 year-old female and a high school graduate. She came to Canada when she was 10 years old. She has a part-time job and shares an apartment with her friend. Her ambition is to go to university and improve her employment prospects. She has a younger step-brother and sister who live with their step-mother and father. Her father is a graduate from one of the universities in Ghana. She used to volunteer in Ghanaian community activities but these days she does not.

Participant Four: Akurugu

Akurugu is male and 23 years of age. He came to Canada four years ago and has not yet found a job. In Ghana, he was an apprenticeship mechanic and is hoping to get into the provincial apprenticeship program. He is currently taking high school upgrading courses to become eligible for apprenticeship. He is also helping a self-employed mechanic with menial jobs to gain some experience. He lives with his parents and three younger siblings. Both parents are high school graduates and are employed in Canada.
Participant Five: Aleok

Aleok is a 24 year-old male in his final year at the university. He came to Canada at age 12 and his only work experience was two years ago when he worked on campus during the summer. He has two younger step-sisters. His father is a university graduate and his step-mother is a high school graduate. Both parents are employed. His father works for a nonprofit agency and his step-mother works with a small business. He is involved in many community projects.

Participant Six: Kande

Kande is a female aged 20. She came to Canada at age 12 and she has never worked. She is preparing to go to university next fall. She is currently looking for part-time employment that she can keep during the school year to help pay her bills. She lives with her mother and a younger brother. Her father has left the family and gone back to Ghana to start a business. Her mother is currently unemployed and in receipt of social assistance. She says she is not active in community activities.

Participant Seven: Adjeley

Adjeley is female and 19 years old. She came to Canada with her mother at age five to join her father. She graduated from high school last year and is hoping to gain admission to a community college. She is currently looking for part-time or full-time employment. She lives with her mother and a younger brother. Her mother is separated from her father. Her mother lost her job recently and is on employment benefits. She is active in her church and community activities.
**Participant Eight: Kusi**

Kusi is male and 23 years old. He came to Canada at age 15. He is a high school graduate and currently unemployed. He is looking for full-time or part-time employment and finding it difficult to find either. He hopes to go to a community college next year to study truck driving. He lives with his parents who are both unemployed. His father is a high school graduate currently on long term disability. He is not active in any community activity.

**Somali Participants**

**Participant One: Sheikh**

Sheikh is a male youth age 22. He came to Canada at age 10. He has three younger siblings, a sister and two brothers. He is a university student and currently unemployed. He would like to have a part-time job. He lives with both his parents. His father is a university graduate from Somalia but currently unemployed and his mother, a high school graduate, is also unemployed. He is not involved in community activities.

**Participant Two: Sadia**

Sadia is a 21 year old female. She came to Canada at age nine and currently lives with a brother, two sisters and her mother. Her father works in Dubai. Her mother did not complete her high school education and is currently self-employed. Her father is a university graduate. She is a high school graduate and has never worked. She plans to go to university. She is very involved with activities in her community.

**Participant Three: Amira**

Amira is a 19 year old female and a high school graduate. She came to Canada when she was 13. She is currently unemployed and lives with both parents and two older
male siblings. Her father is a high school graduate and self-employed. Participant three is active in her community and her mother is also a high school graduate and a housewife. She is active in community activities.

**Participant Four: Abdikarim**

Abdikarim is a male and 23 years old. He came to Canada at age 13. He is currently in the university and looking for a part-time job. He lives with both of his parents and three younger siblings. His father has university degrees from Somalia and Canada and works in the public sector. His mother is an unemployed housewife. He is not active in community activities.

**Participant Five: Dalmar**

Dalmar is 22 years old and a male in his final year at a Community College. He came to Canada at age 12. He is currently unemployed and looking for part-time employment. He has worked in the past. He has three younger siblings and they live with both parents. His father is a high school graduate and currently employed as a taxi driver and his mother is a housewife. He is involved in many of his community’s activities.

**Participant Six: Aasha**

Participant six is a female aged 23. She came to Canada at age 12. She is a high school graduate and currently has a part-time job in a retail store. She lives with both parents and two younger brothers. Both parents are high school leavers and none of them is employed. They are in receipt of social assistance. Participant six says she is not active in community activities.
Participant Seven: Aziz

Aziza is male and 19 years old. He came to Canada at age seven. He graduated from high school recently and is going to university in September. He is currently looking for part-time employment that he hopes to keep during the school year. He lives with his parents, a younger brother and a younger sister. His father works in manufacturing. He is not active in his community’s activities.

Participant Eight: Ayan

Ayan eight is female and 23 years old. She came to Canada at age 12. She is a high school graduate and currently employed part-time. She is looking for full-time work and finding it difficult to get. She lives with her parents who are both unemployed. Her father is a high school graduate. She is not active in any community activity.

Participant Nine: Nadifa

Nadifa is a female youth age 20. She came to Canada at age nine. She has two older siblings, a sister and a brother. She is a high school dropout. She is currently unemployed. She lives with her parents who are both high school graduates. Her father is a taxi driver and her mother a housewife. She is not involved in community activities.

Participant Ten: Hasiya

Hasiya is a female, age 24. She came to Canada at age 11 and currently lives with her two sisters and her mother. Her father died in Somalia when she was nine. Her mother is a trained teacher and teaches at a public school. Hasiya is currently employed part-time in a day care centre. She hopes to be a nurse in the future. She is very involved in her community’s activities.
7.1.3 Representativeness of Samples

Table 7.1 compares the distribution of key characteristics of the two focus group samples with the distribution of similar characteristics in the 2006 Census for Ghanaian and Somali youth (15 to 24 years) that reside in the Toronto CMA. Overall, with the exception of the discrepant proportions of unemployed between the samples and Census data which were large, the percentage distributions of the other characteristics between the samples and the Census data generally followed similar patterns of distribution.

For example, gender representativeness is generally not a problem for the Ghanaian sample as it closely matches the gender distribution in the 2006 Census. For the Somali sample, there were more women than men and this did not reflect the gender proportion for the Somali youth in the Census but the difference is trivial. With respect to the distribution of the highest level of education attained, the Ghanaian sample again matches more closely its Census distribution than the Somali sample which is biased towards participants with certificates, diplomas or degrees. This is however due to lumping high school and post secondary together and the fact that the Somali’s had a larger sample size. For example, 2 out of the 8 Ghanaian participants and 1 out of the 10 Somali participants were high school dropouts.

In comparison, to the Census profiles of the two groups, both samples are biased towards the unemployed. The Ghanaian sample has 75 per cent of the participants unemployed and the Somalis 60 per cent compared to the Census data of 10.45 per cent and 14.35 per cent for the Ghanaian and Somali youth respectively. These large differences between the samples and Census data arise in part because of the small sample sizes used and the non-random nature of the samples.
### Table 7.1: Comparing Sample Profiles to Profiles in 2006 Census

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Somalis
(Population
Count for Age
15-24 = 3,100)
and (Sample
Count = 10)

However, the bias towards the unemployed in the two samples does not appear to affect the validity of the research findings in any significant way as the qualitative discussions focus groups show that there were no differences in general perceptions of participants based on current employment status regarding magnitude of youth unemployment in the two communities and the significance of discrimination due to race and ethnicity in their labour market access. These perceptions were driven largely by
participants’ ‘lived’ labour market experiences rather than their current labour market status.

7.3 Perceptions of Labour Market Barriers and Experiences

This section discusses participants’ perceptions about the nature and causes of youth unemployment in the two communities and the labour market experiences that drive these perceptions. Many of the participants consider unemployment among youth of the two communities to be a serious problem and that the problem was far more serious for males than females. Perceptions therefore reflected this general view.

There were several opinions and views on the causes of high unemployment among youth of the two communities. As well, there were explanations given by some of the participants as to why the problem is so serious for young men. Discussions about perceived high unemployment revealed interesting and similar perceptions from participants in the two groups about barriers that affect the employment of Ghanaian and Somali youth.

Several open-ended questions were used to uncover participants’ perceptions about barriers to their labour market access as well as their current and past experiences in the labour market and the difficulties they have had in the past or were currently having finding employment. While the participants had varied labour market trajectories and experiences, their views and concerns about the opportunities and challenges they faced in the labour market as well as the treatment they received in the workplace were fairly similar.

Many of the participants in the two groups complained about the difficulty of finding employment and how badly they had been treated in their workplaces by
employers and supervisors. For example, a sizeable number of the participants in the two groups indicated they had personal experiences of repeated and multiple rejections in the labour market which they claim were common occurrences in their communities as they are aware of many other friends and colleagues who had similar experiences.

In large part, these experiences help drive the widely held perception among the participants of the two groups that youth unemployment in the two communities is a serious problem. For example, there were several comments that attested to the difficulties many of the participants face finding employment. Some of these comments are discussed below.

As Kusi, a Ghanaian male participant succinctly put it:

*My experience in the labour market has not been a good one. For three years now I have been applying for many positions and was only hired for the fast food part-time jobs. You see there are many jobs advertised that I believe I can do and I have what they want but they don’t hire me.*

This point is further echoed by Aleok another Ghanaian male participant who noted:

*For two years, I have been applying for many jobs. I cannot remember the number of jobs I applied for. Many of us youth in our community cannot find work. I am tired of applying for jobs. The employers will not even call you for interviews. I think when they advertise the jobs they know the person who is getting the job. Sometimes I get angry and do not want to apply for any job in Toronto.*
Paul, a Ghanaian male participant was more direct in his comment, linking his difficulties in finding employment to other youth in the community when he noted:

_I know at least four youth in our community - three friends and myself – have attended several job interviews but were not hired._ **He went on to add,** young people in the community find it hard to get jobs – many of them are unemployed. _What do you do to find a job when employers will not give them a chance?_

There were several similar statements made by other Ghanaian participants. What these statements undoubtedly highlight are the frustrating situations that many of the participants faced trying to access the labour market. Such experiences ultimately contribute to determining participants’ views and perceptions about accessing the labour market.

The frustrating experiences about finding employment discussed above were not limited to Ghanaian participants. In fact, similar observations were made by many of the Somali participants. As Dalmar, a Somali male participant observed:

_There are many jobs advertised in Toronto. I have applied for many of them and had many interviews but was not hired. I have asked many of those who interviewed me for these jobs and did not hire me what I did not do right at the interview or what I should do at my next job interview to get hired and they give me very general answers which are not helpful. I don’t believe it is because I did not do well in the interview. They don’t just want to hire a Somali._

Sheikh another Somali male participant also observed:

_I used to go for many job interviews and was not hired. These days I have stopped going for interviews for jobs. I just go to the placement agencies and they find me_
work. That way I don’t get disappointed that I am not hired. Even though the
placement agencies don’t give good jobs, they will always find you jobs, I mean
short term jobs. That way you don’t get disappointed

In the words of Ayan, a Somali female participant which summarizes the point about
disappointments: …there is too much disappointment when you are looking for a job
in Toronto.

The comments above speak to the level of frustration among participants in their
efforts to find employment. Their experiences show feelings of powerlessness,
marginalization, vulnerability, and insecurity among the participants in their relationship
with the labour market. This undoubtedly drives their views and opinions about youth
employment in their communities.

As discussed earlier, there was consensus among participants in the two sessions
that youth unemployment in the two communities is a serious problem and that the
problem was more serious for young men.

As noted by Paul a male Ghanaian youth:

There are too many young people who are not working in our community. I don’t
know how large the unemployment in our community is, but I think it is big. As for
young males we don’t get jobs. Some employers see you as a black boy and they
are afraid of you. They think all black boys have guns. I think it is because many
young black boys are having problems with the law. But you see, if they don’t
have jobs they will always have problems with the law.

Aasha a Somali female also observed:
The youth unemployment in my community is very high. I think the problem is more serious for the boys than the girls. I know many boys that are not working even in part-time jobs. Six of my brothers and cousins do not have jobs and they are not even looking for jobs and when I talked to them about it, they told me to mind my own business.

In general, the youth unemployment rate in Ontario is high but that of visible minority and recent immigrant youth is even much higher (see 2006 and 2007 LFS - Statistics Canada). Several explanations have been given for this. For example, Anisef and Kilbride (2003) attribute the disadvantage to a lack of Canadian work experience, limited language and skills and the lack of a social network to facilitate successful job searches.

While the factors identified by Anisef and Kilbride affect the employment opportunities for youth, many of the focus group participants from the two communities emphasize other perceived reasons than those suggested by Anisef and Kilbride. For example, some of the comments from the participants challenged lack of skills as a barrier, as many of them believe they have the appropriate qualifications and skills and are doing enough to find employment and are applying to many jobs but are still being turned down.

As noted by Aba a female Ghanaian participant:

Some people say that we cannot find employment because we are not qualified. That is not true. I have many examples when I was convinced that jobs I was interviewed for were given to people that I believed I was more qualified than
those people. There was one case in which the girl that got the job was from my school and I was a better student.

Hasiya a female Somali participant also noted:

*As a minority, there are jobs you know you won’t get. It does not matter whether you are qualified or not. I have many experiences interviewing for jobs that I felt I had every skill on the job posting and yet I was not hired. That is why I ended working in a fast food restaurant.*

Additionally, many of the participants have been in the country for over 10 years; their language skills are not limited to the extent that they present a significant barrier to the labour market. It can also be argued that the lack of Canadian experience is not limited to the participants or the youth of their communities but is a common handicap for most Canadian youth. In this respect, the participants did not view the lack of language skills and Canadian experience as significant barriers to their labour market access.

There may be some validity to the observation by Reitz (2005) in the context of immigrants’ skills utilization that the lack of Canadian work experience often used to exclude the expertise of the foreign-trained may just be an excuse for discrimination as there is always a possibility that the qualifications of immigrants and their skills may be discounted due to ethnic and racial stereotypes.

Lack of equitable access to employment due to discrimination was a point that a majority of participants from both groups forcefully made. Most of the participants perceived discrimination as the most significant stumbling block to youth’s labour market access. While there is no consensus in the literature on the significance of race and
ethnicity in labour market outcomes, among the participants there is a strong feeling that discrimination plays a role.

Many of the participants sincerely believed that youth of their communities faced unequal employment opportunities and unfair treatment in the labour market. They attributed high unemployment and underemployment among youth of both communities to discrimination based on their nationality, colour, race, ethnic origin, accent or religion.

As Kande a Ghanaian female participant noted:

*Like I mentioned before I think the biggest difficulty in finding a job from my experience comes from discrimination. I have been trying to find a job. I have been going from workplace to workplace to give out my resume. They tell me whenever they see my face either there is no job opening or they tell me that the job is taken. I have a very good resume which was prepared for me by an expert and whenever I apply for a position and they call me for an interview I don’t get the right vibes from the interviewer and I always know I will not get the job. I think there is too much discrimination out there.*

As noted by Paul a Ghanaian youth:

*The youth unemployment in our community is too high. There are no jobs for young people especially boys. Many people in Toronto fear black boys and many employers don’t want to deal with black boys and when some see you in their store they think you are coming to steal things and keep watching you till you leave.*

As the comments above imply, perceptions of unfair treatment in the labour market ranged from direct discrimination to those based on stereotypes. The perception of discrimination based on race and ethnicity in the labour market was not limited to the
Ghanaian participants. In fact, the Somalis made far more comments regarding this problem than the Ghanaians.

Sadia a female Somali participant observes:

Well, yes, I think that the unemployment of many Somali youth in general is based on discrimination and stereotypes that still exist. Employers don’t say it to you but you know it is there. It’s more implied. Like the things they ask you. You see many employers think we Somalis don’t know what we’re doing, that’s how they see us. It is even more difficult for those in our community who wear hijabs.

Abdikarim a Somali male participant notes:

I think we're looked down on, I think it’s an uphill struggle for anybody from an ethnic minority origin to find a good job. I consider myself a Canadian and that's the way I see myself and yet they ask me for Canadian work experience but they don’t ask white Canadian youth for work experience. How do they expect me to get work experience if they don’t give me a job?

Dalmar, another Somali male participant also notes:

Many Canadian employers are racist. They all like to hire from their race. If you go to the companies driving trucks they are all Indians. I am convinced that employers like to hire those who look like them. I have been turned down for many jobs just because I am Somali.

Sheikh a Somali male participant was even blunter when he pointed out:

Racism is alive in Toronto. If you are black you are condemned to unemployment or bad jobs. I don’t care what anyone says, I know we blacks don’t get jobs because of our colour.
There was a comment from Aasha a Somali female that pointed to areas in the labour market in which discrimination was obvious as she observes:

*In my opinion visible minorities in Toronto don’t do well in getting employment like whites. It is true there are no jobs for minorities in Toronto especially blacks. Employers do what they want and don’t care if you are qualified or you are the best applicant. We only get jobs nobody wants. These jobs give few hours of work and pay minimum wage and they treat us like trash in these workplaces. They make you feel like you are a second-class citizen and that they are doing us a favour by giving you this terrible job.*

Other employment barriers identified by the participants were barriers that related to personal shortcomings of youth such as low self-esteem, youth not motivated enough and lack of initiative on the part of many youth. A majority of those who identified these barriers were primarily the female participants who were critical of their male colleagues they felt were not doing enough job searches.

One employment barrier that was frequently mentioned by the participants in the two sessions was young people’s lack of relevant labour market information and limited useful knowledge about the jobs market. Participants who held this view argued that most of the jobs that youth can easily access are in the “hidden” job market and knowledge of where to find them is important. This argument underscores the importance of bridging social capital in youth’s search for employment.

Participants identified labour market knowledge to include things like what a person in a certain job does, range of pay rates for different occupations, levels and kinds of education needed for different jobs, areas of the economy that are expanding and
companies that are hiring in the industry that are of interest to the jobseeker. Lack of, or limited knowledge of these issues can constitute a serious barrier to labour market access for youth.

Having no transportation can reduce the mobility of youth and hinder their job-searching quest. In some ways, this barrier is related to the spatial mismatch theory first advanced by John Kain in the context of the U.S. which suggested that housing segregation affects black employment opportunities as jobs tend to be located far outside their residential neighbourhoods.

There are Canadian studies on immigrants’ residential settlements and economic activity; however, these studies have produced inconclusive results. For example, Hou and Picot (2004) argue that the tendency for recent immigrants to cluster in minority communities can affect their economic outcomes and the overall economic conditions of their community. Another study by Balakrishna et al., (2005) using data from the 2001 Census to examine the relationship between spatial residential patterns of ethnic groups and their socio-economic achievements in large Canadian cities, found no systematic relationship between residential segregation and socio-economic achievement measured by education, occupation and income.

To summarize this section, the labour market experiences and views expressed by participants are consistent with the findings in chapter five, Ornstein’s two reports and the conclusions of Frances and Ginsberg discussed in chapters one and two. In chapter five, blacks were found to be more likely to be unemployed compared to other racialized groups, and visible minority racialized groups are more likely to be unemployed compared to the non-visible minority racialized group. Ornstein’s two reports cited and
discussed in chapter one and six documented high levels of unemployment in the two communities, and Frances and Ginsberg -cited in chapter one- all discussed the bad treatment meted out to black job seekers by prospective employers. Their testimony corroborates the experiences of the participants.

Finally, the discussions in the section indicate that virtually all the participants from the two communities agreed that youth unemployment is a problem in the two communities, with male youth being disproportionately affected. On the difficulty of youth finding jobs, participants attributed it to a number of reasons including lack of motivation on the part of youth, lack of knowledge of the labour market, no training in job searches, little support from parents and community organizations, racial discrimination, religious discrimination particularly among the Somalis, bad peer influence and bad criminal records.

As argued by Forstater (2000)\textsuperscript{24}, attributing the high unemployment among the youth of the participants’ communities’ to the reasons identified above is to give credence to the behaviouralist theorists view that weak labour market attachment and poverty among minorities is the result of their attitudes, behaviours, values and norms rather than a manifestation of their social position. As rightly viewed by structuralist theorists, these attributes are the effects of dysfunctional values and behaviours rooted in the structural features of the Canadian society.

There was a consensus among all the participants that discrimination based on race, ethnicity and cultural background in labour market access was real. All of them had experiences in the labour market that they attributed to discrimination. While these experiences were specific to individual participants, they nevertheless translated to

\textsuperscript{24} http://www.cfps.org/pubs/wp-pdf/WP7-Forstater.pdf
strongly held perceptions of labour market discrimination among the participants as a whole.

To conclude, the factors determining the perceptions expressed by the participants include socio-economic factors, social and cultural factors and personal and individual experiential factors. For example, perceptions of participants about the seriousness and magnitude of youth unemployment in the two communities are linked to their personal experiences in the labour market, particularly with regard to the attitudes and actions of employers towards them. These factors are summarized in the major findings of the thesis.

7.4 **Ties, Trust and Labour Market access.**

A key interest of this thesis is to examine the impact of participants’ perceptions of discrimination on the following relationships: family ties, friendships, community ties, the school system and relationships and networks outside their communities and their labour market access. The objective is to explore the level of trust participants have in their bonding relationships and their relationships outside their communities.

As shown by the findings of the Statistic Canada Ethnic Diversity Society, an overwhelming majority of blacks (72 per cent) who perceived discrimination were less trusting of people. In large measure, the level of trust people have in others determine the depth of relationships they have in those people.

Participants of the two groups shared their views and perceptions regarding their relationships with family, friends and neighbours and their ties to the community, the school system and social networks outside their communities and how all these affected
labour market outcomes for youth of their communities. This section presents and
discusses the views, comments and perceptions shared on these issues.

Several questions were used in the sessions to initiate discussions on participants’
relationships with parents, family members, friends, community, community
organizations as well as their relationships and links outside their communities and how
these relationships contributed to labour market success.

In general, there was consensus among the participants that parents, organizations
in their communities, and educational institutions have important roles to play in
contributing to their labour market success but felt that these roles could be achieved if
parents and these institutions consciously focus on youth’s problems and work with them
to deal with these problems including their labour market access.

The discussions also revealed that many participants were concerned about the
inadequacy of community resources such as job information centres, employment
preparation programs and employment counsellors in assisting youth to prepare for the
labour market. As well, many of them were less trusting of neighbours and organizations
in their communities.

Participants acknowledged the key role that the school system can play in
developing their employment prospects. In particular, a few participants in both focus
groups emphasized the important role that schools can play in supplying baseline labour
market knowledge to young people to help them with career planning and job search
strategies. There was however a general perception among the participants that schools
do not provide sufficient guidance, support, and encouragement for minority youth to
help them achieve academically and pursue meaningful careers.
Kusi a male participant from the Ghanaian group observed,

*I think schools can do a lot to help youth find jobs. Like, some us think the schools can have job boards where they post jobs and information on how to find jobs. They can bring employers to the schools to tell youth about what they want from youth applying for jobs. They can even bring in job search experts to coach youth who are graduating and not going to college.*

Abdikarim a Somali male participant was even more specific when he suggested:

*Schools should try to work closely with the youth employment counselling centres, which are all over Toronto, to help the youth learn the tricks they need to find jobs. I think that will help the youth. I went to one of those youth employment counselling centres and they had people and books to help you prepare a resume and show you how to do well in job interviews.*

Aziz another Somali male participant noted:

*…..the high school I attended did not teach anything serious about job search even though there was a course on career education. All we did in that course was joke around. The teacher was not even serious with the course.*

There were participants in the two groups that characterized the school system as a suppressor of any innovative job search skills that individual youth developed independently. For example, with regard to career planning and development, some participants indicated that many school counsellors are often too helpful with information that turns out not to be useful while stifling students' ability to think through issues independently and take charge of their own job search. In many ways, a majority of the participants were less trusting of schools playing a role in their employment prospects.
Aleok a Ghanaian male participant described his experience with a guidance counsellor noting,

*I don’t think those guidance counsellors know what they are doing. I remember the summer of two years ago I attended a job search workshop at YMCA. The presenter taught us a lot of things you should do when you are looking for a job like developing your career goals. I discussed some of those things with the guidance counsellor of my school and he had no clue what I was talking about.*

Matilda a Ghanaian female participant aptly captured what many of the participants wanted schools to be doing to assist school leavers find employment when she said:

*A few years ago I went to a job fair at the Metro Convention Centre and there were many employers, federal and provincial governments who had kiosks with information, there were staff from employment centres and Workopolis and I was able to ask many questions and get answers. That is what I think the youth need and schools should be doing those kinds of things to help their students find jobs.*

Participants from both focus groups expressed a desire to see schools as well as communities increase their involvement in youth employment issues to assist the youth make successful transitions to employment. There was, however, a divergence of opinion in response to a follow-up question as to whether schools should require youth to participate in mandatory training and support programs to prepare them for the labour market.

A sizeable number of participants in the two groups argued that such a program would be a waste of time as many of them felt schools, as they are currently structured,
are incapable of adequately preparing students for the labour market. This assessment of schools by the participants is very interesting and may actually be an accurate assessment of the school system and its inability to do much to affect labour market access for youth.

A majority of the participants in both groups were of the opinion that under the current structure of the school system, there will always be a weak link between school and the labour market. They argued that the school system as currently structured is inflexible and unable to implement any practical intervention measures outside their curriculum that will help improve the prospects of employment for school leavers. They also argue that there is insufficient coordination between schools, government agencies with employment responsibilities, parents, communities, and employers, a link which they perceived to be vital if schools are to be effective in helping youth find jobs.

Participants in the two groups expressed varying degrees of closeness to parents, family members and friends but a majority of them indicated they had very little trust in confiding intimate things about themselves to their parents, family members and friends. Regarding relationships with parents, many participants in the two groups said there were challenges that made this relationship difficult. They cited reasons such as the generation gap that made it difficult for parents to understand their children, parents not listening to their children and parents not caring about their children’s needs.

More Ghanaian participants than Somalis said they did not trust parents, family or friends enough to ask for favours from them. According to these participants, when youth request favours from close people in the community, including family members, more often than not these requests are ignored and many of them become topics of public discussions in the community thus embarrassing the persons who asked for the favours.
This may be partly due to cultural differences and differences in levels of transnationalism discussed elsewhere in the thesis in the two communities.

Aba (Ghanaian female participant) noted:

Well I don’t ask family members for support. You get negative vibes and negative feeling from them. I tend to stay a lot of times away from them.

Paul (a Ghanaian male participant) also had this to say:

You know, if you ask family members for support some of them will hold it against you in future. Personally, I don’t even ask family members for support when I am desperate.

Another Ghanaian female participant, Matilda observed:

In my community you don’t tell people your very personal things not even to your family or people close to you. People in the community like to talk about others and their problems and they do that behind you. There are too many gossips in our community.

Somali participants also had unfavourable views of their parents and family but appear to have much more closer relationships with their parents than the Ghanaian participants.

As Nadifa (a Somali female) stated:

I will not say I trust my parents enough to tell them things I do. I think I respect them or is it I fear them but I don’t think I have a relationship with them that will make me tell them things in my life. Most of the time I just do things to make them happy.
There were a few Somalis who expressed very little confidence in parents acting as role models. For example, Dalmar (a Somali male participant), in response to a question regarding parents supporting their children in their endeavours, noted:

*Yes, I will say a lot of youth problems come from parents. They come to this country, take welfare and live in Metro Housing. A majority of fathers don’t work. All they do is chew quat and sit at Tim Horton’s all day doing nothing. I don’t think they can understand or help their children find jobs.*

This comment suggests a very complicated relationship between some of the participants and their parents, particularly their fathers. As earlier comments indicated, there is an issue of a lack of trust between some participants and parents to the extent that some participants are not prepared to confide in parents.

The low level of trust in parents and the view by some participants that fathers’ lack of employment could be a factor in the alienation of youth from their families which may possibly underscore the existence of weak family ties and weakening bonding capital in these communities. This estrangement was much more evident with the Ghanaian as compared to the Somali participants and, as I speculated earlier, may be the result of differences in cultural backgrounds and levels of transnationalism.

There were a few participants who argued strongly that any keen interest shown by parents in their children’s plans or activities could be counterproductive. According to them, such parental interest has the potential of being received negatively because of the perception held by many youth that parents are often patronizing and exert unnecessary pressure on them.

As noted by Akurugu (a Ghanaian participant):
My parents are always complaining about things I do. They only see the negative in any initiative I take. A friend and I decided to print black and progressive slogans on ‘T’ shirts for sale. The business was doing well but my parents kept seeing only the negative always complaining about the meaning of the slogans and calling some of them profane. They didn’t even like the music we play for our customers. They complained to the extent that we stopped the business. These days when they tell me things I block it out of my mind.

There were comments from both focus groups regarding inadequate support given by parents and families; in some cases, children felt they were being stifled. For example, some participants related their personal experiences on how reliance on parents and family members to realize career aspirations were stifled. The following participant comments indicate this belief.

Adjeley (a Ghanaian female participant) stated:

My family members are not always supportive of things I want to do like my dad kicked against me taking dancing lessons because he says it is unchristian to wear tight clothes and dance. He was against my sister singing rap songs in the house.

Amira (a Somali female) noted:

I don’t care to discuss my plans with my family, especially my employment plans. They will discourage me from pursuing my plans. In fact, they think I should be thinking of marriage instead of looking for a job.

Abdikarim another Somali participant noted:

I don’t care telling my family my plans. There isn’t a role model at home so the youth can say this is what you should do or not do and this is how to handle
this or that. It is like there isn’t a role model even with education and parents
don’t have time to help their children so why would they not be a stumbling block
to their children’s progress.

In response to further probes on comments coming from some participants about
the lack of interest of parents in their children’s aspirations, the following are some of the
comments that participants from the two focus groups made.

Aleok (a Ghanaian male participant) said:

I think, if you have a good family you will ask for support. I think if you are in
need you need not ask the family for support. In fact, they should be offering the
support, yet few families do.

Aziz (a Somali male participant) also noted:

Some parents don’t even know their children have dropped out of school
till it is time for them to graduate. In some cases the children would have not gone
to school in the past 5 or 6 years and yet the parents don’t know. Usually, these
kids leave home with their books in the morning go on the streets and come home
when school closes.

There was no confirmation of this particular comment by other participants and it
may therefore be an isolated case rather than a widespread phenomenon.

Another Somali female, Ayan had the following to say:

Most of the Somali male youth are what they are because of their fathers.
If a father is not home and the mother has to clean, cook and look after the
children. She cannot do it alone. Raising children requires a team of mother and
father working together.
In general, there was some consensus among participants of the two groups that parents and family members can play important roles in helping youth to job search if they approach them in a way that the youth can relate to. As well, these parental roles can become very positive if most parents stop being preoccupied with their own issues and show interest in their children’s efforts to find employment and make efforts to promote rather than stifle their children’s career plans.

There were many comments from participants on their relationships with friends and acquaintances. Many of the participants in the two focus groups indicated they did not have close friends in their communities but only acquaintances and would not confide in these acquaintances nor ask them for any favours. As Kande (a Ghanaian female participant) noted:

*In the Ghanaian community! Oh God! No I don’t trust anyone in that community. Sometimes you cannot even trust your own family so how can you trust other people in your community. That’s my opinion.*

Participants also explored their relationships with their communities and with organizations in their communities. A majority of them indicated they felt marginalized in their communities and some even indicated feeling some kind of alienation. It is therefore not surprising that a majority of the participants had very pessimistic views about their prospects of getting any useful support from their communities and community organizations to help them find employment.

Said one Ghanaian participant:

*I don’t go to the Ghanaian community activities anymore. They are a waste of time and sometimes they don’t even know what they are doing. You know what!*
don’t even know their executives. I hear they say they have a youth organizer. Is this a joke? They don’t do anything for youth but have a youth organizer. It’s funny.

There were even a few participants who were very critical and hostile to some of the organizations in their communities. Some said bluntly that they were convinced nothing good for youth would ever come from these organizations.

As observed by Hasiya a Somali participant:

....many of those organizations are not serious, although there are a few that are trying to help Somalis find employment, many of these organizations were created to look for funding to give the executives jobs and so the staff spend all their time applying to different government organizations for funding and doing nothing else. These organizations cannot help the youth.

Some participants in both focus groups, but more in the Somali focus group, even perceived of their community groups and organizations more negatively. For example, Amira a Somali female participant described them as simply:

“corrupt and unfriendly with no sense of community.”

Another Somali participant, Dalmar also observed:

Let’s not put the blame on our community organization or government institutions. I think the problem starts from our family, our parents. Sometime I feel like they don’t care.

Quite a few participants linked high youth unemployment in their communities to both lack of efforts to find jobs and the inactive role played by groups and organizations in their communities. For example, Ayan, a female Somali participant noted:
I find that many Somali youth are not very determined and also our community has no resources to help youth find jobs. Our community associations have flyers and things that they say help with employment but this is just on paper. They don’t give any help.

Generally, most participants agreed that groups and organizations in their communities can be useful and helpful but given the way they currently operate, they are essentially institutions for adults involved in activities that are devoid of any youth content and culture.

There were a few participants who did not dismiss outright the usefulness of the current activities of their community organizations to their job search. They took issue, however, with the lack of concern of these organizations for youth issues and not introducing programs to help the community’s youth to stay focused on finding jobs and not ending up in jail.

As articulated by Hasiya a Somali female participant:

Some of these organizations are doing a good job. There are many of them in our community doing good things for Somalis. The parenting and life skills workshops, they have ESL programs and do many other things for the community.

My problem is that they don’t do things for the youth but I don’t blame them because they don’t have the resources to do everything.

Asked what they thought the community groups could do to help improve the situation for youth, participants talked about the need for community leaders to work closely with youth in designing programs and activities and to involve youth in more concrete ways in the activities of these organizations. Some youth also wanted to see
their community organizations work towards establishing a community centre and also forge links with other groups and bodies in the city that can help youth connect with other youth and resources in other communities.

Some participants even suggested that their community organizations emulate organizations in other communities. For example, Paul a Ghanaian male participant had this to say:

*There is nothing really focused directly towards Ghanaian youth. Honestly speaking if there is something like a community centre like the Jamaicans who have the Jamaican Association have, I think it will do some good. But I don’t know why we Ghanaians can’t come together.*

Another Ghanaian participant Aleok sees unity among members of the community as a precondition to helping youth:

*If we could focus more on becoming one as a community you know and doing stuff for youth then I think we could get somewhere instead of meeting in the Luna Ballroom and stuff like that to have fun.*

The focus groups also discussed participants’ perceptions about the potential role that networking and building relationships outside their communities can play in helping youth achieve labour market access. Participants see networking outside the community as linking with people, employers, resources, facilities and organizations outside their communities, all of which can improve their labour access chances.

All the participants were of the opinion that networking outside the community is a very effective strategy for finding employment by providing youth with contacts and employment information to assist them in finding employment. Many participants with
jobs credited networking outside their communities and the extensive use of resources outside their communities such as media job postings and government job postings as important contributors to their successful job search.

Aasha (a Somali female respondent) had this to say about youth unemployment in the Somali community:

The youth employment situation in our community is really bad. The truth is that there are no jobs out there. My experience with employment has really been bad. Like I couldn’t find good jobs and the few I found paid minimum wage. And the few jobs I found were through networking with people outside our community. You see there is lack of networking in our community that is why the youth don’t find jobs.

7.5 Summary

To conclude the discussions in this chapter, there was unanimous agreement among the participants that youth unemployment in their communities is a serious problem. As well, they were also in agreement that unemployment in the community was more serious for males. These perceptions are driven by the ‘lived labour market’ experiences of the participants.

Participants were of the opinion that many parents do not sufficiently support and encourage their children to achieve academically and pursue meaningful careers or find jobs. Almost all of the participants agreed on the importance of parents, family members and friends in assisting youth to find jobs. However, some participants expressed concerns about the lack of interest of parents and family members; in some cases, it was
felt that parents and friends even played negative roles, preventing children from pursuing their career interests.

Participants also perceived a lack of coordination among schools, government, community-based organizations, and employers to help youth find employment. They were also in agreement on the importance of community resources, government services, employment preparation centres in relation to their job search but complained there were very few of such resources existing in their communities and the few that existed, like their community organizations, were dysfunctional, corrupt and unable to assist youth find jobs. A majority of the participants felt these organizations are focused on adult activities and dominated by adult males and therefore pay little attention to helping young people with their problems.

Finally, many of the participants that are currently employed or those who have had previous employment, rated personal motivation and networking outside their communities to be the biggest factors that contributed to their successfully finding jobs. They perceived networking outside their communities as providing them with contacts and employment information to assist them find employment. The findings in this chapter will be used to reinforce discussions in the next chapter.
CHAPTER EIGHT

PERCEPTIONS OF DISCRIMINATION AND LABOUR MARKET ACCESS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE SURVEY INTERVIEWS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes and analyzes responses to the survey interviews. The survey participants were made up of 15 Ghanaian and 15 Somali youth residents of the Toronto CMA. As discussed in chapter four, the survey was conducted in 2005 and 2006 at various locations in the Greater Toronto area. The survey forms part of the methodology of the thesis and is used in combination with the quantitative analysis of secondary data from the 2001 Census and the Labour Force Survey of Statistics Canada undertaken in chapter five and the focus group interviews discussed in chapter seven. The similarities and differences among the three data sources are discussed in chapter four.

This chapter discusses the responses of the survey participants and examines the factors that they believe affected their labour market access. As well, the chapter also examines perceptions of the participants about factors they consider to be affecting youth employment/unemployment in the two communities and discusses the factors that determine these perceptions. The emphasis is on perceptions of discrimination due to race, ethnicity and recency of immigration. Finally, the chapter examines the consequences of these perceptions for participants’ relationships, ties and sense belonging to their communities and the country, and social problems in their communities.

The findings of the Ethnic Diversity Survey undertaken by Statistics Canada indicate that minorities are more likely than whites to perceive unfairness in the job
market. As well, the findings also indicate that those who perceive discrimination are more likely to be less trusting of people and institutions than those who do not. The chapter examines these perceptions among the target respondents.

The fundamental aims of the discussions in the chapter are therefore threefold. First, the chapter aims to focus on respondents’ perceptions about factors affecting their labour market access and the labour market experiences that underlie these perceptions. Second, it also aims at revealing perceptions of the participants that deal with unfair and discriminatory treatment they received in their labour market experiences as well as unfair treatment they faced in their attempts to access the labour market. Finally, the chapter aims to show perceptions of discrimination against racial minorities in the Toronto CMA and the consequences of these perceptions on the respondents’ trust in people and institutions and their sense of belonging to their communities and society and the impact on the youth and their communities.

The survey collected information on personal and parental/household characteristics, family and community relationships, labour market experiences and current employment status of respondents and their relationships and networks in and outside their communities. In addition, the survey recorded the perceptions of respondents regarding barriers facing youth in their communities in their search for employment, their perceptions about discrimination in Toronto and the factors that drive these perceptions and their implications for the participants’ communities.

The chapter is divided into seven sections. Section one introduces the discussions in the chapter. The second section presents a profile of the survey participants. Section three discusses perceptions of the respondents regarding barriers to their labour market
access and that of youth in their communities and the factors that determine these perceptions. The fourth section discusses perceptions regarding discrimination in the labour market and in Toronto and the factors that drive these perceptions. Section five discusses the impact of perceptions of discrimination on trust, social ties and social networks. The sixth section discusses the consequences of perceptions of discrimination for the youth and their communities, and explores the ways in which they attempt to cope with these consequences. The final section summarizes discussions in the chapter.

As discussed in chapter four, the findings of the survey interviews are exploratory and suggestive because of the relatively small sample size and should be interpreted with some care. The survey uses a sample of 30 respondents for the two communities and these communities are estimated in the 2001 Census to have a combined population of over 25,000 with half of them being young people. This makes the 30 participants used in the study a very small sample. The revealed findings are therefore suggestive rather than conclusive of any patterns and trends with regard to labour market access of Ghanaian and Somali youth in the Toronto CMA.

8.2 Participants’ Profiles

This section summarizes and discusses the profiles of the survey participants to provide background and a context in which they discuss their views and perceptions regarding their labour market access. As discussed earlier, the survey collected a wide range of personal, parental and household data. Below is a summary of the profiles of the respondents.
The Survey Respondents

Below is a brief background of the survey questionnaire respondents. The objective is to assist the reader of the thesis assess the representativeness of the respondents of the community. To protect the identity of participants, I have assigned them pseudonyms that are commonly used in Ghana and Somalia. Fifteen respondents each from the Ghanaian and Somali communities took part in the survey.

Ghanaian Respondents

Respondent One: Comfort

Comfort is a 19 year old female born in Canada. She is a high school leaver and currently works part-time. She lives with her two sisters and her mother who is divorced from her father. Comfort’s mother has a high school education and is self-employed. Her father does not live with the family and he works with a delivery company. Comfort has plans to go to community college to study nursing. She is very involved with church but not her community’s organization.

Respondent Two: Ama

Ama is a 22 year old female and attending a community college. She came to Canada when she was 10. She is currently looking for a part-time job. She has a younger brother and lives with her step-mother and father. Her father is a graduate from one of the universities in Ghana and is employed full-time. Ama is not very active in Ghanaian community activities.
**Respondent Three: Kwasi**

Kwasi is a male youth aged 20. He came to Canada at age eight. He has one younger sibling—a sister. Kwasi was born in Ghana. He is a high school leaver and currently unemployed. He lives with his parents. His father completed high school in Ghana. He is currently employed full-time and is also leader in his community church. Kwasi’s father works with a recycling company. Kwasi is not very involved in his community activities.

**Respondent Four: Issah**

Issah is male and 23 years of age. He came to Canada eight years ago. He is currently looking for work. He wants to become a truck driver and is looking forward to enrolling in a truck driving training course but needs to save money for the fees. He is currently taking high school upgrading courses. He lives with his parents and two younger siblings. His father is a high school graduate currently employed full-time. His mother is a middle school leaver (Ghanaian educational system-lower than high school) and she is also employed full-time.

**Respondent Five: Yaw**

Yaw is male and 23 years old. He came to Canada at age 16. He is a high school graduate and currently unemployed. He is looking for full-time or part-time employment and finding it difficult to find employment. He hopes to train to become a plumber. He lives with his parents who are both unemployed and three younger siblings. His father is a high school graduate from Ghana and used to work in the factory until he got injured. He is on long-term disability. Yaw is not active in any community activity.
Respondent Six: Alima

Alima is a female age 22. She came to Canada at age 15 and is currently preparing to go to university next September. She has never worked in Canada but she is looking for summer employment and has attended several interviews. She lives with her mother and three younger siblings. Her mother is divorced from her father who lives in the US. Her mother is unemployed and in receipt of social assistance. Alima says she is currently not active in any community activities but would like to get involved in the future.

Respondent Seven: Irene

Irene is female and 23 years old. She came to Canada at age 13 to join her father and his new family. She is a high school graduate and hopes to go to a community college to study nursing. She is currently looking for part-time or full-time employment. She lives with her father, step-mother and two younger siblings. Her father is currently unemployed and her step-mother is employed part-time. Irene is active in her church and community activities.

Respondent Eight: Peter

Peter is a male age 23 and a university student. He came to Canada at age nine. He lives with his father and mother and two younger siblings. Last summer he worked at a Canada Employment Centre. His father is a university graduate and his mother is a high school graduate. Both parents are employed full-time. His father is a public servant and his mother works at a bank. Peter is involved in a number of youth activities in his community.
Respondent Nine: Kwame

Kwame is a 22 year old male attending a university in the GTA. He has been looking for a part-time job since the beginning of the school year. He lives with his parents and three younger siblings. Kwame joined his parents in Canada at age 13. His father is a community college graduate and self-employed. Kwame is very active in community activities and he is one of the youth organizers of his tribal association.

Respondent Ten: Esi

Esi is female and 24 years old. She is a full-time student at a community college. She has a part-time job and lives in a shared apartment with a friend who is also attending the same community college. She came to Canada when she was 15. Her father is a high school leaver and currently works part-time. Esi is not active in her community’s activities.

Respondent Eleven: Joe

Joe is male and 19 years old. He is a high school leaver and currently unemployed but looking for work. He came to Canada when he was 12 to join his parents. He lives with his parents and a younger sister. His father did not complete his high school education and is currently employed part-time. Joe attends community activities and events but does not help in organizing them.

Respondent Twelve: Mike

Mike is a 22 year old male and a student at a community college. He currently works full-time and shares an apartment with other tenants. He came to Canada at age 16 to join his father and step-mother. He is not actively involved in Ghanaian community activities but helps organize events at his church.
Respondent Thirteen: Ajo

Ajo is a 23 year old female. She came to Canada at age seven to join her parents. She lives with her parents and three younger siblings and is currently attending the university. She has been looking for a part-time job for the past four months since her last one terminated because the company folded. Her father is a high school leaver and self-employed and her mother has a full-time job with a meat packing plant. Ajo says she used to be very active in the community but has given up because many of the youth are not serious.

Respondent Fourteen: Kofi

Kofi is male and 22 years of age. He came to Canada at age 10. He is a high school graduate and currently works full-time in a warehouse. Kofi lives with his parents and four younger siblings. Both Kofi’s parents have no high school education. His father works part-time and his mother babysits for neighbours. Kofi is not actively involved in community activities.

Respondent Fifteen: Sammy

Sammy is a 23 year old male. He is currently a mechanic apprenticeship trainee attached to an automobile repair company. He came to Canada at age 14 to join his mother and step-father but he currently lives alone. Both his father and mother did not complete their high school edition and his father is currently employed part-time. Sammy says all the organizations in the Ghanaian community are not doing much for the youth and he would like to change that but he is currently not active in any of them.
Somali Participants

Respondent One: Jama

Jama is a male age 20. He was born in Jordan and came to Canada at age 12. He has two younger siblings, a sister and a brother. He is a high school leaver and currently unemployed. He lives with his parents and siblings. His father is also a high school leaver and he is unemployed and looking for work. Jama is not involved in activities in his community.

Respondent Two: Suad

Suad is a 19 year- old female. She was born in Saudi Arabia and came to Canada at age 12. She is a high school graduate and currently employed full-time. She lives with parents and three siblings. Her father is a university graduate and is employed full-time. Suad is very involved in activities in her community.

Respondent Three: Fawzia

Fawzia is a 22 year- old female and a community college student. She came to Canada when she was 10. She lives with her parents and three other siblings. Her father is a university graduate and owns a small business. Fawzia used to volunteer in the organization of activities in her community but these days she does not think it is worthwhile to engage in such activities.

Respondent Four: Mohammed

Mohammed is male and 23 years of age. He was born in Somalia and came to Canada at age 10 to join his uncle. He is a university student and has a part-time job. He lives in a shared apartment with friends. He is an active member of the community and used to be one of the youth leaders in the community.
Respondent Five: Yusif

Yusif is a 24 year-old male born in Somalia. He came to Canada at age 15 to join his mother. Yusif has a part-time job and is currently attending a university. He lives in a shared apartment with friends and is an active member of his community. He is involved in many projects and initiatives in his community.

Respondent Six: Amina

Amina is a female age 20. She was born in Kenya and came to Canada at age 12 with her family. She is a high school leaver and currently holds a part-time job. She lives with her mother and two younger siblings. Her father has left the family and gone back to Kenya to start a business. Her mother is currently unemployed and in receipt of social assistance. Amina is not active in community activities.

Respondent Seven: Fadumo

Fadumo is a 21 year-old female born in Tanzania. She came to Canada with her family at age 10. She is a high school graduate and unemployed. She is currently looking for part-time or full-time employment. She lives with her parents and five other siblings. Her father is a high school leaver and has a part-time job. Her mother lost her job recently and is on employment benefits. Fadumo is active in her community’s activities.

Respondent Eight: Ahmed

Ahmed is male and 22 years old. He was born in the United Arab Emirates and came to Canada at age 10 with his family. Ahmed is a part-time student at a community college and currently holds full-time employment. He lives with his parents and three other siblings. His father is a university graduate and currently holds full-time
employment. His mother is a stay-at-home mom. Ahmed is not an active member of any organization in his community.

**Respondent Nine: Abdi**

Abdi is a male age 19. He was born in Kenya and came to Canada with his parents at age 12. He is a high school leaver and currently unemployed. He lives with his parents and four other siblings. His father is a high school leaver and currently works part-time and his mother is a housewife. Abdi is not involved in his community’s activities.

**Respondent Ten: Hindia**

Hindia is a 23 year old female. She was born in Dubai and migrated to join her aunt in Canada at age 17. She lives with her aunt, her husband and their four children. She is a university student and holds a part-time job. She is not involved in her community’s activities or organizations.

**Respondent Eleven: Ali**

Ali is a 22 year old male born in Somalia. He migrated to Canada with his family at age 11. He is a community college graduate and currently employed full-time. He lives with his parents and three younger siblings. Ali’s father is a university graduate and is currently employed full-time. Ali is very active in his community’s activities.

**Respondent Twelve: Hassan**

Hassan is male and 19 years of age. He was born in Kenya and migrated with his family to Canada at 13. He is a high school leaver and currently unemployed. He is actively looking for a job. Hassan lives with his parents and four younger siblings. His father is a high school graduate and works part-time and his mother babysits for people at
their home. Hassan participates in his community’s activities but he is not actively involved with any organization.

**Respondent Thirteen: Abdullahi**

Abdullahi is a 22 year old male born in Somalia. He came to Canada at age 12 to join his uncle. He is currently attending a university and holds a part-time job. He lives with his uncle’s family which includes three children. Abdullahi is involved with an organization in his community and he holds remedial classes for Somali youth at the high school.

**Respondent Fourteen: Tahir**

Tahir is male and 20 years old. He was born in Jordan and migrated to Canada with his family at age nine. He is a high school leaver and currently unemployed but looking for work. He lives with his parents and three other siblings. His father is a university graduate and employed full-time. Tahir attends his community’s activities and events but does not help in organizing them.

**Respondent Fifteen: Osman**

Osman is a 22 year old male born in Saudi Arabia. He is a high school leaver. He is an apprenticeship trainee and works part-time. He migrated to Canada with his family at age 13. He lives with his parents and three siblings. His father is a community college graduate and works full-time. His mother is a housewife. He is actively involved in his community’s activities.

As shown in Table 8.1, the two samples had a high male representation. In fact, more than half of them were males. More specifically, nine of the 15 Ghanaians and 10 of
the 15 Somali participants were males. The high male proportion in the two samples was deliberate and intended to deal with the findings of the focus group discussions that indicated young males had more difficulties accessing the labour market than their female counterparts. By including a large number of male respondents, the survey gives more males the opportunity to tell their stories about the challenges they faced finding employment. Furthermore, because the participants for the survey were carefully selected, an attempt was made to reflect some diversity (i.e., differences in educational attainment) among the male participants thus allowing for the exploration of more diverse opinions and views from the most vulnerable segments of youth in the labour market.

Table 8.1 presents the ages of the survey respondents. These ages ranged from 19 to 24. All ages in the 19 to 24 category were well represented in the samples with the exception of age 21, which recorded only one Somali female respondent and age 24, which recorded one Ghanaian female and one Somali male respondent. More than half of
the Ghanaian participants and slightly below half of the Somali participants were 22 or 23 years old. The biggest group was the 23 year-old category for the Ghanaian group with six respondents and the 23 year-old category for the Somali group with five respondents. In this respect, a higher proportion of the two samples were dominated by older youth who are the more economically active section of the youth population.

Table 8.1 also presents respondents by place of birth. All but one of the Ghanaian participants were born outside Canada and all of the Somalis were born outside the country. However, whereas the Ghanaian participants born outside Canada were born in Ghana, a number of the Somali participants were born in countries other than Somalia, particularly in the Middle East, where their parents first lived after leaving Somalia and before migrating to Canada. This points to the fact that some of the Somalis partially settled in third countries before coming to Canada.

As shown in Table 8.1, the pattern of distribution of educational attainment between the two groups of respondents was fairly similar. Among all the respondents, 12 out of the 30 or 40 per cent are high school leavers and they are equally distributed among the participants of the two communities. The 40 per cent who reported only high school corresponds with the dropout rates of minority youth cited in several publications of the Toronto District School Board. Dei et al. (1997) cites a school district survey that showed that 40 per cent of black students were potentially at risk of dropping out of school. The high school leavers have more male representation in samples than females. While this may be a reflection of findings in the literature that black male youth are potentially at greater risk of dropping out than females, it may also be the simple and banal result of the high male representation in the samples.
A number of participants reported having attained community college level education, and those with university education or still studying at the university were also well represented in the samples. A few respondents stated they had on-the-job apprenticeship training. Therefore, in terms of educational attainment, the survey samples were balanced, with different levels of educational attainment represented.

Table 8.2 presents family/parental household information of the participants. A majority of the survey respondents of the two groups indicated they lived with their parents in households that have other youth. A large number of the households of the respondents have three or more youth. By Canadian standards, a household with three youths and parents is considered large. Large-sized households, however, are common features of recent immigrant communities. For example, evidence from Statistics Canada 2001 Census reveals that more than three in four recent immigrant families have at least one child at home, in comparison to less than two in three for Canadian-born families.

With respect to parental educational attainments, a few Ghanaian respondents indicated that the highest level of education attained by their highest educated parent was “No High School.” No Somali respondents indicated this category for their highest educated parent. A majority of Ghanaian and Somali respondents identified their highest educated parent as having high school education, while a small number of the Ghanaian participants and slightly less than half of Somali respondents reported parents with post-secondary education. The parents of Somali respondents were therefore on average more educated than the parents of Ghanaian participants.

What explains the higher educational levels among Somali participants’ parents compared to their Ghanaian counterparts? There are a number of plausible explanations.
The first is that it may be the result of sample selection, which, as discussed in chapter four, was not random. The second may be due to the fact that many of the Somali respondents’ families resided in another country before migrating to Canada and may have had more opportunities for further studies. A third reason may be attributed to the nature of the migration of the two communities. A large number of Somalis came to Canada as sponsored refugees, a group of immigrants that are often given support to go to school. On the other hand, a majority of Ghanaians came into the country unassisted and needed to work to support themselves.

A few of the participants indicated that their families owned their place of residence and a majority of them come from households that have gross annual incomes below $50,000. Among those earning below $50,000, more than half of them have gross annual incomes under $22,500. A sizeable proportion of the households’ principal income earners are jobless and on welfare assistance and a number of them are working for minimum wage. This suggests a high level of poverty among many of the participants’ households, which is consistent with findings in Ornstein’s studies. Ornstein found high levels of poverty to be widespread among African ethno-racial groups to which the two communities belong. According to Ornstein, in 2001 an estimated 40 per cent of African ethno-racial group members in Toronto were living below the poverty line. This compares unfavourably with the estimated 30 per cent of the members of Arab
### Table 8.2
Profile of Respondents' Family/Parental/Household Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Ghanaians</th>
<th>Somalis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who do you live with?</td>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parent/s</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other Adults</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are there other children in your household?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More than 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest level of education of your most highly educated parent</td>
<td>No High school</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vocational school</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community college</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>University</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current employment status of the principal income earner in your household</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employed full-time</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employed part-time</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Self- Employed</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not in Labour Force</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you own your place of residence or are you renting?</td>
<td>Own</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Renting</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated total annual gross income of your household</td>
<td>Under $22,500</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$22,500 - 49,999</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$50,000 - 90,000</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Above $90,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How would describe the socio-economic status of your parents?</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lower middle class</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Upper middle class</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How close are you to your family/parents?</td>
<td>Very close</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Close</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not Close</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and East Asian groups, and 20 per cent of the Aboriginal, South Asian, East Asian, Caribbean, and South and Central American groups. Only 10 per cent of European group
members were found to be living below the poverty line with some European groups having only five per cent living below the poverty line.

As noted elsewhere in the chapter, with the exception of one Ghanaian participant who was born in Canada, all the respondents are first-generation migrants, i.e. they were all born outside Canada. Evidence in the literature shows that first-generation immigrants face more difficulties and challenges in accessing the labour market than their Canadian-born counterparts. It is often argued in the literature that first-generation non-European immigrants face unique adjustment problems in the new country due to language difficulties and the possession of educational credentials that are not easily transferable. This may partly explain the low employment levels among participants and youth of the two communities, as virtually all of them are first-generation immigrants.

In chapter six, we noted that both the Ghanaian and Somali communities have a short history of settlement in Canada. Even though, in general, Ghanaians migrated to Canada earlier than Somalis, information on years since landing provided by the survey participants indicated a similar pattern among participants of the two groups. This suggests that the participants of the two communities are similar in terms of length of stay in the country, which is established in the literature as an important factor in labour market access. In this respect, length of stay in the country is a factor that will contribute to shaping the perceptions of the participants about barriers to their labour access. From their responses, roughly half of the Ghanaians and Somali participants have been landed for less than 10 years while the other half have been landed over 10 years.

To summarize, in this section, the profiles of the respondents are presented. As noted, the samples were dominated by older youth (22 and 23 years old). Older youth
tend to be economically more active than younger youth. This has allowed the thesis to focus on the labour market access experienced by an economically active section of the youth. A study by Beaudry et al., (2000) that used data from the Labour Force Survey, found large declines in participation rates and employment rates for all youth age groups in Canada from 1989 to 1997. However, the decline in employment rates was noticeably higher for younger youth than older ones. This finding justifies the use of an older youth sample in the thesis as it allows the study to be focused on economically active youth population.

There is no significant difference in the educational attainment distribution of the two samples, but, as noted earlier, there was a high drop-out rate among the participants. All but one participant was born outside Canada. Many of the Somali participants were born outside Somalia. This background may partly explain the nature of transnationalism found among Somalis in Toronto, something that was discussed in chapter six. It may also be a contributing factor to the weak ties Somalis in Toronto have with their homeland as compared to their Ghanaian counterparts- facts also discussed in chapter six.

A majority of the participants come from large households with incomes below the poverty line indicating a high level of poverty among the participants themselves. It is well known that economically disadvantaged youth in Ontario are less likely to pursue a university education than those from well-to-do households (Frenette, M. 2007) and therefore more likely to have difficulty finding employment.

Finally, judging by the responses on parental education, on the average, parents of Somali respondents have more education than their Ghanaian counterparts. It is well
documented in the literature that the success of immigrant children is often embedded in family relationships, educational levels and family economic status.

As well, it is also well documented in the literature that the intergenerational transmission of educational skills among immigrants is highly correlated with parental education and that the father’s educational level plays the most important role in that transmission process. (Worswick C. 2001, 2004; Monica Boyd et al., 1998; Card et al., 1998). Educational levels of youth have been established in the literature as important determinants of the labour market success of youth. In this respect, the advantages of parental educational attainments are more observable in second and subsequent generations and possibly among the one-and-half generation.

8.2.1 Representativeness of Samples

Table 8.3 presents the results of assessing the extent to which the survey sample profiles match data for Ghanaian and Somali (15 to 24 years) in Toronto CMA in 2006 Census. As evident in the Table, employment status representativeness is a problem for the two samples. In comparison to the Census profiles of the two groups, both samples are biased towards the unemployed. For example, the Ghanaian sample has 46.67 per cent of the participants unemployed and the Somalis 33.33 per cent compared to the Census data of 10.45 per cent and 14.35 per cent for the Ghanaian and Somali youth respectively. Similar to the focus group qualitative discussions, the findings of the surveys indicate that perceptions of participants were driven largely by their ‘lived’ labour market experiences and their gender rather than their current labour market status.
### Table 8.3
Comparing Sample Profiles to Profiles in 2006 Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Key Characteristics</th>
<th>Population Count</th>
<th>Sample Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghanaian</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1,510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Highest level of Education</td>
<td>No certificate, diploma or degree</td>
<td>1,180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>1,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Community College</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>University</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Apprenticeship</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Labour Force Activity</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Immigrants</td>
<td>1,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Permanent Residents</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>More than 10 years</td>
<td>840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Less than 10 years</td>
<td>1,090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Year of Landing</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1,585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1,515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Highest level of Education</td>
<td>No certificate, diploma or degree</td>
<td>1,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>1,385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Community College</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>University</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Apprenticeship</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Labour Force Activity</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Immigrants</td>
<td>465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Permanent Residents</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>More than 10 years</td>
<td>1,365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Less than 10 years</td>
<td>1,155</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.3 Labour Market Experiences and Perceptions about Access

This section summarizes and discusses participants’ labour market experiences and their perceptions about factors affecting their labour market access and the factors...
that underlie these perceptions. The primary focus of the section is to explore these experiences and their relationship to the perceptions of the participants.

8.3.1 Labour Market Attachment of Participants

Participants were asked about their current employment status, employment history and quality of jobs, job satisfaction and their experiences accessing the labour market. A majority of the participants from the two communities indicated they were currently employed. However, as shown in Table 8.4, many of those employed were working part-time and in low-end jobs.

In response to a survey question about participants’ preferences for full-time or part-time employment, a majority of the part-time employees indicated a preference for full-time jobs but said they were currently working part-time because they had not been able to find full-time positions. The most common jobs among the participants were in fast food restaurants and call centres sales, followed by warehouse jobs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Current Employment/Job</th>
<th>Ghanaians</th>
<th>Somalis</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed – Full-Time</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed – Part-Time</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed – Fast Food Restaurant</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed – Call Centre</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed - Warehouse</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed - Store</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed - Other</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As discussed by Ornstein, unemployment in the full-time category is high among Ghanaians and Somalis in Toronto and this may partly explain why a majority of those
employed were working in part-time employment and in low-end jobs. According to Ornstein, the overall unemployment rates for Ghanaians and Somalis in Toronto, as taken from the 2001 Census, were 45 per cent and 24 per cent percent respectively. As well, Ornstein also found a high unemployment rate of 38 per cent for African and black youth (15 to 24), a group to which the study population belongs. This compares dismally to 19.6 per cent for all youth in the Toronto CMA.

Arguably therefore, the high unemployment that pervades the two communities, particularly youth of these communities and the prevalence of part-time employment coupled with low-end jobs found among the survey participants, may be suggestive of a far weaker labour market attachment among youth of the Ghanaian and Somali communities than is captured in Ornstein’s study.

In large part, there were more significant similarities with regard to labour market experiences and perceptions of barriers between the participants of the two surveyed groups than there were differences. However, the differences between the two groups expressed attitudes and perceptions that were specific to each of the groups and these had some implications for their approaches to job searches. These differences and their labour market implications are discussed below.

8.3.2 Perceptions of Factors Affecting Youth Employment

In response to questions about what participants perceived to be barriers to labour market access of youth in their communities, respondents consistently identified the following key barriers: lack of educational qualifications; discrimination due to race and ethnicity; discrimination due to religion, language and accent; lack of appropriate work
experience; stereotypes about youth on the part of employers; criminal backgrounds of youth; and lack of motivation by youth. On the whole, perceptions were divided roughly along gender lines. This will be discussed in a subsequent section.

A key perception of the participants is that lack of educational qualifications among the youth of the two communities played an enormous role in the high youth unemployment that existed in these communities. Education or skill levels, often referred to in the literature as human capital, forms the core of the human capital hypothesis discussed elsewhere in the thesis. According to this hypothesis, jobseekers with higher education are generally more likely to be successful in the labour market than those with fewer qualifications and skills. This perception was widely shared among many of the participants, particularly the female ones. Below are some of views expressed by participants:

As noted by Ajo a Ghanaian female respondent:

I believe the biggest barrier preventing the youth of my community to finding jobs is their lack of educational qualifications. There are many youth in my community that I know dropped out of school and do not have high school diplomas and there are many others who have only a high school diploma. How can youth with these backgrounds find jobs?

Amina a Somali female participant writes:

Somali youth cannot find employment because many of them dropped out of school or they have only high school education. High school education is not good enough for entry-level jobs.

Alima a Ghanaian female participant observes:
As a minority, you need university education to get an entry-level job but many of the youth don’t realize this. They only find out when they start applying for jobs.

Issah a Ghanaian male states:

*I see barriers to finding jobs by the youth of our community in their ethnicity and education. If you are black and have no good education, it is tough to get a job.*

Lack of Canadian work experience remains one of the most well documented single factors in the literature that many new immigrants have consistently identified as a significant barrier to their employment. It is therefore not surprising that many of the participants identified this barrier as one of biggest stumbling blocks to the successful labour market access of community youth. But, as I argued elsewhere, this was a problem not limited to the participants. There are many young Canadian-born who find themselves in similar situations.

Finally, there were a few participants who thought that youth themselves were not doing enough to find employment and that this was a big contributor to the high youth unemployment in the two communities. These participants believed that if youth were motivated enough to look for employment many of them would have found at least some part-time jobs. As one Ghanaian female participant noted:

*The youth are not motivated enough to look for jobs. I think it is because of motivation that our youth cannot find jobs and yet they would rather blame others for not getting jobs.*

There were even a couple of comments that attributed the high unemployment level among youth of the community to the high incidence of youth crime and bad criminal records, particularly among the male youth.
To summarize the discussions, this section presented and discussed a summary of participants’ perceptions about what they saw as barriers to youth employment in their communities. Participants identified several key barriers. The barriers included lack of educational qualifications; discrimination due to race and ethnicity; discrimination due to religion, language and accent; lack of work experience; stereotypes about youth on the part of employers; criminal backgrounds of youth; and lack of motivation on the part of youth.

8.3.3 Differences in Participants’ Experiences and Perceptions

In general, as noted above, there were no significant differences in the labour market experiences and perceptions of employment barriers between the participants in the Ghanaian and Somali groups. However, there were a few notable differences in perceptions that were largely driven by differences in characteristics of the two groups. These differences in perceptions ultimately affected labour market attitudes and job search approaches of the two groups.

More Ghanaian participants than Somalis reported that they were currently unemployed. However, more Somali participants indicated they had had to look for work that was different from the work they were qualified for or interested in doing. This made it more likely they would be employed than their Ghanaian participants. Arguably, these differences in attitudes towards job searches between the Ghanaian and Somali participants are important factors that shaped their labour market perceptions, behaviour and access to employment.
As shown in Table 8.2, Somali participants were more likely to live with their parents and were also more likely to identify their parents as being very religious and to belong to the same religion as their parents. Ghanaian participants, on the other hand, were less likely to belong to their parents’ religion and a higher proportion of them indicated not belonging to any religion or church. As discussed in chapter six, virtually all Somalis were Muslims, which has been receiving bad press since the attack on the World Trade Centre in New York in September 2001. The attack was perpetrated by an extremist fringe Islamic group called al-Qaeda and this has resulted in heightened suspicions among many North Americans about Muslims generally harbouring “terrorist” sentiments and out to destroy Western civilization. This factor lies behind the perception of many of the Somali participants that their religion is a barrier to their labour access.

### Table 8.5
Perceptions about Family Influence and Religion on Job Search

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Ghanaians</th>
<th></th>
<th>Somali</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Total=9)</td>
<td>(Total=6)</td>
<td>(Total=10)</td>
<td>(Total=5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you say your parents have influenced your educational aspirations?</td>
<td>4 Yes</td>
<td>5 No</td>
<td>4 Yes</td>
<td>6 No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Yes</td>
<td>3 No</td>
<td>1 Yes</td>
<td>4 No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did your parents influence your current or future employment aspirations?</td>
<td>1 Yes</td>
<td>8 No</td>
<td>7 Yes</td>
<td>3 No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Yes</td>
<td>5 No</td>
<td>1 Yes</td>
<td>4 No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is your family religious?</td>
<td>8 Yes</td>
<td>1 No</td>
<td>10 Yes</td>
<td>5 No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 No</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you belong to the same religion as your family?</td>
<td>2 Yes</td>
<td>7 No</td>
<td>9 Yes</td>
<td>1 No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Yes</td>
<td>3 No</td>
<td>1 Yes</td>
<td>4 No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you perceive your religion to be a barrier to you finding employment?</td>
<td>3 Yes</td>
<td>6 No</td>
<td>7 Yes</td>
<td>3 No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Yes</td>
<td>2 No</td>
<td>3 Yes</td>
<td>2 No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 8.5, Somali participants were also more likely to report that their parents influenced their current or future employment aspirations compared to Ghanaian participants. In terms of parental influence on participant’s educational
aspirations, a higher proportion of Ghanaian participants- compared to Somalis- indicated being influenced by their parents.

In section 8.2, there was a discussion of the educational attainment of parents of the survey respondents and the findings indicated that on average, parents of Somali participants attained higher levels of education compared to Ghanaian respondents’ parents. As discussed elsewhere in this chapter, there is a high correlation between high educational parental skills and the transmission of them to their children. Therefore the expectation is that Somali parents would have more influence on their children’s educational aspirations than Ghanaian parents. However, this was not found to be true.

This may be due to a number of reasons. First, it may be the result of the limitations of comparing levels of educational attainment that are not comparable. Second, there may be biases in the self-reporting of educational credentials by participants. Another possible explanation is that the Ghanaian and Somali cultures put different emphases on education. Whatever the explanation is, the differences in parental influence among Ghanaian and Somali participants undoubtedly determined their perceptions about their schooling, labour market access and their attitudes towards job searches.

Existing vocational and career development theory and research suggests that both family background characteristics and family interaction processes tend to influence occupational preparedness and choices (Way and Rossman, 1996). As well, family influence background factors such as the location of the family, the parents' socio-economic status, their educational level, racial/ethnic background, and family income
have been found to be associated with career development (Schulenberg et al., 1994; Splete and Freeman-George, 1985).

A number of the participants reported looking for jobs other than what they were qualified to do. This was particularly common with the Somali respondents, perhaps suggesting why Somali participants were overrepresented in part-time jobs. This is consistent with the finding of Ornstein (2006) of a high incidence of part-time employment observable among Somalis. Ornstein found 40.9 per cent of Somali women between 18 and 64 in Toronto in the labour force, with their unemployment rate standing at a staggering 35.6 per cent, and with 39.3 per cent of those working employed in part-time jobs. This compares unfavourably with 23 per cent of employed women (15 to 64) in Ontario working part-time during the same period.

8.3.4 Similarities in Participants’ Perceptions and Experiences

In general, the labour market experiences, behaviours and perceptions of the participants in the Ghanaian and Somali groups surveyed were similar in more ways than they were different. The similarities in views and experiences of females of the two groups were far closer than similarities between their respective male counterparts. On the other hand, the labour market experiences of the males of the two groups were very similar.

A majority of the respondents of both groups expressed dissatisfaction with the treatment they got from employers. They were particularly concerned about rudeness. Many of the participants, especially the males, indicated they faced numerous barriers finding jobs. For example, they cited employer stereotypes about blacks especially black
males, criminal records, race and ethnic background as being the biggest barriers. This perception corroborates Frances et al (1985) who observed black job applicants being subjected to more discourteous and negative treatment than their white counterparts by potential employers.

A majority of participants of both groups, primarily male, were dissatisfied with the types of jobs they found. Many respondents in the two groups described their jobs as largely minimum-wage menial jobs. As indicated in Table 8.3, most of the jobs they reported finding were predominantly part-time and came primarily from areas such as fast food restaurants, grocery stores, warehouses and call-centres.

As observed by Ahmed, a Somali male respondent:

*I have been working in the last three years in a warehouse. The job is terrible and the pay is bad and it is even a part-time job. I would like to get a decent job and I have been applying for jobs but none of them have invited me to an interview. I just want an interview to prove myself but getting the interview is difficult. Sometimes I think they don’t call me for interviews because of my name. You see I am a hard worker and I studied business and accounting at George Brown College and can be a good accounts clerk but I am not able to get interviews for that position. It is very sad.*

Kwasi, a male respondent from the Ghanaian group also stated:

*I am planning to go back to school because I now know as a black male I cannot get a job with a high school education alone. Maybe if I get a university degree I can become a teacher instead of going to temporary agencies to find short-term manual labour jobs. I have applied for many entry-level jobs and I have been
invited for interviews but I don’t get the job. It is not easy finding work in Toronto. I think if I go back to school and finish my university education it will help me find a job.

A common feature of the two groups surveyed was the high level of underemployment affecting them. Participants from both groups indicated they were not satisfied with their jobs and many of them believed the jobs did not correspond to their level of education and skills. As discussed earlier, a majority of employed participants were in the service sector, which is known to have widespread underemployment in Canada. For example, Livingstone and Scholtz (2006) analyzed the “Work and Lifelong Learning” survey, a Canada-wide survey conducted in the winter and spring of 2004, and found, among other things, underemployment in Canada to be widespread with its greatest incidence among service and industrial workers.

Participants of both groups also commented on the quality of their past and current jobs and some of the comments touched on issues such as wages, benefits and hours of work. In particular, participants’ comments highlighted the minimum-wage and part-time nature of the jobs they had found and their lack of benefits. According to many of the comments, these jobs usually lacked or had poor access to non-wage benefits (such as life/disability insurance, extended medical coverage, dental insurance, and pension plans) and there was a tendency for these to be temporary work with relatively low or no union coverage.

As noted by Alima, a female Ghanaian respondent:

The kinds of jobs I find don’t have benefits and they are usually part-time. I think this is why many of my friends don’t stay in these jobs for long. In my current job
I don't have benefits like medical and dentist plans but last summer I got many hours of overtime, which was very good to me. I think every job should give their employees these benefits and if they don’t then they should give them many hours of overtime. This will make the workers stay with the company. Right now, I am looking for a job that has benefits and overtime and if I find one I will leave this one.

The participant’s message in this comment has to do with the low wages that she was paid which she articulates in terms of inadequate hours worked. In the words of Suad, a Somali female participant:

I know of only two of my friends in my community that have jobs with benefits. I work for a Burger King restaurant and they don’t give us benefits. I am staying with this job because it allows me to go to school part-time.

Ali, a Somali male respondent noted:

I work in a plastics factory and most of my friends work there but only one friend I know has benefits at my workplace because he is full-time and has been working there for three years. The rest of us are part-time and we don’t have benefits.

Anyway, I can’t work there for three years just to get benefits. The place sucks. I am only there because I have nothing else. It’s not easy getting a job with benefits.

Similarly, Joe, a Ghanaian male participant observed:

I have not found any job that has benefits. When you can only get temporary jobs, you don’t dream of a job with benefits. Maybe when I am able to go to college
and graduate then I will start thinking of jobs with benefits. What I need at this
time is a job that will give me some money.

This point is also echoed by Jama, a male Somali participant who stated:

*I think these days jobs with benefits require university education. I think the youth
can get good quality jobs by going to the university and graduating with a degree.*

It is clear from the foregoing comments that all the participants, irrespective of
their sex or community, had to deal with jobs that have no benefits.

### 8.3.5 Gender Divide in Experiences and Perceptions of Participants

An interesting observation from the survey responses is the gender divide in
labour market experiences and perceptions of the participants. As shown in Table 8.6, the
differences between females and males within each group were more significant than the
differences across the two groups.

There were notable differences between males and females in the two groups but
significant similarities between females of the two groups. For example, females from
both groups were more likely to have an optimistic view of the job market than males. As
well, females were more likely to be less critical of their employers and more likely to be
satisfied with their jobs compared to their male counterparts.

While females in general were more optimistic about finding employment, the
difficulties faced by male youth seeking employment were not just limited to them. Some
females also indicated that they faced barriers to finding employment. However, as their
comments show, they were more flexible and persistent in their job searches and
eventually found jobs they could live with. Fowzia, a Somali female respondent, had this to say about her experience with finding employment:

*I think if a person is motivated and determined you will eventually find employment but it is not easy. I have had my ups and downs in the job market but I did not give up until I found my present job as a cashier at a furniture company in Toronto [name withheld]. Even though it is not the kind of job I should be doing with my level of education, it is better than working at MacDonald’s. I got this job because I learnt from my past mistakes at interviews and made some changes to my personality. I even changed the way I dress. I used to wear African clothing but I changed all that for my interview for this job and it worked.*

A similar experience is shared by Ghanaian female respondents. As noted by Esi: *It is difficult finding good jobs but you can always find a job at Wal-Mart, a fast food restaurant or in a retail store. It is difficult to get a job with the good companies. I tried sending my resumes to Bell Canada, Rogers and many other good companies but they did not invite me to an interview. I have therefore been working with a retail store [name withheld] for the past two years.*

While there are frustrations among both male and female participants in their efforts to find employment, the above comments show a different level of frustration between the two genders. Some of the comments by participants, especially comments from some female participants about making conscious efforts to change their personalities to find employment, show some flexibility in approaching job searches. For example, in one of the comments above, a female participant indicated changing her
ways of dressing to get a job. Arguably, this shows some flexibility in dealing with the challenges and barriers to accessing the labour market.

A few male participants thought that graduating from college would contribute to their chances of finding jobs with benefits. This suggests recognition of the importance of education or at least educational credentials so far as the successful attachment of youth is concerned.

The high unemployment among the participants and the largely low quality jobs they find are not features unique to just the participants but are a more widespread phenomenon among members of the larger African community in Toronto to which the two communities belonged. In fact, Ornstein (2006) found the unemployment rate for men of working age from African groups in Toronto to be 9.6 percent and 13.2 percent for women, compared to average rates for the Toronto CMA of 5.2 and 6.3 percent for males and females respectively. More specifically, Ornstein also found that more than a third of Ghanaian and Somali males work in less skilled manual occupations. These findings are consistent with comments by the survey participants about the difficulties of finding employment and the high incidence of low quality, low skilled, low paying and largely part-time jobs they actually did manage to find.

Even though many of the survey respondents, including a majority of those employed, indicated they were actively involved in looking for better employment opportunities, their job search activities and efforts were not in sync with those of persons desperate for jobs. In terms of efforts put into job searches, a large number of the participants, primarily males, indicated they spent less than 10 hours a week on job search activities.
The amount of time usually recommended by employment counsellors for job searches far exceeds 10 hours. For example, the University of Toronto Career Centre suggests that jobseekers strive to do the following weekly: apply to five postings, make five new contacts through research and networking, track job search activities to ensure they are working efficiently towards meeting goals and develop marketing materials including resumes, cover letters, and interview skills. These activities, if done properly, require more than 10 hours a week.

From the participant responses given about the amount of time spent in job searches, there were some gender differences in the times allotted for job searches by respondents. On the average, females spent an average of 20 hours or more a week on job searches compared to an average of less than 10 hours a week among males. Many factors explain this difference, including the increasing labour market participation of women in Canada and a better preparation (higher educational attainment and better skills) of females for the labour market making them more likely to envision getting a job than their male counterparts.

A study by Thiessen and Nickerson (1999) suggests that female youth are increasingly better positioned than their male counterparts for successful labour force participation. The authors found twice as many female as male high school students applied to a program that was designed to facilitate young people's transition from school to work or to further education. As well, females were more likely to do volunteer work as a form of preparation for participation in the labour market.

As well, female participants made use of extensive job search strategies and available employment resources including doing volunteer work; contacting community
agencies that assist immigrants; contacting private employment agencies; networking with groups and people outside their communities, and focusing on jobs with career prospects. In contrast, males relied heavily on friends, private employment agencies and newspaper ads for job information.

In response to the survey question about barriers that participants faced accessing the labour market, respondents identified multiple employment barriers that they have encountered. It was possible to group these into four main categories namely: lack of familiarity with job search techniques, lack of Canadian work experience, racial and ethnic discrimination and lack of appropriate qualifications. The ranking of the barriers by participants was essentially along gender lines rather than the lines of the two ethnic communities. Females from both groups tended to agree more on the ranking of which barriers were more important than their male counterparts did.

As argued in this section, perceptions were divided roughly along gender lines. There were more significant differences in perceptions among male and female participants than there were between the two samples overall. This gender difference may be associated with sociological and perceptual factors. Sociological factors such as the profound changes occurring in the Canadian labour market, particularly the growing feminization of the labour market which started in the 1960s; and the increasing numbers of young females going on to post-secondary work which is exposing gender differences in school performance. These sociological factors can have profound effects on gender perceptions about challenges in the labour market.

To conclude, I argue that a coherent theoretical analysis of gender perspectives on navigating and accessing the labour market is needed to understand the perceptual
differences between the genders on barriers to accessing the labour market that is revealed in this thesis research. The findings of the thesis therefore serve as a starting point for further research.

8.4 Perceptions of Labour market Discrimination

This section discusses responses given by participants regarding what they perceived to be unfair and discriminatory treatment they received in the labour market and also faced in their efforts to access the labour market. This was the most widely held perception among the survey respondents of both groups. As well, it was also the most strongly held perception.

Table 8.6, presents employment barriers identified by respondents. The most significant barriers identified by the participants and presented in order ranking are: discrimination due to race, ethnicity and cultural background, lack of familiarity with job search techniques and lack of Canadian work experience. Males held stronger perceptions and views about labour market discrimination due to race, ethnicity and cultural background than females from the two groups. Below, I discuss some of the respondents’ views that are representative of the views expressed on this issue.

Among all the participants, racial and ethnic discrimination and the lack of Canadian work experience were the other highly ranked significant employment barriers they faced. Some male participants indicated having personally experienced what they perceived to be discrimination. These participants applied for jobs they believed they were qualified to do and yet were not hired. In their opinion, qualifications played virtually no role in their being denied those jobs.
For example, Mike, a Ghanaian male participant wrote: 

*Before I got my job I attended several interviews for jobs that I was qualified to do but I was not hired for any of them. I don’t agree that many youth don’t get jobs because of their educational level or qualifications. I will say it is due to discrimination.*

Tahir, a Somali male participant also pointed out:

*There is racism in Toronto. You go for many job interviews and you think you did well in the interview but you know you will not get the job.*

Another key perception expressed by many of the participants, particularly by the male respondents, to explain the high level of youth unemployment among youth of their communities, is the issue of employer race and ethnicity discrimination. Participants stated in many of their responses that they strongly believed that there was direct discrimination towards racial and ethnic minority youth job seekers in Toronto’s labour market.

These perceptions are consistent with what other researchers have found. There is a body of evidence in the literature that has documented racial prejudice and employment disparities in Canada. For example, a Canadian Heritage Ethnic Diversity Survey (2003), found 36 per cent of persons who indicated they belonged to a minority group, reported having experienced discrimination or had been treated unfairly on the basis of their ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion in the five years prior to the survey.

The Canadian Heritage Ethnic Diversity Survey estimated that 50 per cent of blacks, 43 per cent of Japanese and 35 per cent of South Asians reported discrimination.
While much of the discrimination occurred in various places such as stores, on the street and in encounters with the courts or police, the most frequently cited location was the workplace or when applying for work.

There were many comments that attributed high youth unemployment in the Ghanaian and Somali communities to racial, ethnic, religious and cultural discrimination. A majority of these comments were from male respondents. As shown in Table 8.6, about 8 out of the 10 Ghanaian male respondents and three out of the six Ghanaian female respondents cited discrimination due to race, ethnicity and cultural background as a significant barrier to their employment. The proportion is much higher for male Somali respondents with all 10 males identifying discrimination in the labour market due to their race/ethnicity against two out of the five Somali female respondents who see race, ethnicity and cultural background as a barrier. Below are some of the comments from respondents:

As expressed by Kwame, a male Ghanaian participant:

*From my experience I will say it is because of discrimination that the youth cannot find jobs. When you are black and you go to employers to submit your resume you don’t get good vibes from them because you are black*

Yaw, another Ghanaian male participant noted:

*Black youth can’t find jobs because of their colour. Even other minority employers don’t want to give blacks a job. In my opinion there is so much racial discrimination in this country. When you go looking for a job some employers don’t even make eye contact with you. There should be laws against racism and*
employers should be encouraged to employ minority youth. Please! Give black youth a chance.

Osman, a Somali male respondent wrote:

Somali youth cannot find jobs because employers don’t give black boys with accents jobs. When they hear your accent they say the job is taken

Ali, a second Somali male, also stated:

In Toronto, there is too much racism. That is why Somali youth unemployment is high. I have experienced discrimination by employers several times.

Another observation by a Somali male participant is as follows;

I think high youth unemployment has something to do with our colour. Employers don’t tell you directly but you know it.

This perception was not limited to males. There were a few female participant comments that attributed youth high unemployment to discrimination due to ethnicity and race. Fadumo, a female Somali participant, noted:

Toronto job market does not give youth equal opportunities to black youth that is why many of them have no jobs

Irene, a Ghanaian female participant also observed:

It is my feeling that some jobs I interviewed for and did not get them had something to do with my colour and Ghanaian name.

Another Ghanaian female respondent Esi noted:

I believe racism contributes to low employment among our youth. The job market does not give people like us a chance. I can personally say I have gone to many
job interviews and I know I did well at the interviews but never got any of those jobs.

There were a few Somali participants who felt that with the increasing and heightened public perceptions about Muslims and terrorism which emanated from the “9/11” events, being a Muslim posed a major barrier to Somali youth accessing the labour market. Jama, one of the Somali male participants, wrote:

*Having a Muslim name and being black does not help you in finding a job.*

*Before I got my current job I was turned down several times for jobs I interviewed for and I believe it was due to my colour and my Muslim name. I think since 9/11 getting a job is becoming harder for Muslims.*

There were comments, however, from several participants on discrimination who believed that discrimination was based on characteristics other than race and ethnicity. In fact, there were a few comments from participants indicating that they believed that accents and use of street language constitute barriers to labour market access. As noted by Fadumo:

*One of the biggest areas where Somali youth can find jobs is at the call centres but many of the employers of call centres don’t want to hire them because of their accent.*

Respondent Tahir also noted:

*Some employers think all Somali youth have an accent and they don’t want to give them jobs. I don’t have an accent and yet one black supervisor at a warehouse from one of the Caribbean Islands told me he could not understand me.*

Kofi, a Ghanaian male participant, put it differently, when he wrote:
I think the youth cannot find jobs not only because of Canadian experience but because many of us don’t have Canadian accent.

As Alima noted, the issue is not limited to accent but also the language used:

*I think many Ghanaian youth particularly males do not get jobs because of the street language they use. Some of them think they are cool by talking the way they do. For them to get jobs they need to speak proper English and not slang. If you don’t use good English no employer will give you a job.*

On the whole, religion – in this case Islam – was not considered to be a significant barrier to many of the Somali respondents’ employment, even though about half of them perceived religion to be a barrier to the employment prospects of Somali youth in general. One reason for this discrepancy might be because none of the respondents indicated they appeared at job interviews dressed in their religious clothing. In particular, none of the Somali female respondents indicated observing the hijab, i.e. covering of the head and body. However, when taken together with discrimination based on race, ethnicity and cultural background, almost all the participants saw this as a major barrier to employment.

An interesting issue that is worth investigating but which was not considered in the survey interviews is how Islamic beliefs of the respondents influenced the type of jobs they were prepared to do or that they included in their job searches. Somalis as Muslims would not work in places where alcohol is served, in gambling establishments, and in places where workers are required to handle pork. Working in warehouses and fast food restaurants were identified as some of the places of employment of participants, and some of these places do carry pork products, particularly some grocery warehouses and
fast food restaurants with bacon on their menus. Naturally, such places would not be appealing to Somalis.

It is well established in the literature that racial and ethnic minorities in Canada tend to fare worse than their white counterparts in a number of measurable labour market outcomes (see the works of Ornstein, and Kunz). One potential explanation often given in the literature for this plight of minorities is labour market discrimination due to race and ethnicity. While this contention has been challenged in the literature by some researchers, a large number of the participants, particularly male respondents, reported they had experienced direct discrimination from employers because of their race and ethnicity. There were some participants who indicated they had experienced discrimination but could not prove it. This perception is not unique to the participants because, as noted by Li (1988), racism and discrimination are part of the daily lives of people of colour.

To summarize this section’s discussion, the survey interviews revealed high levels of unemployment among the participants. It also revealed a significantly high proportion of part-time jobs among those employed. Both in terms of current labour market status and views of participants on the difficulties and challenges they face in the labour market, participants were divided more along gender lines than between the two communities in general. This suggests that among the participants, gender is more significant to their labour market access problems than is their ethnicity.

Finally, given the significantly lower level of access to full-time jobs and a high incidence of part-time employment among the participants, as well as many participants reporting direct experience of discrimination from employers, I argue that discrimination
due to race and ethnic backgrounds cannot be discounted as an important contributing factor to the participants’ and the youth of their communities’ weak labour market attachment. In the minds of the participants, labour market discrimination due to race and ethnicity is a significant barrier to their access to jobs.

### Table 8.6
**Job Search and Perceptions of barriers to finding Employment**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Ghanaian Male</th>
<th>Ghanaian Female</th>
<th>Somali Male</th>
<th>Somali Female</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL #</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If currently unemployed, which of the following reasons would you say are preventing you from getting a job?</td>
<td>not familiar with job search techniques</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of Canadian work experience</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of proper qualifications</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of contacts/network connections</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of English skills</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Discrimination due to race, ethnicity, cultural, and religious background</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you received any employment counselling in the last year?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What efforts have you made to secure a job/another job during the last year?</td>
<td>contacted a Canada Employment Centre</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>asked friends and relatives to keep their eyes open for me</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>contacted a private employment agency</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>contacted an African community agency/immigrant women's agency (specify)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>contacted a religious/charitable agency (specify)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>did volunteer work</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>answered newspaper adds</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During times when you are unemployed, how many hours a week do you usually spend looking for a job?</td>
<td>less than 10 hours</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>more than 10 hours</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>over 20 hours</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you been called in for a job interview in the last year?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were you hired for any of the jobs for which you were interviewed?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you were not hired why do you think that was?</td>
<td>did not have Canadian experience</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qualifications not found suitable</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>language problems</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>racial/ethnicity discrimination</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gender discrimination</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.5 Discrimination, Trust, Social Ties and Sense of Belonging

This section discusses and summarizes responses to questions exploring participants’ perceptions of discrimination and their level of trust in people and institutions as well their sense of belonging to their communities and to the wider society. The rationale is to evaluate the impact of participants’ perceptions of discrimination on their relationships and networks within and outside their communities. The summaries of the responses are contained in Tables 8.7 through 8.9.

The starting point for the discussions in this section is the finding of the Ethnic Diversity Survey that indicate that roughly 7 in 10 or 72 per cent of black respondents who perceive discrimination were less trusting of people. This is consistent with the findings in the thesis survey. As shown in Table 8.8, all participants believed there is prejudice and racism in Toronto; however, 21 out the 30 did not trust people in their community and 25 out of the 30 did not trust neighbours (Table 8.6).

The contention of this thesis is that individuals and groups can obtain needed resources and support from the network of social ties and relationships in and outside their communities to facilitate their successful access to the labour market. But developing these ties and relationships depends to a large extent on young people’s trust in people and institutions and their sense of belonging to family, neighbourhood, community and society in general.

Table 8.7 summarizes responses to questions exploring relationships, level of trust, sense of belonging to community and level of satisfaction with community. As well, the table also explores participants’ relationships and networks outside their communities. A majority of the participants from each of the two communities indicated
closeness to parents but they did not trust people in their communities and were
dissatisfied with their communities. In order to evaluate the extent of participants’
networks in and outside their communities, they were asked if they belonged to an
informal network of friends or acquaintances who they contact on a regular basis. A
majority of the participants from the two groups did not belong to informal networks
outside their communities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Ghanaians</th>
<th>Somalis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Closeness to parents</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust People in community</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel at home in community</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfied with community</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust in neighbours</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit friends and acquaintances outside community</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belong to informal networks outside your community</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are there networks outside your community that can help with job searches?</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participants were asked about their willingness to undertake voluntary activities
and help others in their communities. Table 8.8 summarizes responses to these questions.
As can be seen from the Table, a majority of Ghanaians (12 out of 15) and Somalis (9 out
of 15) will not volunteer and help out a local community group. As well, fewer
participants of both groups are active members of a local community organization. This
suggests a weak sense of belonging. With respect to participating in local community
events, fewer Ghanaian (4 out of 15) compared to Somalis (10 out of 15) participants
have attended a community event in the past six months. This is an indication that the
Somali participants have a stronger sense of belonging and better connections to their community than do the Ghanaians.

In order to evaluate the extent of the impact of participants’ perceptions of discrimination on their networks in and outside their communities, participants were asked questions related to their relationships outside their communities, where they would go to get important information, whether they think multiculturalism helps them with their job searches, or if they belonged to an informal network of friends or acquaintances who they contact on a regular basis. As well, they were also asked if they think there is prejudice against minorities in Toronto and whether this prejudice extends to their labour market access.

The results contained in Table 8.9 show that all the participants from the two communities agreed there is a lot of prejudice in Toronto against people from ethnic minority communities and all but one Somali believed that when it comes to getting a job, there is a lot of prejudice in Toronto against people from ethnic minority communities. The consequences of these perceptions, for those who are affected, can be seen in their low levels of networking with people and organizations outside their communities on a regular basis. This is against their strongly held perception that there are networks, resources and groups outside their communities that can contribute to their job search.

Given the significantly lower level of networking outside participants’ communities, as well as many participants believing that there is a lot of prejudice in Toronto against people from ethnic minority communities when it comes to accessing the labour market, I argue that discrimination due to race and ethnic backgrounds is a
significant factor affecting the labour market access of these minority youth. It impacts directly on access to jobs, and indirectly by adversely affecting their ability to build bridging/linking social capital that is critical to their access to the labour market.

### Table 8.8

Participants’ Sense of Belonging to Community

| Question                                                                 | Ghanaians | | | | | | Somalis | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Some say that by helping others you help yourself in the long run. Do you agree? | - | - | - | 15 | - | 1 | - | 14 | | | | |
| Do you help out a local community group as a volunteer?                 | 8 | - | 4 | 3 | 8 | - | 1 | 6 | | | | |
| Do you agree that most people in your community can be trusted?         | 12 | 2 | 1 | - | 8 | 2 | - | 5 | | | | |
| Can you get help from family members when you need it?                  | 4 | - | 1 | 9 | 2 | 4 | - | 9 | | | | |
| Can you get help from friends when you need it?                         | 1 | - | - | 14 | 2 | - | - | 13 | | | | |
| If you were caring for a sibling and needed to go out for a while, would you ask a neighbour for help? | 15 | - | - | - | 3 | - | 3 | 9 | | | | |
| Have you visited a neighbour in your community the past week?           | 4 | - | - | 11 | 5 | - | 1 | 9 | | | | |
| Have you attended a local community event in the past six months?        | 9 | - | 2 | 4 | 4 | - | 1 | 10 | | | | |
| Are you an active member of a local community organization?             | 11 | - | 1 | 3 | 10 | - | 1 | 4 | | | | |
| Does your local community feel like home?                                | 7 | - | 3 | 5 | 4 | - | 3 | 8 | | | | |

In general, young immigrant communities such as the Ghanaian and Somali communities in Toronto, while having very strong bonding networks, tend to have limited ties and networks with mainstream society and therefore have limited job search resources. They also have limited information about some job openings, particularly in jobs where recruitment follows informal lines, as well as lack of knowledge about job search activities and lack of contacts with employers.
The results of the survey interviews show that both the Ghanaian and Somali respondents used their social capital, especially bonding social capital, during the entire process of job searches but used very limited bridging/linking social capital. Family members, friends and some community organizations provided participants with basic information about employment opportunities and public services. However, while many participants indicated their closeness to parents and families, few trusted parents, friends and neighbours and felt a sense of belonging to their community or feelings of satisfaction with the community.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Ghanaians No</th>
<th>Ghanaians Not Much</th>
<th>Ghanaians Not at all</th>
<th>Ghanaians Yes</th>
<th>Somalis No</th>
<th>Somalis Not Much</th>
<th>Somalis Not at all</th>
<th>Somalis Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you go outside your local community to visit any friends or acquaintances?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you need information to make a life decision, do you know where to find that information?</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you think that multiculturalism helps you in your job search?</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you belong to an informal network of friends or acquaintances with which you have contact on a regular basis?</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally speaking, do you think there is a lot of prejudice in Toronto against people from ethnic minority communities?</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When it comes to getting a job, do you think there is a lot of prejudice in Toronto against people from ethnic minority communities?</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you network with people and organizations outside your community on a regular basis?</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In your view, are there any networks, resources and groups outside your community that have contributed or, in your opinion, will contribute to your job search?</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In response to the survey questions about how respondents’ resources and supports derived from their network of social ties and relationships in and outside their communities have assisted them in their job searches, the following are some of the responses:

*I used my church members, friends, my college employment centre and the Canada Employment Centre to help me in my job search and I was successful. My pastor even announced I was looking for a job during the announcement period of Sunday service* – Kofi, a Ghanaian male respondent.

*I am not too sure my parents have been helpful but my uncle has been a useful resource to me in my job find. He knows a lot about the job market and preparing resumes. He even coached me on what to do during job interviews and that has been helpful* – Ahmed, a Somali male respondent.

As discussed elsewhere in the thesis, social capital can provide useful networks of contacts, resources and information to assist in successful job searches for people seeking employment. As well, it can also help those already in employment in terms of helping them to progress higher in the workplace. According to the Ontario Association of Youth Employment Centres (OAYEC)25, more than 60 per cent of individuals it surveyed say they landed their jobs by networking and a majority of these youth indicated retaining their jobs because of support from their networking. This is close to the survey responses in which 53 per cent of Somalis and 67 per cent of Ghanaians perceived that this kind of network contributed to youth employment. In the words of OAYEC, “You don’t have to

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25 http://www.oayec.org/youth/resources/res_show.cfm?id=79&uid=18
be well-connected to network; you just need to get the word out that you are looking for work and ask the right questions.”

The basic argument here is that perceptions of discrimination among the youth can affect the trust they have in people and institutions, and weaken their attachment and sense of belonging to their community and the country. All of this ultimately impacts negatively on relationships, ties and networks (social capital).

8.6 Consequences of discrimination for the Youth and their Communities

This section explores the consequences of discrimination for the participants, other youth in their communities and their communities. It draws on findings from both the focus group discussions and the survey responses. As discussed earlier, the perceptions of discrimination in the labour market and Toronto held by the participants translated into being more distrustful of people and institutions, a weak sense of belonging and high unemployment among the youth of their communities. This is having profound consequences for the youth and their communities.

Many of the participants were of the opinion that due to the lack of employment opportunities for the youth in these communities, they are confronted with two choices: idleness or further education. Many of them, especially young males, choose idleness making them susceptible to a life of crime which, if undertaken, can also affect their employment opportunities.

As articulated by a Somali male participant:

*I think the youth in our community are in trouble. The jobs are not there and even many of the adults have no jobs. There is all this information about young people*
shooting each other. I think it is because they don’t have jobs and they want quick money. That is why they get in trouble with the law.

A number of male participants complained bitterly about criminal records, which they see as being the biggest obstacle to many youth finding employment. On the effects of criminal records on labour market access, one Somali male respondent noted:

I want to talk some more about the youth with criminal records. You see they have a problem. When they go to look for jobs and they are asked if they are bondable and they are not and they are denied jobs and they look to other ways to make money and they go into criminal activities and get more criminal records.

A Ghanaian male participant was even more specific about the jobs that criminal records particularly affect when he stated:

Let me say..... I think many Black youth have problems finding jobs in the retail sector because they have criminal records and they are not bondable. No store will give you a job if you are not bondable.

Another Ghanaian male respondent also observed in a more direct and personal manner:

I have many friends who cannot find employment in the retail sector because of their criminal records. What makes me sad is that some of these friends got the record because of simple things like fighting and not stealing and yet no one will give them a chance to work in retail. The system is against black males period!

While it is a commonly held perception that unemployment causes criminal behaviour, evidence in the literature only indicates that unemployment rates and crime rates are positively associated but there is no consensus whether this association implies
one causing the other or third factors causing both. However, what is well documented is that youth involvement with crime tends to affect their future employment prospects (Tanner et al. 1999; Hagan et al 1996).

A number of the participants from the two groups were of the opinion that given the opportunity, many youth in their communities would choose a full-time job over staying in school or pursuing further education. Virtually all the participants said they knew youth in their communities who dropped out of school to work full-time. The fact that many of the participants knew other young people that chose employment over school implies that this is a widespread phenomenon. It may also suggest that good labour market prospects may increase school dropout rates among these youth.

The participants were generally less trustful of organizations in their communities that were set up to assist community members with their settlement. Many participants were very critical of the activities of organizations in their communities in so far as their supporting or not supporting youth in their job searches. Many of them were pessimistic about their prospects of getting any useful support from their communities and community organizations to help them find employment.

There were instances when some participants were suspicious of partisanship among some community agencies. For example one Somali participant related an incident of nepotism involving an organization in his community. He stated:

“*There is so much nepotism. I have seen it before. During the elections that gave Martin’s Liberal Party a minority government, [one well placed Liberal Party candidate-name withheld] came to our community organization and asked for Somali youth volunteers in his riding to work with him so that they could gain*
some experience in political campaigning. The Somali lady in charge of recruitment went to Pickering, Brampton and Scarborough outside the riding to recruit her nephews. We got to know this later when after the elections [Name withheld] organized an event for youth in his riding and could not identify any of us from the Somali community attending so he asked why we didn’t work with his campaign when he requested for us. It was then that we realized what happened.”

There were concerns from some participants about the lack of unity in these communities. For example, one youth noted:

I think it is because our community is not united that is why no one is helping the youth. Other communities I know help their youth find jobs—Ghanaian male respondent

The reference to unity among Ghanaians is in reference to how the Ghanaian community appears to be fragmented into many tribal-based groups whose focus is on helping development projects in their respective villages and towns in Ghana. Similarly, despite being forced by the federal government to form an umbrella organization to coordinate settlement services for their community, the most effective vehicle of mobilization in the Somali community is still the clan-based organizations.

As discussed in chapter seven and eight, the research participants used various strategies to try to cope with discrimination, perceptions of the consequences of discrimination, and particularly the high unemployment they faced. One participant, as discussed elsewhere, even changed the way she dresses when attending job interviews, while other participants resolved to apply for part-time or low-paying jobs or used third party employment agencies that resulted in short-term low end jobs.
8.7 Summary of Discussions

In summary, this chapter discussed perceptions of the participants about barriers to their labour market access, the nature of the perceptions, the kinds of labour market experiences on which these perceptions are based and the ways in which respondents attempted to cope with discrimination. The chapter also examined respondents’ perceptions of the consequences of discrimination for those who are affected, as well as their views of its impact on the community and its relation to social problems.

There was unanimous agreement among participants that youth unemployment in the two communities is a serious problem. They were also in agreement that youth unemployment in the two communities was more serious for males. The reasons given by the participants for high unemployment in the community were, as expected, also divided along gender lines and they included lack of familiarity with job search techniques, racial and ethnic discrimination and lack of appropriate qualifications.

Respondents of the two communities were also of the opinion that resources and supports derived from their network of social ties and relationships in and outside their communities can contribute to labour market success.

I argue that youth of both communities benefit through their attachment to their families, ethnic communities and ethnic organizations. These benefits include resources that can promote adaptation and assimilation among youth. However, these can also hinder their assimilation because they limit access to resources of mainstream institutions because of the strength of these bonding relationships.
The consequences of the perceptions of labour market discrimination for participants are their low levels of trust in people and institutions, their perceptions of family/parents doing little to support their job search efforts, and their criticism of organizations in their communities. Indirectly, these perceptions probably denied them the right contacts or access to the influential people behind them and generated bad criminal records. The respondents of the two communities were of the opinion that resources and supports derived from their network of social ties and relationships in and outside their communities can contribute to the labour market success of youth.
CHAPTER NINE
CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the thesis. First, an overview of the study is presented and its major findings are summarized. Second, the limitations of the study are noted and approaches used to compensate for the limitations are discussed. Third, recommendations based on the findings of the thesis are discussed. A fourth section makes suggestions for further research and the final section presents concluding comments.

9.2 Overview and Major Findings of the Thesis

This thesis examined the perceptions of Ghanaian and Somali youth participants about labour market access. It explores the consequences of their perceptions regarding the significance of race, ethnicity and recency of immigration on their level of trust in people and institutions and their sense of belonging to their communities and society, and assesses their implications for the labour market access and socio-economic integration of the participants.

Several researchers, particularly in the health field (see Hahn and Stroup 1994; and Senior and Bhopal 1994), have argued that the terms race and ethnicity should not be used synonymously. However, Dei makes a distinction between intersecting and interlocking analysis. In the former, identities (race and immigration) can be presented as separate analytical categories, while in the latter (for example, race and ethnicity) it is very difficult to separate the identities into categories. In this thesis the two terms are not
used synonymously but are taken as interlocking identities and their compounding effects are considered.

The thesis uses three methods. First, secondary data from PUMF of the 2001 Canadian Census and Labour Force Survey of Statistics Canada are used to examine broad labour market outcomes of youth in Toronto CMA by racialized and immigration characteristics. This is followed by a focus group interview for each of the study populations to explore the views and opinions of the focus group participants about barriers to their labour market access and the kind of labour market experiences these opinions and views are based on, as well as looking at the consequences of perceptions of discrimination, held by the participants, on their communities. Finally, a survey questionnaire is administered to 15 youth from each of the study populations. The survey collected information on personal and parental/household characteristics, family and community relationships, labour market experiences and current employment status of respondents and their relationships and the networks they are connected to in and outside their communities and their perceptions regarding discrimination in Toronto and its labour market. A summary of each of the three methods is presented in the next three sub-sections.

9.2.1 Quantitative Analysis

The analysis of the PUMF and Labour Force Survey begin with generating descriptive statistics of demographic characteristics and labour market activity profiles of the racialized and immigrant youth groups in the two data sources. A multinomial logistic regression model is then fitted to selected variables of the 2001 Census PUMF data for
Toronto CMA to assess the odds ratios of the different racialized groups currently unemployed. The results are used to show how the labour market access experienced by black, Chinese, South Asian and Other Visible Minority racialized groups compares to that of youth from the Non-Visible Minority group. The analysis reveals that the black group had the weakest attachment to the labour market among all the racialized groups.

The findings of this method provided a broad overview of how labour market outcomes for black youth in Toronto CMA compared to other youth groups, thus providing a context for locating the labour market experiences of Ghanaian and Somali youth that reside in Toronto CMA. The findings revealed employment patterns and trends among black youth, thereby complementing the qualitative approaches used in the survey and focus group methods that explored and assessed the labour market access of two communities that are part of the black community.

9.2.2 Focus Group Interviews

Two focus group sessions were conducted for the study. One focus group contained eight Ghanaian youth and the second had nine Somali youth. The focus groups were conducted primarily to uncover the labour experiences of the participants as well as their perceptions about factors that affect youth labour market outcomes in their communities.

The focus groups’ findings indicated a strong perception among both Ghanaian and Somali participants that youth unemployment in their communities is a serious problem and more serious for males than females. These perceptions were driven by the ‘lived labour market’ experiences of the participants. As well, the findings also revealed
widely held perceptions of a lack of coordination among schools, government, community-based organizations, and employers to help youth find employment, and the importance of networking outside their communities in achieving maximum labour market access. These findings complement the high levels of youth unemployment documented in the two communities in the two reports by Ornstein.

9.2.3 Survey Interviews

The survey questionnaire interview involved an in-depth interview of each of the participants. The interviews are semi-structured in nature and designed to collect demographic information as well as produce open-ended life stories of labour market experiences of the Ghanaian and Somali youth and their perceptions of how their race and ethnicity and social capital facilitated or impeded their entry into the labour market. The interviews were carried out face-to-face.

The survey used a 30 respondent sample for the two communities. It collected information on participants’ personal and parental/household characteristics, family and community relationships, labour market experiences, current employment status and participants' relationships and networks in and outside their communities. As well, it elicited the perceptions of participants regarding barriers hindering labour access for these particular youth. As well, it elicited their opinions about the consequences of their perceptions of labour market discrimination for their acquisition of social capital, for their employment and for the youth themselves and communities.

Similar to the findings of the focus group interviews, the survey findings also highlighted the seriousness of youth unemployment in the two communities and their
perceptions that resources and supports derived from their network of social ties and relationships in and outside their communities can contribute to labour market success. As well, the findings highlighted beliefs about discrimination among the research participants, the nature of these perceptions, the kinds of experiences on which they are based, the ways in which respondents attempt to cope with discrimination and perceptions of the consequences of discrimination for the participants and their communities.

9.3 Summary of Findings

Overall, the findings of the focus group interviews and the survey questionnaire responses indicate that perception of labour market discrimination is fairly widespread among the participants. I summarize the findings of the thesis under the following six points:

i. Participants believe that unemployment among youth of the two communities is very high and constitutes a serious problem, and that the problem was far more serious for males than females. Some indications concerning discrimination can be found as well in the consistently high rates of unemployment among Ghanaians and Somalis found in Ornstein’s study. As shown by discussions in the thesis, recent immigrants generally have the greatest difficulty in accessing labour markets and a combination of recent immigrant status coupled with high visible minority composition of recent immigrants has resulted in particularly high unemployment for these people in Canada.

ii. There were notable differences regarding perceptions of labour market barriers
between males and females in the two groups but significant similarities between females of the two groups. There were differences between the two groups in the depth of their bonding capital. While the level of trust for people and institutions was generally low for the participants of the two groups, the Somali participants are closer to and more influenced by parents than the Ghanaian participants and the Somali participants are more trusting of neighbours and more satisfied with their community than the Ghanaians. These findings are suggestive but we don’t know if they are consequential in any sustainable way with regard to impacting the socioeconomic integration of these youth. Therefore, further research is needed in the area.

iii. Perceptions of the research participants clearly indicate that discriminatory attitudes exist in the Toronto labour market. These perceptions are grounded in the labour market discriminatory experiences faced by the participants. How is this finding any different from the confirmation of discrimination in the hiring process in Toronto by Henry and Ginzberg (1985) or the finding of the Ethnic Diversity Survey that indicate widely held perceptions of labour market discrimination among blacks? This thesis builds on the findings of these two studies. It adds to the earlier work by giving an account of the nature of the perceptions regarding discrimination and the kinds of experiences on which they are based. While the findings of the thesis are suggestive and exploratory, they nonetheless address the debate over the significance of discrimination in the Canadian labour market. A larger follow-up study is needed to confirm these findings.
iv. Religion did not appear to be an important influencing factor in the perceptions and experiences of the two groups and neither did language. In general, Somali participants were more aware of their vulnerability in the labour market than their Ghanaian counterparts, a vulnerability they attributed to the negative impact of their names and religion. This feeling applies to a very small sample, and anecdotal evidence indicates that Somalis take their Islamic religion seriously, despite the negative impact.

v. The findings among the research participants also indicate a strongly held perception of prejudice against ethnic minorities in Toronto. This perception has translated into low levels of trust in people and institutions, and negative opinions of family/parents school system and community organizations as doing little to support their job search efforts. As well, it has also negatively affected the sense of participants’ belonging to their communities and the wider society, making them dissatisfied with their communities and society. This appears to have impacted the ability of participants to accumulate the relevant social capital that would facilitate their integration into the labour market. Consequent to this, unemployment is high in these communities and criminal activities and the school dropout rate is on the rise. The finding of a relationship between a perception of discrimination and lack of trust and sense of belonging is also established in the findings of the Ethnic Diversity Survey. According to the survey, respondents whether visible or non-visible minority who perceived discrimination generally were less trusting of people, and blacks who perceived discrimination were more likely (72 per cent) to be less trusting of people than South Asians (52 per cent)
and Chinese (45 per cent). The findings of thesis are also consistent with other survey findings (see Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, and Reitz 1990; Dion 1989; Dion 2001) that indicate that blacks in general tend to report higher levels of perceived discrimination than other minorities in Toronto. However, what is new about this finding in the thesis is that the consequences of discrimination for participants emotionally, economically and socially for black youth and their communities are expressed in a very eloquent way from the youth of two black transitory immigrant communities at the margins of Canada’s largest metropolitan area.

vi. Finally, the findings of the thesis indicate in a very strong way the belief of participants that resources and supports derived from their network of social ties and relationships in and outside their communities can contribute to the labour market success of youth. While this finding is not new, it does bring to the fore the idea that perceptions of labour market discrimination based on race, ethnicity and recency of immigration influences access to the labour market in two ways – directly during the phase of recruitment which includes when people change jobs, and indirectly by limiting their access to social capital.

To summarize this section, the findings of the thesis carry important implications for the debate over the significance of discrimination in the Canadian labour market. The thesis provides not only the perceptions of labour market discrimination due to race and ethnicity but the context- the points of view of members of two black communities. The beliefs about labour market discrimination among minorities are widespread and strong and have serious consequences for these populations, their communities and their long-term integration. Current literature and the thesis findings show that blacks generally
experience the greatest discrimination and highest unemployment in the Canadian labour market. This conclusion is also shown in Ornstein’s work when he writes that Ghanaians, Somalis and Ethiopians experience the greatest discrimination and highest unemployment in Toronto's labour market.

These findings confirm that actual experiences of labour market discrimination underlie the strong perceptions of the existence of labour market discrimination based on race, ethnicity and recency of immigration among the Ghanaian and Somali youth participants. As well, they confirm that participants’ ‘lived experiences’ and desire for equality in society also drive their perceptions that there is racism and prejudice against ethnic minorities in Toronto.

Finally, as argued in the thesis, for racial and ethnic minority recent immigrant communities like the Ghanaian and Somali communities, the virtuous relationship between bridging social capital and increased labour market opportunities often held by social capital theorists does not apply. As the findings show, perceptions of discrimination negatively impacted the access of these youth to bridging social capital. In this respect, it can be argued that race and ethnicity matter more than bridging social capital in the labour access of the two communities.

As well, in the Ghanaian and Somali communities, bonding social capital is derived primarily from clan and tribal/town relationships. As a result, social cohesion co-exists with indicators of social exclusion in the two communities. This draws attention to the need to interrogate the findings of the thesis with theories that have the capacity to explain the dynamics of racial discrimination in the integration of non-European immigrants. As discussed in chapter three, critical anti-racism theories (see works such as
Dei 1996; Calliste 1996 and Ighodaro 2007) can provide structural explanation of how race and ethnicity play out in the integration these immigrants. It is reasonable to conclude that racial discrimination in Toronto’s labour market outcomes is a significant factor in the poor labour market outcomes of workers of colour that are recent immigrants such as the Ghanaian and Somali job seekers.

9.4 Limitations of the Study

This is essentially a pilot study. As a result, there are a number of limitations that make the findings of the study suggestive rather than conclusive. First, the survey uses a sample of 30 respondents for the two communities. These communities are estimated in the 2001 Census to have a combined population of over 25,000 with half of them being young people. This makes the 30 participants used in the study a very small sample.

A second limitation relates to the focus group and the process by which survey participants were recruited. The recruitment process involved using youth employment counselling centres in the Toronto area that have high Ghanaian and Somali clientele, various community/religious groups in the Ghanaian and Somali communities, as well as distributing solicitation flyers on notice boards at employment centres, agencies, colleges and universities. This procedure may not have generated a participant pool that is fully representative of youth in the two communities.

Third, the findings are circumscribed by the limitations of the samples used. This makes it difficult to make generalizations based on the findings. A fourth limitation is the limited scope of the study, which did not include second-generation youth and also excluded older youth—those 25 to 29.
The present study tried to address these limitations by using three complementary research methods to ensure that a fairly accurate picture is presented.

9.5 **Recommendations**

The conclusions of the thesis point to the following main recommendations:

1. Both the thesis findings and my experience managing labour market bridging programs for minority youth suggest that recent immigrant youth often tend to draw on their communities for information and ideas on how to find employment. However, what they need to do is to become integrated into networks outside their communities, and build trust and legitimacy with these networks to become successful in the labour market. In this respect, assisting the Ghanaian and Somali communities in Toronto to expand their existing bridging and linking social networks and develop new ones would be a good idea;

2. Encourage publicly funded community groups in the Ghanaian and Somali communities to actively involve youth members of the community to plan services that directly affect them. As well, help them develop the skills and competencies needed to effectively collect, analyze and use employment program data to improve program outcomes;

3. Establish special criteria and procedures that are designed to create a "level playing field" in employment, thereby offsetting institutionalized racial and ethnic discrimination;

4. Direct and coordinate programs to help recent immigrant youth with job searches in and around the city and with skills upgrading or bridge training programs that
are gender specific;

5. Inform employers about the tools and processes available to assist them in the hiring and training of recent immigrant youth;

6. Facilitate the introduction of minority youth workers to Canadian workplace environments and culture by developing mentoring and other workplace programs for these youth.

9.6 Suggested Further Research

Given the small numbers used in this survey, a much larger follow-up study is needed. As well, the thesis research has noted research gaps in several areas. The largest gap appears to be how race, ethnicity and recency of immigration can vary with regard to specifically affecting the labour market access of the youth. Further research in this area is needed to provide more support to the findings of the thesis as well as increase our understanding of how first generation racial and ethnic minority youth navigate the labour market.

As discussed here, the labour market access of visible minority youth is a complex issue that requires further exploration. In particular, youth from communities in transition in big urban areas such as the Ghanaian and Somali communities in Toronto face major labour market access barriers. There is therefore the need to identify these labour market barriers and how they vary between the different communities in transition in Toronto and also between the different sexes. This calls for further research.

There is also a need to further investigate the factors behind the gender differences in perceptions about barriers to finding employment. In particular, some key
aspects of the sociological and psychological underpinnings of gender differences in labour market behavior need further examination.

Finally, the thesis also points to the need to gather detailed information on settlement histories of older non-European immigrant communities and the role of social networks in their socio-economic integration. The objective is to uncover how these communities navigated their integration and the social networks capital in the integration. For example, how old are these communities? How extensive are their networks? How strong are their bonding networks? How can the experiences of these communities be used to assist transitional communities like the Ghanaian and Somali communities in Toronto? These are important questions that need to be examined in future research.

9.7 Final Comment

Many of the observations contained in the thesis may prove helpful for schools, youth employment centres, immigrant communities, policy-makers, researchers and other stakeholders that engage with the issue of labour market access of non-European recent immigrant youth. Black youth unemployment in general and its associated challenges and opportunities have been concerns of many groups and the wider general public; this is especially true when some of the downsides are highlighted by the press. Therefore, there is a need for greater coordinated action to ensure that the high levels of unemployment among youth from the black communities in Toronto are brought down to the levels of non-visible minority youth. Open dialogue, and the mutual recognition of needs, and especially for contributions, on the part of all parties involved in creating employment opportunities for visible minority youth will lead to greater success.
Finally, I suggest further research into the themes and concepts developed in this thesis, in order to shed new light on the challenges facing non-European recent immigrant youth. There needs to be an examination of the wider impacts and long-term effects of unemployment on these youth. I intend to further develop this study.
Appendix A: Solicitation Flyer

Participants Needed for a Community Study

A Student Researcher from the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto (OISE/UT) is currently looking for prospective participants who have the following qualification:

- be between 19-24 years old and is a member of the Ghanaian and Somali communities in Toronto;
- be in school and out of school and employed or unemployed;
- has interest and time and willing to participate in the study (Duration – approximately 2 hours).

If you are interested in hearing more about this study and how you can be a part of it, please call 416-284-3945 or Cell phone: 416-821-3836 and I will be able to help you or leave your name and number after the recorded message and you will be contacted as soon as possible.
Appendix B:

Informed Consent Process Form

Participant Consent

I have read and understood the content and conditions of Shaibu Ahmed Gariba’s study “Race, Ethnicity, Immigration and Jobs: Labour Market Access among Ghanaian and Somali Youth in the Greater Toronto Area” I have also had the chance to ask questions about this study, and those questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I am at least 19 years of age and not over 24 years of age, and I agree to participate in this research project. I understand that I will receive a copy of this form after it has been signed by me and the researcher. On the basis of the guarantees given in the solicitation letter, under which I will participate in this study as well as the reasons below, I give my consent to be a participant:

- The information that I provide will be protected;
- I am free to withdraw from the study at anytime that I choose;
- The study is for academic purpose;
- The research study is not for financial gain.

Participant Name (PRINT) ___________________________ DATE _______________________

Participant Signature _____________________________________________________________

Researcher Signature __________________________________ DATE ______________________
Appendix C

Focus Group Questions

The purpose of the focus group is to pre-test survey questionnaire for the study of the labour market access of Ghanaian and Somali Youth in the Greater Toronto Area. As well, the focus group also seeks to gather the personal experiences and perceptions of participants of their labour market entry and the role that social networks and support structures play in the entry.

Introductory Questions

1. What are your views about finding a job/employment in Toronto?

2. Is youth unemployment a serious problem in your community?
   
   If yes, why?
   If no, why?

3. Is finding a job more of a problem for some young people than others in your community?

4. What do you think are the barriers that prevent the youth of your community from finding jobs?

Questions on Social Networks and Support Structures

5. How will you describe your contact with family/friends?

6. How large is your family?

7. Do you ask family members for support or favours?

8. How many close friends (friends you hang out with and can confide in them or ask favours from them) do you have?

9. How often do you ask them for favours/assistance?

10. Do you trust people in your community? Explain

11. Is your community united? Explain

12. In times of crisis where in your community will you go for support and why?

13. Where are some of the places in your community that you will feel comfortable asking for favours and why?
14. What kind of group and community activities occurs in your community?
15. How do you describe your involvement with group and community activities? Explain
   a) Very Active  b) Active  c) Not Active
16. Would you take any action if have concerns about issues in your community and why?
17. How diverse is the neighbourhood you live in?
18. How deprived is the neighbourhood you live in?
19. How large is your community members living in your neighbourhood?
20. How will you describe the degree of tolerance for diversity in the neighbourhood you live in?
21. Are you satisfied with the neighbourhood you live in? Explain
22. Do you trust people in your neighbourhood? Explain
23. What will you say are some of the common problems in your neighbourhood?
24. Describe the local services provided by government, community agencies and the private sector in your community and neighbourhood you live in.
25. How do you assess the usefulness of these services in your effort to find employment?
26. Do all youth in your community leaving school/training programs have difficulties finding jobs or is it just a few?

Questions on ways to improve youth employment
27. What do you think are the causes of youth unemployment in your community?

   Probes
   Is it the fault of parents?
   Is it the youth themselves?
   Is a failure of the community?
28. Do you see any role for parents in preparing youth for the labour market?

   If yes, what is this role?
   If no, why?
29. Has your community any role to play in preparing youth for the job market?

   If yes, what is this role?
   If no, why?
30. Are there groups, organizations or individuals in your community that support community members with their settlement issues including job search?

31. What kind of settlement support services have you been able to get from the groups/organizations in your community?

32. Do the settlement services groups/organizations in your community and neighbourhood work with the school system and other agencies involved in employment in the city?
   If yes, in your opinion or experience has this link been effective? Explain

33. Has the school system or any training program you have participated in been helpful in preparing you for the labour market?
   Probes:
   Did it enhance your knowledge about the labour market?
   Did you learn any job search skills that you found useful?

34. What do you think the school/ training program could have done differently to address your employment prospects?

35. What in your opinion do you see as barriers or facilitators in your experience of looking for a job?

36. What in your view can make job search easier for you or the youth of your community?

37. Do you have any views, ideas and suggestions on ways of improving youth employment in your community?

End of Questions – Thank you.
Appendix D

Survey Questionnaire

Study: Race, Ethnicity, Immigration and Jobs: Labour Market Access Among Ghanaian and Somali Youth in the Greater Toronto Area

This survey/interview is to solicit information from the Ghanaian and Somali youth resident in the Greater Toronto area for a PhD Thesis study on Race, Ethnicity, Immigration and Jobs: Labour Market Access among Ghanaian and Somali Youth in the Greater Toronto Area. Participation in the study is voluntary. Persons interested in participating in the survey should please contact me at 905-837-1503 or Cell Phone # 416-821-3836.

Please circle the most appropriate response a, b, c or d if provided. Use additional paper for answers if you need to write more but remember to write the question number.

1. What is your name (use a pseudonym) ________________________________

2. Age:
   a. 19
   b. 20
   c. 21
   d. 22
   e. 23
   f. 24

3. Sex:
   a. male
   b. female

4. What is your date of birth? ________________________________

5. What is your country of birth? ______________________

6. What year did you obtain your landed immigrant status? ______________________

7. What is your highest level of education?
   a. high school
   b. vocational school
   c. community college
   d. university
   e. other (specify)

8. If your education is outside Canada, please indicate the Canadian equivalent of the highest level of education you received:
   a. elementary
   b. high school
   c. vocational school
   d. community college
e. university
f. other (specify)

9. Which part of the Greater Toronto Area do you live in? ___________________

**Family/Parental/Household characteristics:**

10. Who do you live with?
   a. live alone
   b. parent/parents
   c. other adults (specify number and relationship) __________________________
   d. other (specify) __________________________________________

11. What is the highest level of education of your most highly educated parent?
   a. no high school
   b. high school
   c. community college
   d. university
   e. other (specify)

12. What is current employment status of the principal income earner in your household?
   a. unemployed
   b. employed full-time
   c. employed part-time
   d. self-employed
   e. not in the labour force

13. Do you own your place of residence or you are renting?
   a. own
   b. renting
   c. other (please specify)

14. What is the estimated total annual gross income of your household?
   a. under $22,500
   b. $22,500 - 49,999
   c. $50,000 - 90,000
   d. above $90,000

15. How would describe the socio-economic status of your parents?
   a. working class
   b. lower middle class
   c. middle class
   d. upper middle class
   e. upper class

16. How many siblings do you have? ______________________________________

17. Are all your siblings living at the same address with you?
   a. yes
18. Is your family religious?
   a. yes (please specify the religion)
   b. no

19. Do you belong to the same religion as your family?
   a. yes
   b. no (please specify your religion)
   c. other (specify)

20. How close are you to your family?
   a. very close
   b. close
   c. not close
   d. not applicable

21. Would say your parents have influenced your educational aspirations?
   a. yes (please specify)
   b. no
   c. other (please specify)

22. Did your parents influence your current or future employment aspirations?
   a. yes (please specify)
   b. no
   c. other (please specify)

**Current employment/unemployment status:**

23. Are you currently employed?
   a. yes (specify job and date employed)
   b. no
   c. other (please specify)

24. If yes to question 23, are you employed full-time or part-time?
   a. Full-time
   b. Part-time
   c. other (please specify)

25. Do you prefer full-time or part-time employment?
   d. Full-time
   e. Part-time
   f. other (please specify)

26. Have you ever been employed in Canada?
   g. yes (specify date and length of last employment)
   h. no
   i. other (please specify)
27. If you are or were ever employed what is/was your estimated total annual gross income?
   a. under $22,500
   b. $22,500 - 39,999
   c. $40,000 - 50,000
   d. above $50,000

28. If currently unemployed, why do you think you are you unemployed? ____________________
                                                                                      ____________________

29. Which of the following reasons would you say are preventing you from getting a job?
   a. not familiar with job search techniques
   b. lack Canadian work experience
   c. lack qualifications
   d. lack network connections
   e. don't speak English well
   f. jobs not available due to recession/internal hiring
   g. because of cultural/religious
   h. because of race/ethnicity
   i. other (specify)

30. Have you received any employment counseling in the last one year?
   a. yes (specify where) ________________________
   b. no

31. What efforts have you made to secure a job in the last one year?
   a. contacted a Canada Employment Centre
   b. asked friends and relatives to keep their eye open for me
   c. contacted a private employment agency
   d. contacted an African community agency/immigrant women's agency (specify)
   e. contacted a religious/charitable agency (specify)
   f. done volunteer work
   g. answered newspaper adds
   h. other (specify)

32. If currently unemployed, how many hours do you spend looking for a job every week?
   a. Less than 10 hours
   b. More than 10 hours
   c. Over 20 hours
   d. other (specify)

33. Have you been called in for a job interview in the last one year?
   a. yes
   b. no

34. If yes to question 31, when were you interviewed?
   a. in the last month
   b. in the last 3 months
   c. in the last 6 months
   d. in the last year
35. Were you hired for any of the jobs for which you were interviewed?
   a. yes
   b. no

36. Why do you think you were not hired for the job for which you were interviewed?
   a. do not have Canadian experience
   b. qualifications not found suitable
   c. language problems
   d. racial/ethnicity discrimination
   e. gender discrimination
   f. other (specify)

Perceptions on effects of socio-demographic characteristics on employment prospects

37. Has any personal characteristics of yours (age, ethnicity, education, gender, religion, language etc) been a barrier to getting a job?
   a. yes
   b. no

38. If yes, please specify which ones ________________________________________________
    ____________________________________________________________________________
    ____________________________________________________________________________

39. Why do you perceive these characteristics to be barriers to your job prospects:
    ____________________________________________________________________________
    ____________________________________________________________________________
    ____________________________________________________________________________

40. Have you had to look for work different from the work you are qualified for?
   a. yes
   b. no

   If yes, specify: ______________________________________________________________

41. Have you found looking for work an equitable process?
   a. yes
   b. no

42. What are your views about finding a job/employment in Toronto?
   a. not difficult
   b. difficult
   c. very difficult
   d. other, please specify__________________________________

   Please, give reasons for answer in question
43. How would you describe the employment situation of youth in your community?
   a. bad
   b. very bad
   c. good
   d. very good

44. How would you describe the unemployment of young people in your community compare with young people in others communities you are familiar with?
   a. bad
   b. very bad
   c. good
   d. very good

45. How would you describe the employment prospects of youth in your community?
   a. bad
   b. very bad
   c. good
   d. very good

46. Is the youth unemployment in your community high for boys than for girls?
   a. Yes
   b. no

47. If yes or no, please explain why you believe this to be the case? ________________________
   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________

48. What strategies do you think would help improve your employment opportunities?
   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________

49. What comments, observations or concerns do you have about the job market in Toronto that you would like to share? ________________________
   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________

Assessing Social Capital and perceptions of its role in labour market prospects
50. Some say that by helping others you help yourself in the long run. Do you agree?
   a. no
   b. not much
   c. yes
   d. very much

51. Do you help out a local community group as a volunteer?
   a. no
   b. not at all
   c. yes
   d. often (at least once a week)

52. Do you agree that most people in your community can be trusted?
   a. no
   b. not much
   c. yes
   d. very much

53. Can you get help from family members when you need it?
   a. no
   b. not at all
   c. yes
   d. definitely

54. Can you get help from friends when you need it?
   a. no
   b. not at all
   c. yes
   d. definitely

55. If you were caring for a sibling and needed to go out for a while, would you ask a neighbour for help?
   a. no
   b. not at all
   c. yes
   d. definitely

56. Have you visited a neighbour in your community the past week?
   a. no
   b. not at all
   c. yes
   d. frequently

57. Have you attended a local community event in the past 6 months?
   a. no
   b. not at all
   c. yes
   d. several (at least 3)

58. Are you an active member of a local community organization?
a. no
b. not at all
c. yes
d. very active

59. Does your local community feel like home?
a. no
b. not at all
c. yes
d. definitely

60. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the services provided by your local community organization?
a. very satisfied
b. satisfied
c. neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
d. dissatisfied
e. very dissatisfied
f. don’t know

61. Do you see any role for parents in preparing youth for the labour market?
a. yes
b. no

Explain your answer.
___________________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________________

62. Has the community any role to play in preparing youth for the job market?
a. yes
b. no

Explain your answer.
___________________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________________

63. In your view, are there any resources and expertise in your family that have contributed or you perceive will contribute to your job search?
a. yes (specify) _____________________________________________________________
b. no

64. In your view, are there any networks, resources and groups in your community that have contributed or you perceive will contribute to your job search?
a. yes (specify) _____________________________________________________________
b. no

65. Do you go outside your local community to visit any friends or acquaintances?
a. no
b. not much
c. yes
d. nearly always

66. If you need information to make a life decision, do you know where to find that information?
   a. no
   b. not at all
   c. yes
   d. definitely

67. Do you think that multiculturalism helps you in your job search?
   a. no
   b. not at all
   c. yes
   d. definitely

68. Do you belong to an informal network of friends or acquaintances with whom you have contact on a regular basis?
   a. no
   b. not at all
   c. yes, always
   d. yes, sometimes

69. Generally speaking, do you think there is a lot of prejudice in Toronto against people from ethnic minority communities?
   a. a lot
   b. a little
   c. hardly any
   d. none

70. When it comes to getting a job, do you think there is a lot of prejudice in Toronto against people from ethnic minority communities?
   a. a lot
   b. a little
   c. hardly any
   d. none

71. Do you network with people and organizations outside your community on a regular basis?
   a. no
   b. not at all
   c. yes, always
   d. yes, sometimes

   If answer above c or d, please, name these people and organizations
   __________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________

72. In your view, are there any networks, resources and groups outside your community that have contributed or you perceive will contribute to your job search?
   a. yes (specify where) ________________________________________________________
b. no

73. In your view, what role do you think networks, resources and groups in and outside your community can play in the employment of youth in your community?

___________________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________________

74. Is there anything else you want to share on your experience in the labour market and your feelings about labour market discrimination?

End of Questions- Thank you.
Appendix E

Interpretation of Coefficient of Logistic Model in Chapter Five

The coefficient of the logistic model in chapter five are interpreted in terms of the "odds ratio." The odds ratio is defined as:

\[
B_i = \log\left(\frac{\text{odds}_2}{\text{odds}_1}\right)
\]

where odds1 and odds2 are derived from the logistic regression of covariates and factors.

Basic logistic regression usually involves a dependent variable that has only two (2) nominal values usually (0,1) or (1,2). Because the dependent variable is binary, it is sometimes referred to as a bi-variate or binomial variable. It is used to try to answer the questions about the probability of one variable being most likely to be observed compared to another.

Suppose we assume that a recent visible minority immigrant youth looking for a job has only two outcomes i.e., either that youth finds a job and is employed or does not find one is unemployed. If the youth finds a job and is employed we can we can give (value = 0) and when the youth is unemployed (value = 1). Thus there are only two possible outcomes (Employed, Unemployed) -> [0,1]

Let Y_i be the variable describing the job search of the youth and the probability of being Employed means Y_i = 1 while the probability of it being Unemployed means Y_i = 0. Then since there are only 2 outcomes:

If the prob( Y_i = 1)       = p_i

then prob( Y_i = 0)         = (1-p_i).

And the expected value of Y at anytime is given by:
Suppose we are given that the relationship between the probability of being employed and unemployed and the season of the year, \( X \), is a linear relationship of the form:

\[
Y_i = B_0 + B_1 X_i + \text{err}, \quad Y_i = 0, 1
\]

The mean response or expected value is thus:

\[
E\{Y_i\} = B_0 + B_1 X_i = p_i.
\]

These are the classic logistic function forms and hence the name logistic regression. The response functions are measures of probability and are given by:

\[
E\{Y\} = \frac{\exp(B_0 + B_1 X)}{1 + \exp(B_0 + B_1 X)}
\]

\[
E\{Y\} = [1 - \exp(-B_0 - B_1 X)]^{-1}
\]

A property of this function is that it is easily linearized: For example since \( E\{Y_i\} = p_i \), by taking the natural logarithm of both sides of the equation and simplifying, it is easy to show:

\[
p_i' = \log \left( \frac{p_i}{1 - p_i} \right)
\]

which is called the logit transformation of the probability \( p_i \). And the ratio: \( \frac{p_i}{1 - p_i} \) in the transformation is called the odds. This means \( p_i' \) is simply the log of the estimated odds.

Using the logit transformation, the response function is easily linearized as:

\[
p_i' = b_0 + b_1 X
\]

which is the fitted logistic regression equation. In order to understand the meaning of the coefficient \( b_i \) consider two observation of the independent variable at \( X \) and \( X + 1 \), then the difference between them on the response curve is given by:
\[ p_i'(X_i + 1) = b_0 + b_1(X_i + 1) \]

and
\[ p_i'(X_i + 1) - p_i'(X_i) = b_1 \]

so that if \( p_i'(X_i) \) and \( p_i'(X_i + 1) \) are the estimated odds at \( X_i \) and \( X_i + 1 \) respectively, then it follows that:

\[ \log_e(\text{odds}_2) - \log_e(\text{odds}_1) = \log_e\left(\frac{\text{odds}_2}{\text{odds}_1}\right) = b_1 \]

and by taking the antilogs of both sides:

\[ \text{ODDS Ratio} = \frac{\text{odds}_2}{\text{odds}_1} = \exp(b_1) \]

i.e. the odds ratio between two levels of observation is simply the exponential of the regression coefficient, \( b_1 \).
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