SOCIAL CAPITAL, LABOUR MARKET OUTCOMES AND THE INFLUENCE OF ETHNIC CONCENTRATION: A CASE STUDY OF THE SOMALI COMMUNITY IN TORONTO

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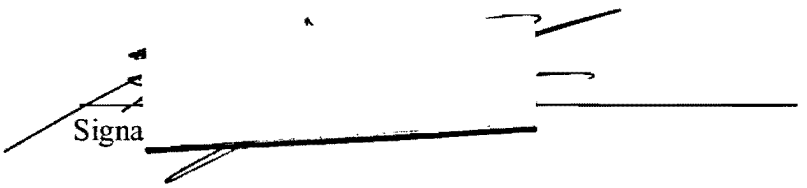

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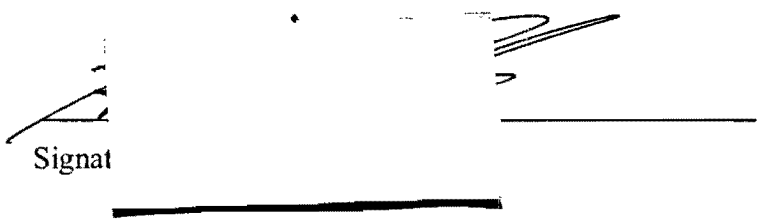

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ABSTRACT

The concept of social capital has become an explanatory variable for the labour market outcomes of immigrants. The primary aim of this paper is to investigate the type and quality of social capital within the social networks of Somalis in Toronto and how this affects the labour market outcomes of these individuals. A secondary, but related objective is to investigate the influence that living in an ethnically concentrated area may have on the types of people Somalis are tied to. Accordingly this paper will address three main questions: 1) What kind of social capital is embedded in the social networks of Somalis in Toronto? 2) How does the social capital present within the social networks of Somalis affect their labour market opportunities in Toronto?, and 3) Does living in an ethnically concentrated neighbourhood lead to the accumulation of more ethnic ties than not living in an ethnically concentrated neighbourhood?

Key words:

Social capital; labour market; ethnic concentration; ethnic enclaves; Somalis; Toronto

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Introduction

Social capital has become an explanatory variable in predicting many social phenomena. While the definition of social capital differs across academic disciplines, for the purposes of this study, social capital generally refers to "networks of social relations which are characterized by norms of trust and reciprocity" (Xue, 2008, p.1). Indeed, from health (Phongsavan et al., 2006; Simich et al., 2003), to housing (Reingold et al., 2001; Curley, 2010), the impact of social capital on the lives of individuals has been highlighted in academia. Employment and labour market research also reflects the importance of social capital. The literature in this area has continuously cited social capital as an important determinant of labour market outcomes (Granovetter, 1995; Potocky-Tripodi, 2004; Xue, 2008).

For immigrant populations, the importance of social capital on labour market outcomes is well-documented, however the focus of this study will be on one immigrant group in particular; the Somali community in Toronto. The Somali community is a relatively new immigrant community, but a large community nonetheless. Somalis are also one of the most marginalized and economically disadvantaged ethno-racial groups in the city of Toronto (Ornstein, 2000). In addition to poverty levels being far too high, underemployment is a significant problem within the community. That is, many within the Somali community arrived in the city with educational credentials and professional work experience that have been discredited in their new home (Ornstein, 2000). The economic disadvantage and general underemployment of Somalis in Toronto indicates that this community is exhibiting difficulties accessing employment within the city's labour market. This highlights the reason why examining this trend is even more pressing. The concept of social capital may aid in this endeavour. This study is designed to add to the literature relating to the influence of social capital on the lives and outcomes (particularly labour

market outcomes) of immigrants. Therefore, the quality of Somalis social capital and the influence of this on labour market outcomes will be the primary focus of this study.

A secondary, though related focus of this study is on the influence of ethnic concentration on the quality of social capital within the social networks of Somalis. Indeed, given the importance of social capital, the mechanisms by which individuals obtain this important resource is of great interest. Conversely, the mechanisms that restrict the acquisition of social capital are also important to explore. To be clear, the focus of this study will be on three concepts: social capital, ethnic concentration and labour market integration. Thus, in summary, this study will address the following research questions:

1. What kind of social capital is embedded in the social networks of Somalis in Toronto?
2. How does the social capital present within the social networks of Somalis affect their labour market opportunities in Toronto?
3. Does living in an ethnically concentrated neighbourhood lead to the accumulation of more ethnic ties than not living in an ethnically concentrated neighbourhood?

It is the hope that this work will promote further study into the quality of immigrants' social capital, the influence of residential and spatial characteristics on this quality, and the repercussions of social capital on the outcomes of immigrant communities, labour market or otherwise.

Literature Review

The following literature review will be divided into four separate sections. The first section will outline demographic information of the Somali community in Toronto which will provide important background on the ethnic community that will be the focus of this study. The second section will provide an overview of social capital and will discuss the type of social capital embedded in immigrant social networks. Here, social capital theory will be discussed with emphasis on divergent conceptions of social capital and variations in its utility. The third section will be a discussion on the current reality of labour market integration for immigrants in Canada, and lastly, ethnic enclaves and the influence this form of concentration may have on the social networks of immigrants and their labour market outcomes will also be discussed.

The body of research regarding social capital and its effect on the economic outcomes of immigrants' and refugees' is substantial however, through review of some existing literature, there is a significant gap. There are very few studies on the relation between social capital and economic outcomes of specific ethnic communities, and how residential ethnic concentration of this community may play a role in determining this social capital's usefulness in improving labour market outcomes (Reitz and Somerville, 2004; Hou and Picot, 2003). Thus, this study will be an attempt to fill an important void in the literature on social capital. In this endeavour lies the contribution this study will make to the existing literature.

The Somali Community in Toronto

The Somali community in Toronto is a substantial one. The 2006 census indicates that in Canada, this community numbered 37,785 (Statistics Canada, 2006), and, like many other recent immigrants, the majority of the Somali population initially settled and currently resides in the city of Toronto (Danso, 2001; Hopkins, 2006). Indeed, the number of Somalis in Toronto has

been estimated at approximately 17,380 (Hopkins, 2006), however, Somali community agencies put the population of Somalis in Toronto closer to 90,000-100,000 (Hopkins, 2006).

The vast majority of the current Somali community began arriving in Canada in the early 1990s as a result of the outbreak of civil war in Somalia (Danso, 2001; Hopkins, 2006; McGowan, 1995). The first wave of Somali refugees arrived "from urban areas such as Mogadishu and surrounding towns in the South and Hargeisa in the north" (McGowan, 1999, p.22). More recently, the demographics of Somalis arriving in Toronto have changed. There has been "a steady trickle of pastoralists...who had never seen a town before in their lives" (McGowan, 1999, p.22). Somalis also have a distinct settlement pattern in that there is a tendency within this community to settle among fellow tribe members. That is, in Toronto "most of the refugees who arrived from Mogadishu and its surroundings – mainly Darood and Hawiye clan-family members – tended to settle in the west of [Toronto in Etobicoke], initially in a cluster of apartment blocks near the airport...while many of the Isaaq have settled in the east (in Scarborough)" (McGowan, 1999, p.23).

Before this cohort of migrants from Somalia in the early 1990s, "there was practically no recognizable...Somali community to speak of in Canada" (Danso, 2001, p.4), and any Somalis who immigrated to Canada before this time "were mainly small numbers of economic migrants, students and political exiles" (Hopkins, 2006, p.366). As a result of the civil war, this trend changed and the "numbers of Somalis arriving in Canada seeking asylum (i.e. refugees) had increased significantly" (Hopkins, 2006, p.366). Many members of the Somali community also tend to be low-income. Statistics have shown that the average employment income of Somalis is $17,969 (Statistics Canada, 2006), which is well below Statistics Canada's Low-Income Cut-off (LICO) which in 2006 was $27,245 (Statistics Canada, 2007, p.9). The economic situation of

many Somalis highlights the importance of evaluating the economic outcomes of this particular ethnic group and the factors that may affect these outcomes.

Social Capital

Social capital can be seen as a consequence of one's social network, and indeed is "an important influence on various domains of human welfare such as...economic attainment [and] employment" (Potocky-Tripodi, 2004, p.62). In addition to improved labour market outcomes, social capital has been linked to a variety of other positive outcomes including public health (Simich et al., 2003), and a greater sense of belonging (McMichael and Manderson, 2004). James Coleman (1988) discussed the concept of social capital. He takes the position that individuals are rational and purpose driven and that this fact, coupled with certain social contexts, can account for the actions of individuals as well as the development of social organizations. In this sense, social capital can be defined by its function within society in that it is "productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible" (Coleman, 1988, p. S98). Coleman (1988) also recognizes that social capital can take different forms. It can be structures of trust and obligation, it can take the form of information channels and it can act as effective sanctions to action as well as define norms within social groups (Coleman, 1988).

Additional researchers have also discussed the concept of social capital at length. Specifically, two important scholars in the area of social capital are Pierre Bourdieu (1986) and Robert Putnam (1995). Similar to Coleman (1988), the work of these two individuals regarding this topic highlights the varying utility of social capital.

Bourdieu (1986) has emphasized the instrumental benefit of social capital and the deliberate accumulation of social relationships in the pursuit of economic goals when he defines social capital as, "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.51). This conception of social capital emphasizes the notion that one's "network of relationships is the product of investment strategies...aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.52). Here the utility of social capital is economic (i.e. financial) as well as symbolic (i.e. prestige), and very little is said about the integrative power of social capital in establishing trust and solidarity within a community.

Putnam (1995) differs slightly from Bourdieu (1986) in his conception of social capital in that while the latter focuses predominantly on the instrumental utility of social capital, the former couples his focus on the instrumental with the emotional utility of this resource. That is, the ability of social capital to tie individuals together for mutual benefit and trust as well as the implications for social solidarity is a key theme here. Putnam (1995) refers to social capital as "features of organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (p.67). Such networks facilitate reciprocity, coordination and communication thus allowing "dilemmas of collective action to be resolved" (Putnam, 1995, p.67). In decrying the decline of social capital in America in his perennial work, *Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital* (1995), Putnam assigns a premium to the type of social capital that facilitates strong social connectedness. He argues that "dense networks of interaction probably broaden the participants' sense of self, developing the 'I' into the 'we', or...enhancing the participants' taste for collective benefits" (Putnam, 1995, p.68). Here we see another

dimension of social capital that differs from Bourdieu (1986). Indeed, Putnam (2007) distinguishes between bonding social capital and bridging social capital.

The distinction between bonding social capital and bridging social capital recognizes that some forms of social capital tend to reinforce exclusive identities and homogenous groups (bonding social capital), while some are better for linking individuals to diverse assets and information outside of these homogenous groups (bridging capital) (Putnam, 2007). The latter type of social capital is often linked to what network researchers refer to as "weak ties" (i.e. co-workers, acquaintances) while bonding social capital is often linked to "strong ties" (i.e. family, close friendships).

Mark Granovetter (1973) coined the term *weak ties* and asserted that while analysis of ties is often limited to strong ties, given their ability to bridge the gaps between two unrelated groups or people, weak ties play a large and important role in the effectiveness of social capital (Granovetter, 1973). That is, strong ties in a social network often provide redundant resources, thus not helping the individual as much as weak ties, which provide the individual with a bridge to new, less redundant thus useful resources (Granovetter, 1973). Provided that an individual has numerous weak ties, the diversity that these ties bring to one's social network is ultimately what determines the effectiveness of the social capital embedded in that network (Granovetter, 1973). A social network rich in strong ties can be problematic if relied upon too much because they tend to isolate and deprive members of valuable information, leaving members with little support to improve their outcomes (Koch and Lockwood, 2010). Weak ties, on the other hand are "links we have with people who are more acquaintances than friends...we see these people occasionally or rarely" (Koch and Lockwood, 2010, p. 9). These ties "demand little time or effort, yet it can

deliver enormous dividends, sometimes in the form of casual information that can change our lives" (Koch and Lockwood, 2010, p. 9).

Bonnie Erickson (2003) reiterates the importance of diverse social networks when she points out that "diverse networks can help people to get a good job" (p.26). She states that, when searching for a good job, "close friends and kin want to help, but often cannot do very much because they are too much alike: they move in the same social circles and share information and influence, so they can do little for the candidate beyond what he or she can do alone" (Erickson, 2003, p.26). Thus "having a variety of acquaintances improves a jobseeker's chances of having one really useful contact" (Erickson, 2003, p.27).

In the case of immigrants, social capital is generally viewed by many researchers as a valuable resource for people with low human capital (Potocky-Tripodi, 2004; Waldinger, 1997). That is, in his study on Latino immigrants in Los Angeles, Waldinger (1997) determined that "the...connections that span immigrant communities constitute a source of social capital, providing social structures that facilitate action, in this case search for jobs and the acquisition of skills and other resources needed to move up the economic ladder" (p.3). Literature has shown that many Latino immigrants in the United States often have very little human capital thus social capital embedded in their ethnic community is often utilized in order to find a job (Gallo and Bailey, 1996; Takenaka, 2004; Waldinger, 1997). These findings highlight the fact that "under many circumstances, both bridging and bonding social capital can have powerfully positive social effects" (Putnam, 2000, p.23). However, the question of this study is not simply if social capital within ethnic networks can be utilized successfully to acquire employment. Indeed, there is a great amount of literature available that would suggest that this can be the case (Gallo and Bailey, 1996; Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Takenaka, 2004; Waldinger, 1997). Rather, the

focus here is on whether social capital embedded in ethnic networks is useful in finding a *good* job (i.e. a job requisite to an immigrant's education and skills).

In his study on the economic returns of immigrant bonding and bridging social capital in the Netherlands, Lancee (2010) found that "bridging [social capital is]...associated with a higher likelihood of being employed" (p. 217) for immigrants, and that bonding social capital was effective in this same respect only when immigrants were strongly tied to native Dutch citizens (Lancee, 2010). Indeed, Lancee (2010) concludes that "high closure in the family network may indicate a high level of solidarity and social trust, but it does not provide one with new and valuable information that is useful in finding a better paid job" (p. 220) and that "those people with a high level of bridging social capital are more than two times more likely to be employed than those who do not possess bridging social capital" (Lancee, 2010, p. 220). Thus bonding capital can be less effective for making headway in the labour market. Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) found similar evidence. That is, the researchers found that bonding social capital tends to help low-skilled immigrants find employment, but is woefully lacking for high-skilled immigrants with substantial human capital (Pendakur and Pendakur, 1998). Similarly, Lamba's (2003) findings "suggest that while family and ethnic-group ties can aid [immigrants and refugees] in their employment adjustment, these ties may not be able to compensate for...downward occupational mobility" (Lamba, 2003, p. 60). Lamba (2003) goes on to state that this type of social capital (bonding social capital) "does not have the capital power to overcome societal restrictions, such as [the discrediting] of foreign credentials...or institutionalized downward mobility" (p. 60). These studies are a sample of the many that suggest that the quality of one's social capital matters (Briggs, 2005; Ooka and Wellman, 2006). Here we see that the quality of immigrant bonding social capital may not necessarily be effective enough for

immigrants on an individual level, particularly those with a substantial amount of human capital (Potocky-Tripodi, 2004). More generally, at the level of immigrant communities, the quality of social capital especially with respect to labour market outcomes may be affected by the degree to which ethnic groups are clustered within "low reward" occupations (Ooka and Wellman, 2006). Indeed in these cases, bridging social capital appears to be more helpful in improving labour market outcomes for immigrant communities.

The effectiveness of bridging social capital versus bonding social capital in the improvement of labour market outcomes for immigrant communities has been empirically tested in the literature and results have been extraordinarily consistent. Indeed, as Briggs (2005) notes, bonding social capital may be enough to "get by" but bridging social capital is crucial for "getting ahead".

Immigrants and Labour Market Integration

Canada's most recent immigrants have been the personification of two major changes in the Canadian immigration landscape. First, immigrants to Canada are currently more ethnically and racially diverse than prior immigrant groups (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999; Hou and Picot, 2003; Kazemipur, 2006; Reitz, 2007), and second, recent immigrants are also the most highly educated cohort to arrive in Canadian history (Li, 2000; 2001; Reitz, 2007). These changes are the result of a shift in Canadian immigration policy from a Eurocentric preoccupation with the ethnic and racial make-up of immigrants arriving in Canada, to a focus on aligning immigration policy with Canada's labour market needs through the introduction of the Canadian points system in 1967. However, while Canada's recent immigrants are currently highly capable, eager and in fact possess the human capital to theoretically integrate successfully into the Canadian labour market, too many have unfortunately been relegated to underemployment and/or unemployment. This

has led to profound income disparities between immigrants and native-born Canadians and a serious risk for recent immigrants to live in poverty (Hou and Picot, 2003; Kazemipur and Halli, 2001; Reitz, 2007).

As Picot et al. (2007) note, "In Canada...the chronically poor increasingly look like highly educated, [and] skilled immigrants" (p.34) and "immigrants from Africa and East Asia have particularly high rates of chronic low income" (Picot et al., 2007, p.35). Reitz (2007) reiterates this by noting that "immigrants from non-European backgrounds...experience an immigrant entry effect, followed by labour market adjustment and upward mobility. However, research consistently shows that the adjustment takes significantly longer, and that, in fact, it is doubtful whether these immigrants ever really catch up to native-born comparison groups" (p.13). These findings dispel the argument that the "earning disparities between immigrants and native-born Canadians [are] mainly as a result of differences in human capital" (p.305).

As educated as Canada's immigrants are currently, it is apparent that "racial...characteristics of holders of human capital also affect how much [this] capital is evaluated and devaluated" (Li, 2000, p.305). Teelucksingh and Galabuzi (2005) reiterate the prevalence of race and immigrant status on labour market outcomes when they found that there is still a significant "income gap between racialized and non-racialized individual earners" (p.205), and that "racialized groups and immigrants also experienced unequal unemployment rates with the total population rate being 6.7% while the racialized group rate was as high as 12.6%" (p.205). Racialized group members also experienced difficulty translating their investments in human capital (i.e. educational credentials) into requisite employment and compensation (Teelucksingh and Galabuzi, 2005). Similarly, Block and Galabuzi (2011) found that "racialized Canadians face barriers to jobs compared to non-racialized Canadians, but they also experience a significant gap

in pay" (p.11). Their data shows that "all racialized communities...have higher unemployment rates than non-racialized Canadians" (Block and Galabuzi, 2011, p.7) and that there is a "wide gap in earnings between first-generation racialized and non-racialized workers" (Block and Galabuzi, 2011, p.12). This is the case for both male and female workers. The trend of unemployment and underemployment among racialized immigrants in Canada is well documented. Racialized immigrants are at particular risk of being concentrated in not only the lowest paying jobs, but also jobs with the poorest working conditions (Kosney et al., 2011). This has been found to be the case for the Somali community and other similar immigrant groups (Ornstein, 2000).

The impact of discrimination on the labour market outcomes of racialized immigrant groups is clear, especially when you consider the tendency of immigrants to utilize ethnic ties as employment referral sources (Nee and Sanders, 2001). As Nee and Sanders (2001) point out, "ethnic ties assume such a central role in the incorporation of immigrants that this form of social capital is often more important than human capital in shaping the trajectory of adaptation for many immigrants" (p.374). With respect to immigrants and refugees communities like the Somali community, there is a "tendency for immigrants to find jobs through their family and friends" (Gallo and Bailey, 1996, p.204). The significance of this is that, as Gallo and Bailey (1996) point out, "[immigrant] networks may be less useful for skilled than for lower skilled immigrants because [these] networks provide less access to the narrower range of jobs for which particular skills are relevant" (p.210). In short, "just as social networks can provide opportunities for insiders, they can also...prevent insiders' access to external opportunities" (Potocky-Tripodi, 2004, p.63). Thus, Somalis may have access to resources that aid them in finding employment,

but as the researchers above have indicated, to find a 'good job', this type of social capital (bonding) may not be very helpful, thus resulting in poor labour market outcomes.

The income disparities and relatively high levels of poverty for many of Canada's most recent immigrant groups have implications for the social capital within the residential spaces where many reside upon arrival in Canada (Lamba, 2003; Qadeer et al., 2010; Warman, 2007). That is, the social capital embedded within ethnically concentrated areas, or ethnic enclaves, may be problematic given the types of occupations that ethnic groups tend to be clustered in (Ooka and Wellman, 2006). Indeed, "some ethnic groups have been concentrated in occupations with high rewards [i.e. high income], others in occupations with low rewards" (Ooka and Wellman, 2006, p.204). Given the evidence of low financial returns and slower labour market integration for visible minority immigrant groups (Lamba, 2003, Lancee, 2010, Reitz, 2007), the strong, bonding ties embedded within the ethnic network of ethnically concentrated areas may in fact result in worse jobs than the type of jobs weak ties can bridge immigrants to. Indeed, Ooka and Wellman (2006) found that "when members of low-status ethnic groups used inter-ethnic ties [or weak ties] in job searches, they tended to obtain higher mean incomes" (p.216).

Ethnic Enclaves and Social Capital

> "Enclaves are not just residential concentrations of people of a particular ethnicity but also areas where ethnic groups build community life through the formation of businesses, services, places of worship, clubs and institutions. Enclaves may be formed by immigrants, but they continue to thrive on the basis of ethnic identity and institutions in the second and third generations" (Qadeer et al., 2010, p.319).

Ethnic enclaves typically "refer to [areas] dominated by a particular ethnic group and marked by institutions reflecting its cultural values and symbols" (Qadeer et al., 2010, p.318), though the term is also used by some researchers to describe "immigrant concentrations in central cities" (Qadeer et al., 2010, p.318). The reasons for the formation of ethnic enclaves are

typically "a combination of push factors (housing opportunities, discrimination, etc.) and pull factors (shared identity, desire to live near friends, access to ethnic services), the balance of which determines clustering" (Qadeer et al., 2010, p.318). There is nothing new about ethnic enclaves. Indeed, many immigrant groups immigrating and settling in Canada prior to the late 1960s - typically from European countries like Italy and Portugal among others - initially settled in ethnically concentrated residential spaces to ease the inevitable strain of resettlement (Qadeer et al., 2010). However, the ethnic diversity and economic outcomes that Canada's most recent immigrants have been experiencing has put into question the positive influence of living in ethnically concentrated spaces. That is, "spatial segregation by factors such as class and race/ethnicity undermines social support and truncates job networks and other useful social leverage" (Briggs, 2005, p.88). Part of the reason for this is that ethnic enclaves can be isolating.

Warman (2007) notes that, "As the composition of the sending countries has changed, and the languages and cultures of the new cohorts have become remarkably different from previous cohorts, enclaves may isolate immigrants from the general Canadian labour market" (p.403). Consequently, "enclaves may hinder the transmission of human capital from Canadian-born individuals to immigrants, affecting the acquisition of the types of skills necessary for success of immigrants in the Canadian labour market" (Warman, 2007, p.403). This lack of access may in fact serve to further entrench immigrants into the ethnically concentrated spaces that were the cause of their difficulties to begin with. That is, Kazemipur (2006) points out that in order to ameliorate the "[difficulties] they face in destination countries, [immigrants]...have little choice but to develop stronger communal ties and to draw more heavily on their communal resources" (p. 48). While bridging social capital may aid recent immigrants in gaining valuable resources likely to help improve labour market outcomes, this is unfortunately not an option given the

prevalence of ethnic segregation of recent immigrants and the homogeneity and redundancy in resources that this segregation creates within their social networks.

While Warman's (2007) findings assert that "living in an ethnic enclave [can] impede an immigrant's economic progress" (p.418), he concedes that "it is likely that the same immigrant gains utility from residing in an enclave through other non-labour market opportunities" (Warman, 2007, p.418). Indeed, as mentioned previously, bonding social capital plays an important role in the initial settlement of immigrants. This is particularly the case when immigrant communities are *institutionally complete* (Breton, 2005).

Institutional completeness, at its extreme, can be described as "whenever the ethnic community could perform all the services required by its members. Members would never have to make use of native institutions for the satisfaction of any of their needs, such as education, work, food and clothing, medical care, or social assistance" (Breton, 2005, p.170). An institutionally complete ethnic community is not only characterized by the development of an informal network of interpersonal relations among members (i.e. friendship groups or cliques developing), but this community must also include "a more formal structure and contain organizations of various sorts: religious, educational, political, recreational, national and even professional" (Breton, 2005, p.170). Therefore, an immigrant who is a member of an institutionally complete ethnic group can rely on their community for not only companionship, friendship and emotional support but can also rely on their community to provide them with formal organization and institutions that they can utilize for resources and information.

In the case of an institutionally complete ethnic community, bonding social capital may actually be very important for more than just emotional support from co-ethnics, particularly

when it comes to ethnic businesses. Indeed, as Ram et al. (2008) state, "Dense networks of family and co-ethnicity enable groups like...South Asians to tap exclusively into a guaranteed pool of cheap, flexible, loyal and motivated labour [as well as]...a privileged insider information network" (p.429). Here, the presence of abundant bonding social capital within this particular ethnic group serves to support ethnic businesses and as a result can serve to "[reinforce] the cohesiveness of already existing networks and of expanding these networks [by] attracting the new immigrants within the ethnic community" (Breton, 2005, p.181). Indeed, this is the process of the ethnic enclave economy which as Li (2004) points out, "does not deprive its participants, but rather the reciprocal obligations between ethnic employers and employees provide new opportunities and alternative mobility for immigrants [while] the importation of fresh investment and human capital by immigrants, together with the increase in the immigrant population, helps the enclave economy to expand" (p. 180).

However, while there are some positives to ethnic businesses, there are also many negatives. Ethnic networks can in fact be very beneficial to immigrants in helping find employment in the ethnic business sector, "especially for those with a low level of human capital" (Li, 2004, p.179), however it may also serve to isolate. Ethnic networks and assistance can have the effect of "[imposing] expectations of loyalty that often compel immigrants to remain in low-paying jobs out of obligation to their employers" (Li, 2004, p.180). Given this, Li found (2004) that, "in the long run, those who remained in the ethnically based service sector fared worse than others who moved on to other sectors" (p.180). Thus, while the ethnic enclave economy "often functions as a refuge for those ill-equipped for open job completion" (Ram et al., 2008, p.430), this sector can also serve as a trap isolating members of the community from the mainstream labour market and in effect, the rest of society. In this instance, bonding social capital, once utilized to one's

benefit, begins to produce diminishing returns. Ram et al. (2008) found as much in their study on Somali ethnic businesses in the UK. Not only did the researchers find that, as is the case in Canada (Danso, 2001; Hopkins, 2006; McGowan, 1999), there is a "glaring [mismatch] between qualification and occupation and...self-employment [acts] as a last resort escape from this dilemma" (p.437), but more importantly, they found that, "most Somali resources take the form of bonding social capital, the internal social ties exclusive to the group" (Ram et al., 2008, p.436) but this type of social capital "is highly restrictive in itself and far less commercially effective than bridging social capital, which comprises linkages built with outside agents thereby enlarging the range of customer potential and sources of funding and intelligence" (Ram et al., 2008, p.436).

Though it is apparent that the bonding social capital found within an institutionally complete ethnic community has the capacity to support members in matters that are both informal (i.e. friendship) as well as formal (i.e. professional/career networks), in "contemporary North American cities, very few, if any ethnic communities showing full institutional completeness can be found" (Breton, 2005, p.170). Given the relative youth of the Somali community in Toronto, and the circumstances through which the majority of members arrived in the city, this community cannot be described as possessing the capacity to support immigrants, both past and present, in any substantial way but informally. As the concept of institutional completeness makes clear, bonding capital is not restrictive per se, but in the case of the Somali community's ethnic businesses, "informal family and community [ties] [can] act [as nothing more than] a...rarely sufficient cost-cutting provision in the absence of more effective forms of capital" (Ram et al., 2008, p.436). Indeed, for the Somali community, when attempting to improve one's labour market outcomes, bridging social capital may be more important.

While ethnic enclaves are not inherently instrumental in curtailing the acquisition of bridging social capital and do not necessarily constrain members residing in these neighbourhoods from associating with others outside of the ethnic enclave, the principle of homophily makes reliance on members within the enclave more likely.

Homophily can be defined as "the tendency of people in friendships to be similar" (McPherson and Smith-Lovin, 1987). Generally, homophily is the tendency of similar people to form ties with each other, and it is in this tendency that we see the importance of homophily in understanding ethnic enclaves and their affect on the social capital embedded within social networks.

The term *foci*, can be defined as "social entities around which activities are organized" (p.1017). Feld (1981) created three propositions regarding foci. First, most relationships will originate in foci (Feld, 1981). That is, we must meet to associate with others, thus centers of our activities (i.e. school, neighborhood) will lead us to contact others. Second, foci tend to be homogenous (Feld, 1981). Third, the more homogenous foci are, the more homogenous the ties that are created there will be (Feld, 1981). Thus, according to Feld (1981), if an entity of activity is homogenous (i.e. ethnically homogenous neighbourhoods), the individuals participating in activities in these settings are likely to have homogenous ties. The researcher points out that the more homogenous the foci, "the greater the likelihood that two individuals associated with that focus will be tied" (Feld, 1981, p. 1019).

In their study on homophily, in the spirit of Feld's (1981) notion of foci, McPherson and Smith-Lovin (1987) attempted to show that the composition of a particular group "sets the stage for [homogenous]...tie formation" (p.370). These researchers believed that "since groups

provide opportunity structures for tie formation, the nature and extent of homophily is related to these social origins of association" (McPherson and Smith-Lovin, 1987, p.370). Thus, the concept of homophily can shed some light on the possible affect that living in an ethnically concentrated area may have on the opportunities of enclave inhabitants

Similar to Feld's foci, homophily is the idea that if a focus of activity (i.e. their neighbourhood) is socioeconomically and/or ethnically homogenous, an individual's ties are likely to be homogenous in this way. The researchers found that, "[foci] are considerably more homogenous than random selection would produce" (McPherson and Smith-Lovin, 1987, p.375). Thus, activities in foci produce homogenous ties.

The findings of both Feld (1981) and McPherson and Smith-Lovin (1987) have shown that areas of activity are not only central in developing ties to others but are also important in determining how homogenous an individual's ties will be. With respect to the study at hand, one can extend these findings. Living in a neighbourhood (a focus of activity) where neighbours are ethnically or socio-economically similar is likely to result in an individual cultivating ties which are ethnically or socio-economically similar.

How is homophily important in understanding ethnic concentration? McPherson et al. (2001) perhaps stated it best when pointing out that "we are more likely to have contact with those who are closer to us in geographic location than those who are distant" (p.429). For Somalis who live in an ethnically concentrated neighbourhood, this fact may make them more likely to form more ties with other Somalis around them, thus cultivating more strong ties (and bonding social capital), as opposed to accumulating weak ties (and bridging social capital) to others outside their enclave. Given this, these Somalis may have more individuals within their

social network with redundant ties, and less likely to have individuals in their network that can act as bridges to valuable information such as job opportunities available outside the community. In the case of the Somali community living within an ethnically concentrated area where socio-economic status is likely to be similar amongst all, reliance on ties within the enclave may not translate into access to highly-placed valuable ties. Indeed, as a relatively new immigrant community where the majority are arriving under forced circumstances (i.e. forced migration due to civil strife), "using a friend or relative as a contact [means] using someone with a lower-ranking job, and hence getting a worse job" (Erickson, 2003, p.27).

While ethnic enclaves have the potential to negatively influence residents from gaining access to better employment opportunities, as is the case with labour market integration, discrimination plays a profound role in the spatial segregation of immigrants. Indeed, perceptions of prejudice within the host society often dissuade immigrants from moving beyond the safe confines of their neighbourhoods. Smith and Ley (2008) found that for residents of ethnic enclaves in Toronto, the "pejorative neighbourhood labelling by outsiders...and restricted opportunities...could be internalized in self-deprecation and limited ambition" (p.708). The authors point out that these experiences of exclusion among residents of these enclaves has led to "an acute and sustained sense of marginalized outsider status" (Smith and Ley, 2008, p.709) which in turn results in "a diminished sense of inclusion and engagement on the part of newcomers" (Smith and Ley, 2008, p.709). Here we see that discrimination can operate at the social level by alienating the residents of ethnically concentrated areas as a result of stigmatization and negative labelling, and this can extend into the political and economic realm as a result. Lenard (2005) points out that ethno-cultural minorities in Canada may have lower levels of political participation due to a lack of resources, opportunities and general social

disadvantage in the host society. As Kazemipur (2006) notes, most recent newcomers (i.e. visible minorities) are not only more likely to have prolonged settlement in ethnic enclaves, but in order to ameliorate the "[discrimination] they face in destination countries, [immigrants]...have little choice but to develop stronger communal ties" (Kazemipur, 2006, p. 48).

The fact that immigrants feel that discrimination exists in Canada emphasizes the importance of social networks. As Levesque (2005) points out "[there are] social factors that affect mobility the most traditional of which are social origins and education...[researchers have shown] that the use of social networks, in particular contacts having high social status, makes a specific contribution (i.e. controlling for the impact of social origin and education) to upward mobility" (Levesque, p.9). Thus, accessing this essential type of bridging social capital may in fact aid immigrants in transcending the negative effect of discrimination on their labour market outcomes.

Methodology

The data within this paper derives from in-depth interviews conducted with members of Toronto's Somali community. Using these qualitative interviews, this study will measure the social capital of Somalis and how this may affect their labour market outcomes. This study took place over a period of three months. The following will outline the methods of sampling, data collection and analysis. There will also be a brief discussion on ethics.

Sampling

There were a total of ten participants recruited for this study. This number was deemed to be suitable given the time constraints of this project. Eight of the participants were members of the Somali community and were interviewed on their social networks, their experiences of settlement and their experiences finding employment upon their arrival in Canada. The remaining two participants were individuals working for and on behalf of the Somali community. That is, in addition to the eight Somali community members, one Somali community worker was interviewed for this study. This community worker has been working with Somalis in Toronto for over 15 years through a community service agency in Toronto geared towards supporting members of the East African community in their settlement. One community advocate was also interviewed for this study. This individual has worked for over 20 years on behalf of the Somali community in Canada. Given the breadth of their experiences, both the community worker and advocate were interviewed in order to add context to the individual stories of the Somali community members by providing a broader overview of the migration history of Somalis and the reality of this community's settlement experience in Toronto and Canada. The face-to-face interviews were carried out in a mutually convenient place for the interview participant and the interviewer.

The snowball sampling method was utilized to select participants for this study. The Somali community in Toronto is large, however relatively close knit (Hopkins, 2006). This is not only a characteristic of the Somali community in Toronto, but has also been documented in other countries with large Somali populations such as Australia (McMichael and Manderson, 2004) and the United States, specifically the State of Minnesota (Robillos, 2001) and Maine (Huisman, et al., 2011). Given this, and given the small sample size for this particular study, it was determined that utilizing the networks of two key contacts would yield a sufficient number of participants. The two key contacts were obtained by the researcher through personal contacts. Both informants were chosen given the breadth of their knowledge of the Somali community in Toronto and their ability to connect the researcher to eligible participants. The researcher was then directed to more participants through the key contact's connections. The community worker and community advocate were identified and contacted by the researcher through emailed invitations to participate in the study.

Data Collection and Analysis

At the beginning of the interviews, participants were asked to fill out a brief questionnaire (see Appendix A). The nine items within the questionnaire were designed in order to gain background information on the participants and took approximately five minutes to complete. That is, the questionnaire assessed the demographic characteristics (questions 1 and 2), the human capital characteristics (questions 3 – 8) and the economic characteristics (question 9) of participants. In addition to the interview questions, the researcher utilized the questionnaire to follow-up on the answers of participants if necessary during the interview. It should also be noted that the income categories selected within the background questionnaire were selected in order for participants to feel comfortable in providing a response on their annual income.

After the questionnaire was completed, the interview commenced. The interviews were semi-structured, with open-ended questions asked by the researcher, with follow-up questions typical. Each interview lasted approximately 30 – 60 minutes. The first set of interview questions were designed to gain insight on the social ties and social capital accessible and utilized by the participants. These questions were:

- Tell me about the people you interact with regularly?
  - Are the majority from the Somali community?
- Do you have close friends who are not Somali?
- Do you associate with many people who are outside the Somali community?
  - **If yes**, where do you associate with them?
- How would you describe the jobs that Somalis you associate with have?

The second set of interview questions were designed to gain insight on the perceived access to jobs of the participants. These questions were:

- When looking for a job in Canada, who are you more likely to ask for assistance from?
- How did you find your current job?
- Are you satisfied with your current job?
- What kind of jobs would you say you have access to through other Somalis you know?
- Do you feel like your access to jobs is blocked?
  a. **If yes**, why do you think your access to jobs is blocked?

The last set of interview questions were in regards to the characteristics of the neighbourhoods that the participants resided in. These questions were designed to assess if the participant lived in an area where other Somalis also reside. These questions were:

- When you first settled in Canada, did you settle in an area where many Somalis lived?
- Do you currently live in a neighbourhood where many Somalis also live?
- Do you associate with these Somalis often?
  - **If yes**, do you know these individuals well enough to ask them for assistance when searching for employment opportunities?
- What organizations and/or services close to where you live do you use to find employment?
  - Have these sources been helpful to you in finding employment in the past?

The Somali community worker and advocate were asked a separate set of questions. The addition of these two participants was to provide insight into the migration history of the Somali community in Toronto and the reality of settlement, thus the questions asked were designed with this goal in mind. The questions were as follows:

- Tell me what type of work you do at your organization?
- Given your experiences with the community, how would you describe the successes, or challenges facing Somalis in the labour market in Toronto?
- What do you think is the main cause for these outcomes?
- Who do you think Somalis tend to rely on for employment information?
    - How have these sources resulted in successes or challenges?
- What types of programs do you think the government or non-profit agencies should offer to Somalis to improve labour market outcomes?

The interviews were audio recorded with the permission of participants and transcribed for accuracy. The data from the interviews was analyzed to identify themes within the responses and the nature of the issues that were raised by participants. Notes on participant responses were also taken by the researcher during the interview.

Ethics

The research strategy and interviews conducted focused on the participant's assessments of their social capital and how they feel this may have affected their labour market outcomes. The potential risk to participants was psychological in that the participants may not have felt comfortable with the issues that were raised and may have been discussed during their interview (i.e. past bad experiences within the labour market, discrimination in the workplace, etc.). The potential risk was also social if the participants were unaccustomed to being interviewed. The potential psychological and social risk of this research was minimal since the interview participants were given the option to refuse to answer any questions they felt uncomfortable with. The participants were also given the option to stop the interview at any point they were no

longer interested in participating. These measures were clearly stated in the consent form (see Appendix B) which was given to participants to sign prior to the interview taking place. These options were also repeated verbally to participants before the interview commenced.

Confidentiality was also ensured in this research project. Participants remained anonymous to the general public unless permission was given to use real names. The participants were given fictitious names and the location of the interview remained unknown. The participants were assured that the notes and audio recordings used in the course of the research were not read or heard by anyone except for the researcher.

The next section will present the interview findings collected from the ten study participants.

Interview Findings

The following will outline the interview findings of the ten participants of this study. It should be noted that with the exception of Dr. Mohammed Tabit who as a community advocate provided insights into the Somali community and gave permission to the researcher to use his real name in the dissemination and analysis of the interview findings, all other participants were assigned a fictitious name to protect their identities.

Participant Demographics

Demographic characteristics were derived from the anonymous one page survey completed by each participant. This information was an important tool to achieve a baseline understanding of the experiences of respondents and was invaluable in assessing the interview data obtained.

The eight community member participants of this study exhibited a range of characteristics which were assessed through administering a background questionnaire prior to the interview commencing. A total of six men and two women participated in the study and this sample was further divided by neighbourhood with half the participants residing in the Scarborough area, and the other residing in the Etobicoke area. To be clear, the latter area of Toronto contains a larger Somali population than Scarborough. The participants from Etobicoke were chosen given their residence in this part of the city where there is a large concentration of Somalis whereas participants in Scarborough were chosen given their residence in an area of Toronto where Somalis are not as concentrated.

The majority of participants arrived in Canada between the ages of 30 – 39 years. Some participants also reported arriving in Canada when they were between the ages of 20 – 29 years, with only one participant reporting arriving in Canada between the ages of 40 – 49 years.

All the participants have resided in Canada for at least 17 years with the majority of participants living in Canada for more than 17 years. This time range would place the majority of the participants within the cohort of Somali immigrants who arrived in Canada as a result of the Somali Civil War which began in the late-1980s early-1990s. Indeed, in the course of the interviews when asked which immigration class they arrived under, all but one participant indicated that they arrived in Canada through the refugee class. The one participant who did not arrive through this class was in a third country (Bangladesh) prior to his arrival in Canada and was sponsored by his wife, who was already a resident of Canada.

The majority of the participants were also highly educated (see Chart 1). Five out of eight of the participants of this study completed their education up to the University/College level while two additional participants completed their education at the Graduate/PhD level. Indeed, out of eight participants, seven completed post-secondary education. It should be noted that the one participant who indicated completing their education up to high school clarified within their interview that they completed two years of post-secondary education in Bangladesh prior to leaving in order to immigrate to Canada to join his spouse and son.

Chart 1: Highest Level of Formal Education Completed

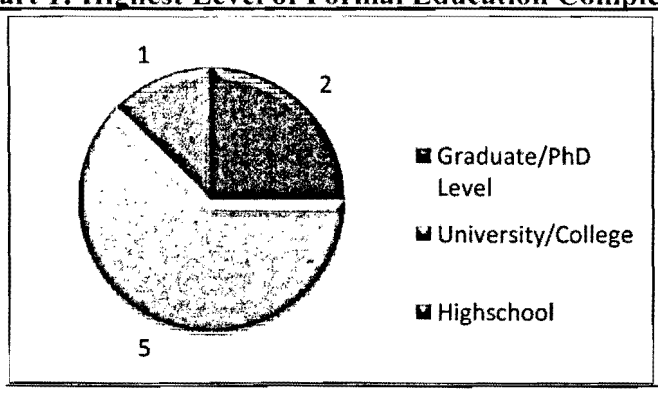
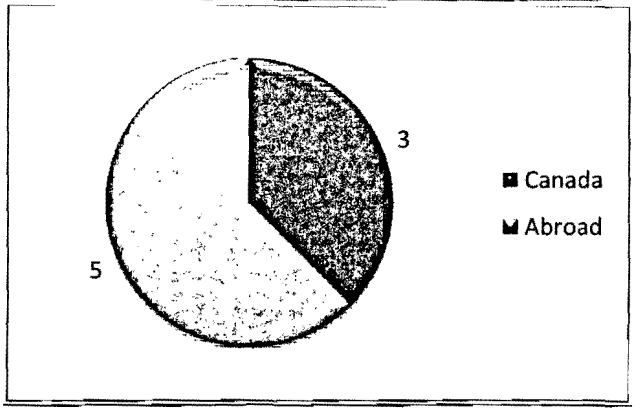


Chart 2 indicates that the majority of participants completed their education abroad, specifically in Somalia. With respect to whether the participants' current jobs are related to the

education that they have received, four out of eight participants responded that indeed their current jobs are related to their education with the remaining four participants responding that they were not working in a job that is related to their education. It should be noted however, that the four participants who indicated that their jobs match their education also indicated that they retrained, or re-educated themselves for the job that they currently have which suggests that their initial foreign education was not effective in helping them obtain a satisfactory job in Canada.

Chart 2: Where Education was Completed



The annual income of participants indicated that half the participants earned between $19,000 – $50,000 while the other half of the participants earned between $51,000 – $67,000 (or more).

In addition to the questionnaire, participants were interviewed about their social networks, residential characteristics and their labour market experiences. The following will highlight a number of themes that were discussed by participants during their interviews.

Social Capital Embedded in Networks (Bonding vs. Bridging)

1. ***What kind of social capital is embedded in the social networks of Somalis in Toronto?***

The interview findings revealed a number of points regarding the quality of the social capital embedded in the social networks of Somalis. First, the interview results have shown that there is a substantial amount of bonding social capital within the networks of the participants. Every participant, without exception, settled with other Somalis or in an area of Toronto where there was a large concentration of Somalis upon first arriving in Canada. The main reason for this was the support, both emotional as well as financial, that living with other Somalis provided. Awaleh[1] came to Canada in 1996 and settled with the community upon arrival. He states that "when I came here...I [didn't] know much about this country, where to get a job, how this functions. So you need more information in order to [function]. And the internet was not [widely available] at the time [so] I [settled] with my community". Connecting with other Somalis also helped the financial strain newcomers felt. Robleh arrived in Canada in 1989, and began sharing an apartment with three other Somali men. He states that:

> "when [I settled]...I was single, I [couldn't] afford to rent a whole apartment, so [I] have to [share]. So three, four guys together can rent a three bedroom apartment. That's the [biggest] reason you need someone you know who you can trust to live together. Because if you live with someone you don't know, it would be difficult to even go to bed".

Thus, knowing and being able to rely on others has proven to be very important to the participants. However, while bonding social capital is an important resource for the Somali participants, the results indicate that bridging social capital is also present within the participants social networks, but in varying degrees.

All eight participants indicated that they were more likely to associate with Somalis rather than individuals within the larger community. The only time the participants associated with individuals outside the Somali community was when they were at work. Thus, bridging social

[1] With the exception of Dr. Mohammed Tabit who gave explicit permission to the researcher to use his real name, all names used in this study are pseudonyms assigned to participants in the interest of maintaining their privacy.

capital as diverse ties is not a resource that the participants appear to have. However, there are other skills that the participants had prior to arrival or acquired after arrival that have acted as bridges to better labour market information and opportunity. Namely, language is a skill that was brought up often as an important resource that acted as a bridge that helped some participants access the labour market. Miriam states that "Language was very important. Although culture really was...and the weather didn't help me either. But [my English skills] was really good because I was able to communicate with people although I didn't know the culture". Mohammed and Robleh also indicated that language skills were extremely important in their ability to gain access to the Canadian labour market.

Labour Market Opportunities: Job Referral Networks, Quality of Jobs & Employment Strategies

2. ***How does the social capital present within the social networks of Somalis affect their labour market opportunities in Toronto?***

Job Referral Networks and Quality of Jobs

Like many new immigrant communities, Somalis tend to rely on interpersonal ties, or bonding social capital for information about job opportunities because this type of social capital is most readily available upon first arriving in Canada. This strategy was a common theme throughout all the interviews. The following excerpts convey how the job referral process works within the Somali community:

> "Before, as a matter of fact, when we were working in the factories, the network was working because a friend of yours would say 'Oh, I started a factory job...and they are hiring people'. And he will tell you and he will take you, you might find 6,7,8,9 Somalis working in the same factory." (Mohammed, 2011).
>
> "Somali people, they are very primitive. I can say that what we do is...[workers at my company] came either through some friends, like they came through me or through some other family, friends or whatever" (Awaleh, 2011).

> "The first job I had [after settling in Canada], a friend of mine helped me to take me to human resources, and that was a factory job. [It was] a Somali friend. And then I get that and then I worked there for 1 or 2 months. And then I [left] that place and then I find through a friend another job, and then I went [to] another job...through [other] people, we worked whatever we could find at the time." (Miriam, 2011).

As illustrated through the interview findings, while the Somali community utilizing their close friends and family for job referrals is a common practice according to the participants, there is also sombre recognition among the participants that when an individual is looking for a professional job (i.e. a recently arrived Somali trained engineer), the resources within the Somali community would not suffice. That is, all eight participants indicated that the majority of Somalis they know tend to have low-income entry-level positions or "general jobs" (i.e. menial employment). They also recognize that good information about professional jobs is difficult to access through the Somali community. Mohammed acknowledges that:

> "When it comes to [getting a] professional job, the Somalis they came here in 1986, there were [no Somalis] in that kind of industry. Very, very few, one or two. And that person to get that job it was a struggle. They struggled to get the job, no network, no one to help him. And those were the ones who when they came here they went straight to university and graduated and started life from scratch".

Faisal also recognizes that the Somali community as a job referral network is lacking when looking for a professional job. He states that, "90% of the Somalis I know are either taxi drivers, truck drivers, or security people. There is unprofessional advice [within Somali networks] that [a] Somali person can give to another Somali person, but in the long-term, that [advice] is not going to lead [anywhere]...you will never be successful!"

Job quality among the participants was often synonymous with job security. That is, while many participants stated that they were not satisfied with their current job, they also indicated that they had no plans to leave because of their reluctance to test the labour market for a more

lucrative job. Bashir, who as a rental car service agent is not working in a field related to his college education, admits the importance of job security. He states that:

> "Overall, the income I'm getting here is just satisfactory to my needs in terms of financial. Sometime now, you get to the state that you keep the job because it pays the bills...A lot of people are losing their jobs and a lot of people who thought they were in secure positions now find themselves in the unemployment line".

Similarly, Awaleh, who began university but did not complete the degree due to migrating to Canada, and is currently a distribution supervisor at another car rental company, acknowledges this when he says:

> "I see better than this job, [I can possibly] have more money, but it is not secure. I don't know what's coming from [another job] so I hesitate. To get a job is not easy. People [here], I know them, [I know] the place, the management I know, the human resources I know and I'm comfortable with what I am doing. The money is not that [great], but if I go somewhere else I don't know what [may happen]. [Maybe] they keep me 3 months, 4 months, 1 year I don't know"

We see here that the quest for job security over job satisfaction has resulted in some sacrifice having to be made by some of the participants. In this circumstance job security and job satisfaction seem to be mutually exclusive rather than mutually occurring.

Employment Strategies

The participants exhibited many employment strategies that resulted in useful bridging social capital which helped them to successfully gain access to the labour market. Volunteering was a strategy used by Miriam and Ayan to gain access to the professional work that they eventually wanted to get into. Both women also assert that the reason why volunteering was so important for them was because up until that point, they had been finding jobs through other Somalis, and these jobs were typically in factories. As Miriam points out:

> "When I left those factories and [that type of work], I [started] volunteering because I [wanted] to expose myself to the world outside these kinds of jobs so I volunteered a lot

> and that's how I [got to] know a lot of people in [the agency I currently work for]. Although it was not easy, I was volunteering a lot and this is how I got in."

Ayan had a similar experience and after realizing that the Somali community could not help her get a job as a trained nurse, she began to look outside the community. She firmly believes that "In this country when you're looking for a job, you have to interact with people. That's how I got my first job [as a nurse]. I volunteered and I got to know people. If you lock yourself up, what are you going to get?"

Mohammed and Robleh were both university educated professionals prior to their arrival in Canada. Mohammed was a Geologist while Robleh was a Civil Engineer. Even with this education, both men had to return to school in Canada and retrain themselves as Information Technology (IT) professionals. Indeed, when both men encountered difficulty accessing their trained professional fields in Canada, they trained in an industry where they saw a substantial demand for professionals that needed to be filled. Robleh states that:

> "The only jobs that were available at the time [were IT jobs]...the demand was there. So if you train from that industry, for example if you trained right now for a nurse, it's in demand. IT isn't in demand now but at the time, there was much demand. Everyone was looking for somebody who knew something about programming or something about computers."

While both men preferred to work in their trained field, the market was such that "it was not guaranteed that I would get a job" (Robleh, 2011), thus as a strategy to better put themselves in a position to be employed, they re-educated themselves in an emerging profession.

None of the participants can be described as self-employed, however the topic of self-employment came up many times in the course of the interviews as a popular employment strategy utilized within the Somali community. While there was some debate as to whether self-employment among the Somali community was a product of blocked mobility or preference for

being one's own boss, much of the self-employment spoken about was employment within the taxi industry. Bashir states that "yes in the community a lot of people work in the taxi industry, in the truck industry and some start their own businesses So I would say up to 60% of the community is self-employed...they either have their own business or they started their own work for people but based on contracting or something [i.e. taxi and truck drivers]."

Ethnic Concentration and Residential Characteristics

3. ***Does living in an ethnically concentrated neighbourhood lead to the accumulation of more ethnic ties than not living in an ethnically diverse neighbourhood?***

The residential characteristics differed among the participants of this study. Half the participants (Faisal, Awaleh, Bashir and Ayan) currently live in an ethnically concentrated residential area while the remaining half of the participants live in an area that has very little ethnic concentration (Mohammed, Robleh, Miriam and Yusuf). Though this is the case currently, it should be noted that all eight participants indicated that upon first arriving in Canada, they settled and resided with other Somalis in order to access the support and resources available within the community at the time, which again, were emotional as well as financial in nature.

Mohammed, Robleh, Miriam and Yusuf live in the East-end of the Toronto (Scarborough), an area of the city that does not have a large Somali population. For the majority of them, residing in this area was a decision based on housing market realities. That is, these participants chose where to reside based on what they were able to afford and how they felt about the location. However, while housing availability and preference was the main concern for these participants, Miriam indicated that there was a concerted effort on her part to keep her distance from areas of the city where many Somalis are concentrated when she purchased her home. She

states that "Now, when I was buying a house, I bought a house where no Somalis [lived]...if I want, to [see other Somalis] I can drive and see them on the weekends, but I don't want them coming in and out of my house". Miriam's feelings may be based on the fact that, unlike the other participants, she works with the Somali community on a regular basis as a function of her job, thus feeling that maintaining distance from the community is very important for her to do as a professional.

Faisal, Awaleh, Bashir and Ayan live in the West end of the city of Toronto (Etobicoke) which has a substantial Somali population and numerous Somali ethnic clusters throughout. While these participants agreed that they enjoyed living around others from their community, their choice of residence was based on the same factors as the East-end Somalis. Bashir points out that, "Now after almost 20 years, everybody lives where they can fit in based on their financial situation...there are many places that people settle based on their own preference and based on their own financial ability." However, Ayan's residential intentions differ from Bashir's in that she intentionally stays in an apartment building heavily populated by Somalis for her child's sake. Ayan says that "when I had my baby, I moved because everyone around me was white. I wanted my child to grow up with the community. Our community needs each other. If I run to Scarborough, what am I going to have? Isolation? That's why I stay here." In this case, we see that the residential characteristics, specifically the number of Somalis, played a significant role in Ayan's decision to live in her current home.

The findings indicate that the answer to the question of whether ethnic concentration leads to the accumulation of more ethnic ties was two-fold. First, as mentioned previously, all the participants regardless of where they lived reported to know and associate almost exclusively with other Somalis, only associating with other ethnic groups professionally. While this was

similar to all, the utilization of Somalis for employment differed among the two groups. That is, two of the four participants in Etobicoke reported using their ethnic ties to gain their current employment in the rental car industry (Awaleh and Bashir) while none of the participants in Scarborough, whose jobs are in more professional fields, indicated the same. This finding may suggest that living in ethnically concentrated areas may not make individuals more or less likely to accumulate ethnic ties, but this may make it easier to access other Somalis thereby relying on them more for labour market information.

In fact, according to the participants, the practice of relying on close ethnic and family ties for leads on jobs is something that was common in Somalia and is being practiced here as well. Awaleh states that "usually that's the way in childhood. How we grow up, [someone] comes and [they] say, can you help me find a job...[a] few people go straight to the company and give their resume, but those people, they have some background education, some experience [in] this country, and their language is better. But most [Somalis], they go through [a] friend.". This highlights the importance of not only social capital but human capital as well. Indeed, among the participants who live in more ethnically concentrated areas of the city, two participants indicated that they were able to successfully obtain employment utilizing ties, resources and information outside of the Somali community. Ayan states that, "My first job I volunteered and then I got hired." Faisal also had success finding employment utilizing friends within the sector he had been working in for numerous years. He points out that "the [job] I'm working now, I was [first] working there for two years and I got a good promising job in the United States, and when I came back, because I had some friends that I knew already [in the sector], they told me there's an opening position, and apply. Right there I [got] it". This is an important caveat. Out of the four participants residing in ethnically concentrated areas, Ayan and Faisal, who work as a nurse and

community worker respectively, were the only two participants to indicate that their current employment was in fact related to their education and/or experience. These two participants also indicated that they had to retrain within Canada for the job that they currently hold.

Additional Themes

Additional themes emerged within the interviews that were not directly related to the research questions posed but are important to note. Specifically, participants discussed discrimination and the utility of various service provider organizations (including ethno-specific agencies) and how these two developments affected their labour market opportunities.

Discrimination

Discrimination in the labour market was discussed several times by participants as having an effect on their labour market opportunities. Mohammed spoke about how accents can pose problems for obtaining employment. He says that:

> "[There have been situations where a Somali has] a Masters degree or PhD and he is proud of himself and says 'I have degrees, I should get a job' but when he goes into the [labour market] and applies for jobs...then they call him and he goes for the interview [but] he or she might have a thick accent...it's absolutely [discrimination]...when a Canadian guy who never associated with immigrants before is trying to interview you, [and in] the first 10 or 15 minutes of the interview he keeps saying 'I beg your pardon? excuse me?', it's difficult [to perform well]"

Discrimination was also cited as a catalyst to avoiding the mainstream community. Faisal who lives in an ethnically concentrated area, points out that he currently feels like an "unwanted guest" in Canada. He says that:

> "I can say that there is a gap that is stopping you [from interacting with the mainstream]. I came to this country almost 20 years ago, and [at] that time...all the Canadian people...had [an] appetite to help us. But [currently] there is a feeling of [being an] unwanted guest...[this] stops you [from] interacting with the majority of [the] Canadian community"

In this instance, we see that while residence in ethnically concentrated areas may technically be voluntary for many of the participants in this study, there are still structural issues of discrimination which may deem this decision-making process more involuntary then they could themselves perceive.

Utility of Service Provider Organizations

While some of the participants believed that ethno-specific social service agencies and employment agencies have the potential to be, and were in fact very helpful in facilitating labour market participation (Ayan, 2011; Miriam, 2011), the larger consensus among participants is that employment agencies showed some promise in improving labour market outcomes however ethno-specific social service agencies were less helpful in this process.

Faisal sees reliance on Somali-specific community agencies as a waste of his time. He states that:

> "[Someone] goes to COSTI. You get referral from COSTI to Polycultural...Polycultural is going to make referral for you again for Skills for Change, Skills for Change is going to send you to JVS, JVS will send you to Microskill, Microskill will send you to JobStart. You are exhausted! And then you will give up...[referrals] are not going to help me, [so] let me not waste my time."

Faisal also believes that Somali-serving agencies do not have the ability to provide effective resources to help the Somali newcomer in their integration, and the three levels of government are complicit in this. He states that, "Governments are saying, guys [go to your Somali agencies for help], go to your community. My community has nothing! My community is dying itself. My community is sick, it needs medicine. So if the [community] is sick, what do you do?"

For Yusuf, his earlier arrival in Canada made accessing help from ethno-specific agencies very difficult given that few if any of these agencies existed at the time of his arrival. Indeed,

seeing a gap in services aimed to address Somali interests incited Yusuf to begin a non-profit agency with the mandate to help Somalis in their settlement. He points out that:

> "there wasn't any Somaliland organization existing at the time [I came], we just started it. Me and...others started it. And the whole intention of starting it is knowing that we are new to this country and the system is not helping us unless we organize ourselves and advocate for ourselves to the government institutions...whether it's [on] immigration, whether it is employment, whether it is education".

Though there is a definite need for Somali-specific agencies and services, there may in fact be barriers resulting from issues within the Somali community that makes success of these agencies harder to achieve. Namely, tribal tensions always seem to develop within these organizations over time, limiting effectiveness and continuity. The prevalence of tribes within the Somali community in Toronto is an extension of the deeply ingrained tribal system within Somalia (Huisman et al., 2011). Attempting to navigate this cultural phenomenon is proving to be a difficult task for Somalis in Toronto given that tribal affiliations and divisions are not recognized within the Canadian context and funding for ethno-specific agencies and programs reflects this, resulting in lack of funding for many Somali settlement agencies. Yusuf states that, "The unfortunate thing is that because of the division, the government is not giving support needed for the organization to be funded and most of them are defunded. So, they are there by name but they do not have qualified people to run [the organization] because of lack of funds or they are just there by name but there is no staff to maintain it".

The community worker and advocate interviewed for this study are both currently employees of settlement agencies that serve Somalis in particular, but not exclusively. Both provided useful context and insight into the labour market issues of Somalis. Farhan, a community worker with one of Toronto's oldest and largest community service agencies serving Somalis as well as others from the East African community, outlined some of the challenges in

facilitating labour market participation that are facing settlement agencies serving Somalis. Farhan points out that the issue of credential recognition is a serious one as "Somali credentials are never fully recognized in Canada...often English speaking countries [are the only ones that] have credentials fully recognized". Given this, settlement agencies may not be as helpful in helping a professionally trained immigrant obtain a job requisite to their abilities. Also, training offered to immigrants on social assistance - a large segment of the settlement agency's clients - are typically for menial employment (i.e. trucking, fork lifting, etc.). Farhan states that "clients have told me how hard it is to get the government to pay for good professional training. For example, if you are a nurse and you want to get your license in Canada, [the government] won't pay for it. Then they ask them 'why aren't you getting a job?'".

However despite all of these barriers, Farhan is quick to point out that the amount of settlement service agencies serving Somalis has increased substantially since the first influx of Somali immigrants in the late 80s early 90s, and still believes that this increase has made it "much easier to be an immigrant from Somalia now than it was before".

Dr. Mohammed Tabit is a community advocate who works for another established Somali-serving agency in Toronto. His views on the barriers to labour market success for Somalis are similar to Farhan's. An additional barrier mentioned by Tabit was the disadvantage for most Somalis resulting from the "refugee" label. He states that:

> "It is discrimination. If you are a refugee and you don't have status in this country, or like what happened to many Somalis when they came to this country, you don't have documentation attesting to your identity [this] delays your integration. When you have a social insurance number starting with number 9, it means that you are not a permanent resident of this country, so for awhile until you become a landed immigrant, you cannot be trained [in many institutions] and your job opportunities are limited"

As mentioned earlier, the majority of Somalis arrived in Canada are refugees, therefore this particular barrier is very limiting to this community.

Both workers agree that Somali social networks are rich in bonding social capital. Farhan says that:

> "As a newcomer, it is very beneficial to live with others from your ethnic community because you get moral and emotional support. Most of my clients are single mothers or widows. People help them by babysitting their kids or for Somali seniors, people help them clean their home. Everyone looks out for one another. If you need someone to do grocery shopping for you, they'll even drop the food off for you"

While the abundance of bonding social capital within Somali social networks is clear, Tabit also spoke about the lack of bridging social capital. He states that:

> "When you are looking for a professional job, you have to work within the [profession]...you don't have to look [to] the job in the factory. You have to go into your field and start volunteering your time. Volunteer, get the experience you need, and then you can get a job through that channel. Volunteering is very important in this country".

In summary, the findings of these interviews suggests that bonding social capital is present within the social networks of the participants with bridging social capital being less abundant but highly effective when accessible and utilized to improve labour market outcomes. The findings also suggest that while the ethnic concentration of participants may not necessarily lead to more ethnic ties within the social network, this concentration may lead to increased contact with Somalis which may result in Somalis being the predominant source of information including labour market information and opportunities. Given the types of jobs Somalis tend to be concentrated in, this source of information may not be ideal.

The following section will include an analysis of the preceding findings and recommendations for policies that may alleviate some of the issues identified by the participants.

Analysis and Recommendations

The analysis indicates that the social networks of the Somali participants, and the social capital embedded within these networks, were very helpful for emotional support and co-ethnic friendship during the initial arrival of the immigrant. These networks are rich in bonding social capital which is invaluable in the period immediately after arrival to Canada. This is similar to the findings of other studies reviewed at the beginning of this paper investigating the social capital embedded in the social networks of immigrants (Lamba, 2003; Lanceee, 2010; Ooka and Wellman, 2006; Potocky-Tripodi, 2004). While bonding social capital is abundant, bridging social capital is not as present in the social networks of the Somali participants of this study. It becomes clear through these findings however that this lack of bridging social capital is not necessarily due to the residential characteristics of the Somali community members interviewed. That is, the participants who live outside of ethnically concentrated areas were as likely as the individuals who lived within ethnically concentrated areas to spend the majority of their time socializing with other Somalis. Robleh, who lives in Scarborough and who indicated that more than three-quarters of his social network can be described as Somali, states that, "I do not associate with [other groups] a lot. We socialize with [ourselves] basically, but once in a while, maybe one-quarter, I associate with [others]". The story was similar in Etobicoke where far more Somalis live. Faisal points out that, "In terms of social, I can say the majority of people [I associate with] are from my community...when it comes to school [or work], there is group work and work related meetings. [But] basically I can't say that there are particular friends [who] I have some sort of social [relationship with]". In fact, all the participants of this study described their social networks as consisting of majority Somalis with very little of their network consisting of individuals other than Somalis. All the participants were also likely to lean on

fellow Somalis upon first arriving in Canada in order to help in resettling and in order to obtain a job which was more likely than not either entry level or menial work.

The factors that were most important to participants in improving their labour market outcomes were the employment strategies they utilized in order to find the job they were looking for. Whether it was re-educating in a profession that was in high demand or volunteering in order to get a foot into the door of one's chosen profession, these strategies worked for the participants who utilized them, again, regardless of residential characteristics.

These employment strategies were born from a realization on the part of the participants who utilized them that the Somali community was not going to help them in their endeavour to find professional level employment. Given this, for the Somali community, it is important to distinguish between "organizational networks" (Xue, 2008, p.26) and "friendship and kinship networks" (Xue, 2008, p.26). Regardless of the fact that many participants associated almost exclusively with Somalis, they were still able to cultivate a professional network that did not necessarily include Somalis through engaging in various and effective employment strategies. This indicates that as long as living within an ethnically concentrated area does not impede one's access or ability to connect with the other groups and the larger community, then where one lives does not necessarily have any detrimental influence. Indeed, two participants, Ayan and Faisal, who reported living in an ethnically concentrated area also reported that they were not only working in their field of study, but that they were also satisfied with their current employment. These outcomes were the result of volunteering and referrals from contacts outside the community.

Thus, for the first generation, living around Somalis does not necessarily make individuals more likely to have more Somali people within their social network however it is apparent that the participants who were able to gain skills and information that was found outside of the Somali community were able to obtain better and more satisfactory employment.

There appears to be some hope among the Somali first generation interviewed that the presence of a large and consistently growing Somali community in Toronto has resulted in more information and advice that was not available to them upon their arrival. As Robleh states:

> "If a person shows up today and says 'I have been here for two months, I want to know [this or that]' and he's willing to ask [the] question, and he's showing up where the community meets, then [we] can [now] give him the information – where to go, how to do [this], what to do [here]...if the community doesn't [provide this information], [Somali newcomers] won't have a clue"

This development is in contrast to the experiences of Robleh and the rest who were among the first Somali immigrants to arrive in Toronto. In describing his experience as one of the first Somalis in Toronto, Robleh points out that:

> "We found out the hard way. It took me 3 years to find out. I started [with] whatever I could get at the time, like factory work, parking attendant, wherever I ca get money. And at the same time I had to go to school at night. First I started a course in civil engineering, then [when I saw I wasn't succeeding] I started [training in] computers. So you see the market every day, we see the papers every day, you can read it...a lot of people were like me, [we] found out the hard way".

There is also great optimism among the first generation participants that their children (the second generation) will overcome or avoid all together the barriers that their parents faced and still face in Canada. There is a very common mind-set among the Somali first generation that their presence in Canada is a sacrifice they've made to provide their children with better opportunities that they would not have if they were in Somalia (Mohammed, 2011; Tabit, 2011;

Yusuf, 2011). Yusuf points out that many individuals his age would have returned to Somalia had it not been for the need to stay in Canada for their children:

> "Especially [when] you look [at] Somaliland, it is peaceful, they have a democratic government, the economy is picking up. There are a number of opportunities [there], so [we could] have [gone] back, but [we] are not going because of [our] children, [so that they can] get education"

Indeed, there seems to be optimism among the participants that the second generation will reap the rewards of being educated and integrated within the Canadian society. However, there is an important qualification to this expectation of integration of the second generation. That is, while the second generation may have the potential to avoid the barriers and issues faced by their parents, there may be a different set of barriers facing the children. Farhan points out that the concentration of poverty and dysfunction that often characterizes the areas where Somalis are concentrated may result in curtailing the success of the Somali second generation. She notes that, "It would be good for the community to stay together...ethnic concentration itself is not the problem, it is what comes with the concentration of Somalis like unemployment and poverty". She goes on to say that "kids aren't aiming high because they have access to easily accessible jobs [through other Somalis] that require little to no education". Thus, for the second generation, residential and spatial characteristics may play a stronger role in influencing the type of social capital within their social networks and consequently impact the quality of their opportunities.

There is evidence available to support Farhan's observations. Hou and Picot (2003) found that while in most cases, the effect of the ethnic neighbourhood on second generation labour market success was negligible, there was nevertheless evidence to show that ethnic neighbourhoods for Black youth had a negative impact on labour market outcomes. This suggests, as Farhan points out, that the resources embedded within these neighbourhoods, while

rich in emotional support, are not the type to facilitate occupational mobility. For the first generation, staying within these neighbourhoods for the sake of accessing one's family and friends may be a worthwhile trade-off. For the second generation however, from whom a certain amount of assimilation into the host society is expected, they will not benefit from this same trade-off.

Whether this optimism is warranted or not remains to be seen. There is evidence within the literature spanning multiple countries that suggests that while the educational attainment of second generation immigrants is higher than native born young people (Boyd, 2003; Simon, 2003) the labour market success of these same individuals is not requisite to the skills they've obtained (Block and Galabuzi, 2011; Maani, 1994; Timmerman et al., 2003). This suggests that while the children of immigrants are generally achieving higher education in the new country, there is still a barrier to labour market access. Some have attributed this discrepancy to discrimination within the labour market. Indeed it is a fact that within the Canadian labour market "racialized Canadians have slightly higher levels of labour market participation, yet they continue to experience higher levels of unemployment and earn less income than non-racialized Canadians" (Block and Galabuzi, 2011, p.3). Thus, while the second generation will not face the same barriers as their parents, it is conceivable that there will be barriers to full and successful labour market participation nonetheless which will continue to diminish the potential of immigrant families in Canada.

For the first generation, it becomes apparent that there are many barriers to labour market success in Canada, and a lack of social capital outside their ethnic community is simply one of many, rather than a barrier that, if overcome, would be a panacea to the labour market ills of Somalis in Toronto.

Conclusion

The primary goal of this study was to further the understanding of the type of social capital within the social networks of Somali immigrants in Toronto and its effect on the labour market outcomes of this community. A secondary, though related goal of this study was to investigate the influence of ethnic concentration on the quality of this social capital. The findings of these interviews suggest that bonding social capital is present within the social networks of the participants with bridging social capital being less abundant but highly effective when accessible and utilized to improve labour market outcomes. The findings also suggest that while the ethnic concentration of participants may not necessarily lead to more ethnic ties within the social network, this concentration may lead to increased contact with Somalis which may result in Somalis being the predominant source of information including labour market information and opportunities. Given the types of job Somalis tend to be concentrated in, this source of information may not be ideal.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

This study was exploratory in nature and has been an attempt at evaluating the labour market opportunities of Somalis and the various factors that may affect the quality of this resource. Nonetheless, this study has some limitations that may preclude developing definitive conclusions on this subject.

One limitation of this study is the sample size. Unfortunately, due to limited time and resources, the sample size of this study was only ten participants. Given this, these findings should not be viewed as providing definitive conclusions in the area of social capital and labour market outcomes but rather should be viewed as a point of departure for future large scale research in this subject. Another limitation of this study is the methodology utilized to measure

the social capital, labour market outcomes and residential characteristics of participants. While the methodology utilized was in fact rooted in prior literature, there are various options to measuring these variables that may result in more substantive results. For example, using a longitudinal method for large-scale research on social capital and labour market outcomes may result in excellent data on the accumulation and quality of social capital over time as well as varying labour market outcomes for participants and the varying causes of these outcomes.

At the conclusion of this research, a number of areas for future research arose. Important to consider in the future is potentially applying the research questions of this study to the second generation of Somali Canadians, or the children of the cohort studied in this paper. As mentioned previously, the participants of this study were the first generation of Somalis to arrive in Canada and throughout the various interviews they expressed optimism that their children would not experience the same barriers that they have. Testing this assumption is important and may reveal issues and barriers that, while not the same as the ones their parents faced, have nevertheless influenced the labour market outcomes of the second generation in a similarly detrimental way.

Another area that should be addressed is the feelings of belonging among Somali Canadians. It is important to evaluate the feelings of attachment to the host society, or lack thereof, among the Somali community. Given that Somalis are racially, ethnically and religiously disparate from the mainstream in Canada, studying the impact of these differences on subjects such as perceived discrimination or the propensity to isolate within ethnic enclaves will no doubt result in important data that has not been addressed within the literature thus far.

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Appendix A

Background Questionnaire

1. What age were you when you came to Canada?

- ☐ 20-29
- ☐ 30-39
- ☐ 40-49
- ☐ 50-59
- ☐ 60-69
- ☐ 69 +

2. How long have you lived in Canada?

- ☐ 1 – 5 years
- ☐ 6 – 11 years
- ☐ 12 - 17 years
- ☐ 17 – 22 years
- ☐ 23 – 28 years
- ☐ 28 + years

3. What is the highest level of formal education you completed?

- ☐ Graduate/PhD level
- ☐ University/College level
- ☐ High school
- ☐ Primary/Elementary school
- ☐ No schooling

4. Did you complete this education in Canada or abroad?

- ☐ Canada
- ☐ Abroad

5. What was the title of your job prior to your arrival in Canada?

_____

6. What is the title of your current job?

_____

7. Is your current job related to your education/experience?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

8. If **yes**, did you have to retrain in Canada for this job?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

9. Which of these options best describes your annual income (before taxes) in your current job?

- ☐ < $18, 000
- ☐ $19,000 – $34, 000
- ☐ $35, 000 - $50, 000
- ☐ $51, 000 - $66, 000
- ☐ > $67, 000

Appendix B

Ryerson University

Consent Agreement

Social Capital and the Somali Community in Toronto

Overview: You are being invited to participate in a research study. Before you give your consent to be a volunteer it is important that you read the following information and ask as many questions as necessary to be sure that you understand what you will be asked to do.

Investigator: The Principal Investigator of this study is Haweiya Egeh. She is a Masters' student in the Immigration and Settlement Studies Program at Ryerson University. Throughout the research process, Haweiya will be supervised by Dr. Cheryl Teelucksingh, Professor of Sociology at Ryerson University and faculty member of the Immigration and Settlement Studies Program.

Purpose: The purpose of this study is to explore the labour market experiences of Somalis in Toronto and what influence, if any, their social ties have in obtaining employment. I am reviewing published reports as well as other documents and data, but I also want to speak to members of the Somali community and the community workers and advocates who can provide insight into the labour market experiences of Somalis living in Toronto. I hope that this project will assist policy makers among others, in understanding the reality on the ground for many Somalis in their search for gainful employment and result in measures implemented to improve this process for members of the Somali community as well as other immigrant groups.

Description: We are asking you to participate in an interview that will last between 45 and 60 minutes. You will also be asked to complete a brief questionnaire prior to the beginning of the interview. The interview will be tape recorded to facilitate transcription, although if you prefer to have the tape turned off at any point we will do so. In the case that the tape recorder is turned off, the interviewer will directly transcribe what you have to say. Tapes will be retained until the end of August 2011 or until transcription is complete and verified. Transcriptions will be securely retained by the principal investigator for a period of 5 months and then destroyed. Beyond indicating that you are either a Somali community member or community worker with Somalis or advocate on behalf of Somalis, no other personally identifying information about you will be included in the transcription.

Risk: There is minimal risk or discomfort associated with this study. If you are not accustomed to being interviewed the process might make you slightly nervous, but my purpose is to learn from what you have to say about this issue so I will make every attempt to reduce any sources of anxiety. You can skip any question you do not feel comfortable answering and can stop participating in the interview at any time.

Benefits: The areas of potential benefit of the study are in

Helping policy makers, among other interested parties, discover the extent to which one's connections, or social ties to others influences labour market outcomes, specifically in the instance of Somalis in the City of Toronto
Developing a set of suggestions based the insights obtained on the labour market experiences and outcomes of Somalis in Toronto and the experiences of community workers and advocates in the Somali community

Confidentiality: As noted above, you will not be personally identified. Any identifying information on the tape will be removed when transcription occurs. The tapes themselves will be destroyed no later than the end of August 2011 after transcriptions have been completed and verified. Transcripts will be securely retained by the Principal Investigator for up to 5 months to allow analysis and review. Transcription of the tapes will be done by the Principal Investigator. No one else will have access to the audiotapes.

Compensation: You will not be paid for your participation in this study.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in this study is voluntary. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and stop your participation at any time without penalty or loss of any benefits. At any point in the study you may refuse to answer any particular question or stop participation altogether.

Consent for audio taping of the interview: As noted above, the interview will be audio taped to facilitate transcription. Consent for audio taping may be considered as separate from consent to take part in the interview. If our consent includes audio taping, please indicate by signing your initials here

_____.

As noted previously, you may also request that audio taping be stopped at any point during the interview, either for the balance of the interview or occasionally during the interview.

Use of results: The findings of this study may be used for publication, conference presentations and/or instructional purposes.

Your access to results: A copy of the report of the results will be made available to you at the end of the study. You may either contact the Principal Investigator or add your email address to the end of this consent form.

Questions: If you have any questions about the research now, please ask. If you have questions later about the research you may contact the Principal Investigator, Haweiya Egeh by email at haweiya.egeh@ryerson.ca. If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this study you may contact the Ryerson Research Ethics Board c/o the Office of Research Services at Ryerson University, 350 Victoria Street, Toronto, ON M5B 2K3.

Agreement: Your signature below indicates that you have read the information in this agreement and that you have had a chance to ask any questions you have about the study. Your signature

also indicates that you agree to be in the study and have been told that you can change your mind and withdraw your consent to participate at any time. You have been given a copy of this agreement.

You have been told that by signing this consent agreement you are not giving up any of your legal rights.

Name of Participant (Please Print)	Email (optional) for copy of report
Signature of Participant	Date
Signature of Investigator or Interviewer	Date