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**ADAPTATION OF GHANAIAN IMMIGRANTS IN METROPOLITAN TORONTO:  
A FOCUS ON THE SPATIAL ASPECTS OF THEIR LABOUR  
MARKET ACTIVITY**

by

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**THESIS**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The major thrust or aim of this study, which focuses on the Ghanaian immigrant population living in Metropolitan Toronto (which has the largest proportion of Ghanaians in Canada), was to find out whether respondents living in the main area of Ghanaian concentration in Metropolitan Toronto have different socio-economic characteristics from those living away from the main Ghanaian concentration, as is suggested by the general urban ethnic literature. It had three specific research objectives. First, the study sought to ascertain the relationship between the residential location patterns of Ghanaian immigrants in Metropolitan Toronto and their socio-economic characteristics, as defined by their occupational distribution and issues related to it such as job search strategies, location of jobs, journey-to-work, household adaptive strategies (performance of extra work) and housing tenure. Secondly, it sought to find out the nature of the development of entrepreneurship among the Ghanaian community in Metropolitan Toronto, with a focus on the types of business created, their location, employment rates, customer base and any links they might have with businesses in Ghana. In order to understand and explain the general integration process of the Ghanaian immigrant group, it also sought to ascertain the motivations that the respondents had for emigrating to Canada, their migration patterns and the nature of their initial integration into the economy of the Metropolitan Toronto.

To assist in the analysis, three zones of Ghanaian concentration in Metropolitan Toronto were identified for the study. The first zone is the main area of Ghanaian concentration, which was termed as the core concentration. Two other zones were identified based on distance and accessibility from the core concentration. The second zone, which is closer to the core concentration was termed as the semi-core concentration. The last zone, the area farthest away from the core concentration, was termed the periphery.

In terms of initial settlement, it was found that the majority of the respondents settled initially in the core concentration when they first arrived in Metropolitan Toronto, however, recent immigrants (those arriving during the 1990s) show a higher tendency of settling initially in the outer zones. Generally,

background preparation and the experience the respondents brought with them to Canada had no influence on whether the respondents settled initially in the core concentration, in the semi-core concentration or in the periphery. The initial settlement patterns of the respondents contradict the traditional model of immigrant settlement. The study, therefore, proposes a new model for the study of initial settlement of recent immigrants.

The respondents generally exhibit no significant spatial differences in their occupational and related socio-economic characteristics. The characteristics of people living in the main area of Ghanaian residence in Metropolitan Toronto, the core concentration, are not significantly different from that of those who live outside the main Ghanaian concentration (the semi-core concentration and the periphery). Movement is, therefore, not taking place according to the lines outlined by the theory of spatial assimilation which would have residents in the outer zones having much stronger socio-economic status than those living in the core concentration. The study, however, provides some findings which suggest that, in terms of socio-economic status, the periphery is in the process of developing into the strongest zone of Ghanaian concentration in Metropolitan Toronto.

The development of private enterprise among the Ghanaian community in Metropolitan Toronto is at a very early stage. Ghanaian owned businesses are small, young and in the process of growing. They are not as developed and as diversified as that for groups such as the Chinese. Though very beneficial to the Ghanaian community in Metropolitan Toronto, at their present stage of development, they cannot be relied upon to provide a meaningful economic support and advancement opportunities to the Ghanaian community.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Abstract	i
Acknowledgments	iii
Table of Contents	v
List of Tables	x
List of Figures	xiii
 <b>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</b>	
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Directions of Immigration Research	2
1.3 Residential Concentration and Segregation of Ethnic Groups	6
1.4 The Canadian Experience: Suburbanization of Immigrant Groups	11
1.5 Ethnic Concentration and Economic Activity of Ethnic Groups	13
1.6 Scope and Rationale of the Study	15
1.7 Conceptual Framework	17
1.7.1 The Zonal Segregation Model	17
1.7.2 The Core-Periphery Model	18
1.7.3 The Ethnic Status Model	20
1.7.4 Spatial Assimilation and Visible Minorities	20
1.8 Study Objectives	23
1.9 Hypotheses	25
1.10 Organization of the Thesis	26
 <b>CHAPTER TWO: THE SETTLEMENT OF IMMIGRANTS</b>	
2.1 Introduction	28
2.2 Theories of Assimilation: Melting Pot and Anglo-Conformity	28
2.2.1 The Melting Pot	29
2.2.2 Anglo-Conformity	29
2.2.3 Critique of the Theory of Assimilation	30
2.2.4 Cultural Pluralism	32
2.3 Adaptation of Immigrants	34
2.4 Kinship and Migrant Social Networks	38
2.5 Canadian Immigration Policy	40
2.5.1 Immigration Promotion: the 1896 Immigration Act	41
2.5.2 'Preferred Nations' and 'Prohibited Classes' (1914-1966)	41
2.5.3 Universalistic Criteria (1967-Present)	43
2.6 Past and Present Immigration Flows	44
2.7 The Changing Composition of Immigrants	45

2.8	Blacks in Canada: A Historical Account	49
2.9	Multiculturalism in Canada	51
2.9.1	Why Multiculturalism?	52
2.9.2	Early Multicultural Policy Initiatives (1971-1981)	54
2.9.3	Multicultural Initiatives, 1981-1988	56

### **CHAPTER THREE: RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION AND OCCUPATIONAL CONCENTRATION OF IMMIGRANTS**

3.1	Introduction	58
3.2	Ethnic Residential Concentration	58
3.3	Suburbanization of Visible Minorities	63
3.4	Changing Trends in Occupational Distribution	66
3.5	Entrepreneurship Among Immigrants	76
3.6	Occupational Status and Spatial Concentration of Immigrants	80
3.7	The Increasing Importance of Visible Minorities in Canada's Labour Market and Relations with the Host Society	83

### **CHAPTER FOUR: BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE GHANAIAN COMMUNITY**

4.1	Introduction	88
4.2	Ghana: A Socio-economic and Cultural Profile	88
4.3	Political and Economic Conditions in Ghana	93
4.4	Ghanaian Immigration to Canada: A Historical Analysis	95
4.5	Ghanaian Immigrants in Toronto: A Demographic Profile	103

### **CHAPTER FIVE: METHODOLOGY**

5.1	Introduction	109
5.2	Sources of Data	109
5.3	Collection of Primary Data	110
5.4	Analysis of Data	117

### **CHAPTER SIX: MIGRATION PATTERNS AND INITIAL SETTLEMENT OF THE GHANAIAN IMMIGRANT GROUP IN TORONTO**

6.1	Introduction	119
6.2	Demographic Profile of Respondents	119
6.2.1	Age Distribution	120



6.2.2	Gender Distribution	121
6.2.3	Marital Status	122
6.2.4	Composition of Household	122
6.2.5	Educational Level	123
6.3	Migration Patterns of Respondents	126
6.3.1	Year of Arrival in Canada	126
6.3.2	Age at Time of Arrival in Canada	128
6.3.3	Reasons for Immigrating to Canada	129
6.3.4	Patterns of Migration Flow	130
6.4	Initial Settlement in Toronto	135
6.4.1	First Canadian City Lived In	135
6.4.2	Place of Initial Settlement in Toronto	136
6.4.3	Host on First Arrival in Toronto	139
6.5	The Influence of Background Preparation on Initial Settlement	140
6.5.1	Educational Level and Initial Settlement	142
6.5.2	Migration Pattern and Initial Settlement	144
6.5.3	First Canadian City Lived in and Initial Settlement	145
6.5.4	Host on Arrival and Initial Settlement	147
6.6	Movement Patterns	148
6.7	Summary of Findings	150

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: OCCUPATIONAL ACTIVITY OF THE GHANAIAN IMMIGRANT GROUP IN TORONTO**

7.1	Introduction	153
7.2	Occupational Distribution of Respondents	153
7.2.1	Types of Occupation	153
7.2.2	Years at Present Job	158
7.2.3	Period Between Arrival in Canada and First Job	159
7.2.4	Job Search Strategies	161
7.2.5	Job Search Strategies and Gender	162
7.2.6	Job Search Strategies and Area of Residence	164
7.2.7	Job Search Strategies and Type of Occupation	165
7.2.8	Type of Occupation and Year of Arrival	167
7.2.9	Type of Occupation and Gender	169
7.2.10	Type of Occupation and Educational Level	171
7.2.11	Type of Occupation and Education in Canada	172
7.2.12	Spatial Differences in Occupational Distribution	174
7.2.13	Location of Jobs	176
7.2.14	Journey-to-work – How	179
7.2.15	Journey-to-Work – Duration	182
7.3	Household Adaptive Strategies	185
7.3.1	One-income and Two-income Households	185

7.3.2	Performance of Extra Jobs	187
7.3.3	Type of Extra Work Performed	188
7.4	Housing Conditions	190
7.4.1	Type of Accommodation	190
7.4.2	Tenure of Accommodation	192
7.4.3	Tenure of Accommodation and Year of Arrival	193
7.4.4	Tenure of Accommodation and Occupational Status	194
7.4.5	Tenure of Accommodation and Area of Residence	196
7.5	Summary of Findings	197

## **CHAPTER EIGHT: SELF-EMPLOYMENT IN THE GHANAIAN COMMUNITY**

8.1	Introduction	201
8.2	Types of Businesses	202
8.3	Location of the Businesses	203
8.4	Background Characteristics of the Entrepreneurs	205
8.4.1	Gender of Business Owners	205
8.4.2	Year of Arrival of Business Owners	206
8.4.3	Educational Level of Business Owners	207
8.4.4	Prior Experience in Present Business	208
8.5	Characteristics of Ghanaian Businesses in Toronto	209
8.5.1	Year Business was Started	209
8.5.2	Source of Capital	210
8.5.3	Person Running Day-to-day Business	212
8.5.4	Employment of Workers	214
8.5.5	Number of Employees	216
8.5.6	Composition of Employees	216
8.5.7	Recruitment of Workers	218
8.5.8	Composition of Customers	218
8.5.9	Links to Ghana	221
8.6	Summary of Findings	222

## **CHAPTER NINE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS**

9.1	Introduction	225
9.2	Migration Patterns and Initial Settlement	226
9.2.1	Background Information on Respondents	227
9.2.2	Migration Patterns	227
9.2.3	Initial Settlement	228
9.3	Occupational Characteristics	232
9.3.1	Occupational Activity	232
9.3.2	Household Adaptive Strategy	234

9.3.3	Housing Conditions	235
9.4	Self-Employment	235
9.4.1	Background Characteristics of the Self-Employed	236
9.4.2	Characteristics of Businesses	236
9.5	Concluding Remarks	238
	<b>Appendix 1</b> Questionnaire (Individuals)	247
	<b>Appendix 2</b> Questionnaire (Self-Employed)	255
	<b>Appendix 3</b> Movement Patterns	260
	<b>Bibliography</b>	263

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1	Global Share of Canada's Immigrants, 1981-1991	46
Table 2.2	Top Ten Countries of Birth for Immigrants, 1991	47
Table 2.3	Top Ten Countries of Birth for all Immigrants, 1991	48
Table 3	Socio-Economic Status by Visible Minority Status and Ethnic Origins	70
Table 4.1	Provincial Distribution of Ghanaians in Canada, 1991 and 1996	96
Table 4.2	Provincial Distribution of Africans in Canada, 1996	97
Table 4.3	Distribution of Ghanaians in Metropolitan Toronto, 1996	99
Table 4.4	Ghanaian Immigrants in Metropolitan Toronto by Period of Immigration, 1991	103
Table 4.5	Ghanaian Arrival in Metropolitan Toronto by Immigrant Class, 1980-1992	104
Table 4.6	Age and Sex Characteristics of Ghanaian Immigrants in Metropolitan Toronto, 1991	105
Table 4.7	Education, Occupation and Income Characteristics of Ghanaian Immigrants in Metropolitan Toronto, 1991	106
Table 6.1	Age Range of Respondents	120
Table 6.2	Gender Distribution of Respondents	121
Table 6.3	Marital Status of Respondents	122
Table 6.4	The Composition of the Household of Respondents	123
Table 6.5	Level of Education of Respondents	124
Table 6.6	Highest Level of Education by Visible Minority and Non-visible Minority, Metropolitan Toronto, 1996	125
Table 6.7	Period of Immigration of Respondents	126
Table 6.8	Year of Immigration by Visible Minority and Non-visible Minority, Metropolitan Toronto, 1996	127
Table 6.9	Age at Time of Arrival in Canada	128
Table 6.10	Reasons for Immigrating to Canada	129
Table 6.11	Movement to Canada	130
Table 6.12	Country Lived in Before Moving to Canada	131
Table 6.13	City Lived in Just Before Leaving Ghana	132
Table 6.14	Reason for Immigrating to Canada by Movement to Canada	133
Table 6.15	Reason for Immigrating to Canada by Gender	134
Table 6.16	First Canadian City Lived In	135
Table 6.17	Area of First Residence in Metropolitan Toronto	137
Table 6.18	Area of First Residence in Metropolitan Toronto by Year of Arrival	138
Table 6.19	Host on First Arrival in Metropolitan Toronto	139
Table 6.20	Area of First Residence in Metropolitan Toronto by Educational Level	143

Table 6.21	Area of First Residence in Metropolitan Toronto by Movement to Canada	145
Table 6.22	Area of First Residence in Metropolitan Toronto by First Canadian City Lived In	146
Table 6.23	Area of First Residence in Metropolitan Toronto by Host Upon Arrival	147
Table 6.24	Summary of Movement Patterns	149
Table 7.1	Type of Occupation Engaged In	154
Table 7.2	Occupational Distribution by Visible Minority and Non-visible Minority, Metropolitan Toronto, 1996	155
Table 7.3	Abridged Occupational Distribution for Metropolitan Toronto, 1996	157
Table 7.4	Years at Present Job	158
Table 7.5	Length of Time Before Finding a Job After Arrival in Canada	159
Table 7.6	Length of Time Before Finding a Job After Education in Canada	160
Table 7.7	How Present Job was Obtained	161
Table 7.8	How Present Job was Obtained by Gender	163
Table 7.9	How Present Job was Obtained by Area of Residence	164
Table 7.10	How Present Job was Obtained by Type of Occupation	166
Table 7.11	Type of Occupation by Year of Arrival	168
Table 7.12	Type of Occupation by Gender	170
Table 7.13	Type of Occupation by Highest Educational Level	171
Table 7.14	Type of Occupation by Education in Canada	173
Table 7.15	Type of Occupation by Area of Residence	175
Table 7.16	Location of Job	177
Table 7.17	Location of Job by Area of Residence	178
Table 7.18	How Respondents Get to Work by Area of Residence	179
Table 7.19	Mode of Transportation to Work by Visible Minority and Non-visible Minority, Metropolitan Toronto, 1996	181
Table 7.20	Length of Time it Takes to Get to Work by Area of Residence	182
Table 7.21	Commuting Distance to Work by Visible Minority and Non-visible Minority, Metropolitan Toronto, 1996	184
Table 7.22	Who is Employed in Household by Area of Residence	185
Table 7.23	Performance of Extra Work by Area of Residence	187
Table 7.24	Type of Extra Work Performed by Areas of Residence	189
Table 7.25	Type of Accommodation by Area of Residence	191
Table 7.26	Tenure of Accommodation	192
Table 7.27	Tenure of Accommodation by Visible Minority and Non-visible Minority, Metropolitan Toronto, 1996	193
Table 7.28	Tenure of Accommodation by Year of Arrival	194
Table 7.29	Tenure of Accommodation by Type of Occupation	195
Table 7.30	Tenure of Accommodation by Area of Residence	197
Table 8.1	Type of Business	202

Table 8.2	Location of Businesses	204
Table 8.3	Gender of Business Owners	205
Table 8.4	Year of Arrival of Business Owners	206
Table 8.5	Educational Level of Business Owners	207
Table 8.6	Prior Experience in Present Business	208
Table 8.7	Practical Training in Canada	208
Table 8.8	Year Business was Started	210
Table 8.9	Source of Capital	211
Table 8.10	Person in Charge of Daily Operation of Business	212
Table 8.11	Person in Charge of Daily Operation by Type of Business	213
Table 8.12	Employment of Workers	214
Table 8.13	Employment of Workers by Type of Business	215
Table 8.14	Number of Employees	216
Table 8.15	Composition of Employees	217
Table 8.16	How Workers were Recruited	218
Table 8.17	Composition of Customers	219
Table 8.18	Composition of Customers by Type of Business	219
Table 8.19	Links to Ghana	221

## **LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure 1.1	Core-Periphery Model of Ethnic Group Distributions in Ontario	19
Figure 1.2	Ethnic Groups, Assimilation and Residential Spatial Outcomes	22
Figure 3	Metropolitan Toronto	62
Figure 4.1	Ghana and West Africa	89
Figure 4.2	Ghana: Administrative Regions and Regional Capitals	91
Figure 4.3	Distribution of Ghanaians in Metropolitan Toronto, 1996	100
Figure 4.4	Distribution of Ghanaians in Metropolitan Toronto by Census Tract, 1994	102
Figure 5	The Study Area Showing Zones of Ghanaian Concentration	114
Figure 6	Spatial Dimensions of Ghanaian Immigrant Settlement in Metropolitan Toronto	141
Figure 9	New Model of Ghanaian Immigrant Settlement in Metropolitan Toronto	240

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

Among the topics that Hiebert (1993) identified as being pertinent to geographical research, is the integration of specific immigrant groups into Canadian society as a whole but, especially, into Canada's labour markets. This study focuses on these aspects of immigrant integration, using the Ghanaian population in Metropolitan Toronto as a case study.

In an attempt to determine the extent to which the theory of spatial assimilation applies to the Ghanaian immigrant group in Metropolitan Toronto, the major thrust or aim of the study is to find out whether respondents living in the main area of Ghanaian concentration in Metropolitan Toronto have different socio-economic characteristics from those living away from the main Ghanaian concentration. The general urban ethnic literature would suggest this.

Specifically, the study seeks to ascertain the relationship between the residential location patterns of Ghanaian immigrants in Metropolitan Toronto and their socio-economic characteristics, as defined by their occupational distribution and issues related to it such as job search strategies, location of jobs, journey-to-work, household adaptive strategies and housing tenure. The study also seeks to find out the nature of the development of entrepreneurship among the Ghanaian community in Metropolitan Toronto with a focus on the types of business created, their location, employment rates, customer base and any links they might have with businesses in Ghana. In order to understand and explain the general integration process of the Ghanaian immigrant group, this study also seeks to ascertain the motivations that the respondents had for emigrating to Canada, their migration patterns and the nature of their initial integration into the economy of Metropolitan Toronto. In this



regard, the study seeks to find out the extent to which the initial settlement patterns of the Ghanaian immigrant population in Metropolitan Toronto correspond to the traditional model of immigrant settlement.

## **1.2 Directions of Immigration Research**

Canada, and North America in general, has traditionally been referred to as a land of immigrants, thereby, recognising the significant role that immigrants have played in the development of the country over the years. The high influx of immigrants over the course of the country's history has increased its population and has had significant influences on the economic, social, political and cultural life of its cities. It is, therefore, not surprising that the immigrant experience has received so much attention and has been the research interest of social scientists over the years. There has been much concern about the settling, adjustment and eventual integration of immigrants into the receiving society and numerous studies have been attempted to understand the various facets of immigrant life and adjustment.

Hoskin (1991) has identified two major forms of immigration research. The first is macro-level theories which focus on economic forces and global adjustment. In this type of research, immigration/emigration is seen as a response to shifting market needs and an important consideration is the adjustment of the receiving society to population imbalances. Such studies accord little attention to immigrant and host nation groups, who are considered as minor players. A second level of studies relates to micro-level theories which shift the focus of analysis to variations in the experiences of specific immigrant groups and those with whom they interact in a receiving society. This second type of research (micro-level) has received much attention as numerous studies have

been conducted about the experiences of particular immigrant groups in Canada, the United States of America and other notable immigrant countries like Great Britain and Australia. Two areas that have received much attention in the social science literature are residential segregation and occupational concentration of particular immigrant groups.

Studies of immigrant occupational distributions in Canada have shown that they play a very important role in Canada's economy. Immigration has been seen as a way for the country to enhance the total productive capacity of the economy through an addition to the labour force, especially where immigrants have skills which are in scarce supply in the receiving society (Seward, 1987; Reitz, 1990; Hoskin, 1991). Immigrant labour helps to fill particular shortages, allowing unemployed resources to be employed and, thus, lead to an increase in the national income (Denton and Spencer, 1978). As producers and consumers, immigrants are regarded as important for stimulating economic growth. They not only ease labour shortages caused by economic expansion, but also take jobs that many Canadians are unwilling to do (Reitz, 1990). Furthermore, some researchers are of the view that with the relatively young age of most immigrants, they are likely to underwrite the future costs of servicing an increasingly ageing and shrinking Canadian population (Tepper, 1988; Samuel, 1989).

Over the years, studies of the labour force activities of immigrants in Canada have dwelt mostly on their income and occupational distribution. Such studies have tried to link income and occupational distribution of immigrants to ethnic origin in an attempt to find out the extent to which various immigrant groups are represented in the different occupational categories (Porter, 1965; Darroch, 1977; Li, 1978; Hecht, et. al, 1983; Lautard and Loree, 1984; Pineo and Porter, 1985; Reitz, 1988, 1990; Christofedes and Swidinsky, 1994). Most of these studies have focused on European

immigrant groups, with only a few on immigrants from non-European countries, especially, those from China and Japan. The results of past studies have shown that visible minorities<sup>1</sup> are at a disadvantageous position in Canada's labour market, however, their disadvantage has declined with time, as they have made good gains in the labour market over the past few years (Samuel and Woloski, 1985; Henry and Ginzberg, 1985; Mackie, 1985; Boyd, 1985; Reit, 1990; Mercer, 1995).

As a result of changes that have occurred over the past few decades in the nature and pattern of Canada's immigrant flows, it has become important for us to know even more about the performance of visible minorities in the labour market. In recent years, there has not only been an increase in the number of immigrants entering Canada, there has also been a remarkable shift in the source countries of Canada's immigrant population. Over the past two decades, Europe has lost its position as Canada's leading source region for immigrants while Asia and other areas like Africa, the Caribbean. South and Central America have become increasingly important as source regions for immigrants (Badets, 1994, Mercer, 1995, Thompson and Weinfeld, 1995, Roy, 1995; Cohen, 1997).

The cause of the increasing importance of countries in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and South and Central America among recent immigration flows can be traced to the new regulations which were introduced in 1967 (Mercer, 1995; Roy, 1995). The introduction of the 'points system' in 1967 brought to the fore the economic role that immigration is expected to play in the Canadian economy. A class of immigrants, 'independent', was targeted by the new regulation. This class of immigrants consists of selected workers (and their dependents) and business immigrants, who are mostly self-

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<sup>1</sup> This is defined as immigrants who are non-Caucasian, for example, South Asians, Chinese and Blacks.

employed entrepreneurs and investors. They are selected by virtue of their suitability to the labour market through a points system that emphasises education, skills and occupational background and, in the case of entrepreneurs and investors, the availability of funds to invest (Johnson, 1983; Marr and Percy, 1985; Seward, 1987). The new regulation recognized the role of immigration as a central component of nation building by its ability to influence the pace of demographic change and economic growth (Seward, 1987). By emphasizing the qualifications and skills of immigrants rather than the country of origin as existed previously, it also made it possible for increasing numbers of immigrants with the requisite skills from countries which were previously not encouraged as immigrant source countries to be admitted into the country (Ray, 1993; Hiebert, 1993; Adelman, 1993).

The presence of different ethnic groups in urban areas leads to a diversity of experience, development of different patterns of settlement and has generally contributed to a transformation of life in many urban areas. Patterns of settlement range from those which are spatially distinct and contain a rich ethnic identity to those which are scattered over the landscape and lack an identifiable local identity. While some ethnic groups are hidden in the urban landscape, others are visible due to particular economic niches or community forms. There is often contestation of space as different ethnic groups compete for employment, housing and educational resources, among other things. On the other hand, through the diversification of language and religion and the emergence of new cultural activities like ethnic businesses and festivals, ethnic diversity has contributed to the enrichment of the culture of many urban places (Roseman et al., 1996).

Through its policy of Multiculturalism, which is based on the understanding that different ethnic groups are entitled to preserve their separate ethnic identities within the nation, Canada has

officially embraced cultural pluralism (Kobayashi, 1993). The notion of pluralism has contributed to an interest in urban ethnicity and has spawned a number of studies among Geographers, and other social scientists, who seek to understand the complex interrelationship between society and space in urban areas.

With the new trends in immigration flows, it is important for more research to focus on immigrants from the 'new' source regions. This study, which focuses on the spatial aspects of socio-economic and labour market activity of Ghanaian immigrants in Metropolitan Toronto, is an attempt in this direction.

### **1.3 Residential Concentration and Segregation of Ethnic Groups**

The performance of immigrants in Canada's labour markets has received considerable research attention over the years. As has been pointed out previously, attention on the labour market activities of immigrants has focused mainly on occupational and income distribution along ethnic origin lines. While these studies, which have been mostly undertaken by sociologists and anthropologists, have contributed greatly to our understanding of how various immigrant or ethnic groups settle and get adjusted or integrated into a receiving society, the unique perspective that geographical analysis brings to bear on the discussion helps to further increase our understanding. The geographical perspective is primarily concerned with how spatial factors affect and shape the process through which an ethnic (or immigrant) group is integrated into a receiving society. Geographers have mostly been concerned with the spatial concentration or dispersal of ethnic groups, the factors that account for them and how their concentration affects them in the various patterns and processes of metropolitan space. According to Boal (1996), the degree to which

members of a particular ethnic group are residentially segregated from the rest of the population is central to the geographic inquiry. An underlying thought is that “the social structure of the city cannot be understood in isolation from the forces which operate in the society where it is located; and that the spatial expression of these forces is most clearly explicit in residential structures (Clark et al., 1984: 17). This section reviews some works done by geographers over the past few years which address various aspects of ethnic life in urban areas in Canada and the United States.

In their work in the Los Angeles area, Allen and Turner (1996a), seek to assess the extent to which older generalizations about the spatial patterns of immigrant settlement and assimilation remain valid in the face of important changes in the characteristics of both immigrants and metropolitan areas by comparing the contemporary areal patterning of cultural and economic assimilation with patterns expected from a modified model of urban spatial assimilation developed by Massey. Massey’s model basically posits that when immigrants arrive in a host country, they cluster together initially (usually in inner cities) for mutual support and then as they become more familiar with the country’s culture, get better jobs and earn more money over time, they leave their initial concentrations and reside among members of the host society. Allen and Turner sought to add to Massey’s model in two main ways. First, they argue that even when immigrants disperse out of ethnic neighbourhoods, access to an ethnic concentration continues to be important for most immigrants and sometimes even for members of ethnic groups born in the United States. However, the need for accessibility to an ethnic concentration is reduced the more an individual is assimilated to the host society. There is, therefore, a distance and time gradient between assimilation and an ethnic concentration: the relative assimilation of individuals increase as distance from the concentration increases. They also add to Massey’s model by arguing that contrary to the model’s

prediction (initial inner city settlement), many newly arrived immigrants settle away from ethnic concentrations due to the effects of new chain migrations which result in initial settlement dispersals.

Allen and Turner utilize data from the 1990 5 percent Public Use Microdata Sample of the United States census to locate the residential concentrations of the largest immigrant groups in Southern California. Their main goal is to compare the characteristics of people living within ethnic concentrations with those of people living outside such concentrations. For this reason, they differentiated three zones of concentration; the first is the main ethnic concentration and another two which differ in accessibility or distance to the concentration. The three zones obtained are concentrated (specific areas locally recognized as important ethnic centres), highly dispersed (areas which are farthest from the concentrated zone) and dispersed (areas in-between the two zones). They hypothesize that individuals who are less assimilated would mostly reside in the concentrated zone while those who are more assimilated would be in the highly dispersed zone. They defined two main forms of assimilation for the purpose of their analysis - cultural and economic. Three measures are used for cultural assimilation – English language ability, educational attainment and U.S. citizenship while economic assimilation is indicated by individual median income. For each of the three zones, they calculate the percentage or median value of selected assimilation variables for the ethnic groups under study and also measure the association between selected characteristics of ethnic groups and the extent of their zonal differentiation by means of Spearman rank-correlation and test for statistical differences of the observed zonal differentiation.

The results of their analysis show considerable zonal differentiation for the selected assimilation variables. For example, an analysis of arrival cohorts shows that the concentrated zones contained higher proportions of recent arrivals while the highly dispersed zones had higher

proportions of earlier arrivals. Even though this confirms the main tenets of Massey's model, this pattern has been blurred by the increased settlement of new immigrants outside such concentrations: they had evidence to show that a high proportion of recent arrivals do not live within concentrated zones; many of them live close to ethnic concentrations and make trips there whenever the need arises. They also found that for a majority of the groups, the percentage of citizenship and English language skills are only about half as high in the zones of concentration as they are in the highly dispersed zone and rates of high school and college graduation in the zones of concentration are less than 75 percent of the rates in the highly dispersed zone. With regards to economic assimilation, they found that zonal differences in men's median income are in the expected direction, that is they are higher in the highly dispersed zone compared to the concentrated zone.

Their findings show a definite spatial pattern in the relative assimilation process of immigrant groups. While the findings support the general patterns of spatial assimilation proposed by Massey, the need for an elaboration of the model is shown through the two modifications they made to it.

Expanding further on the theme of spatial patterns of ethnic group settlement, Allen and Turner (1996b) did another study in Los Angeles which had a different focus in that they dwelt more on segregation levels between the different ethnic groups in what they call the New Los Angeles. The purpose of the study is to investigate the transformation of the social fabric and residential patterns of Los Angeles due to the influx of immigrants, mostly from developing countries, into the city. To achieve this objective, there is an examination of the dramatic change in the composition of ethnic populations in Los Angeles between 1960 and 1990. The geographical patterns of the ethnic groups are then explored by mapping their spatial concentration in the city in 1990 and measuring residential segregation of the various groups for 1960, 1980 and 1990.



Allen and Turner used a variety of methods in their study. Information from the U.S census (data on race, country of origin, first reported ancestry and foreign stock) is used to identify changes in the composition of the various ethnic groups from 1960-1990. To delineate the concentration of the ethnic groups in 1990, they focussed on census tracts which had an ethnic population of 25 people or more and then mapped the largest and second largest ethnic populations. The index of dissimilarity (D) is also used to delineate residential segregation of the ethnic groups under study. Their reason for using the index of dissimilarity is that it is the statistic that is used most widely by researchers and would, therefore, make comparisons with the results of other studies easier.

The findings of Allen and Turner showed a dramatic growth in the population of minority groups (as a result of immigration) between 1960 and 1990. For example, Latinos formed 10 percent of the county's population in 1960 but in 1990, they made up 40 percent of the population. While the Black population doubled in that time span, the population of Asians and Pacific Islanders quadrupled. At the same time, there was a decline in the county's white population. Their mapping showed that the poorer groups (Blacks and Latinos) were located in central locations in Los Angeles and Long Beach (where the least expensive housing is found) while the wealthier groups (Whites and Asians) were found mostly in the suburbs. The analysis of residential segregation showed that segregation levels were generally moderate or high (D of .50 and up). There were different patterns of changes in segregation among different ethnic groups. While segregation levels between blacks and whites and Japanese and whites dropped between 1960 and 1990, that between Mexicans, Chinese and Koreans on one hand and whites on the other increased. One interesting finding they made was that people with Black and Mexican origin were more segregated from Chinese, Koreans and Japanese than they were from whites.

Allen and Turner's findings show the presence of a mosaic of geographically different ethnic communities in Los Angeles which is characteristic of many urban areas in the United States and Canada, in recent times.

#### **1.4 The Canadian Experience: Suburbanization of Immigrant Groups**

Attention is now shifted to geographical studies done in Canada on the experiences of different ethnic (immigrant) groups in Canada's urban areas. While some of the studies generally mirror the findings of U.S. studies, other studies suggest that in some cases, the experiences of ethnic groups in Canadian cities differ from their counterparts in the U.S. Various studies have been done on immigrant groups in Canada which have a geographical focus. Some of these deal with the general spatial distribution of immigrants in the country (see for example Moore et al., 1990; Hiebert, 1994; Nash, 1994) while others deal with the experiences of ethnic groups in specific urban areas in the country.

One study about the experiences of immigrant groups in Canada is Ray's work (1994) on settlement and housing patterns of immigrants in Toronto. The purpose of the paper is to identify the location patterns and housing conditions of some immigrant groups in Toronto, which is the pre-eminent destination of immigrants to Canada. In the paper, he argues that the invasion/succession model which is traditionally used to explain immigrant settlement in cities has limited application in the case of Toronto. According to Allen and Turner (1996b: 17), invasion and succession is the "process by which housing is filtered down from one ethnic group to a more recently arrived and poorer group". It follows the main tenets of Massey's model discussed earlier which was confirmed by the two studies by Allen and Turner already discussed and which has generally been shown to be

the case in most U.S. cities.

Ray bases his analysis on a special tabulation of the 1986 population census of Canada. His findings show that unlike what is reported for most U.S. studies, immigrants in Toronto are not confined to inner city ghettos. For example, while the City of Toronto (the oldest and most densely populated core city) had 28.1% of the immigrant population, suburban cities like North York (27.7%) and Scarborough (23.1%) had proportions of the immigrant population which rival that of the City of Toronto. Immigrants in Toronto show high patterns of suburbanization, compared to their counterparts in the U.S. This is especially so in the case of recent immigrants. His analysis of housing patterns showed different types of housing for different immigrant groups. For example, while Italians mostly live in single family homes, Afro-Caribbeans usually occupy high-rise apartments. The two groups also have different patterns of tenure, with Italians having higher rates of ownership than Afro-Caribbeans. He points out that the availability of affordable owner-occupied and rental housing in the suburbs of Toronto, contrary to the situation in most U.S. cities, has contributed to the high suburbanized rates among immigrants in Toronto (see also Bourne and Olvet, 1995).

Ray's findings on the high suburbanization levels among Toronto's immigrant population show an important difference in the spatial distribution of immigrants in Toronto and that of some U.S. cities. In so doing, he shows that immigrant settlement is "more complex than the taken-for-granted notion of initial location in the inner-city and subsequent diffusion to the suburbs" (p. 263).

A similar idea is echoed in the post-modern urban model (shot-gun pattern) developed by Mandres (1998). The model, which can be observed in settlement patterns in Toronto from the 1980s to the present, shows a dispersed residential pattern characterized by "enclave scattering" (Mandres,

1998). This is especially true concerning recent immigrants who are entering a changing urban landscape. Mandres (1998) distinguishes between settlement patterns for refugees and business immigrants. Some refugees are usually attracted to the metropolitan nucleus or core due to the availability of housing and employment while entrepreneurs, who normally place little or no significance on ethnic group affiliation, show a tendency of direct movement to suburban locations. The initial spatial clustering exhibited by refugees diminishes over time, as they disperse out. The dispersed settlement patterns observed in recent times can be attributed to a number of factors, including the availability of cheaper housing in areas outside of the metropolitan core. The decentralization and dispersion of employment to peripheral areas in cities has also contributed to this recent phenomenon. Another contributory factor is social class differences among ethnic groups, whose educated and affluent members show a tendency of residential dispersal if they feel close cultural ties with the host society (Mandres, 1998). The shot gun pattern of residential distribution is most obvious when immigrants are assessed by their period of arrival but is less evident when the native-born and foreign-born components of ethnic groups are analysed as a group (Mandres, 1998).

### **1.5 Ethnic Concentration and Economic Activity of Ethnic Groups**

In addition to describing the dynamics of the locational patterns of immigrant groups and their effects, geographical enquiry has also been concerned with the labour market experiences of immigrant groups in receiving societies. The main focus has been the relationship between spatial patterns and the relative performance of ethnic groups in the labour market. Owen (1995), for example, utilized census data to study the spatial and socio-economic patterns of minority ethnic groups in Great Britain. The study shows that ethnic minorities residing in well-to-do local authority

areas in Britain do better in the labour market than those who live in backward regions (see also Owen and Green, 1992). Owen's (1995) findings, thus, show that locational factors certainly play an important role in the economic performance of ethnic groups.

Other studies have considered the development of ethnic entrepreneurship and how this is related to the concentration of ethnic groups. One such study is that of Lee (1995) who studied the development of small business among Koreans in Los Angeles. The focus of the paper is to examine the location of Korean firms in Los Angeles within the context of the overall growth of the Korean community between 1975 and 1986. Lee relied on census reports to track growth in the Korean population as well as the location patterns of the community and data on business types from two volumes of the Korean Directory of Southern California for 1975 and 1987 to chart the growth and spatial patterns of Korean firms.

Lee's findings indicated that between 1975 and 1986, Korean business in Los Angeles experienced dramatic growth in number as well as sale volumes. An important finding was that the Korean community (Koreatown) played an important role in the space economy of the Korean small business sector. She calculated the densities of Korean firms and correlated them with the densities of the Korean population. She found out that Korean businesses tended to locate in areas where there was a substantial presence of the Korean population. In addition, she also discovered that while some business growth took place primarily in Koreatown, others experienced continued deconcentration over time into other minority ethnic neighbourhoods.

In a similar study, Kaplan (1997) examined how the growth in the Indochinese population of Saint Paul, Minnesota, has led to the growth of an Indochinese economy. It focuses on the role of neighbourhood concentration in boosting the development of small business in the Indochinese

community. Kaplan used census reports and data from the Immigration and Naturalization Service to track the growth and distribution of the Indochinese population and data from the 5 percent 1990 Public Use Microdata sample to provide characteristics of racial and ethnic groups in St. Paul. To chart business development among the Indochinese community from the 1980s, he uses a special data set acquired from an agency called Contacts Influential, a business directory service which bases its listings on Yellow Page surveys and follow-ups. He uses information from observations, interviews and the Asian Business and Community Directory (using surnames to identify Asian business ownership) to supplement the information from Contacts Influential.

Kaplan's findings echo that of Lee (1995). By 1991, a stretch along St. Paul's University Avenue was flooded with Asian, primarily Indochinese owned businesses. This portion also coincided with the main concentration of the Indochinese community as a large proportion of the group lived within two kilometres of this stretch.

Both studies show the importance of spatial patterns, in this case the residential location of an ethnic group, to the success of ethnic enterprise. Such concentrations play an important role in shaping the economic niches for small firms of ethnic groups by providing reliable markets and cheap sources of labour (Lee, 1995, 1992; Kaplan, 1997).

### **1.6 Scope and Rationale of the Study**

With the increasing importance of immigration in the Canadian economy, one of the most important areas that should be the focus of geographical research is the labour market. Some of the issues that need to be considered are the spatial dynamics of the types of jobs accessible to immigrants and how this correlates to their residential location patterns.

The source countries of Canada's immigrants has changed dramatically over the past few decades such that there are now more people coming in from developing countries which were formerly considered as undesirable source countries for immigrants. Past research on the country's immigrant population has mostly concentrated on Europeans and some Asians, especially the Chinese and the Japanese. Black immigrants into Canada, especially those from Africa who are of relatively more recent origin and smaller numbers, have received very little research attention. With the growing importance of this group of immigrants, there is the need for research to focus on them.

Though some studies have considered the occupational distribution of immigrants (Samuel and Woloski, 1985; Reitz, 1980, 1990) and others have looked at the spatial distribution of immigrants (Hecht et al., 1983; Moore et al., 1990; Ebanks, 1994; Badets, 1994; Mercer, 1995), few have dwelt on the spatial concentrations and their associated socio-economic characteristics of immigrants. Knowledge of the spatial concentrations of immigrants, in relation to their socio-economic characteristics will help us to better understand how they can participate effectively in the various patterns and processes that go on around them.

The development of ethnic businesses has been shown to be very important to the economic survival of ethnic communities. It is interesting to find out what sort of businesses are set up to meet the needs of immigrant groups which are not large and do not have identifiable residential concentrations like, for example, the Chinese.

This study is focussed on these aspects of immigrant integration, in the context of a small but growing immigrant group. Using the case of Ghanaian immigrants in Toronto, the study is an attempt to provide insights into some of the issues raised above.

## **1.7 Conceptual Framework**

The study adopts the theory of spatial assimilation as its conceptual framework. This theory, which attempts to explain the spatial behaviour of immigrants, can be seen in various forms which are discussed in this section.

### **1.7.1 The Zonal Segregation Model**

This theory was developed by Duncan and Duncan (1957). It has been called different names by different researchers, for example the model of residential segregation (Massey, 1985), the melting-pot model (Schwab, 1992) or the model of spatial assimilation (Allen and Turner, 1996a) but the major tenets are basically the same. The theory basically posits that social class plays a major influence on the locational behaviour of people in cities. It is based on the concentric zone theory of urban growth which was developed by Burgess in the 1920s. Briefly, Burgess' concentric zone model postulates that land uses in a modern city assume a pattern of concentric zones - zone 1, the central business district through to zone 5, the commuter zone. The zones move out from the centre of the city outwards towards the suburbs; the farther one goes from the centre, one encounters different residential zones of increasing value. That is, the farther one goes from the centre, the more expensive the residential zones become. The zonal segregation model postulates that lower class residents live close to the centre where the oldest, cheapest housing is located. Applying it to ethnic groups in Canada, the model says that high status immigrant groups, for example the British, will live in the suburbs while recent immigrants from low status non-white groups will live near the centre (Driedger, 1996). With time, as the immigrants become more used to life in the new country and become more successful, they move from the inner-city immigrant communities and settle in the suburbs among the wider community (Allen and Turner, 1996a; Schwab, 1992; Massey, 1985).



Schwab (1992: 381) identifies four stages which are inherent in this model:

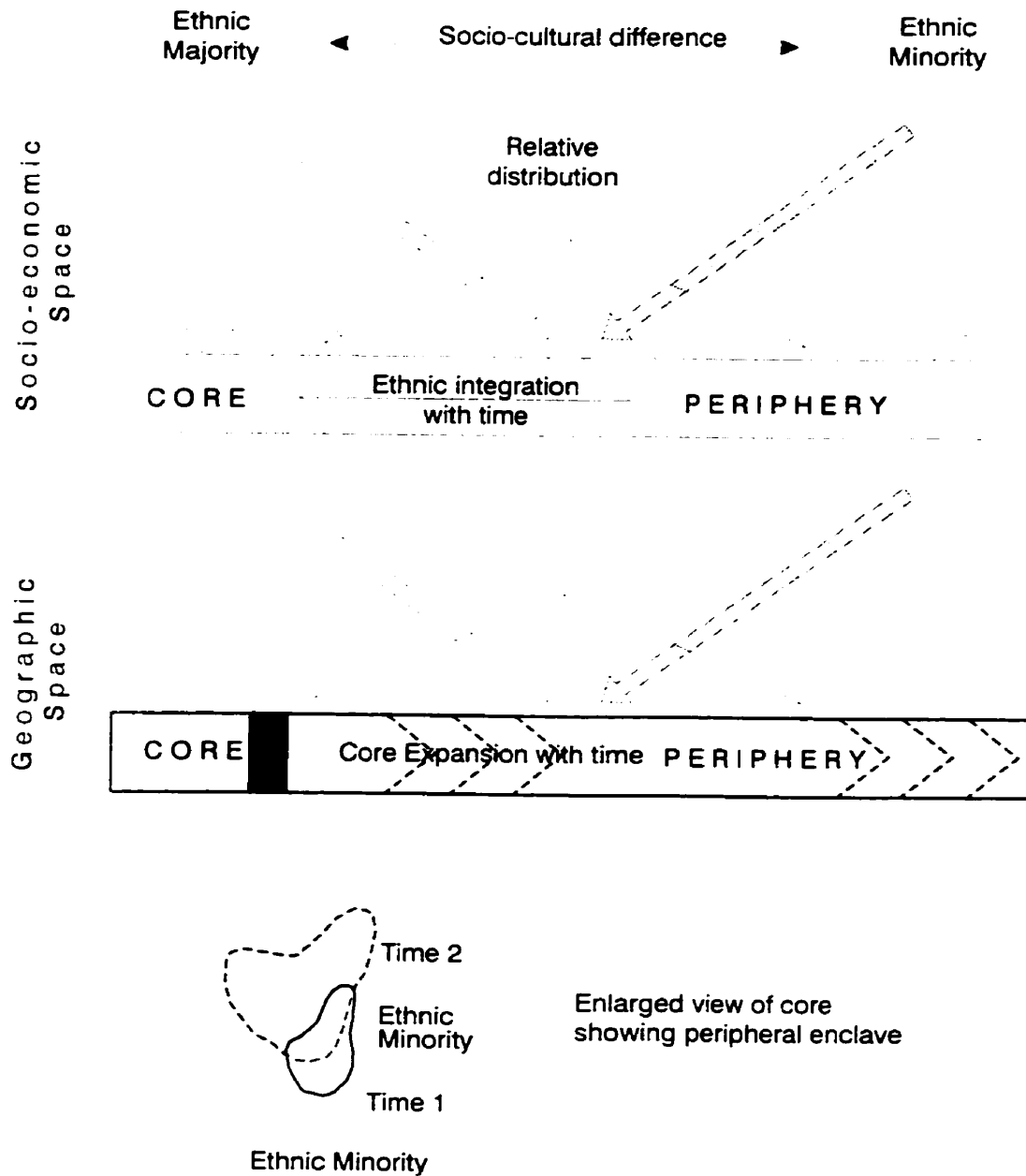
- a. new arrivals seek cheap accommodations in the centre and outlying zones because of their poverty and desire to accumulate savings.
- b. over time as they improve their socio-economic status and get higher incomes which allows them to pursue better housing, they begin to move outward into other areas of the city through the process of invasion and succession.
- c. the redistribution of the group into other areas of the city leads to less physical concentration and a break down of the old cultural solidarity.
- d. subsequent movements result in further dispersion of group members and their assimilation into the surrounding society.

Residential segregation of immigrant groups is, therefore, seen as a mark of early settlement which is expected to disappear eventually as the immigrant group becomes more integrated into the host society.

### **1.7.2 The Core-Periphery Model**

Similar to the zonal segregation model but couched in different terms is the core-periphery model (Hecht et al., 1983, Hecht, 1985). The theory is summarized in Figure 1.1. In this model, the charter group is hypothesized as occupying the core position in the socio-economic and geographic space. On arrival in the host country, ethnic minorities occupy peripheral locations socio-economically as well as geographically. With time as minority groups become more acclimatized to conditions in the new society, it is expected that the charter group and ethnic minority groups will disperse on the socio-economic dimension of society to the point where they are evenly represented on both ends of the scale. The same equalization process is expected to occur within the geographic

Figure 1.1: Core-Periphery Model of Ethnic Group Distributions in Ontario



Source: Hecht et al., 1983.

sphere such that immigrant groups will eventually disperse from their initial peripheral locations into the other regions in the geographic space concerned (national, provincial or metropolitan), (Hecht et al., 1983; Hecht, 1985).

The similarities between the zonal segregation model and core-periphery model can be clearly seen. They both predict immigrant segregation is only a temporary phenomenon which will disappear with time. For both of them, the expected spatial outcome is eventual residential dispersal.

### **1.7.3 Ethnic Status Model**

Another model which attempts to explain the spatial behaviour of immigrants is the ethnic status model (Schwab, 1992). This model moves away from the socio-economic characteristics focus of the previous two models and argues that differences in the residential behaviour of different immigrant groups can be explained solely by immigrant status (Schwab, 1992). The model argues that some immigrant groups voluntarily cluster together in their desire to maintain their ethnic identity. The community support derived from members of the same ethnic group or background and ethnic institutions is the driving force in the emergence of ethnic neighbourhoods, according to the model. Unlike the other two models, this model postulates that even if even if the socio-economic status of immigrants improve, they will still continue to live together and not disperse into the wider community. The spatial outcome predicted by this model is, therefore, one of residential segregation.

### **1.7.4 Spatial Assimilation and Visible Minorities**

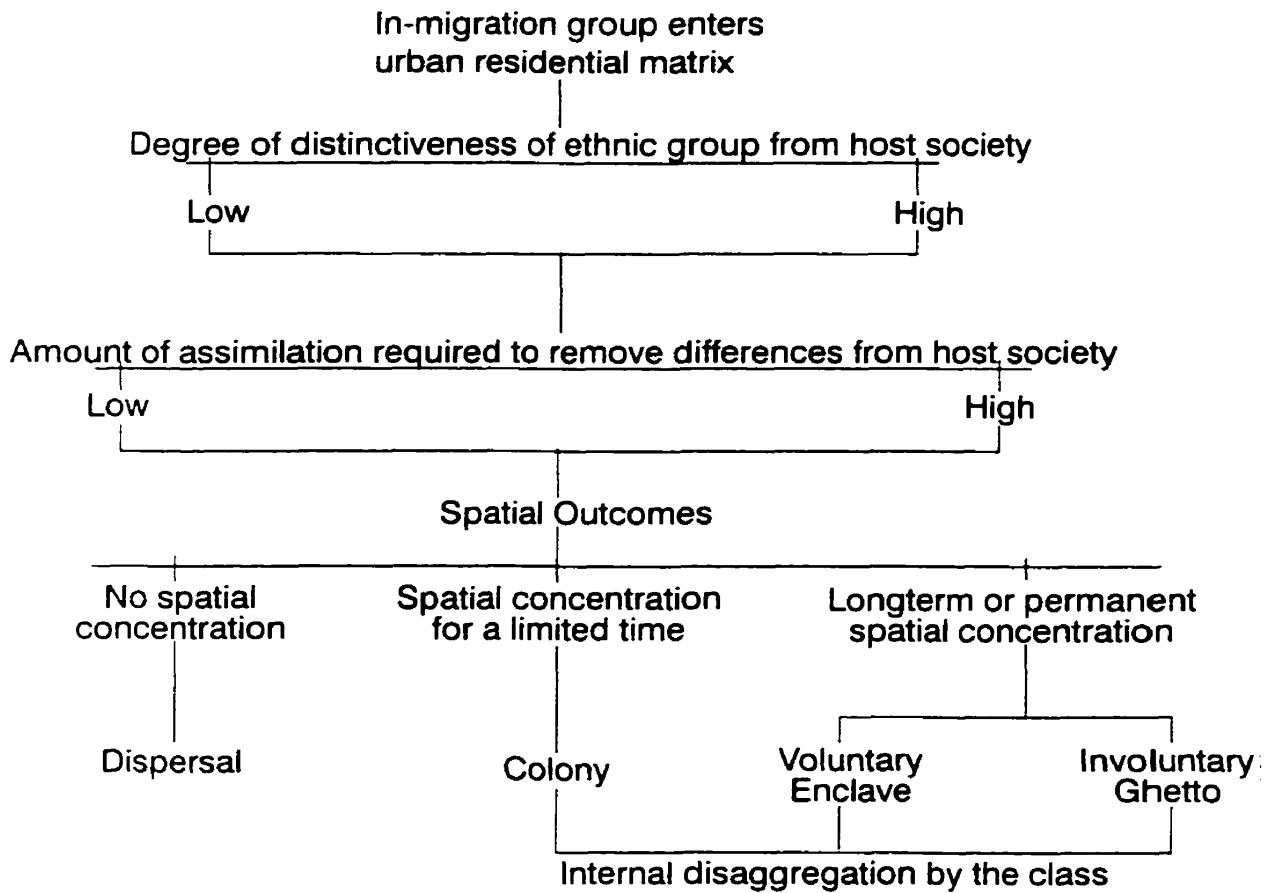
An important point to consider with regards to the theories of spatial assimilation is the extent to which they apply to visible minorities in a receiving society. As pointed out in the previous section, it is usually assumed that with time there is the tendency for immigrants to become less segregated from the host population as they become more economically successful and become more

integrated into the dominant society. Empirical studies in Canada and the United States have, however, shown that this pattern holds true mostly for only white ethnic groups. Visible minority groups like Asians, Hispanics and, especially, Blacks have most of the time been unable to translate socio-economic mobility into spatial mobility (Allen and Turner, 1996b; Howenstine, 1996; Massey, 1985).

F. W. Boal has developed a model which captures how different immigrant groups may be integrated into a host society (see Schwab, 1992: 380). The model is shown in Figure 1.2. It depicts the way by which the degree to which an immigrant group differs from a host society may influence their integration patterns and the spatial outcomes that will arise in an urban milieu. At one end of the model, it can be seen that immigrants who have very few differences from members of the host society will require a low level of assimilation and will, therefore, have little difficulty in dispersing into the wider society. For example, in Canada immigrants from western Europe and the United States will very easily fit into life in the country. At the other end of the model are those from societies which are very different from that of the host society. Such immigrants may require high levels of assimilation into the host society which may limit the degree of their integration and result in long term or permanent spatial segregation, either voluntarily or involuntarily. This addresses the case of visible minorities in Canada, for example. There is also the case of those who differ only slightly from members of the host society. Such groups of immigrants may experience spatial segregation for only a short period of time. Some eastern European groups may be a good example of this case in Canada. The model is very useful since it takes into account how the characteristics of a group of immigrants will affect their settlement patterns in a receiving society.

The inability of visible minorities to translate socio-economic improvements into spatial

Figure 1.2 Ethnic Groups, Assimilation and Residential Spatial Outcomes



Source: Schwab, 1992.

mobility has led to the creation and persistence of ethnic residential segregation in North American cities, a subject which is taken up in more detail in Chapter three.

### **1.8 Study Objectives**

The major thrust or aim of the study is to find out whether respondents living in the main area of Ghanaian concentration in Metropolitan Toronto have different socio-economic characteristics from those living away from the main Ghanaian concentration.

It has three specific sequential and integrated objectives which are:

A. To ascertain the motivations that the respondents had for emigrating to Canada, their migration patterns and the nature of their initial integration into Toronto's economy. The study seeks to find out the extent to which the initial settlement patterns of the Ghanaian immigrant population in Metropolitan Toronto correspond to the traditional model of immigrant settlement.

Some of the key questions that would be pursued under this objective are –

- the background characteristics of the study group (age, gender, education, marital status etc.).
- their period of immigration and reasons for immigrating to Canada.
- their patterns of migration.
- cities of first initial settlement in Canada.
- area of first residence in Toronto.
- host upon arrival
- the effect of background preparation and experience on area of initial residence in Metropolitan Toronto.

B. To examine the relationship between the socio-economic characteristics of Ghanaian immigrants

in Metropolitan Toronto, as defined by their occupational distribution and related issues, and their residential location patterns.

Some of the key questions that would be pursued with regards to this objective are -

- the types of occupation engaged in by the Ghanaian population.
- factors that influence occupational status
- the job search strategies they employ to find jobs.
- the location of jobs of the respondents.
- how the respondents get to work and the length of time it takes them.
- the number of people employed in the households of respondents.
- the performance of extra work and type of extra work engaged in.
- type of accommodation of respondents.
- tenure of accommodation.
- spatial differences in the above variables.

C. To examine the development of entrepreneurship among the Ghanaian community in Metropolitan Toronto and how it relates to the concentration of the Ghanaian community in the Toronto area.

Some of the key questions that will be pursued in this area are -

- background characteristics of entrepreneurs.
- the type of business created in the Ghanaian community.
- when the businesses were established.
- where they are located and reasons for such location.
- how the initial capital was raised.

- person in charge of the day-to-day running of the businesses.
- employment rates of the businesses.
- the customer base of the businesses.
- links to businesses in Ghana.

## **1.9 Hypotheses**

I. Given the above broad outline, the study seeks to test the following specific research hypotheses:

A. Does the previous experience that Ghanaian immigrants bring with them to Canada influence their initial location patterns? Will those with better background preparation show a higher tendency of initial settlement outside the main area of Ghanaian concentration while those with lower background preparation show a higher tendency of initial settlement in the main area of Ghanaian concentration?

B. Is there a significant difference in socio-economic characteristics between Ghanaians who live in the main area of Ghanaian concentration and those who live outside of this area?

C. It is hypothesized that Ghanaian businesses would be located mostly in the main area of Ghanaian concentration and would cater mainly to Ghanaian customers.

II. In addition to these main hypotheses, the following findings are also expected:

- there will be a greater tendency among earlier immigrants than recent immigrants to settle initially in the main area of Ghanaian concentration.
- it is expected that home ownership among Ghanaians will be greater in areas which are outside the main area of Ghanaian concentration.
- the majority of Ghanaians will be engaged in lower level management jobs and other occupations



at the lower end of the occupational ladder.

- there is a positive correlation between length of stay in Metropolitan Toronto (or Canada) and the economic status of Ghanaian immigrants. That is, those who have stayed longer in Metropolitan Toronto will have higher economic status than those who have stayed for only a short time.
- Ghanaian businesses would mostly be small businesses which are run by their owners, with the majority of them having no employees.

### **1.10 Organization of the Thesis**

The thesis is organized into nine chapters. This first chapter sets the stage by outlining the objectives of the study, the conceptual framework and the expected findings. Chapters two and three are devoted to a review of the relevant literature. Chapter two is more social in character, providing a theoretical understanding of the concepts of assimilation and adaptation of immigrants. Chapter three, on the other hand, focuses more on the spatial aspects of immigrant settlement and their economic adaptation. Chapter four provides a brief background information on the home country of the study group (Ghana) as well as on the Ghanaian population in Metropolitan Toronto. Chapter five deals with the methodology used for the study. It discusses methods of data collection and the analysis of data. Chapters six to eight present the findings of the study. Chapter six provides background information on the respondents and their migration patterns and initial settlement into the Toronto area. Chapter seven discusses the labour market activity of the respondents while Chapter eight dwells on self-employment among the respondents. Chapter nine then “brings the curtain down” by providing an overview of the study and the concluding comments.

It is hoped that the results of the study will provide a better understanding of the

circumstances and experiences of Ghanaian immigrants. The results of the study should be a useful guide to determine the extent to which the Ghanaian immigrant group in Metropolitan Toronto, a visible minority, conforms to or deviates from the main tenets of the theory of spatial assimilation. The findings would also be compared to the results of studies of other immigrant or ethnic groups to find out the extent to which the study group is similar to or different from other groups. The differences or similarities observed should be a useful addition to established knowledge about the experiences of immigrant groups.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **THE SETTLEMENT OF IMMIGRANTS**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, and the next, we review the literature about the various theories that have attempted to explain how immigrants settle down and get adjusted to a receiving society and discuss the theories' relevancy to the study of visible minorities. This chapter is more social in character; it is aimed at providing a theoretical understanding of the concepts of assimilation and adaptation of immigrants which help to explain the relationship between a country and its immigrants. The next chapter focusses more on the spatial aspects of immigrant settlement. The first part of this chapter deals with the theoretical issues of assimilation and adaptation of immigrants which set the stage for a discussion of Canada's immigration and multicultural policies over the years. Particular emphasis is placed on the experiences of visible minorities, especially blacks.

#### **2.2 Theories of Assimilation: Melting Pot and Anglo-Conformity**

The initial challenges of settling down into a new society and the consequent changes that might take place in the lives of immigrants have been of concern to people who are interested about the experiences of immigrants in a receiving society. The theory of assimilation has helped to expand our understanding of this issue. In its simplest form, assimilation is the process by which new immigrants change their habits and behaviour and assume the habits and behaviour of their new hosts (Castles, 1995). It is seen as the desirable and eventual outcome of the immigrant settlement process (Gordon, 1964). The theory was developed by the Chicago school sociologists, notable among whom was Robert Park. Park (1930: 281) defined it "as the process or processes by which

people of diverse racial origins and different cultural heritages, occupying a common territory, achieve a cultural solidarity sufficient, at least, to sustain a national existence". Rose (1956) also saw it as the adoption by a person or group of the culture of another social group to such a complete extent that the person or group no longer has any characteristics identifying him with his former culture and no longer has any loyalties to his former culture.

Thus, an essential component of the theory of assimilation is the assumption that the structure and habits of immigrant groups will change sufficiently for them to become part of the structure to which they have moved (Allen, 1971; Driedger, 1996). It is assumed that the urban industrial forces of technology and majority power in the receiving society will cause loss of ethnic identity among the immigrant population (Driedger, 1996).

### **2.2.1 The Melting Pot**

This theory envisages a biological merger of the various immigrant groups and a blending of their respective cultures into a more indigenous type. Basically, it postulates that immigrant groups will be synthesized into a new group. Eventually, the process results in a pot which is different from the original pot (Driedger, 1996). With regard to cultural behaviour, the most important characteristic implication of this theory is that the cultures of the various groups will mix and form a blend which is different from the cultures of any one of the groups separately (Gordon, 1964). The melting pot is traditionally associated with immigrant experience in the United States of America.

### **2.2.2 Anglo-Conformity**

This theory postulates the complete renunciation of the immigrant's ancestral culture and the adoption of the behaviour and values of the dominant or 'charter' group which, in Canada and the

United States, happen to be the Anglo-Saxon and French groups (Gordon, 1964). A central assumption of anglo-conformity is the desire to maintain English institutions and English-oriented cultural patterns as the accepted dominant and standard life. The most concerted explicit focus of anglo-conformity is on behavioural assimilation or acculturation, that is, immigrants should give up their cultural norms and take on the behaviour and attitudes of the dominant Anglo-Saxon group of their adopted country (Gordon, 1964).

In North America, the prevailing ideology and the driving force behind immigration policies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the goal of assimilating immigrants into the host society (Castles, 1995). Immigrant groups were expected to disappear as distinct groups and blend into the host society, after an initial period of adjustment (Waldinger, 1993; Olzak, 1983). This is clearly seen in Canada's past immigration policy. Until the 1960s, the country's immigration policy was fashioned to select those immigrant groups which were assumed to be able to fit in easily and to quickly assimilate into Canadian society. Those who were thought of as being very different from the citizens of the country in terms of their race, religion and culture and who would, therefore, find it difficult to assimilate were actively excluded from the immigration stream (Frideres, 1992; Hawkins, 1988).

### **2.2.3 Critique of the Theory of Assimilation**

Though the theory of assimilation is very useful in understanding the experiences of immigrant groups in receiving societies and continues to be an important theme in the study of immigration, it has been criticised on some fronts (in its melting pot and anglo-conformity versions) and its applicability to the study of recent visible minorities has particularly been questioned in the literature. Edmonston and Passel (1994: 17) has gone as far as to claim that "it is no longer the

guiding paradigm for immigrant research". Allen (1971) points out that nowadays in public discourse and academic work, the tendency has been to use the term 'integration' or 'adaptation' in its place. She points out that this is due, in part, to the realization that total conformity is the exception rather than the normal process and also to the undesirability or inadvisability of demanding such conformity. The concept has been criticised widely on both theoretical and empirical grounds as being less useful for the understanding of immigrant and host society patterns of contact and interaction in the post-World War II period (Tilly, 1994; Edmonston and Passel, 1994; Waldinger, 1993; Schmitter, 1992).

One area in which the theory of assimilation has come under fire is that it focusses at length on immigrant groups and their ability to adjust to and to be accepted by the host society, while virtually ignoring the role of the host society in the process. The idea of this unidirectional process of assimilation has been criticised as being unrealistic, especially during this age when visible minorities predominate in immigration flows (Schmitter, 1992). In line with this thinking, Waldinger (1993: 444) observes that "researchers have little faith in either the predictive power or the desirability of the 'straight-line' trajectory of ethnic change inherent in the assimilationist view".

In assessing the current applicability of the theory of assimilation, one of the issues to consider is its appropriateness to the study of visible minorities. The theory was based primarily on the experiences of European immigrants, failing to take into account the experiences of many recent non-white immigrant groups and as such its appropriateness to the study of visible minority populations is limited (Eyles, 1990). Due to their distinctiveness from the receiving society, this group of immigrants has found it difficult to assimilate in the way the theory postulates. Ramcharan (1982) points out that for the non-white immigrant, the real issue is that assimilation suggests the

complete acceptance of the immigrant group by the host society, which experience has shown has not been the case, especially in the United States. In the event that the assimilating group is not accepted as equal and opportunities for social participation on an egalitarian basis are lacking, the process cannot be completed. He argues that the presence of racial discrimination prevents the assimilation of non-white groups into the dominant society's institutions. In her work on Asian and West Indian Immigrants in Britain, Allen (1971: 17) notes that "in cases where external visibility was a factor, complete conformity was hardly a viable aim; if it was to retain any meaning, the term assimilation could not be used in such situations". Gordon (1964), recognizing this fact, notes that for blacks in the United States there has been little assimilation. As a result of this point, more and more researchers are having doubts about the applicability of the theory of assimilation to all immigrant or ethnic groups (Driedger, 1996; Reitz and Breton, 1994; Nagel, 1984). With regards to the concept of the melting pot in the United States, it has been pointed out that the various ethnic groups are not melting (Driedger, 1996).

Considering the foregoing, the question to ask is, is there an alternative to the theory of assimilation that takes into account the experiences of all ethnic groups? The following section addresses this issue.

#### **2.2.4 Cultural Pluralism**

Due to the weaknesses of the traditional assimilation theory, attempts have been made to find alternative explanations of the forms which ethnic relations might assume in a receiving society. Some researchers have observed that theories of contemporary ethnicity should lay emphasis on issues of pluralism, separation and conflict, rather than on assimilation (Driedger, 1996; Eyles, 1990). One theory which addresses this is the theory of cultural pluralism. Cultural pluralism differs

from the other two concepts of assimilation (melting pot and anglo-conformity) in that it does not stress the adoption of the behaviour and values of the dominant society by an immigrant group. It can, therefore, be considered as an alternative to the traditional interpretation of the theory of assimilation. Cultural pluralism postulates the preservation of the communal life and significant portions of the culture of immigrants alongside that of the host society's. In this situation, the immigrant group integrates into the social and economic institutions of the host society, and the host society on its part accepts the group as a lasting entity, with the freedom to maintain its own cultural institutions, including language, religion and familial patterns that may differ from that of the majority. While giving minority groups the right to maintain their own culture, individual members are not prevented from assimilating culturally to the culture of the host society, if they so wish. The theory implies a mutual respect among the various groups in a society for each other's culture which allows minorities to express their own culture without suffering prejudice or hostility (Driedger, 1996; Castles, 1995; Li, 1990; Ramcharan, 1982; Gordon, 1964).

Canada has officially adopted cultural pluralism through its multicultural policy which was adopted in 1971 and put into law in the Canadian Multicultural Act of 1988 (Kobayashi, 1993; Hawkins, 1982). The policy is based on the understanding that Canada is made up of many different ethnic groups who are entitled to preserve their separate identities within the Canadian nation (Elliott and Fleras, 1990; Hawkins, 1982).

The notion of pluralism of cultures has contributed to an interest in urban ethnicity and has spawned a number of studies which seek to understand the particular social conditions which give rise to ethnic affiliations and their associated social practices (Drieger, 1996; Olson and Kobayashi, 1993). Such studies have generally addressed questions of social cohesion and solidarity among



various ethnic groups. The assumption is that rather than losing themselves in the industrial arena, members of immigrant minority groups have the creativity and resources to fight modern estrangement by maintaining their ethnic 'gemeinschaft' (Driedger, 1996). An important issue that has been addressed in the literature along this line of thinking is the rise and persistence of ethnic identity. A number of empirical studies in Canada and the United States has identified the cause of the persistence of ethnicity as the power of ancestral attachment, pride in one's heritage and culture and respect for traditional values, customs and lifestyles (Moghaddam and Perreault, 1992; Breton, 1990; Lambert and Taylor, 1990). The difficulty that many immigrants face in identifying with a large, culturally heterogenous and technologically different host society has also been cited as a cause of the persistence of ethnic identity. In such an instance, emphasis is laid on the sense of community and support which an immigrant group affords its members (Yinger, 1981). Other researchers also see the persistence of ethnic affiliations as social responses to specific economic circumstances, opportunities and limitations (Reitz, 1990, 1980). In this case, it is seen as a coping strategy in meeting some of the basic social and economic needs of immigrants.

Due to its dynamic nature and its interactionist focus, cultural pluralism is a more useful concept than the concept of anglo-conformity or melting pot and it is, thus, more appropriate for the study of visible minorities who form a sizeable chunk of Canada's recent immigration stream.

### **2.3 Adaptation of Immigrants**

As pointed out earlier, due to problems in its applicability, some researchers are hesitant to use the term 'assimilation'. Concepts like 'adaptation' or 'integration' are rather used to describe the relationship between immigrants and the host society. In this section, we give a brief review of the

concept of adaptation of immigrants and the factors that facilitate this process.

According to Richmond and Kalbach (1980), adaptation is the partaking in the social, economic and political activities of a nation to one's advantage, as well as the utilization of available social services and cultural opportunities for one's advancement. Adaptation is an on-going process which results in transformations in both the immigrant and the receiving society (Opoku-Dapaah, 1993). On the part of the immigrant, it necessitates the acquisition of the necessary attributes and the ability to establish satisfactory social and economic ties with the new society. This requires the immigrant to internalize a set of values shared with the population of the receiving society and to modify customary behaviour in the light of this. With the host society, adaptation involves the transformation or provision of special facilities which will enhance the adaptation process of the immigrant. These include orientation services, facilities for educational and vocational training and upgrading, among others (Richmond, 1967).

If immigrants are to make successful adaptation to their new society, they should be able to identify and achieve a feeling of belonging to the new society, they should be able to extend their primary group relationships to include members of the receiving society and, in terms of wider reference groups in the social structure, they should perceive a sense of being equal to others in the same class or status group. Within the sphere of accommodation, harmonious inter-group relations cannot proceed if the host society does not show even a limited acceptance of the newcomers. It is in this context that the initial problems of non-white immigrants to a basically white society arise. It can be suggested that the presence of prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behaviour in a receiving society is the first obstacle to the realization of the smooth adjustment of the immigrant to the new society (Ramcharan, 1982). For the non-white immigrant, the most important spheres of

accommodation from the host society must come in areas such as equal opportunities for employment, housing, education, public services, legal and political rights.

Wirth (1964), points out that one of the negative factors relating to intergroup relations is the fact that the minority group, although not necessarily an alien group, is regarded by others and by itself as a people who are different. Distinguished from the majority group by physical and cultural characteristics, it is excluded from full participation in the institutions of the host society. For visible minority immigrants, the most weighty inferiority they suffer is that they are treated as members of a category, regardless of their individual merits. As such, they are ascribed a position in the society by the majority group, based on their cultural and physical characteristics. The inevitable outcome is the development of a separate social identity, and the institutionalization of a way of life that sets them apart as a distinct community. The ascribed and inferior role and status assigned to minorities reduces the probability of achievement of high status positions, and eventually inhibits their opportunities for upward mobility (Kramer, 1970).

Various approaches can be adopted in an attempt to improve the role and status of visible minorities. Ramcharan, (1982) suggests two approaches that can be adopted in this direction. The first is at the behavioural level. This involves structural changes, including anti-discriminatory laws, attitudinal changes, improved police/community relations, the development of community organizations and a resocialization of the minority group. In this regard, the immediate strategy for visible minority groups should be total equality in the social and economic spheres, with cultural diversity allowed in the context of a culturally pluralistic value system.

The second tool that can be utilized by visible minority groups is an increased attempt to improve contact with the majority groups. The importance of contact in improving race relations was

borne out in the work of Williams (1964) in the United States. He notes that “in all surveys, in all communities, and for all groups, majority and minorities, the greater the frequency of interaction, the lower the prevalence of ethnic prejudice” (p. 167).

One must also point out the importance of educational programmes in any strategy for reducing racial intolerance. It is a great comfort to note that this is a tool that is being used increasingly of late (Christiansen et al., 1981). To aid the adaptation process of visible minorities, there is the need for a concerted effort by the receiving society to provide an atmosphere of trust, confidence and equality so that the immigrant can perceive a sense of acceptance (Ramcharan, 1982).

In addition to the role of the host society in promoting the adaptation process, certain socio-economic characteristics about various immigrant groups go a long way to facilitate their adaptation into the host society. The ability of various immigrant groups to become successfully adapted to the host society depends to a great extent on their specific socio-demographic profiles at the time of their arrival and their ability to gain access to the relevant opportunity structures. In most instances, the latter requires cultural origins and demographic profiles similar to that of the receiving society, or the possession of characteristics in demand that are in short supply among the population of the receiving society (Kalbach, 1990).

The immigrant’s characteristics at the time of arrival are particularly important in determining their initial social and economic standing in the community. Achievement of upward status mobility for immigrants and their children has generally followed their gradual acculturation as they acquired more education and occupational skills and greater facility with the official language of the receiving society. Generally, those from the most visibly different cultural origins have had the greatest difficulties in acquiring the skills and work experience necessary to improve their level

of social and economic status (Kalbach, 1990). Recognizing the role of cultural preparedness in determining the adaptive capacity of minority groups, Wagley and Harris (1990) argue that Jews and French Canadians are economically more successful than natives and blacks because of their high adaptability.

Anderson and Frideres (1981) observe that however favourable or unfavourable a group's demographic profile may be at the time of arrival, it does change over time and will continue to do so as the source countries for immigrants continue to urbanize and industrialize.

#### **2.4 Kinship and Migrant Social Networks**

Settling down and adjusting to a totally new environment can be an unsettling experience for many immigrants. While there is the need to adjust to the norms of the host society, these immigrants come with a whole set of cultural and traditional practices which cannot be easily discarded. at least, in the short run. Talking about the experiences of Jamaican immigrants in Britain, Foner (1977) observes that they are caught between two worlds - they are no longer just like Jamaicans back home but they are also not exactly like, nor fully accepted by most English people. The satisfactory integration of immigrants often requires a strong and adaptable minority group organization which can negotiate successfully with the host society on behalf of its members and can lead them towards a consciousness of their formal duties as members of the overall society (Patterson, 1963). It is essential that a minority group creates some of its own organizations in order to satisfy the every day needs of its members (Millet, 1983).

To survive in the new environment, such immigrants may develop a strong kinship, community and other social networks which may serve as a support base for the members of their

group and aid them in their adjustment to the host society. Central to the social organization of many visible minorities are the kinship and family patterns that develop among new and old immigrants. For most of these groups, social networks are kin oriented, and for the early immigrants, in particular, kinship and family networks are the most important institutions for their survival and adjustment to the new society (Ramcharan, 1982).

Talking about early non-white immigrants to Canada, Ramcharan (1982) further observes that due to the absence of any official organization for receiving immigrants, the early immigrants relied on ties of kinship and friendship, which dominated all aspects of the new arrivals' settlement. For almost one-half of all West Indian immigrants arriving in Canada, the first destination is invariably the home of a relative or friend already settled in the country, who would help them find a job and a place of their own (Ramcharan, 1982). While such kinship support systems are informal and may not be permanent, during the early stages of settlement they serve as an important adjustment function and allow the immigrant to feel less a stranger in a society where culturally and physically he is in a minority group (Barkan et al., 1991; Mukras et al., 1985).

At the larger societal level, associations of people from the same ethnic group may be formed as a means of support for their members. They help to fill the social void into which the individual migrant moves when he/she leaves the home country for a new one. For some immigrants, such associations may offer the best prospects for adaptation and acceptance in the new environment (Patterson, 1963). While in some instances these associations may be political in nature and formed to protest against injustice and racism, for the most part they are voluntary associations organized to provide opportunities for members of the group to intermingle, exchange ideas and generally be socially supportive of one another (Ramcharan, 1982).

Breton (1983) outlines some ways in which immigrant associations can be of help to their members. According to him, such associations can -

- be a source of relationships for the satisfaction of one's social and emotional needs.
- be a source of assistance in dealing with matters relating to jobs and accommodation.
- provide services performed in the context of a familiar cultural context.
- be a milieu in which one finds social acceptance and is given respect and recognition, especially if such advantages are not forthcoming from the larger society.
- promote leadership and promote action to combat discrimination and pursue objectives concerning culture maintenance and immigration policies.

Breton (1983) further points out that the effective running of such organizations requires structures of decision making, communication and social control, mechanisms for conflict resolution and co-ordination as well as the availability of funds and social cohesion, among others.

These associations are important resources to immigrants in their quest to adapt to a new society. By providing opportunities both for associating with others from their own country and for bridging the old way of life with the new, the immigrant associations can assist markedly in reducing the degree of maladjustment that the immigrant might have otherwise experienced (Barkan et al., 1991; Mukras et al., 1985; Richmond, 1967). They constitute a resource that immigrants can use to cope with the problems they encounter in their efforts to adapt to the new society.

## **2.5 Canadian Immigration Policy**

According to Elliott and Fleras (1990), the history of Canadian immigration policy can be grouped into three major periods – the period of immigration promotion, the period of ‘preferred

nations' and 'prohibited classes' and the period of universalistic criteria.

### **2.5.1 Immigration Promotion: the 1896 Immigration Act**

Events that occurred within the last two decades of the nineteenth century were to set in motion population dynamics that would irrevocably change Canada from a land inhabited by aboriginal peoples and English and French settlers to a cosmopolitan society representative of the world's culture (Elliott and Fleras, 1990).

The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) in 1885 was a major landmark in the evolution of Canadian immigration policy. One of the main purposes of the railway was to open the west up to settlement. The period was marked by the recruitment of Chinese labourers who were used extensively in the construction of the railway. At the same time, there were efforts to seek agriculturists to till the land. Canadian Pacific Railway agents and steamship companies took an active role in promoting immigration during this period (Elliott and Fleras, 1990).

The appointment of Clifford Sifton as a Minister of the Interior in 1896 by Prime Minister Laurier was an important factor of note. Working closely with business interests, he authored the first Immigration Act. While there had been ethnic diversity from the days of early settlement, there was no coherent policy in place actively promoting immigration until the 1896 Immigration Act. The first Immigration Act aggressively sought out farmers. For example, Woodcock and Avakumovic (1977) note that by 1899, 7,000 Doukhobors, a rural religious sect from Russia, had been resettled by Sifton on land which had been occupied by Metis.

### **2.5.2 'Preferred Nations' and 'Prohibited Classes' (1914-1966)**

In the years leading up to the outbreak of the first world war, there was a noticeable shift in recruitment policy, which turned its attention from agriculturists to unskilled labourers, as a result



of the drive towards industrialization. This change in policy was accompanied by a change in ethnic composition. In 1907, for example, 20 percent of the immigrants were from Central and Southern Europe; by 1913, the figure had reached 48 percent (Avery, 1979). The shift in ethnic mix coincided with a significant increase in numbers. In 1913, 400,000 newcomers were recorded (Elliott and Fleras, 1990).

The task of accommodating them was hindered by the fact that Canadians from the British Isles and Northern European backgrounds tended to regard immigrants from Central and Southern Europe as culturally inferior, valuable only for their brute strength and manual labour. These ethnocentric beliefs combined with a fear that the Russian revolution of 1917 might be exported, led to a series of measures directed at limiting immigration to some 'preferred' countries. This restrictive era of immigration policy was to last for approximately 50 years (Elliott and Fleras, 1990).

Following the end of the First World War and in the midst of an economic recession, the Government in 1919 passed an Order-in Council under the Immigration Act of 1920 that was to set the tone of immigration until the 1960s. A class of immigrants was created that was deemed undesirable because of climatic, industrial, social, educational, labour or other conditions or requirements of the Canadian society, or because their customs, habits, mode of life and method of holding property were deemed to result in a probable inability to become readily assimilated (Elliott and Fleras, 1990). Selection would be carried out on the basis of whether applicants belonged to 'preferred' or 'non-preferred' countries (Malarek, 1987). Between the 1920 Immigration Act and another one that was passed in 1952, the list of preferred countries underwent adjustments but the basic discriminatory logic remained unchanged. By the Act of the 1952 Immigration Act, the Governor-in-Council could prohibit certain aspiring immigrants by reason of nationality, citizenship,

ethnic group, occupation class or geographic area of origin (Hawkins, 1972).

This period was marked by a series of 'unfortunate' events. For example, in 1914, 400 would-be immigrants from India landed in Vancouver aboard a Japanese freighter, the Komagatu Maru. Although they were citizens of the British empire, they were denied entry and forced to turn back (Raj, 1980). Also in 1939, a passenger ship, the St. Louis, with 900 Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany on board was refused landing in Halifax and returned to France. It is believed that many of the Jews were killed by the Nazis (Abella and Troper, 1982).

The post-1945 period in Canada was characterized by rapid industrial growth and expansion. Immigrants tended to settle in Southern Ontario's 'golden horseshoe'. By the start of the 1960s, it was recognized that the Immigration Act of 1952 was antiquated and did not reflect the vision that Canada had of its future or address its immediate need for human resources. This realization played a part in the establishment of the Department of Manpower and Immigration in 1966 (Hawkins, 1972). From this time on, there would be an attempt to dismantle the ethnocentric and racist immigration legislation and replace it with a more universalistic and humanitarian guideline that would also supply Canada with human resources and cultural enrichment (Elliott and Fleras, 1990).

### **2.5.3 Universalistic Criteria (1967 - Present)**

In 1967, the 'points system' was introduced; immigrants were to be selected on the basis of points that they earned in nine areas such as education, occupation and language. Country of origin, ethnic and racial criteria were eliminated as basis for selection (Elliott and Fleras, 1990; Marr and Percy, 1985). The immigration regulations of 1967 established three classes of immigrants – family, independent (selected worker) and refugee (Keely and Ewell, 1981). The 1976 Immigration Act and subsequent regulations retained the 1967 classification schema with some modifications. For

example, the family class has been expanded in keeping with the principle of family reunification, and the independent worker category has been expanded to include two types of business immigrants – investors and entrepreneurs. These changes are consistent with the demographic and economic objectives of the present policy (Passaris, 1984). The refugee class consists of convention refugees as defined by the United Nations, and designated classes, persons deemed to be refugees by Canada under the terms of Bill C-55 and C-84 (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1988).

## **2.6 Past and Present Immigration Flows**

Only 8 percent of Canada's population was not British or French at the time of confederation in 1867 (Palmer, 1975). Between 1896 and 1914, the balance began to shift when up to 3 million immigrants, many of them from central and eastern Europe, arrived to settle the west. Immigration increased substantially prior to and just after the First World War, reaching a peak of over 400,000 in 1913. Another wave of eastern European immigrants during the 1920s brought the non-British, non-French proportion up to 18 percent. The post Second World War period resulted in yet another influx of refugees and immigrants from the war-torn European countries. Similar increases occurred during the 'baby boom' era, reaching 282,000 in 1957. And in 1974, it was around 218,000 (Elliott and Fleras, 1990). The number of immigrants allowed into Canada from 1977 to 1986 fluctuated between 84,000 and 143,000. From a relatively high figure of 129,000 in 1981, the total number of immigrants admitted into the country fell to 84,000 in 1985. From 1986, however, immigration levels began to rise again (Badets, 1994). In 1987 and 1988, a total of 135,000 immigrants were accepted (Globe and Mail, October 30, 1987). For 1989, the government set a goal of between 150,000 and 160,000 immigrants (Globe and Mail, December 30, 1988). From 1990 to 1994, annual

immigration levels were around 220,000 with a peak of 256,000 in 1993. This is said to be the highest annual number of immigrants admitted into Canada since 1957 when 282,000 immigrants came into the country (Badets, 1994; Mercer, 1995; Thompson and Weinfeld, 1995; Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1997). For 1995 and 1996, the figure dipped slightly to around 190,000 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1997; Cohen, 1997). In 1997, the figure rose to 225,000 while 200,000 immigrants were admitted into the country in 1998 (Jimenez, 1999).

At the time of the 1991 Census, there were 4.3 million immigrants in the country, which was 16 percent of Canada's total population. Immigrant share of the total population has remained stable over the years, for example – 16.1% in 1991, 15.6% in 1986 and 14.7% in 1951. The 1991 Census also showed that majority of immigrants were of more recent origin. Forty eight percent of immigrants in 1991 had arrived before 1971 with the rest coming after 1971. While 24 percent came between 1971 and 1980, 28 percent arrived between 1981 to 1991. The immigration population increased by 11 percent between 1986 and 1991, compared to a 2 percent increase between 1981 and 1986 (Badets, 1994, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1997).

## **2.7 The Changing Composition of Immigrants**

In recent years, there has not only been an increase in the number of immigrants entering Canada. There has also been a remarkable shift in the source countries of Canada's immigrant population. Over the past two decades, Europe has lost its position as Canada's leading source region for immigrants while Asia has emerged as the leading source. In addition, other regions like Africa, the Caribbean, South and Central America have become increasingly important as source regions for immigrants (Badets, 1994; Mercer, 1995; Roy, 1995, Thompson and Weinfeld, 1995). For

example, while in 1966 Europe accounted for 76.2 percent of the immigrant population, its share was only 27.1 in 1989. Asia, on the other hand, had increased its share from 7.1 percent in 1966 to 48.5 percent in 1989 (Thompson and Weinfeld, 1995). Between 1985 and 1991, Asia contributed almost 50 percent of all immigrants while Africa, the Caribbean, South and Central America contributed 25 percent (Mercer, 1995; Cohen, 1997).

Table 2.1 below shows the percentage share of the different regions of the world among immigrants who entered the country between 1981 and 1991.

**Table 2.1**  
**Global Share of Canada's Immigrants, 1981-1991**

Region	Percentage
Europe	25
Asia and Middle East	48
Central and South America	10
The Caribbean	6
Africa	6
United States	4
Oceania	1

SOURCE: Badets, 1994

The Table clearly shows the increasing importance of the former 'non-preferred' countries among Canada's recent immigrants and the decreasing importance of the 'traditional' source countries. Table 2.2, which shows the top ten immigrant countries in 1991 for recent immigrants (1981-1991) throws more light on the changing patterns of immigrant flow.

**Table 2.2****Top Ten Countries of Birth for Immigrants, 1991**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Hong Kong	96,540	7.8
Poland	77,455	6.3
People's Rep. of China	75,840	6.1
India	73,105	5.9
United Kingdom	71,365	5.8
Vietnam	69,520	5.6
Philippines	64,290	5.2
United States	55,415	4.5
Portugal	33,440	2.9
Lebanon	33,065	2.8
<b>All recent immigrants</b>	<b>1,238,455</b>	<b>100.0</b>

SOURCE: Badets, 1994

The emerging importance of Asian countries in recent Canadian immigration flow patterns can be seen from the table. This trend has continued over the past few years. The dominance of Asian countries can best be seen on the list of the top ten source countries in 1992. In that year, Hong Kong, Sri Lanka, India and the Philippines ranked one to four on the list, with China sixth, Taiwan seventh and Iran coming in at the ninth position. Only three 'traditional' countries made the top ten list – Poland, fifth, Britain, eighth and the United States, tenth. Hong Kong contributed twice as many immigrants as these three countries combined (Thompson and Weinfeld, 1995). From 1993 to 1995, the top six source countries among the top ten countries were all Asian countries – Hong Kong, India, Philippines, China, Sri Lanka and Taiwan (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1997). The 1996 Census shows that 60 percent of recent arrivals are from the developing world, mostly from Asia and the Middle East. The top three leading source countries are Hong Kong, Sri Lanka

and China (Toronto Star, Nov. 5, 1997; Globe and Mail, Nov. 5, 1997). These are regions which were hitherto considered as 'non-preferred' countries in Canada's immigration policy (Elliott and Fleras, 1990; Malarek, 1987; Abella and Troper, 1982).

It must, however, be pointed out that as evidenced by the 1991 Census, European countries still dominate among all time immigrants. The census showed that over half of all immigrants (54%) were born in Europe. This is down from 62% in 1986 and 67% in 1981. Asia and the Middle East, on the other hand, had 25% of all immigrants (up from 18% in 1986 and 14% in 1981). Immigrants from Africa comprised 4 percent of the immigration population in 1991 (Badets, 1994). The top ten countries of all immigrants in 1991 is shown in the table below.

**Table 2.3**

**Top Ten Countries of Birth for all Immigrants, 1991**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
United Kingdom	717,745	16.5
Italy	351,620	8.1
United States	249,080	5.7
Poland	184,695	4.3
Germany	180,525	4.2
India	173,670	4.0
Portugal	161,180	3.7
People's Rep. of China	157,405	3.6
Hong Kong	152,455	3.5
Netherlands	129,615	3.0
<b>All immigrants</b>	<b>4,342,890</b>	<b>100.0</b>

SOURCE: Badets, 1994

Three Asian countries had made the top ten list of all immigrants in 1991, further showing the shift in the source regions of immigrants over the past few years. The cause of the change in

source countries of Canada's immigration flow can be traced to the 'points system' which was introduced in 1967 (Mercer, 1995; Roy, 1995). The new regulations, which emphasized the qualifications and skills of immigrants rather than the country of origin as existed previously, made it possible for increasing numbers of immigrants with requisite skills from developing countries to be admitted into the country.

## **2.8 Blacks in Canada: A Historical Account**

Many Canadians date the presence of Blacks in the country from the recent influx of West Indian immigrants. However, the history of Blacks in Canada goes back to the earliest years of settlement (D'Oyley et al., 1975). By the 1850s, there were about 40,000 blacks in Upper Canada alone. The coming of the West Indians merely increased the sizeable number of blacks already in the country.

Blacks arrived in Canada first as slaves, then as loyalists, deportees, freed slaves, fugitives and finally as immigrants. Olivier Le Jeune was the first black slave brought directly from Africa to be sold in New France in 1628. It is estimated that there were about 1,100 black slaves in New France at the time of the British conquest. When new France passed into British hands, the number of blacks increased as the Imperial Act of 1790 permitted free importation of blacks into British North America (D'Oyley et al., 1975).

The first major wave of black migration to Canada was a direct result of the American revolution. With promises of being set free, many slaves joined the British ranks and fought side by side with them. They served as boatmen, woodsmen, general labourers, drummers and buglers, among other things. A significant number of Blacks who had already won their freedom, and were



loyal to the British cause, joined a corps known as the Black Pioneers. After the war, several groups of loyalists left New York with their household goods and slaves; most of them settled in Nova Scotia. At the same time, about 3,000 black loyalists, all free men and many of whom had fought in the war, also migrated to Nova Scotia (D'Oyley et al., 1975; Hill, 1981).

The black loyalists settled on land granted them by the government in areas which became the predominantly black settlements of Birchtown and Digby. Both slaves and free blacks worked at many different jobs. Some were road builders and domestics, others were skilled artisans working as wheel wrights, coopers, sawyers, printers and caulkers. As time went by, many free blacks learnt new skills in order to be able to earn a living on their own (Hill, 1981).

Another mass migration of blacks to Nova Scotia from the United States was to take place at the end of the War of 1812. These blacks came as refugees. The British commander of the fleet offered free transport to any American citizen who wished to settle in British territories. Many runaway slaves took up the offer, although the territories had not been named specifically. They settled in such areas as Amherst and Truro (D'Oyley et al., 1975).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, most black immigrants came from the United States. Many helped in the construction of the railways and moved from place to place as their jobs demanded. During the years of the Vietnam war, many Americans, including large numbers of Blacks came to Canada as a protest against American involvement in South East Asia. Many of them applied for Canadian citizenship, thus making a firm commitment to the Canadian way of life (D'Oyley et al., 1975; Hill, 1981).

West Indians began to arrive in significant numbers during the first and second world wars, some joining the Canadian armed forces. Others settled in Montreal and Toronto and worked mainly

as sleeping car porters. After the slump of the depression years, West Indian migration resumed gradually. Four distinct groups were to come – professionals and skilled workers, domestics, those who had lived in Britain and university students, many of whom later chose to remain in the country as immigrants (D'Oyley et al., 1975).

Beginning in the late 1950s, African students began to attend Canadian universities in significant numbers. Some chose to remain in Canada after their studies. Some came from Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa because of the apartheid policies being practised in these countries. In recent years, Canada has seen a massive influx of Somalian refugees who fled their country as a result of the civil war that broke out there (D'Oyley et al., 1975).

The introduction of the 'points system' in 1967 which made it possible for qualified people from all countries to immigrate to Canada led to a sizeable increase in the immigration of blacks and other non-white people into the country.

## **2.9 Multiculturalism in Canada**

According to Hawkins (1982), multiculturalism is a political doctrine that officially promotes cultural differences as an intrinsic component of the social, political and moral order. It involves the establishment of a novel working relationship between the government and ethnic immigrants.

Several assumptions underlie multicultural initiatives. These include the belief that ethnic cultures constitute living and lived-in realities that impart meaning and security to adherents during periods of rapid social change (Elliott and Fleras, 1990). Individuals are allowed the right to voluntarily affiliate with the cultural tradition of their choice without fear of discrimination or exclusion. Instead of being dismissed as being incompatible with national goals, cultural differences

are endorsed as integral components of a national 'mosaic', a reflection of the Canadian ideal, and a source of enrichment and strength. For as long as diversity remains within a common set of values, laws and institutions, ethnic differences can be forged into a workable national framework. In addition, a commitment to multiculturalism reflects the premise that those secure in their cultural background will concede a similar right to others (Berry et al., 1977).

### **2.9.1 Why Multiculturalism?**

- Multiculturalism has been enforced for a number of social and political objectives –
- to encourage peaceful race relations and intercultural exchanges.
  - to eliminate discrimination.
  - to reduce the social and economic disadvantages of ethnic minorities.
  - to assist ethnic groups in the preservation of their identities.
  - to educate the public regarding the merits of cultural pluralism (Elliott and Fleras, 1990).

Politicians and bureaucrats have looked at multiculturalism as a resource with economic or political potential, to be exploited at national or international levels for practical gain.

Politicians are very familiar with the political value of multiculturalism. Confronted with the growing heterogeneity of Canada's population, all political parties have made concerted efforts to capture the ethnic vote through promises of increased participation, funding and affirmative action at federal levels (Globe and Mail, May, 31, 1988). Also, there has been a growing realization of multiculturalism's potential economic value. The authorities have increasingly embraced the principle of ethnic involvement in commercial activities, especially, when promoting Canadian exports (Globe and Mail, March 7, 1986). The following statement by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney at the 'Multiculturalism Means Business' conference in Toronto in 1986 bears ample

testimony to this fact –

“we, as a nation, need to grasp the opportunity afforded to us by our multicultural identity, to cement our prosperity with trade and investment links the world over... In a competitive world, we all know that technology, productivity, quality, marketing and price determine export success. But our multicultural nature gives us an edge in selling to that world... Canadians who have cultural links to other parts of the globe, who have business contacts elsewhere are of the utmost importance to our trade and investment strategy” (Secretary of State, 1987).

Multiculturalism is, thus, seen as a resource with remarkable value (Moodley, 1983). The emphasis on the economic dimensions is consistent with the notion of multiculturalism as a renewable resource with the potential to harness lucrative trade contracts and export markets through international linkages and mutually beneficial points of contact. Ethnic minorities, on the other hand, have taken advantage of multiculturalism as a leverage for solving problems concerning ‘culture’ and/or ‘equality’. Canada’s ethnic minorities differ in what they expect from multiculturalism. On the surface, the ‘invisible’ minorities (Europeans) appear to be more interested in expressive concerns (cultural promotion and language maintenance) (Burnet and Palmer, 1989)

In contrast, visible minorities are more inclined to see multiculturalism as a resource for the attainment of practical goals (Burnet, 1981). They want to become established, to expand economic opportunities for themselves and their children, to eliminate discrimination and exploitation and to retain access to their cultural heritage without loss of citizenship rights. Multiculturalism is employed as a tool for opening up economic channels through the eradication of barriers in the areas of employment, education, housing and criminal justice (Special Committee on Visible Minorities,

1984). Also important is the role of multiculturalism as a buffer between minority members and the Canadian public (Henry and Tator, 1985). By taking advantage of the growing unacceptability of racial discrimination, visible minorities are increasingly reliant on multicultural appeals as a resource to combat racism (Fleras and Desroches, 1988; Burnet and Palmer, 1988). According to Tepper (1988), multiculturalism provides symbolic support, sets the tone for what is acceptable, establishes a legal basis for action and sends out signals regarding notions of justice and equality. By legitimizing the presence of visible minorities, multiculturalism has furthered Canada's experience with nation building from a mosaic of cultures and races.

### **2.9.2 Early Multicultural Policy Initiatives (1971-1981)**

Before the 1960s, policy debates over cultural pluralism were not pursued in any systematic fashion. Successive Canadian governments overlooked the value of ethnic heterogeneity, concentrating instead on assimilating the minority groups into the mainstream (Elliott and Fleras, 1990). With the publication of the report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1969, a shift in priorities occurred, in an attempt to –

- identify a uniquely Canadian identity.
- defuse the threat of American-style race riots.
- shore up political strength in the various provinces.
- neutralize prairie province grievances (Morton, 1985; Burnet and Palmer, 1988).

A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework was set in motion when Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau declared on October 8, 1971 –

“there cannot be one cultural policy for Canadians of British or French origins, another for the originals and yet a third for all others. For although there are two

official languages, there is no official culture. Nor does any cultural group take precedence over another ... We are free to be ourselves. But this cannot be left to chance.... It is the policy of the government to eliminate any such danger and to safeguard this freedom” (Elliott and Fleras, 1990).

By rejecting the notion of a single culture as synonymous with national identity and prosperity, the all-party agreement sought to take into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada. Federal assistance was promised –

- to assist minorities in maintaining their cultural identity.
- to foster full and equal involvement in Canada’s social and economic institutions.
- to encourage harmonious links through elimination of racism and discrimination at all levels of society (Elliot and Fleras, 1990).

In an attempt to put these principles into practice, specific initiatives for language and culture maintenance received funding. A Multicultural Directorate was created within the Department of the Secretary of State in 1972 for the promotion of social, cultural and racial harmony (Special Committee on Visible Minorities, 1984). Later developments included the creation of a Ministry of Multiculturalism to monitor government departments. The Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism was set up in 1973, then restructured and renamed the Canadian Ethnocultural Council in 1983 in hopes of improving its advisory, research and monitoring capacities. Five provinces eventually adopted multiculturalism as official government policy (Saskatchewan took the lead in 1975) with a variety of programmes in cultural awareness and anti-racism. Provincial and federal efforts to improve access to and responsiveness of services to ethnic minorities resulted in restructuring of various social institutions such as education and the police (Samuda et al., 1984;

Fleras and Desroches, 1989).

### **2.9.3 Multicultural Initiatives, 1981-1988**

Later on, multicultural developments assumed even a higher profile in re-defining government-ethnic relations. On August 3, 1988, Canada provided a legislative base for multicultural initiatives with the passing of the Multiculturalism Act (Secretary of State, 1988). Directed towards the preservation and enhancement of Canadian Multiculturalism, the Multiculturalism Act sought to promote cultures, reduce discrimination and accelerate institutional change to reflect Canada's multicultural character. It also focussed on the right of individuals to identify with the cultural heritage of their choice, yet retain access to equality in Canadian life (Elliott and Fleras, 1990). The 1988 Multicultural Act put into a statutory framework what had existed as de facto government policy since 1971.

An important feature of the Act was its intent to expand government spending in support of ethnic activities and research. Funds totalling \$192 million for five years were set aside to –

- promote harmonious race relations.
- enhance cross-cultural understanding.
- preserve heritage languages and cultures.
- ensure full and equal participation of ethnic minorities.
- foster cross-government commitment for all federal institutions (Elliott and Fleras, 1990).

The Multiculturalism Act is consistent with the Canadian Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms which came into effect in April, 1985 (Beckton, 1987). The Charter sought to impose safeguards for the protection of individual rights (Secretary of State, 1987). However, the Charter's equality provisions did not preclude the possibility of balancing individual and multicultural rights.

According to section 27 of the Canadian Charter, “the charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians”. With its emergence as a tool of interpretation at the highest levels of national decision making, multiculturalism reaffirms a fundamental human right in Canadian society – the right to be different as well as the right to remain the same. By shifting its jurisdiction from elected officials to the court system, multiculturalism has ensured for itself the legal and moral authority to co-exist in harmony (and equal to) the principle of bilingualism in Canada (Elliott and Fleras, 1990).

There were other changes on the multicultural front as the focus of multiculturalism shifted from culture and community affairs to race relations and institutional adjustments to cope with diversity (Tepper, 1988). A Federal department of multiculturalism and citizenship was proposed to monitor institutional compliance with the principles of multiculturalism. It was expected that further adjustments towards the elimination of racism and the accommodation of cultural diversity within the institutional framework of multiculturalism would occur as the scope of multiculturalism expands through employment equity initiatives for visible minorities (Elliott and Fleras, 1990).



## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION AND OCCUPATIONAL CONCENTRATION OF IMMIGRANTS**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, we focus our attention on the spatial aspects of immigrant settlement by discussing issues related to the residential segregation of immigrants. We also consider their economic adaptation by looking at issues concerning the performance of immigrants in the labour market. An attempt will then be made to find out the relationship between economic adaptation and residential concentration. Like the previous chapter, emphasis will be on the experiences of visible minorities.

#### **3.2 Ethnic Residential Concentration**

The spatial distribution of immigrants has captured the research interest of social scientists, especially geographers, for a long time. There is a large body of literature on ethnic residential concentration in Canada and the United States. In the United States, much of the literature is concerned with the examination of the levels and causes of the continuing segregation of mostly blacks (also, Asians and Hispanics) from the white population (Allen and Turner, 1996b; Howenstine, 1996; Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1990). Much of the Canadian literature, on the other hand, has dealt primarily with comparisons of the levels of segregation among the different ethnic groups, using the British group as a benchmark for comparison (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1995; Fong, 1994; Henry, 1994; Balakrishnan and Selvenathan, 1990).

In Canada, a marked pattern of settlement can be identified for immigrants. Most recent

immigrants settle in Canada's urban areas, especially, in the large metropolitan areas (Mercer, 1995; Badets, 1994; Ebanks, 1990; Moore et al., 1990; Hecht et al., 1983).

The provincial distribution of immigrants during the 1991 Census shows that almost all of the country's immigrants (94%) are concentrated in only four provinces – Ontario, British Columbia, Quebec and Alberta. Ontario leads all the provinces with a share of 55 percent of immigrants, followed by British Columbia – 17%, Quebec – 14% and Alberta – 9% (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1997; Mercer, 1995; Badets, 1994).

At the metropolitan level, the 1991 Census shows that about 84 percent of all immigrants live in the 25 census metropolitan areas (CMAs). Five cities – Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Edmonton and Calgary – account for about 75 percent of immigrants living in metropolitan areas. Toronto leads all the CMAs, with 34 percent of immigrants living there. Montreal and Vancouver had 12 and 11 percent respectively (Badets, 1994; Moore et al., 1990). Immigrants are more likely than the Canadian born to live in these metropolitan areas. Only about 25 percent of the latter lived in the CMAs in 1991 (Badets, 1994). The tendency to live in urban areas is more striking among recent immigrants, with about 66 percent of immigrants who arrived between 1981 and 1991 residing in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal (Badets, 1994). The 1996 Census shows a similar trend, especially for visible minorities. The Census shows that 42 percent of Canada's visible minority population reside in the Toronto area; they account for one-third of Toronto's population. In addition, 70 percent of visible minorities reside in Toronto, Vancouver or Montreal, although these cities account for only a third of Canada's population (Carey, 1998).

Different cities show varying concentrations of specific immigrant groups. Vancouver, for example, has a high concentration of Asian immigrants, especially, the Chinese. British and other

European groups are significant but of declining importance. Vancouver has a very small black immigrant population, represented mostly by people from the Caribbean and Africa. Toronto, on the other hand, has a predominance of European, especially, southern European immigrants. Italians dominate this group. The Asian population of Toronto, though quite large, is not as significant as it is in Vancouver. Toronto has a relatively small but significant black population, the largest of any city in the country (Mercer, 1995). Balakrishnan and Hou (1995) used data from the 1991 Census to determine the level of concentration (defined as the number of ethnic groups within each census tract) of different ethnic groups in Canada's metropolitan areas. The results of their analyses show that the British, Germans, French and Italians are among the least concentrated (that is, they are not highly segregated in only a few census tracts). Visible minorities (for example, Chinese, Blacks, South Asians and Aboriginals), on the other hand, are highly concentrated in only a few census tracts. The Italians are the most concentrated among whites, though their level of concentration is lower than that of visible minorities. One interesting fact concerns the Jews, who though are white and the most successful group in Canada (see Section 3.4 below), are the most concentrated group among all the ethnic groups in the country. Visible minorities in Canada, thus, show high levels of concentration in urban areas. It must be pointed out, though, that their level of concentration is generally not as high as that observed for cities in the United States (Ray, 1994). Among visible minorities, it has been observed that blacks show the highest level of concentration (Howenstine, 1996; Allen and Turner, 1996b; Schwab, 1992).

Within cities, some immigrants may show distinct settlement patterns. In Metropolitan Toronto, which has the largest concentration of immigrants in Canada, Ray (1994) shows that the largest proportion of immigrants live in the City of Toronto, with an immigrant share of 28.1 percent.

The suburban cities of North York (27.7%) and Scarborough (23.1%) (Figure 3) also have significant concentration of immigrants. Ray also points out that contrary to the findings of studies, mostly based on United States and European case studies, which show that immigrants tend to reside mostly in inner cities, immigrants in Metropolitan Toronto show a high degree of suburbanization. The Italians and Afro-Caribbeans are more prone to live in suburban parts of the city. While only 17.4 percent of Italians live in the City of Toronto, 42.8 percent of them live in suburban North York. Similarly, a high percentage of Afro-Caribbeans, 30.6 percent live in Scarborough (Mercer, 1995; Ray, 1994).

The causes of ethnic residential concentration has received much attention in the literature. Various factors have been identified in the literature as leading to the creation and persistence of residential segregation – economic differences between ethnic groups, patterns of intra-urban mobility of ethnic groups (the argument is that visible minorities, especially blacks, tend to move only short distances when they decide to relocate and so end up living within the inner cities or just close by), chain migration, voluntary concentration due to a desire to maintain traditions, family life, religion and to enjoy a sense of community, involuntary segregation due to discrimination in the housing market (Driedger, 1996; Farley, 1995; Teixeira, 1995; Vaughan, 1994; Schwab, 1992; Clark, 1986). There is no consensus in the literature about the salient role played by each factor. There is the need for more study to identify which factors apply to which particular ethnic group, as there is bound to be differences in the experiences of the various groups.

It is within the ethnic neighbourhoods that the various ethnic associations that support immigrants and the social networks associated with them flourish. Such associations and social networks are important to immigrants as they provide practical needs like housing, jobs and cultural

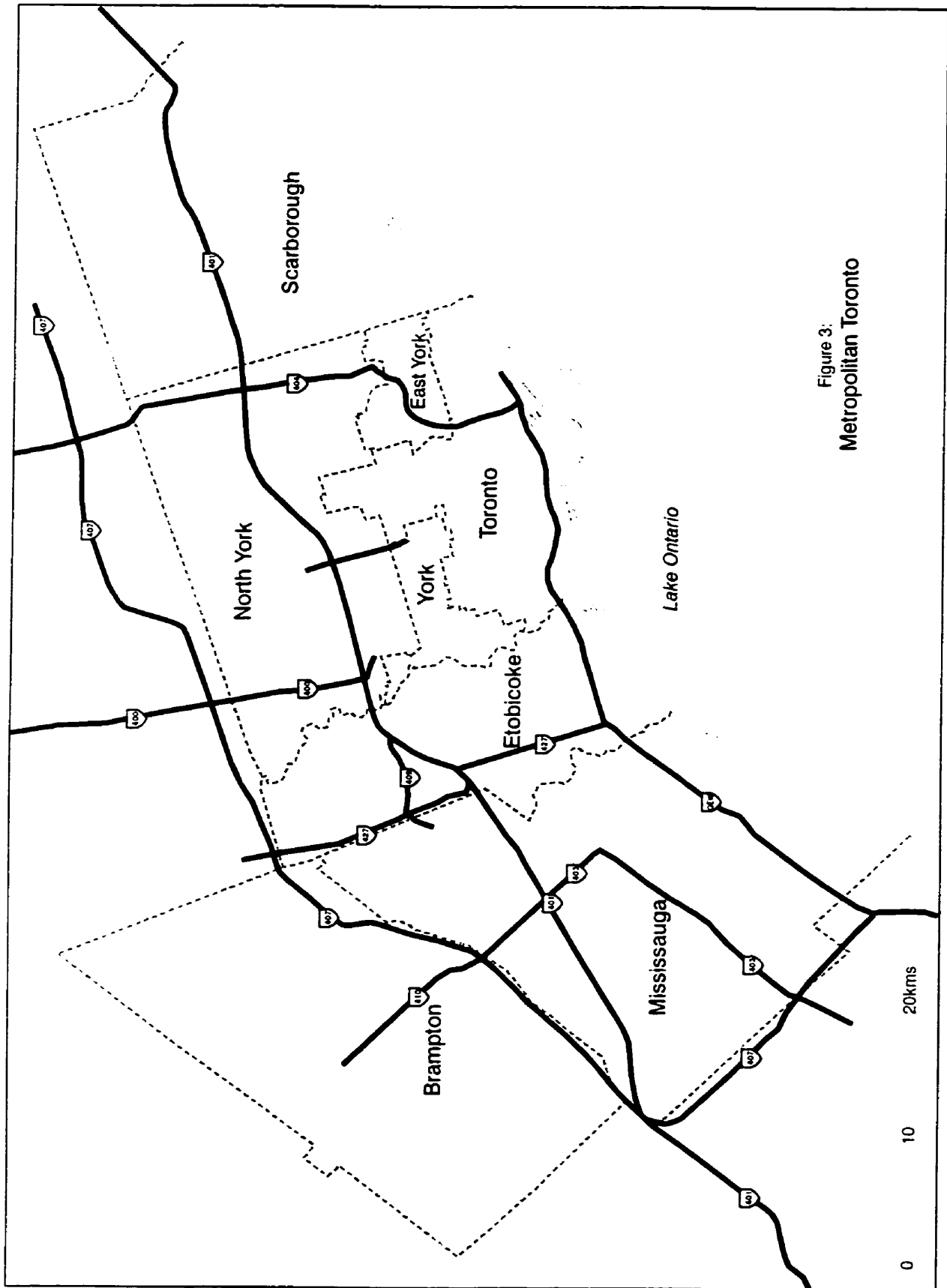


Figure 3:  
Metropolitan Toronto

fulfilment, thereby making settlement in the host society easier for them. There is, however, a debate in the literature about whether ethnic residential concentrations are useful or harmful to ethnic groups. What effect does it have on the ability of visible minorities to function effectively in the various activities that go on in the wider society? On the positive side, ethnic residential concentrations are said to contribute to a sense of belonging and security which is essential in the adaptation process; they also serve as avenues for the provision of ethnic goods and services. However, it may lead to a reduction in inter-group personal contact which will affect the integration process for visible minorities and, thereby, their effective participation in the patterns and processes of metropolitan space. If segregation leads to limited access to resources and poor housing, it can be harmful as it can serve as a barrier to the development of the residents (Howenstine, 1996; Schwab, 1992).

Though visible minorities traditionally show high levels of concentration in inner cities, over the past few decades, there has been a movement towards suburban areas of cities in Canada and the United States. This is especially so in the case of Canada. This recent trends in mobility has received increasing attention in the literature. The following section discusses this new trend.

### **3.3 Suburbanization of Visible Minorities**

Traditionally, the notion has been that visible minority groups usually live in inner cities while whites live in the suburbs. In fact, the literature on suburbanization suggests that suburbs were primarily developed to accommodate the native born white middle class population (Jackson, 1985). In Canada, research on the suburbanization process has shown that Canadian suburbs are much more heterogenous ethnically and much less middle class than suburbs in the United States (Strong-Boag,

1991).

For blacks in the United States, studies have shown they have increasingly become suburbanized in metropolitan areas, especially, since the Second World War (Schwab, 1992; Lake, 1981). Schwab (1992: 325) points out that "from a modest beginning in the 1960s, black suburbanization grew rapidly in the 1970s and 1980s, outstripping the rate for whites". In Canada also, there is evidence of increasing immigrant suburbanization such that immigrants are becoming important components of the suburban population in metropolitan areas like Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver (Ray, 1992; Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1989, 1979; Bourne, 1989). The increasing growth of the Chinese population in Vancouver's suburbs has also been well documented in the literature (Ray et al., 1997; Li, 1994; Marjury, 1994).

The increasing importance of immigrant suburbanization has been attributed partly to the availability of large scale suburban apartment and townhouse developments which have become new forms of financially accessible housing for many newly arrived immigrants. The recent trend whereby many businesses and companies are relocating from inner cities into the suburbs may also be a contributory factor (Bourne and Olvet, 1995; Social Planning Council of Toronto, 1979).

An important point that has been made is that it appears that increasing suburbanization of visible minorities has not necessarily meant a decrease in segregation levels. There is evidence that segregation levels have just been transferred from the inner cities into the suburbs as visible minorities continue to congregate together when they move into the suburbs (Massey and Denton, 1993; Schwab, 1992). Schwab points out that black suburbs often mirror conditions found in many central city neighbourhoods.

The dispersal of immigrants into the suburbs of Canadian cities has some important

implications for ethnic relations in the suburbs which have traditionally been viewed as the preserve of the white population. This new trend, which has obviously affected the social geographies of suburban areas in metropolitan areas, has important implications for life in the suburbs and, consequently, its effects have been of interest to researchers. In addition to describing the distribution of immigrants, part of geographical inquiry has been interested in finding out the effects of this new trend in the suburbs. Examples of such work are that of Marjury (1994) and Ray and colleagues (1997).

In his paper, Marjury looked at the implications of the suburbanization of immigrants mostly from Hong Kong in terms of neighbourhood change in Kerrisdale, Vancouver. Marjury relied on Census data from 1961-1986, a survey of homeowner associations and letters from residents to the city council of Kerrisdale to describe the recent move into the suburbs by affluent immigrants and the conflicts associated with different cultural and aesthetic traditions that arise.

Ray and colleagues also looked at the conflicts that arise as a result of the suburbanization of visible minorities into the suburbs, with a study of the suburbanization of the Chinese in Richmond, Vancouver. They used letters to the editor of the *Richmond Review*, minutes of town council meetings, Census data and a compilation of property transfers which was derived from property assessment records to find out how Richmond's Chinese are occupying space and the extent to which they are changing the social character of neighbourhoods.

Both studies show similar results in terms of the problems that arise due to the suburbanization of the Chinese. Some of the problems that arise are the presence of tension which is due to changes in the architecture of streets, changes in housing tradition (especially the erection of 'monster' homes by the newcomers), reckless destruction of vegetation in order to put up new



houses, encroachment and contestation of space and white flight into 'deep suburbia'. Basically, the original white residents in the neighbourhoods felt that the newcomers were invading and violating their space (see also Olson and Koyabashi, 1993).

Works like these bring out the other aspect of life in a multicultural society like Canada's – the conflicts which are bound to arise due to the contestation of space among the various ethnic groups. They help to broaden our understanding of the immigrant experience.

In this section, we reviewed some aspects of the spatial settlement of immigrants. It was seen that immigrants tend to settle mostly in urban areas. It was also seen that the inability of visible minorities to translate socio-economic mobility to spatial mobility has led to the creation and proliferation of ethnic residential segregation in Canadian and American cities. Over the past few decades, however, there has been evidence of increasing dispersal of visible minority groups into the suburbs of metropolitan areas.

In the next section, we turn our attention to the economic performance of visible minorities and their socio-economic position in Canada.

### **3.4 Changing Trends in Occupational Distribution**

The performance of immigrants in Canada's labour market has received considerable research attention over the years. One of the most important works in this area is that of Porter (1965). Using data from the 1931, 1951 and 1961 Censuses, Porter, in his work, The Vertical Mosaic (1965), cross-classified ethnic origin and occupation with a view to finding out the extent to which various groups were over- and under-represented in different job categories. In the 1931 Census, he found British and Jewish groups ranked high (that is, over-represented in professional and financial

occupations, and under-represented in low-level, unskilled and primary jobs), followed by French, German, Dutch, Scandinavian, Eastern European, Italian, Japanese, other Central European, Chinese and Native Indians. He observed that by 1961, the rough rank order had existed over time. One reason Porter suggested to account for his findings was that once in Canada, ethnic groups differed in the extent to which they aspired to upward occupational mobility. Some ethnic groups valued achievement less than others, either because of cultural differences, for example, less emphasis on material reward, or because of perceived or experienced discriminatory barriers (Porter, 1965; Pineo and Porter, 1985). He, however, argued further that to the extent that ethnic assimilation occurred, ethnic origin exerted less impact on individual occupational mobility. He believed that in the face of continued ethnic affiliations, upward occupational mobility was blocked (what he termed 'ethnically blocked mobility').

Porter's work generated a lot of debate and some researchers did their own work; some of which challenged his finding (e.g. Darroch, 1977) while some supported it (e.g. Lautard and Loree, 1984; Pineo and Porter, 1985; Porter, 1985).

In his work, Darroch, (1977) attempted a revision of Porter's original interpretation. He is of the view that Porter paid too much attention to the persistence of a 'rough rank order' over the three Censuses and failed to note the diminishing strength of the association between ethnicity and occupational level. According to him, Porter was not sensitive enough to the fact that the occupational over- and under-representation of ethnic groups was much less in 1961 than had been the case in 1931. Darroch reviewed other evidence, including data from the 1971 Census, to show that the salience of ethnicity for occupational allocation had decreased over time. He concluded that the idea of blocked ethnic mobility had no foundation in fact and that "we should be skeptical of the

idea that ethnic affiliations are a basic factor in generally limiting mobility opportunities in Canada” (p. 16).

Echoing Porter’s findings, the Abella Commission (1984) called for the introduction of affirmative action programmes to augment mobility prospects for those groups whose progress had remained “unjustifiably in perpetual slow motion” (p. 4). Winn (1985) was very critical of the recommendations of the Abella Commission. Reviewing evidence from the 1971 and 1981 Censuses, he argued that his findings provided “no empirical support for the premise that Canadian society is immobile and that visible or low prestige groups cannot make economic progress” (p. 689). According to him, affirmative action was unnecessary since the ethnic inequality being touted was exaggerated.

Lautard and Loree (1984) also entered the debate on the importance of ethnicity as a basis of inequality. Using more detailed occupation data, they agreed with Darroch’s finding that occupational inequality among ethnic groups had declined over time. They, however, maintained that occupational inequality is still substantial enough to justify the use of the concept ‘vertical mosaic’ to characterize this aspect of ethnic relations in Canada.

Repeating his earlier analysis with the 1971 Census, Porter (1985) agreed with Lautard and Loree (1984), claiming that ethnic stratification had persisted through to 1971. In his work with Pineo (Pineo and Porter, 1985), they demonstrated that the strength of the association between ethnic origin and occupational status had attenuated over the years, up to 1973, at least for males from the major European ethnic groups.

The results of various studies over the years seem to support Porter’s findings, showing that visible minorities are at a disadvantageous position in the labour market (for example, Reitz, 1980,

1988, 1990; Mackie, 1985; Henry and Ginzberg, 1985; Samuel and Woloski, 1985; Hecht et al., 1983; Li, 1978). A national immigrant survey conducted by Manpower and Immigration in the early 1970s (the Longitudinal Study of the Economic Adaptation of Immigrants) revealed that Third World Immigrants faced much higher levels of unemployment in their initial years compared to other immigrants (Saunders, 1989). The Abella Commission report (1984) also shows that in 1981, visible minority groups such as Indochinese, Blacks, Central and South Americans had higher unemployment rates than that for the general population. In 1986, concerns about the problems faced by visible minorities in the labour market led to the passing of a new legislation – the Employment Equity Act which sought to address the needs of visible minorities and other disadvantaged groups (Mercer, 1995).

Boyd (1985) also conducted research on the influence that birth place exerts on occupational attainment. For foreign-born men and women, she found that ethnic origin had a definite effect on occupational attainment, even after controlling for differences in the age average, education, social origin and place of residence of ethnic groups. For women, she found evidence of a double negative for being female and foreign born. She concluded that birth place and sex are important factors underlying the Canadian mosaic.

One factor which various researchers have used to gauge the socio-economic position of the various ethnic groups is the level of their income. In their study of wage differentials by gender and minority status, Christofedes and Swidinsky (1994) found out that visible minorities had low socio-economic status. This echoes the findings of Hecht et al.. (1985; 1983) which showed that despite high levels of education and even high occupational status, the incomes of visible minorities were still very low, compared to that of other groups with similar qualifications. Table 3, which is culled

Table 3

Socio-Economic Status by Visible Minority Status and  
ETHNIC ORIGINS, CANADA, 1986 AND 1991

Ethnic Groups	Composite SES		Years of Education (Mean)	White-Collar Occupations (Per Cent)	Income 1991
	RankB	RankC			
<i>Non-Visible Minority</i>					
Jewish	1	1	14.7	56.4	\$37,146
British	2	2	14.0	42.7	29,928
French	3	3	13.5	41.7	27,222
Dutch	4	6	12.4	31.5	30,888
Germany	5	7	12.4	28.9	31,506
Ukrainian	6	10	11.1	19.0	34,110
Italian	7	12	9.0	15.2	29,550
Portuguese	8	13	7.9	7.7	26,926
<i>Visible Minority</i>					
West Asian	1	4	14.2	43.2	21,284
South Asian	2	5	14.2	36.4	25,718
Chinese	3	8	14.9	34.3	26,392
Southeast Asian	4	9	13.4	29.0	24,080
Black	5	11	13.3	22.9	23,346

Single ethnic origin responses only, for males of designated groups are 25-64

Sum of the three ranks divided by three, for each of the non-visible and visible categories

Sum of the three ranks divided by three, combining both non-visible and visible categories.

Includes managerial and administrative occupations as well as occupations in the natural sciences, engineering, mathematics, social sciences, teaching, medicine and health, and literary and related occupations.

Source: Driedger, 1996.

from Driedger (1996:247), illustrates this point very well. In the Table, education, occupation and income are used as measures of socio-economic status to compare non-visible (European) and visible (Asian and African) ethnic groups. The Jews rank first on a composite ranking of a combination of the three indicators. From the Table, it can be seen that, generally, Europeans rank higher on the composite ranking than visible minorities though some visible minorities rank higher than some Europeans. Visible minorities rank especially high on education and to some extent do quite well on high status white-collar occupations. When one considers income, however, it can be seen that visible minorities rank last. The highest paid group among visible minorities (the Chinese) earn lower than the lowest paid group among Europeans (Portuguese) despite the fact that the Chinese have a higher level of education and have a higher proportion of their population employed in white-collar occupations than the Portuguese. As Wong (1985: 69) observes, though recent visible minority immigrants "have achieved considerable socio-economic status, this has been more in terms of occupation and education. Their economic returns are still deficient when compared to the native population".

The above observation may be due to certain factors which are an integral part of the costs involved in the immigration process. Immigrants may face problems in having the occupational qualifications acquired from abroad being recognized in Canada. Moreover, the problems involved in transferring educational equivalencies across national boundaries may result in immigrants taking jobs for which they are overtrained (Murray, 1999; Roy, 1997; Boyd, 1985). Generally, immigrants with high levels of education do not suffer as much from unemployment compared with their colleagues with low levels of education. Richmond (1967) also points out that the use of different standards of measurement, different material and different work procedures may result in skilled

immigrant workers having a lot to learn before they can be considered as experienced enough to be given skilled work in Canada. As a result of some of these problems, many immigrants experience downward occupational mobility upon arrival in Canada.

It has been noted that differences in occupational status among different ethnic groups can be explained by differences in job qualifications, usually, education (Reitz, 1990; Samuel and Woloski, 1985; Auster and Aldrich, 1984; Hecht et al., 1983). The findings of some research works have, however, shown that this is mostly true for mainly European immigrant groups. According to Reitz (1990) for instance, for most European groups (for example the Germans, Ukrainians, Portuguese and Italians) inequalities in occupational status remain very small after adjusting for job qualifications. For visible minority groups (for example, West Indians), on the other hand, there is an exception as job qualifications do not explain low occupational status. This is because even those with high levels of education still had low occupational status.

The length of time immigrants have been in the receiving country may also affect their performance in the labour market and the returns they get for it. It has been shown that those who have been in the country for a relatively short time tend to have lower wages on the average than those who came earlier. This may be an explanation for the low socio-economic status of visible minorities, many of whom are recent immigrants (Roy, 1997).

The performance of the various immigrant groups in the labour market may also be influenced by the degree to which they have adapted themselves to Canadian society. Numerous studies have been done on the process of adaptation on immigrant groups (for example, Opoku-Dapaah, 1993; Bretton, 1983; Christiansen et al., 1981; Richmond and Kalbach, 1980; Ramcharan, 1975). Generally, it has been shown that the more closely an individual or a group is able to fit into

the Canadian society, the more they are able to participate in the various structures of the society including the occupational field. Such studies help us to understand how immigrants fit into the society and how they are able to take part in the various activities that go on. Immigrants who are less adapted to the host society find it difficult to penetrate the job market and are, therefore, consigned to their initial low entry level for many years.

Furthermore, residential segregation of ethnic groups, with its associated ethnic associations and social networks, has been said to be a factor that can partially limit employment opportunities for their residents. Auster and Aldrich (1985) observe that as business and industry began relocating into the suburbs in many United States cities around the turn of the century, non-white ethnic minorities were left behind in central cities where only a few core jobs were available. This greatly affected their prospects for gainful employment.

Related to the above, the job search technique adopted by immigrant groups has an important influence on their prospects in the job market. Studies have revealed that a large proportion of job vacancies are filled through the operation of informal social networks, especially through personal contacts (England, 1995; Freedman, 1985). Visible minority groups have been known to use this method a lot in searching for jobs and it has proved to be very good, to some extent, as it provides detailed information about prospective job openings which may otherwise not be known to them (England, 1995; Hanson and Pratt, 1992; Jenkins, 1986). However, this method of job search may prove to be detrimental to ethnic minority groups since it may help to confine them to a specific segment of the labour market and restrict the economic opportunities available to them. Usually, the use of this method channels them into lower paying jobs and lead to a segregation in such jobs, limiting their opportunity for upward mobility (Pohjola, 1991; Reitz, 1990).



The problem that reliance on reference letters by employers in their job recruiting exercise has on members of visible minorities has also been documented by Becker (1979: 5) – “an effective reference comes from someone whose evaluations would be held in high esteem by the potential employer – for example, other employers and business associates, or the employer’s most trusted employees. In contrast, the sponsors that most black job seekers are able to provide are their own friends and relatives, nearly all of whom are likely to be black and in most cases unable to impress an employer”. In short, those able to provide references for the minority job seeker are most of the time not in a good enough position to do so and this limits their chances of being successful.

Generally, however, with time and with increased education, immigrants are able to move out into other occupations (Reitz, 1990; Samuel and Woloski, 1985). With regards to the Chinese, Voisey (1970) shows that they gradually moved out of the service businesses (primarily restaurants and laundries) into professional, financial and clerical occupations. This was due to post-war immigration regulations which emphasized the skills and qualifications of immigrants and increased education on the part of those immigrants already in the country. This ensured that the new crop of immigrants admitted into the country were more suited to the labour market. Also, with increased education and adaptation, immigrants who are already in the country are able to move out on the ‘economic ladder’. This shows that, to some extent, immigrants are able to move out of their initial low level status and up the economic ladder.

There are some slight differences in occupational distribution between immigrants and the Canadian born. According to the Census, immigrant males are more likely to work in professional and management occupations – 32 percent. This compares with 27 percent of the Canadian born who worked in the same fields. Also, immigrant males are more likely to work in manufacturing – 19

percent (compared with 15% of Canadian born) and are about as likely to be employed in jobs in the clerical, sales and service fields – 26 percent. Immigrant males are less likely than the Canadian born to work in all other occupation groups. Immigrant females, on the other hand, are less likely to have professional or management jobs – 30 percent (compared with 33% Canadian born). They are more likely than their Canadian born counterparts to work in manufacturing jobs – 10 percent (compared with 4%) and are less likely to work in clerical, sales and service jobs – 53 percent (compared with 58%) (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1997).

As a sub-group, the participation of visible minorities in the labour force is characterized by certain patterns in the kinds of occupations they engage in and the positions they hold. Samuel (1989), for example, points out that visible minorities are more concentrated in occupations such as professionals, semi-professionals, technicians, service workers and other manual workers while their representation is very low in upper level management jobs and skilled crafts. In terms of positions, they find it more difficult to penetrate upper and middle level managerial positions.

The 1991 Census of Population shows that considerable gains have been made by Canada's immigrants in the labour market. According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1997), immigrants are about as likely as people born in Canada to be employed. Unemployment levels are similar between immigrants and the Canadian born (around 11%).

The historical comparison of ethnic inequality, as measured by occupational differences, suggests that between 1931 and now, there has been a decline in the significance of ethnicity. The decline has, however, been moderate and ethnic origin continues to influence occupational destination (Elliott and Fleras, 1990).

### **3.5 Entrepreneurship Among Immigrants**

Despite the problems faced by immigrants on the labour market, many of them do not give up on their attempts 'to make it big' in their adopted countries. In their desire to succeed, when they find that they cannot make it in certain occupations, many of them branch off into other activities such as creating businesses of their own in order to realize their dreams and aspirations (Bailey et al., 1995; Lee, 1995, 1992; Ward and Jenkins, 1984).

As a result, there is a high tendency among immigrants to be self-employed. In fact, self-employment rates are significantly higher among immigrants than among the Canadian born (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1997; Razin and Langlois, 1996; Reitz, 1990; Nash, 1988). The 1991 Census showed that 16 percent of immigrant men were self-employed, compared with 12 percent of the Canadian born. Razin and Langlois (1996) show that the gap in self-employment between immigrants and the Canadian-born is particularly wide in distribution industries (trade, food services and transportation) and relatively narrow in white-collar ones.

The development of ethnic entrepreneurship is very important to the well-being of minority groups in a receiving society. According to Scarman (1982), a greater involvement in business will result in more community stability and give ethnic minorities a feeling of possessing a greater stake in the society. For many visible minorities, especially those who lack the necessary skills and qualifications to succeed in the wider labour market, ethnic businesses are an important alternative to finding a job in the mainstream society (Kaplan, 1997). The level of minority business development is, generally, a good indicator of the socio-economic standing of an ethnic group and is a crucial instrument for socio-economic mobility. Lack of business development within an ethnic group may, in contrast, serve as a hindrance to the group's socio-economic mobility (Aldrich et al.,

1981).

Most ethnic businesses depend on ethnic communities for support, which is very crucial if they are to succeed. The availability of strong community support allows these businesses, which are usually very small, some 'protection' and independence from well established competitors in the wider society which improves their competitiveness and allows them to thrive. To be able to succeed, ethnic businesses usually require low start-up costs, low labour costs and an assured customer base. These are usually found within the ethnic community (Kaplan, 1997; Lee, 1995, 1992; Auster and Aldrich, 1984). The community provides ethnic entrepreneurs easier access to capital, supplies, labour and markets (Kaplan, 1997). Ethnic community support for ethnic businesses usually take two forms – informal support from friends and family of the owner and support from the wider network of ethnic institutions and organizations (Lee, 1995, 1992; Auster and Aldrich, 1984).

Most of the ethnic businesses are funded from the owner's own savings or support from friends in the community due to problems in getting funding from the mainstream society. Another source of funds that has been used, especially by the Chinese, Japanese and Koreans, is rotating credit associations (Kaplan, 1997; Lee, 1992; Auster and Aldrich, 1984). In these associations, the members come together to contribute some funds which are given to a member to do whatever needs to be done in a rotating manner. In this way, the members have access to higher capital than would otherwise have been possible.

Most of the time, such businesses depend on members of their communities for their employment needs. The owners employ members of their own group and often relatives, usually for long hours and at low wages (Lee, 1995, 1992; Auster and Aldrich, 1984).

A pattern of distribution in self-employment can be identified for different occupations among different immigrant groups. For example, among self-employed workers, European immigrants are prominent in blue-collar industries (manufacturing and construction), with Asian immigrants being concentrated in distribution industries while the Jews and other European (excluding southern European) immigrants are dominant in white-collar industries (Razin and Langlois, 1996).

Due in part to the difficulties involved in entering occupations of their choice, when a certain immigrant group enters some occupations succeeding generations of that group may end up being employed in such occupations. As a result, some immigrant groups are associated with certain occupations in the Canadian economy (horizontal job segregation). This has resulted in what Reitz (1990) refers to as ethnic occupational concentration. Some examples are the Greeks who are mostly self-employed in restaurants, food-importing businesses, tailoring and fur making establishments (Razin and Langlois, 1996; Reitz, 1990; Douramakou-Petroleka, 1985; Nagata, 1969). The Portuguese are also noted for being concentrated mostly in urban labouring jobs in demolition, construction and the railways (Razin and Langlois, 1996; Reitz, 1990; Anderson, 1974). The Chinese, on the other hand, are also very much involved as self-employed entrepreneurs in laundries, restaurants, import and export businesses and food stores (Reitz, 1980). According to Reitz (1990), among immigrant men, the Jews and Italians have the highest rate of self-employment. The Germans, Ukrainians and Chinese also have high rates of self-employment. These groups belong to what Razin and Langlois (1996) term as more entrepreneurial groups. The Portuguese, West Indians and blacks are less entrepreneurial, having relatively lower rates of self-employment.

The reason why some ethnic groups can be more entrepreneurial than others can be attributed

to the resources which are available to the various ethnic groups. Research has generally identified such factors as the use of unpaid family labour, an informal recruiting network that reduces employer risk, revolving credit institutions and presence of a good customer base, as being important in determining how successful ethnic businesses are (Kaplan, 1997; Lee, 1995, 1992; Auster and Aldrich, 1984). The different ethnic groups do not all have these resources to the same extent. It has been pointed out that long established minorities such as the Jews have been able to build a good reputation with financiers and are thus able to get easier access to capital. Other groups also arrive with an established reputation as being good in business, for example Asians from East Africa, and are thus able to succeed in business without much difficulty. Immigrant groups of recent origin and with no reputation as good business people find the most difficulty in getting access to capital and are, therefore, at a disadvantage (Mars and Ward, 1984). For the Chinese and Japanese in the United States (and very likely those in Canada), it has been pointed out that mutual aid in the form of capital, credit, information, training opportunities and the regulation of competition gave them a sound base on which to develop small ethnic businesses. Blacks, on the other hand, are not endowed as much with these resources and that account for the low levels of self-employment that exists among this group (Lee, 1992; Auster and Aldrich, 1984).

One area that has not received much attention in the literature is the geographic distribution of ethnic businesses (Kaplan, 1997). Studies that have been done suggest that there is a spatial distinction in the pattern of self-employment among immigrants across the various CMAs. Rates of self-employment are much higher in the smaller CMAs, especially those in the Maritime region, Quebec and the Prairies than in the larger CMAs like Toronto (Razin and Langlois, 1996). They explain that this pattern is due to the fact that in the smaller CMAs, opportunities for employment

in the mainstream society are relatively more limited so immigrants who find themselves in such areas have little choice but to resort to small businesses. Within metropolitan areas, it has been shown that most ethnic businesses locate inside ethnic neighbourhoods apparently due to the ready customer base such neighbourhoods provide (Kaplan, 1997; Lee, 1992).

Studies such as these have shown the impact that certain immigrant groups have had on the Canadian economy over the years. Among such establishments (ethnic businesses), immigrants find it much easier to achieve vertical occupational mobility. Ethnic businesses are most useful if they are able to serve as a spring board through which ethnic minorities are able to penetrate the economy of the wider society (Reitz, 1990; Aldrich et al., 1981).

Through participation in the economic field, visible minorities are able to improve themselves socio-economically. Following from the above analysis, we now turn our attention to an examination of how the attainment of good socio-economic status affects the residential choice behaviour of visible minorities in the next section.

### **3.6 Occupational Status and Spatial Concentration of Immigrants**

A direct relationship has been postulated between the socio-economic status and residential behaviour of immigrant groups and their integration into a host society. Generally, the former have been used to assess the degree of integration of an immigrant group into the host society (Allen and Turner, 1996; Massey, 1985; Gordon, 1978, 1964; Park, 1950). It has been argued that at the initial stages, when the level of their cultural and economic assimilation is very low, immigrants would tend to settle together in the same area, usually, in or close to inner cities. With the attainment of appreciable levels of cultural and economic assimilation, which usually lead to an improvement in

their occupational status and incomes, they would move away from the inner cities and ethnic neighbourhoods and intermingle with and reside among members of the host society. Residential location has, therefore, been linked to the level of economic status. It is assumed that immigrants tend to become less segregated from the white population as they become more successful and assimilated to the culture of the wider society (Allen and Turner, 1996b; Boal, 1996; Schwab, 1992). Studies have, however, shown that this pattern holds true mostly for only white ethnic groups. Visible minority groups like Asians, Hispanics and, especially, Blacks have most of the time been unable to translate socio-economic mobility into spatial mobility. This has led to the creation and persistence of ethnic residential segregation in North American cities which have received much attention in the literature, especially, in the United States. Though relatively limited, compared to the United States, there have been studies on ethnic residential segregation in Canadian cities (Fong, 1994; Ray, 1994; Henry, 1994; Selvenathan and Balakrishnan, 1990).

The search for explanations for ethnic residential segregation has come up with factors such as economic differences between ethnic groups, the desire for proximity to ethnic group members, social distance factors and discrimination. An important point that has been identified, which has received some support from empirical studies in Canada and the United States, is that ethnic residential segregation is a reflection of income differentials among ethnic groups and their ability to afford housing of certain type, quality and price in certain neighbourhoods (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1995; Fong, 1994; Massey and Denton, 1993; Farley et al, 1993). The low incomes of some ethnic groups have been said to contribute to segregation as the members of these groups cannot afford the expensive houses in white neighbourhoods. This shows that there is a link between socio-economic status of immigrant groups and their residential location. High status immigrants are said to generally



generate a spatial pattern of residence that is different from that of low status ones (Boal, 1996). The more successful ones (those with good jobs and high incomes) would show high levels of spatial dispersal by residing among members of the host society. Some studies (e.g. Owen, 1995) have looked at the relationship between economic performance of minority ethnic groups and their residential location. Owen's study on the spatial and socio-economic patterns of minority ethnic groups in Great Britain shows that those residing in the well-to-do areas perform better economically than those in the not-so-well-to-do areas.

In contrast, studies controlling for socio-economic status have come up with findings which challenge the view that ethnic residential segregation is a reflection of income differentials among immigrant groups. These studies have shown that ethnic residential segregation still persists even after holding differences in income constant (Allen and Turner, 1996b; Farley, 1995, 1993; Fong, 1994; Massey and Denton, 1993). In the United States, for example, it has been shown that black households of all income levels are much more likely to choose neighbourhoods in black areas than they are in white neighbourhoods (Hartshorne, 1991; Clark, 1986). It follows from the above that for visible minorities in general and blacks in particular, residential location may not be an accurate reflection of socio-economic status.

The limited studies available indicate that blacks show residential concentration in Canada's cities, especially, in Toronto. In his study, Murdie (1994), found that blacks exhibit some degree of concentration in specific Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority housing developments. Unlike the United States where most blacks and other ethnic minorities concentrate in the inner cities, immigrants in Canada are more prone to live in suburban parts of cities. About 30.6 percent of Afro-Caribbeans, for example, are said to live in Scarborough (Mercer, 1995; Ray, 1994). The majority

of Ghanaians (68.4 percent) live in the old suburban areas of the Toronto CMA, especially in North York, Etobicoke and Scarborough, with relatively small proportions living in the City of Toronto, East York and York (12 percent) while 19.5 percent are found in the newer suburbs of Brampton and Mississauga.

As has already been pointed out, it is within the ethnic neighbourhoods that ethnic social ties flourish. There is evidence, however, that these ties go beyond the ethnic neighbourhoods to the wider society and even beyond into the areas of origin of the immigrants. Most of the ethnic associations in Toronto, for example, have branches in other Canadian cities and through these people from different cities are able to interact together. Immigrants also continue to keep ties with their areas of origin after settling down in a new society. This is seen in the remittances that are sent home and investments in businesses and housing (Owusu, 1996). Kaplan (1997) also talks about the internationalization of ethnic business. He points out, for example, that the Chinese in Monterey Park collaborate with Taiwanese and Hong Kong businesses, while Cubans and Koreans continue to look toward their native countries and may begin to develop joint ventures there.

### **3.7 The Increasing Importance of Visible Minorities in Canada's Labour Market and Relations with the Host Society**

Canada's labour market has undergone considerable changes over the past few decades. Among them has been the emergence of increasing numbers of visible minorities in the labour force (Samuel, 1989). Like many other western countries, Canada has had to widen the net for the intake of immigrants from Third World countries in order to fill the labour shortage which results from capital expansion and a decline of immigration from traditional source countries (Satzewich and Li,

1987).

It is expected that when immigrants arrive in a host society, they will integrate into the society with time and be able to reach socio-economic parity with the dominant society (Kaplan, 1997; Adelman, 1993). The ability of immigrants to adjust and integrate into the society as a whole and its major structures like the occupational field is expected to improve relations between immigrants and their hosts. The ability to mingle together promotes good communication between the two groups which lead to better understanding and peaceful co-existence between them. The ability for immigrants to integrate well into the host society depends, to some extent, on whether they are able to participate effectively in the institutions of their new home.

The ability of visible minorities to succeed socio-economically has contributed to their ability to interact and get along well with the Canadian population and affect their ability to function effectively in the patterns and processes of metropolitan space. However, in some cases the presence of immigrants, especially visible minorities, in the labour market leads to a lot of tension and anxiety among members of the host population which may affect relations between them. The sources of tension and criticisms range from those who regard immigrants as unfair economic competition to those who resent the 'problems' (divided loyalties, drugs, gangs etc.) associated with visible minorities. There is the fear that the character of Canadian society would be undermined by unrestricted entry (Samuel, 1989).

Over the past, there have been some occasional public protests over the continuous influx of immigrants into the country on the grounds that immigrants take jobs away from Canadians. This is especially the case during periods of economic decline when some members of the host population often have the tendency to blame foreigners, especially, for unemployment (Hoskin, 1991).

Immigrants are also often blamed on the grounds that they contribute to a lowering of wage levels and also for being a drain on the economy because they are overly dependent on the welfare system (DeVoretz, 1992; Borjas, 1989).

How realistic are these concerns which are often expressed against immigrants? Some studies show that the evidence does not support such criticism. For example, in a study of immigrants who entered Canada between 1983-1985, it was seen that these immigrants created more jobs directly or indirectly than the number of jobs they accepted (Samuel and Conyers, 1986). On the question of job displacement, DeVoretz and Akbari (1987a) and Akbari and DeVoretz (1992) suggest that in general, Canada's points system, coupled with increased capital inflows from immigrants, was successful in preventing job loss throughout the economy. They, therefore, conclude that there is no strong evidence favouring the hypothesis of displacement of native born workers by immigrants in Canada.

Recently, Roy (1997) contributed to the debate on job displacement of the native born by the immigrant. He has contributed to the discussion by disaggregating the displacement effect analysis by country of origin in terms of the occupational substitutability of the various groups to the Canadian born. He found that immigrants from the United States are substitutes or competing groups in the labour market and as a result the influx of immigrants from the United States can negatively affect the Canadian born. For example, he points out that a 10 percent increase in immigrants from the United States would tend to reduce the wage rate of native born Canadians by 0.9 percent. On the other hand, he found out that both European immigrants and immigrants from the developing world do not have any job displacement effect on Canadians. He found that the impact of these groups on the labour market is statistically insignificant. This is because immigrants from these areas

were found not to be substitutes to the Canadian born in the labour market.

A news item in the Wednesday, November 5, 1997 issue of the Toronto Star referred to Tom McCormack, a member of the 1996 Task Force for the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) as saying that research shows immigrants coming to the GTA are very employable and, after they have been in the country for two years, use the social welfare system less than the average Canadian. He was commenting on the release of the 1996 Census report which had just been released which shows that 40 percent of immigrants to Canada over the past five years (most of whom are from the developing world) settled in the Toronto area. He is quoted as saying –

“there is a perception they are a huge burden on Canadian society but the evidence shows exactly the opposite .....There is just an overwhelming amount of evidence that shows most of these people are contributing in a big way to Canadian life when they get here, from early on” (Carey, 1997).

Furthermore, DeVoretz and Akbari (1987b) also show that immigrants who came from Asia, Africa and Latin America contributed an average of \$2,000.00 more per labour force participant to the public treasury than they took out of it. They are, therefore, not just people on welfare as believed by many.

Moreover, it has also been argued that without immigration, Canada's population will start to decline at the turn of the century (Samuel, 1989). Since immigration increases the size of the total population, it has the potential to have a stimulative effect on the Canadian economy. It is important to realize that due to the prosperity and the ageing populations of traditional sources of immigration, it is likely that people from developing countries would continue to be an important component of Canada's immigration flow (Samuel, 1989). This would help to increase the proportion of Canada's

visible minorities in the years to come. Seeing the important role that immigration can play, ways must be found to maximize its productive capacity for Canada's future economic and social benefit. This calls for more research into the experiences of recent immigrants in Canada so that we can understand how best they can function effectively in their new home.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE GHANAIAN COMMUNITY**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

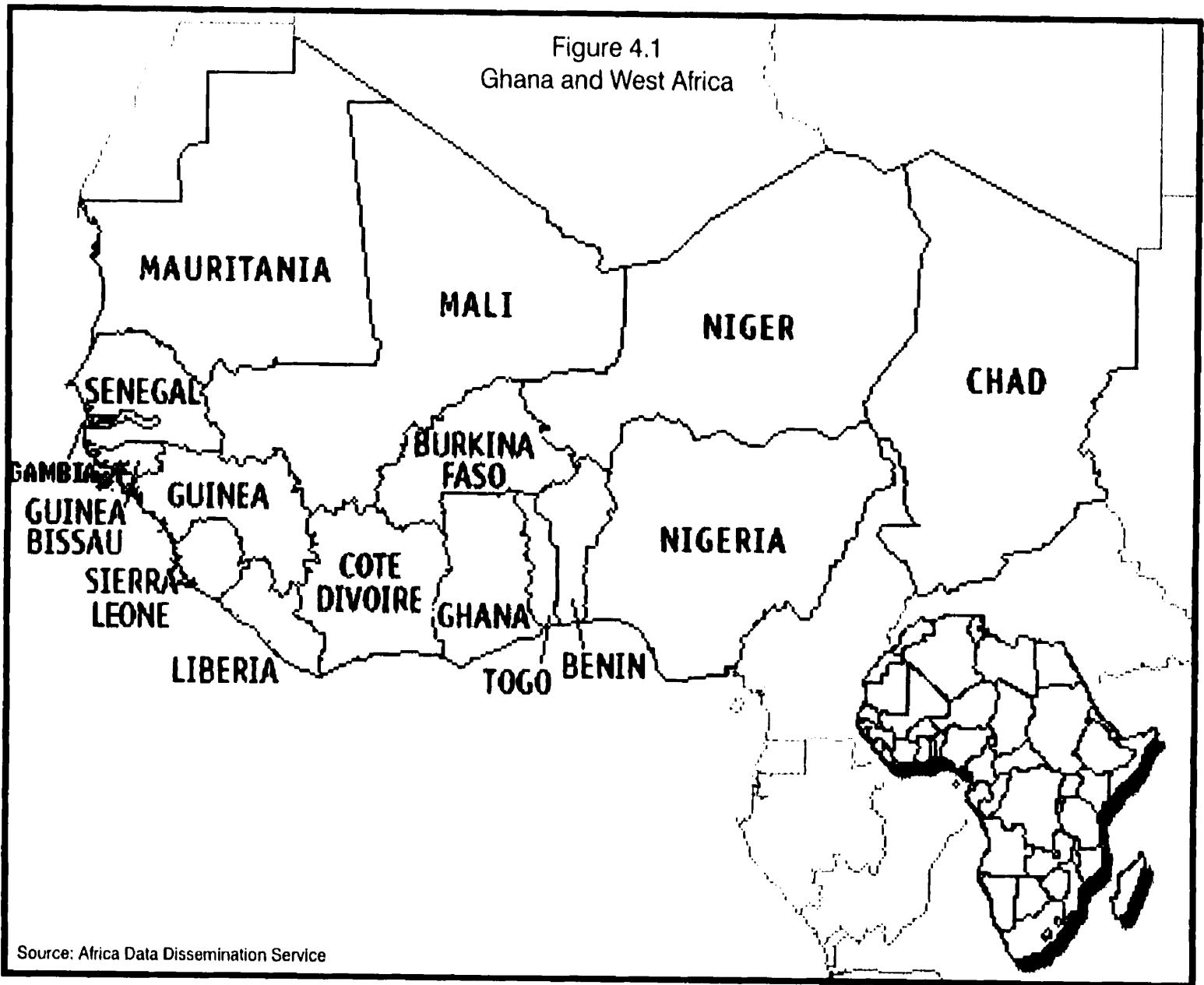
When immigrants arrive in a receiving society, they bring with them a package of social, economic, political and cultural experiences from their home country. This background experience helps to determine the migration patterns of immigrants, their initial settlement patterns, as well as their eventual adaptation to the host society.

This chapter provides a brief discussion of socio-economic and political trends in Ghana, Ghanaian immigration to Canada and a demographic analysis of the Ghanaian immigrant group in the Metropolitan Toronto area.

#### **4.2 Ghana: A Socio-economic and Cultural Profile**

The Republic of Ghana, which gained independence from British rule in 1957, lies on the west coast of Africa sharing boundaries with Burkina Faso to the north, Togo to the east, Cote D'Ivoire to the west and the Gulf of Guinea to the south (Figure 4.1). It has a total area of 238, 540 sq. km. of which 230, 020 sq. km. is land and 8, 520 sq. km. is water (CIA, 1999).

At the last population Census in 1984, the population of the country was 12.2 million and the latest estimates put the country's population at about 18.4 million people (Population Reference Bureau World Data Sheet, 1997; CIA, 1999) . According to 1998 estimates, Ghana's population grows at a rate of 2.13 percent per annum. It has a birth rate of 32.81 births per 1000 population and 10.63 deaths per 1000 population. The total fertility rate is 4.27 children per woman. The country's life expectancy at birth is 56.82 years (54.77 years for males and 58.92 years for females). The





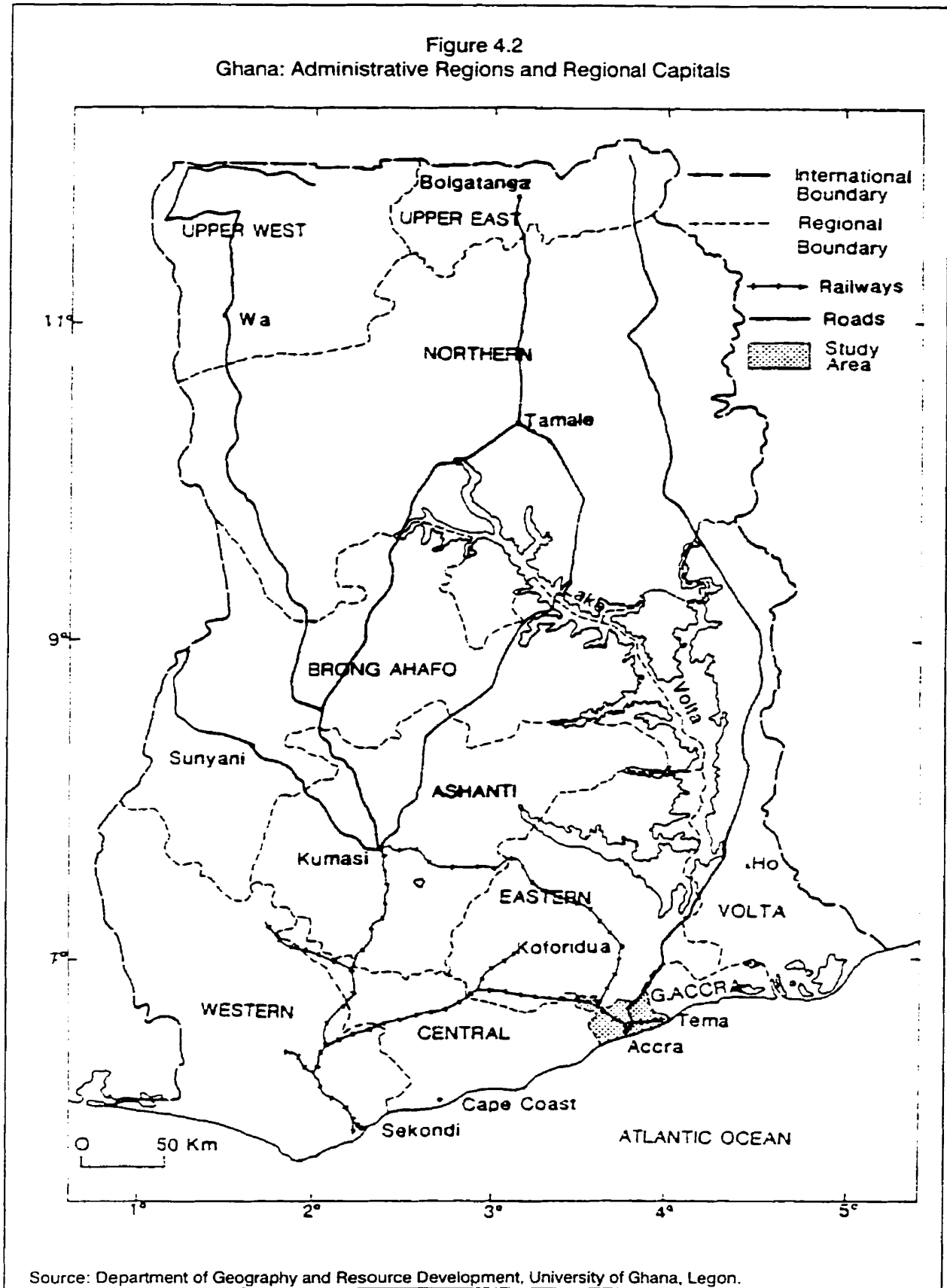
population shows an age structure made up of 54 percent of the people aged between 15 to 64 years, 43 percent aged between 0-14 years and only 3 percent aged 64 years and over (CIA, 1999).

Ghana is divided into ten administrative regions (Figure 4.2) with each region further divided into districts. In all, there are 110 district assemblies in the country. Most of the population is found in the central and southern parts of the country which are generally more developed and more urbanized than the north. Ghana has a tropical climate. It is warm and dry along the southeast coast, hot and humid on the southwest and hot and dry in the northern parts of the country (Boateng, 1960; Dickson and Benneh, 1970; CIA, 1999).

Ghana's economy is mostly agrarian. Agriculture, which is the mainstay of the country's economy, accounts for about 41 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) and provides employment for about 61 percent of the labour force. Industry employs about 10 percent of the population while services employ about 29 percent. The contribution of the three sectors to the country's GDP are agriculture, 41 percent, industry 14 percent and services 45 percent (1996 estimate). The unemployment rate of Ghana is 20 percent (1997 estimate). The main industries of Ghana are mining, lumbering, light manufacturing, aluminum smelting and food processing. The main agricultural products, on the other hand, include cocoa, rice, coffee, cassava, peanuts, corn, shea nuts, bananas and timber. Cocoa, the most important export crop, used to be the leading foreign exchange earner until recently when it was overtaken by gold. In 1996, for example, gold accounted for 39 percent of foreign exchange earnings while cocoa accounted for 35 percent. Other important export products of the country are timber, diamond, bauxite, manganese ore, aluminum and tuna (Boateng, 1960; Dickson and Benneh, 1970; CIA, 1999).

The population of the country consists of many different ethnic groups which are

Figure 4.2  
 Ghana: Administrative Regions and Regional Capitals



Source: Department of Geography and Resource Development, University of Ghana, Legon.

distinguished along language, cultural practices and belief systems lines. European and other foreigners constitute only about 0.2 percent of Ghana's population. There are over 17 different major ethnic groups, the majority of which are the Akans who are made up of the Akyems, Kwahus, Asantes, Fantis, Nzimas and Akwapims. This group constitutes about 44 percent of the population. Other major ethnic groups are the Moshi-Dagombas – 16%, Ewes – 13%, Ga-Adangbes – 8%, Mamprusis, Grushies and Gurmas (Hall, 1983; CIA, 1999). The ethnic groups are concentrated in certain regions within the ten administrative regions of the country. For example, the Fantis are found in the Central Region, the Ga-Adangbes in the Greater Accra Region, the Akyems, Kwahus and Akwapims in the Eastern Region, the Nzimas in the Western Region, Asantes in the Ashanti Region and the Mole-Dagbanis, Mamprusis, Grushies and Gurmas in the Northern regions.

The various ethnic groups have their own languages and dialects. In all, about 40 indigenous languages are spoken in the country with Twi, widely spoken by the Akans, being the most commonly spoken language (Hall, 1983; Dolphyne and Dakubu, 1988). As a former British colony, English is, however, the official language of Ghana and is, therefore, the medium of instruction in schools. According to 1995 estimates, the literacy rate of the country, defined as the population aged 15 and over who can read and write, is 64.5 percent – 75.9% for males and 53.5% for females (CIA, 1999).

The family, of which the extended family is an integral part, is an important unit of the Ghanaian traditional set up. Due to the important place of the extended family in the family set up, one's uncles, nephews and nieces are, usually, as important to him/her as one's nuclear family. Family properties like land and farms are held in trust by elders on behalf of the whole family. The elderly, who are highly respected, are responsible for distributing the use of family property among

its members (Opoku-Dapaah, 1993).

#### **4.3 Political and Economic Conditions in Ghana**

The massive movements of Ghanaians to other countries, especially during the 1980s, can be linked in part to the political and economic conditions prevailing in the country at the time. Since independence, Ghana has gone through periods of civilian and military political administrations.

On December 31, 1981, a group of junior military officers led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings seized power from the ruling civilian government in a coup d'etat and formed a new military regime to rule the country – Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC). The constitution was suspended and the PNDC ruled mainly through decrees. For a period of about ten years between 1981 and 1991 during which the PNDC was in power, there were many human rights abuses like repression, harassment and imprisonment without trial against people deemed to be enemies of the regime.

This period ushered in a 'revolutionary era' into Ghana's history during which various revolutionary organs of intimidation and repression were formed to carry out the wishes of the military regime. An example are the public tribunals which were set up to by-pass the traditional court system. Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDRs) were also formed to serve as channels of political communication, agents of community development, informants of anti-revolutionary activities and overseers of the distribution of goods and services. These organs of the revolution conducted their own trials and punished convicted offenders without regard for legally laid down procedures and regulations. In addition, Citizens Vetting Committees were set up to screen the assets and economic activities of people suspected of profiteering, corruption and tax

evasion (Opoku-Dapaah, 1993). This led to the arbitrary seizure of people's properties which were then appropriated for the use of the military regime. Furthermore, repressive laws such as PNDC Law 4, the Preventative Custody Law, which allowed the arrest and indefinite detention without trial of people thought to have engaged in activities which are detrimental to national security, were passed and enforced rigorously. There was also the infamous PNDC Law 11 which was used to muzzle the press and effectively silenced news reports which were critical of the government (Pellow and Chazam, 1986; Hansen, 1991; Shillington, 1992).

The effect of all this was that a number of people, fearing for their lives, fled the country to seek refuge in other countries.

In addition to the unstable political conditions during the 1980s, the bad economic situation in Ghana also did not help matters. From the 1970s onwards, Ghana's economy began to face difficulties with declines in gross domestic product, rising unemployment, high inflation and declines in real wages (Rothchild, 1991). The bad economic situation was the reason why the PNDC took over power in 1981. To combat the economic decline, the PNDC embarked on a programme of economic recovery. With the support of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), a Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was put into place. Some of the effects of this programme was that the local currency, cedi, was devalued to 5.5 percent of its prior nominal value (Opoku-Dapaah, 1993). Government controlled prices on imported goods were suspended and subsidies on products and government services were removed. This resulted in very high prices for basic goods and services like electricity, health care and water. Furthermore, as part of SAP, thousands of workers were laid off in the civil service and state owned corporations (Herbst, 1991). The economic crisis faced by people due to unemployment, high prices and declining real wages made life very difficult

for a large section of the Ghanaian population. A survey of the living standards of Ghanaians in the 1980s found that about 36 percent of the people lived below the poverty line (Boateng et al., 1990).

In addition to the unstable political conditions, the harsh economic situation led a large number of people to emigrate from the country to other countries in search of 'greener pastures'. Historically, Ghanaians who moved outside the country went to other neighbouring countries like Togo, Cote D'Ivoire and Nigeria and some European countries, notably, Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium. Over the past two decades or so, Canada has become an important destination country for Ghanaians due to its more open refugee and general immigration policy.

#### **4.4 Ghanaian Immigration to Canada – A Historical Analysis**

Ghanaians are among the earliest group of Black Africans to come to Canada (Naidoo, 1985). Ghanaian immigration to Canada is, however, very recent. According to Naidoo (1985), there were about 100 Ghanaian immigrants in Canada during the 1970s. The arrival of new Ghanaians remained very small throughout the 1970s, averaging less than 150 per annum but it began to increase substantially in the early 1980s. At the time of the 1991 population Census, there were about 11,065 Ghanaians in Canada (Statistics Canada, 1992) and the number had increased to 14,940 by the 1996 Census (Statistics Canada, 1999). The provincial distribution of the Ghanaian population in 1991 and 1996 shows an uneven distribution of Ghanaians in the various provinces (Table 4.1).

**Table 4.1****Provincial Distribution of Ghanaians in Canada, 1991 and 1996**

Province	Year			
	1991		1996	
	Number	Percentage Of Ghanaians	Number	Percentage Of Ghanaians
Newfoundland	-	-	10	0.1
Prince Edward Island	-	-	-	-
Nova Scotia	45	0.4	45	0.3
New Brunswick	50	0.5	35	0.2
Quebec	1,870	16.9	1,755	11.7
Ontario	8,115	73.3	11,110	74.4
Manitoba	75	0.7	215	1.4
Saskatchewan	120	1.1	375	2.5
Alberta	455	4.1	630	4.2
British Columbia	335	3.0	755	5.1
Yukon	-	-	-	-
Northwest Territories	-	-	10	0.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>11,065</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>14,940</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Statistics Canada, 1992; 1999.

The provincial distribution of Ghanaian immigrants in 1991 and 1996 shows a similar trend to that of the distribution of Canada's immigrant population as a whole, with the bulk of the population concentrated in Ontario, Quebec, Alberta and British Columbia. In 1991, 73.3 percent of Ghanaians lived in Ontario (54.5% of immigrant population), 16.8 percent in Quebec (13.6%), 4.1 percent in Alberta (8.7%) and 3 percent in British Columbia (16.6%). The other provinces had less than 1 percent Ghanaian population or none at all (Statistics Canada, 1993). In 1996, the

distribution of Ghanaians was essentially the same as that of 1991, with the four provinces housing about 95 percent of the Ghanaian population in Canada. Ontario was still, by far, the leading province of residence for Ghanaians, with a slightly higher proportion of 74.4 percent and Quebec was still in second place, however, its proportion of Ghanaians had reduced to 11.7 percent. British Columbia had overtaken Alberta as the third leading province for Ghanaian residence, with a proportion of 5.1 percent; Alberta had a proportion of 4.2 percent of Ghanaians in Canada. The other provinces still had very small proportions of Ghanaians (Statistics Canada, 1999). In general terms, the provincial distribution of Ghanaians during the 1996 Census is similar to that of the general African population in Canada, as can be seen in Table 4.2 below.

**Table 4.2**

**Provincial Distribution of Africans in Canada, 1996**

<b>Province</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Newfoundland	150	0.2
Prince Edward Island	75	0.1
Nova Scotia	5,035	6.7
New Brunswick	880	1.2
Quebec	14,890	19.7
Ontario	40,875	54.2
Manitoba	1,540	2.0
Saskatchewan	780	1.0
Alberta	4,480	5.9
British Columbia	6,605	8.8
Yukon	70	0.1
Northwest Territories	60	0.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>75,440</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Statistics Canada, 1999.



Just as in the Ghanaian population, Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia and Alberta, in that order, serve as the leading areas of residence for Africans, with Ontario being home to more than half of the African population. However, Ghanaians show a higher concentration in Ontario (74%) than the African population (54%). The African population, on the other hand, shows a higher concentration in Quebec, British Columbia and Alberta than the Ghanaian population. Overall, while about 95 percent of the Ghanaian population are concentrated in the four provinces, the corresponding proportion for the African population is 89 percent (Statistics Canada, 1999).

At the level of Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs), Ghanaians are highly concentrated in a few CMAs, which is similar to the general trend for recent immigrants. In 1991, about 64 percent of Ghanaian immigrants lived in the CMAs of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, compared to 66 percent of all recent immigrants – those who came between 1981-1991. The Toronto CMA has the vast majority of Ghanaian immigrants in Canada. There were 7,225 Ghanaians living in Metropolitan Toronto and the Region of Peel (65.2% of total Ghanaian immigrant population in Canada). The Ghanaian immigrant population in Metropolitan Toronto forms more than 90 percent of the Ghanaian population in Ontario (Owusu, 1996). The 1996 Census showed a similar trend, with the CMAs of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver as the leading areas of residence for Ghanaians. The Toronto metropolitan area and the Region of Peel had the highest concentration of Ghanaians, with 9,540 of Ghanaians living in the area (63.9% of the Ghanaian population in Canada). The Montreal area had 1,625 Ghanaians (10.9% of Ghanaians in Canada) while the Vancouver area had 685 (4.6% of Ghanaians). Together, these three CMAs contained about 79 percent of the Ghanaian population in Canada at the time of the 1996 Census (Statistics Canada, 1999).

The distribution of Ghanaians in Metropolitan Toronto during the 1991 Census shows that

the majority of Ghanaians live in the old Suburban areas of the Toronto CMA, especially North York, Etobicoke and Scarborough, with relatively small proportions in the City of Toronto and East York. Out of a total of 7,225 Ghanaians in Metropolitan Toronto and the Region of Peel in 1991, 68.4 percent were living in the older suburbs (North York, Etobicoke and Scarborough), 19.5 percent in the newer suburbs (Brampton and Mississauga) and 12 percent in the central cities (Toronto, East York and York) (Owusu, 1996). The 1996 Census shows a similar distribution for Ghanaians in the Toronto area, with North York, Etobicoke, Scarborough and Mississauga having the highest concentrations of the population, as can be seen in Table 4.3 below.

**Table 4.3**

**Distribution of Ghanaians in Metropolitan Toronto by Municipality, 1996**

<b>Municipality</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Toronto	615	6.4
York	510	5.3
East York	15	0.2
North York	3,310	34.7
Etobicoke	1,880	19.7
Scarborough	1,220	12.8
Mississauga	1,040	10.9
Brampton	950	9.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>9,540</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Statistics Canada, 1999.

By the 1996 Census, the majority of Ghanaians in the Toronto area, 34.7 percent, lived in North York, followed by Etobicoke, 19.7 percent, Scarborough, 12.8 percent and Mississauga, 10.9 percent. Figure 4.3 shows the distribution of the Ghanaian population in Metropolitan Toronto

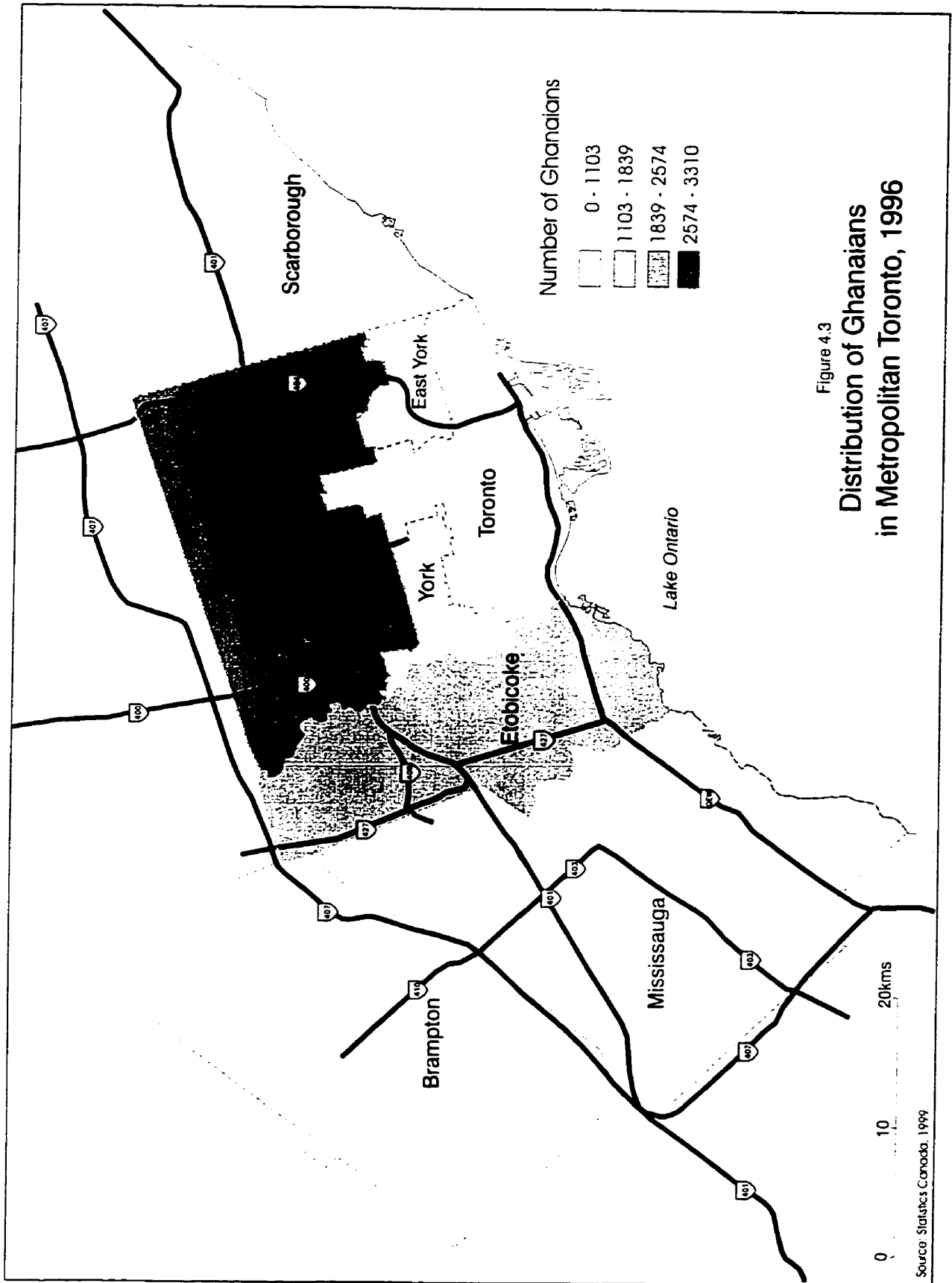


Figure 4.3  
**Distribution of Ghanaians  
 in Metropolitan Toronto, 1996**

during the 1996 Census.

In his study of the Ghanaian immigrant group in the Toronto area, Owusu (1996) found that at the neighbourhood level, Ghanaians exhibit a high degree of concentration in specific neighbourhoods. In 1994, four Census Tracts (292, 250.03, 316.02 and 237.01)<sup>2</sup>, together, accounted for about 25.3 percent of all Ghanaian households in Metropolitan Toronto (Figure 4.4). There were two Census Tracts with a heavy concentration of Ghanaians (over 100 households), four tracts with moderate concentration of Ghanaians (51-100 households), 10 Census Tracts with low concentration (21-50 households), 17 Census Tracts with very low concentrations (10-20 households) and 237 Census Tracts with fewer than five Ghanaian households each (Owusu, 1996). At the micro-scale, Owusu (1996) further found that Ghanaians are even more heavily concentrated within a small number of enumeration areas and in particular buildings. In 1994, about 10.6 percent of the total number of households lived in only four enumeration areas located in the Chalkfarm area (see CT 292, Figure 4.4), while 8 percent were concentrated in five enumeration areas in the Kipling/Finch corridor (see CT 250.03, Figure 4.4). Overall, about 30 percent of all Ghanaian households were concentrated in only 17 enumeration areas (Owusu, 1996).

The distribution of Ghanaians in Metropolitan Toronto by Census Tract during the 1996 Census shows that the four census tracts are among those with the highest concentration of Ghanaians. There were 285 Ghanaians in CT 292.00, 265 in CT 250.03, 200 in CT 316.02 and 310

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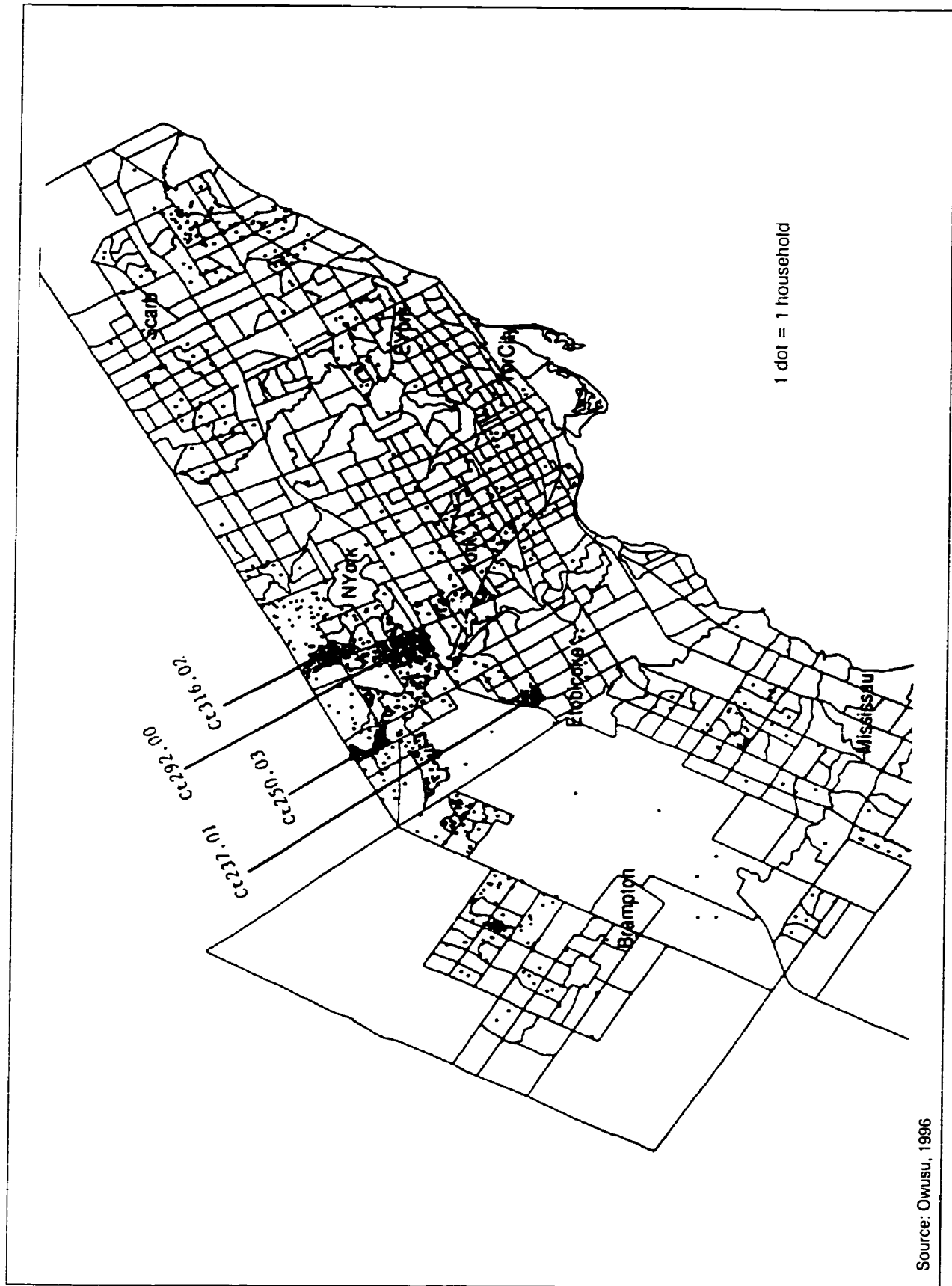
<sup>2</sup>The boundaries of the Census Tracts are:

CT 292.00 – Sheppard Av. (north), Jane St. (east), Hwy 401 (south) and Hwy 400 (west).

CT 250.03 – Kipling Av. (west), Steeles Av. (north), Finch Av. (south) and Humber River (east).

CT 316.02 – Jane St. (east), Finch Av. (south) and Black Creek River (north and west).

CT 237.01 – Hwy 427 (west), Hwy 401 (north), Martin Grove Road (east) and Eglinton Avenue (south). (Owusu, 1996).



Source: Owusu, 1996

Figure 4.4 Distribution of Ghanaians in Metropolitan Toronto by Census Tract, 1994

in CT 237.01<sup>3</sup>. The Census Tract with the highest concentration of Ghanaians in 1996 is CT 563.01 (around the Knightsbridge Road area in Brampton) which had 335 people (Statistics Canada, 1999). The distribution of the Ghanaian population in Metropolitan Toronto during the 1996 Census of population is shown in Figure 4.3.

#### 4.5 Ghanaian Immigrants in Toronto: A Demographic Profile

This section provides a demographic as well as a socio-economic overview of the Ghanaian immigrant group in Toronto and contrasts that with the socio-economic characteristics of the population of the Toronto CMA as a whole.

Like the total Ghanaian group in Canada, the Ghanaian immigrant group in Toronto is of recent origin, as shown in Table 4.4 below.

**Table 4.4**

**Ghanaian Immigrants in Metropolitan Toronto by Period of Immigration, 1991**

<b>Period of Arrival</b>	<b>No. of Ghanaians</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Percentage, All immigrants</b>
Before 1961	25	0.4	21.3
1961-1970	55	0.7	19.7
1971-1980	765	10.7	25.7
1981-1991	6,295	88.2	33.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>7,140</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Statistics Canada (1994) Ghana: Target Group Profile, 1991 Census.

From the table, it can be seen that of the total Ghanaian population in Metropolitan Toronto and the Region of Peel, only 1 percent arrived before 1971, 10.7 percent came between 1971 and

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<sup>3</sup> These counts are of individuals, not households.

1981 while the vast majority, 88.1 percent came between 1981 and 1991. On the other hand, about 50 percent of the total immigrant population of Toronto arrived before 1971, while 25.7 percent came between 1971 and 1980 and 33.2 percent between 1981 and 1991. The recent nature of their arrival in Canada will have some implications for the extent of the adaptation of the Ghanaian group into Toronto's economy.

A breakdown of the Ghanaian immigrant group in Toronto shows that they fall primarily into three classes – refugees, family sponsored and independent immigrants. Table 4.5 provides a breakdown of Ghanaian immigrants who arrived in the Toronto area between 1980 and 1992.

**Table 4.5**

**Ghanaian Arrival in Metropolitan Toronto by Immigrant Class, 1980-1992**

<b>Immigrant Class</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Family/Assisted Relative	1,366	40.6
Refugee	1,005	30.0
Independent	980	29.1
Entrepreneur/Self-employed	11	0.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,364</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Ethnocultural Data Centre/Employment and Immigration Canada, 1994.

The majority of the Ghanaian population who came to Toronto between 1980 and 1992 were sponsored by relatives who were already in Toronto while a fair proportion came as either refugees or independent immigrants (admitted mainly on the basis of their education, skills and occupations). Only an insignificant proportion of them came as business immigrants.

Table 4.6 provides information on the age and gender composition of the Ghanaian immigrant group against a backdrop of the total immigrant population of the Toronto region.

**Table 4.6**

**Age and Sex Characteristics of Ghanaian Immigrants  
In Metropolitan Toronto, 1991**

	<b>Percentage of Ghanaians</b>	<b>Percentage, Toronto Immigrants</b>
<b>Age</b>		
15-24	1.0	14.2
25-44	75.4	35.9
45-64	5.0	20.0
Over 65	0.2	10.7
<b>Sex</b>		
Male	61.3	49.0
Female	38.7	51.0

**Source:** Statistics Canada (1994) Profile of Ghanaians, Profile of Census Tracts in Toronto.

The table shows some differences in age and sex distribution between the Ghanaian immigrant group and the immigrant population of the Toronto area as a whole. With regards to the age distribution, the highest proportion of Ghanaians (75.4%) are between the ages of 25 to 44 years. This compares to about 36 percent for the Toronto population. On the other hand, the proportion of Ghanaians in the young (1%) and old (0.2%) populations are much smaller than that of Toronto's population (14.2% and 10.7% respectively). The predominance of young people in the Ghanaian group is in line with traditional migration trends which show that young people form the bulk of national and international migration streams. It is also a reflection of Canada's immigration policy which tends to favour young people.

The gender distribution shows a vast proportion of Ghanaians to be males, in contrast to the population of the Toronto region which has a slightly higher proportion of females. This is also a reflection of migration trends which are generally dominated by males. Usually, males move to a new place first and when they settle down, their spouses and children join them.



Table 4.7 portrays the economic standing of the Ghanaian population, compared to that of the total immigrant population of the Toronto CMA.

**Table 4.7**

**Education, Occupation and Income Characteristics  
of Ghanaian Immigrants in Metropolitan Toronto, 1991**

	<b>Percentage of Ghanaians</b>	<b>Percentage, Toronto Immigrants</b>
<b>Education</b>		
Less than Grade 9	4.7	11.2
Grade 9-13	47.8	37.2
Trade/Diploma/non-Univ.	34.0	24.2
University	7.2	16.6
<b>Occupation</b>		
Managerial/Administrative	4.2	16.4
Professional	7.5	18.0
Clerical	14.2	18.5
Sales	4.2	10.1
Service	11.4	11.9
Primary Occupation	0.8	0.6
Processing/Machining/Fabri- cating	40.9	11.1
Construction	6.0	3.8
Transport	10.8	2.8
<b>Income (Average)</b>		
Males	\$21,251	\$35,799
Females	\$15,721	\$21,855
Total	\$18,486	\$28,814

**Notes:** Income data represents average employment income of persons who worked either full year, full time, part time or part year.

**Source:** Statistics Canada (1994) Profile of Ghanaians, Profile of Census Tracts in Toronto, Statistics Canada (1993) Income Statistics.

The educational distribution shows that in 1991, the proportion of Ghanaians with a university education was lower than that for the immigrant population of Toronto as a whole (7.2% compared to 16.6%). On the other hand, the proportion of Ghanaians with low levels of education

is much lower than that for Toronto's population (4.7% compared to 11.2%). This might partly reflect the influence of immigration policies which give weight to educational qualifications.

The occupational distribution shows a comparative over-representation of Ghanaians in processing, machining and fabricating occupations and an under-representation in managerial, administrative and professional occupations. While 4.2 percent and 7.5 percent of Ghanaians were employed in managerial/administrative and professional occupations respectively, the corresponding proportion for Toronto's population were 16.4 percent and 18 percent. On the other hand, while the majority of Ghanaians (41 percent) are in processing, machining and fabricating occupations only a small proportion of Toronto's population (11 percent) are engaged in these occupations. Moreover, the data on income distribution shows that in 1991, on average, Ghanaians earned much less than the population of Toronto as a whole. While Ghanaians, as a group, earned an average of around \$18,000, the Toronto population earned an average of about \$28,000. There are also gender differences which show Ghanaian males and females earning less than their counterparts in the general population.

The relatively low occupational status and low incomes of the Ghanaian population may be due to a number of factors. While it may be a reflection of their relatively lower levels of education and problems involved in transferring their educational qualifications to Canada (Adelman, 1994; Roy, 1997), it may also be due to constraints faced by them in the labour market due to their being recent immigrants and members of a racial minority. Studies in Canada have shown the concentration of visible minorities and recent immigrants in service, clerical and unskilled manual occupations (Lautard and Guppy, 1990; Reitz, 1990; Moreu, 1991). Other studies have also shown that in contrast to the Canadian-born and other foreign-born, visible minority populations have much

lower earnings, even after controlling for education and other factors (Hecht, 1985; Sloan and Vaillancourt, 1994; Murdie, 1995; Balakrishnan, 1995).

The socio-economic characteristics of the Ghanaian population have important implications for their adaptation to Metropolitan Toronto's economy. It will influence the extent to which they will be able to partake in the various patterns and processes of the Toronto area, some of which are discussed in the rest of the paper, starting from Chapter six.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses how the data used to explore the objectives set out for this study was obtained. It describes the types of data used in the study, how they were collected and also sets out how the data were analyzed in order to explore the research questions.

#### **5.2 Sources of Data**

The study relied on both primary and secondary sources of data. The secondary data were obtained primarily from government documents, books, journal articles and web sites. Census reports form an important component of the secondary data used for the study. Census tract labour force performance data and data on other variables like age, gender, education and year of immigration on the immigrant population of Metropolitan Toronto as well as on Ghanaians from the 1991 and 1996 Census reports were used to set the background for the study. Individual level census data from the three percent individual public use microdata files for 1996 were also used for the background analysis. Data on labour force activity, journey to work and home ownership, among other things, from the individual public use micro data files were used to provide a description of various ethnic groups in the Toronto area, as a means of comparison with the sample used for this study.

A special statistical profile of Ghanaians living in Metropolitan Toronto, based on the 1991 population census, from statistics Canada was also used to provide background information about the total Ghanaian immigrant population in Metropolitan Toronto. This data contains information

on various social, economic and demographic variables including period of immigration, class of immigrants, age, gender, marital status, types of occupation and incomes. This provides essential background information about the general Ghanaian population in the Toronto area, which serves as a base for the examination of the sample used for this study.

Though the information from the secondary sources was very useful, the need for more detailed information about the labour market experiences of the target group necessitated the collection of primary data at the micro-level.

### **5.3 Collection of Primary Data**

The study focuses on people of Ghanaian parentage, who were born and raised in Ghana and who emigrated to Canada as adults either directly from Ghana or through another country. Only Ghanaians who had been resident in Toronto for at least one year at the time of the study were included in the sample. It is assumed that by this time, they would have settled down in their new home and have had the chance to test the labour market.

The primary data were obtained mainly through interviews with Ghanaians in the labour market and owners of Ghanaian businesses. The interviews were conducted in both English and Twi, the language spoken by the majority of Ghanaians.

Initially, field observation of the Ghanaian community in Metropolitan Toronto was essential in gaining insights into the behavioural practices of immigrants in a new social context. Personal observations and interactions were carried out among members of the Ghanaian community (by joining them at group meetings, social functions like out-doorings<sup>4</sup>, funerals and parties) in order to

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<sup>4</sup> Child-naming ceremonies.

learn about their economic endeavours, social activities and other characteristics. The researcher's Ghanaian background made it easy to gain access into the community under study. On the other hand, it could also be a disadvantage as it may introduce certain biases. However, utmost effort was made to ensure that any preconceived ideas and biases would not cloud the analysis of the results obtained from the field.

Interviews were conducted with a sampled group of respondents to obtain information about their experiences, with particular emphasis on their economic integration into Metropolitan Toronto's economy. It formed the major source of data for this research. Unfortunately, there is no readily available list of Ghanaians in Metropolitan Toronto so developing a suitable sampling frame was a big methodological challenge for the study. A sampling procedure was developed in a way which made it possible to capture a fair cross-section of the Ghanaian population in the Toronto area. Firstly, Bell Canada telephone directories for Metropolitan Toronto were used to compile the residential location of Ghanaian households. Subscribers with distinctive Ghanaian surnames were identified and selected from the telephone directories. The use of surnames to identify Ghanaians in the telephone directories is quite efficient and reliable because Ghanaian surnames are quite unique and easy to identify by the initiated. Moreover, the strategy has been used by other researchers and it has been shown to be effective (see, for example, Sheskin, 1985; Owusu, 1996; Allen and Turner, 1996b; Kaplan, 1997). It must, however, be pointed out that some Ghanaians may have been missed by the use of this method. Notable among this group are Ghanaian women married to non-Ghanaians who have adopted their husbands' names. It was, however, expected that the affected people would be small and hence would have no significant impact on the representativeness of the sample drawn. Researchers who have used this method (e.g. Owusu, 1996)

have indicated that it is one of the most effective methods of sampling design for small, fairly recently arrived immigrant groups like the Ghanaian community in Metropolitan Toronto.

Additional strategies were also used to increase the sampling frame. Membership lists were obtained from various Ghanaian Associations (ethnic, cultural, religious and professional groups) in the Toronto area. At the initial stages of the field work, the researcher visited Ghanaian associations in Metropolitan Toronto to introduce himself and the study to the members and asked for their help in establishing a sample list. The membership lists of some of the groups were obtained and some respondents were drawn from them. Furthermore, the researcher asked the permission of the owners of some Ghanaian shops in the Toronto area to meet their customers when they came to shop. Customers who had time were interviewed in person after their shopping. For those who did not have enough time, their telephone numbers were obtained and they were called later on and interviewed. Another group of respondents was obtained through snow ball sampling, where people introduced the researcher to some of their friends and colleagues. The combination of these different methods provided a good cross-section sample of the Ghanaian population in Metropolitan Toronto.

For the purposes of the analysis, which seeks to determine the extent to which the theory of spatial assimilation applies to the Ghanaian immigrant group in Metropolitan Toronto, there was the need to identify, up-front, the main area of Ghanaian concentration in the city. Then, there was the need to further identify other areas of Ghanaian concentration in the city, based on distance from this main area of Ghanaian concentration. This was to enable us to determine whether respondents living in the main area of Ghanaian concentration have different socio-economic characteristics from those living away from the main Ghanaian concentration. If the theory of spatial assimilation were to apply to the Ghanaian group, it would be expected that the farther one moves away from the main area of

Ghanaian concentration, the better would be the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents. It was decided to delineate three zones of Ghanaian concentration in Metropolitan Toronto for this study – the main Ghanaian concentration, another zone of Ghanaian concentration close by and a third zone much farther away. Based on population Census reports, it was determined that the majority of the Ghanaian population in Metropolitan Toronto are based in North York (see Figures 4.3 and 4.4 in the previous Chapter). This main area of Ghanaian concentration served as the basis of the first zone which was defined as the Core Concentration. Two other zones were then defined based on accessibility or distance from the core concentration. The area closest to the Core concentration was designated as the Semi-core Concentration while the area farthest away was defined as the Periphery (Figure 5)<sup>5</sup>. This was done so that spatial differentiations in occupational and related socio-economic characteristics among the respondents could be analyzed. The idea for the delineation of the three zones was obtained from the work of Allen and Turner (1996a).

The interviews were done with the help of a questionnaire (Appendix 1). To maximize response rates and to improve accuracy of responses, the questionnaire was structured in such a way that the questions could be easily understood (Babbie, 1990; Casey and Lury, 1981). Attempts were made to avoid ambiguous questions and also to keep the questionnaire as short as possible. The questionnaire was initially tested in a pilot study involving 20 Ghanaians in the Toronto area after

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<sup>5</sup>The Core Concentration is centred around Jane Street/Finch Avenue/Sheppard Avenue/Wilson Avenue area as well as Kipling Avenue/Finch Avenue and Albion Road/Weston Road areas in North York.

The Semi-core Concentration is centred around Lawrence Avenue/Morningside Avenue and Kingston Road/Markham Road areas in Scarborough.

The Periphery is centered around the Knightsbridge Road area in Brampton and Hurontario/Burnhamthorpe Road/Dundas Road area in Mississauga.



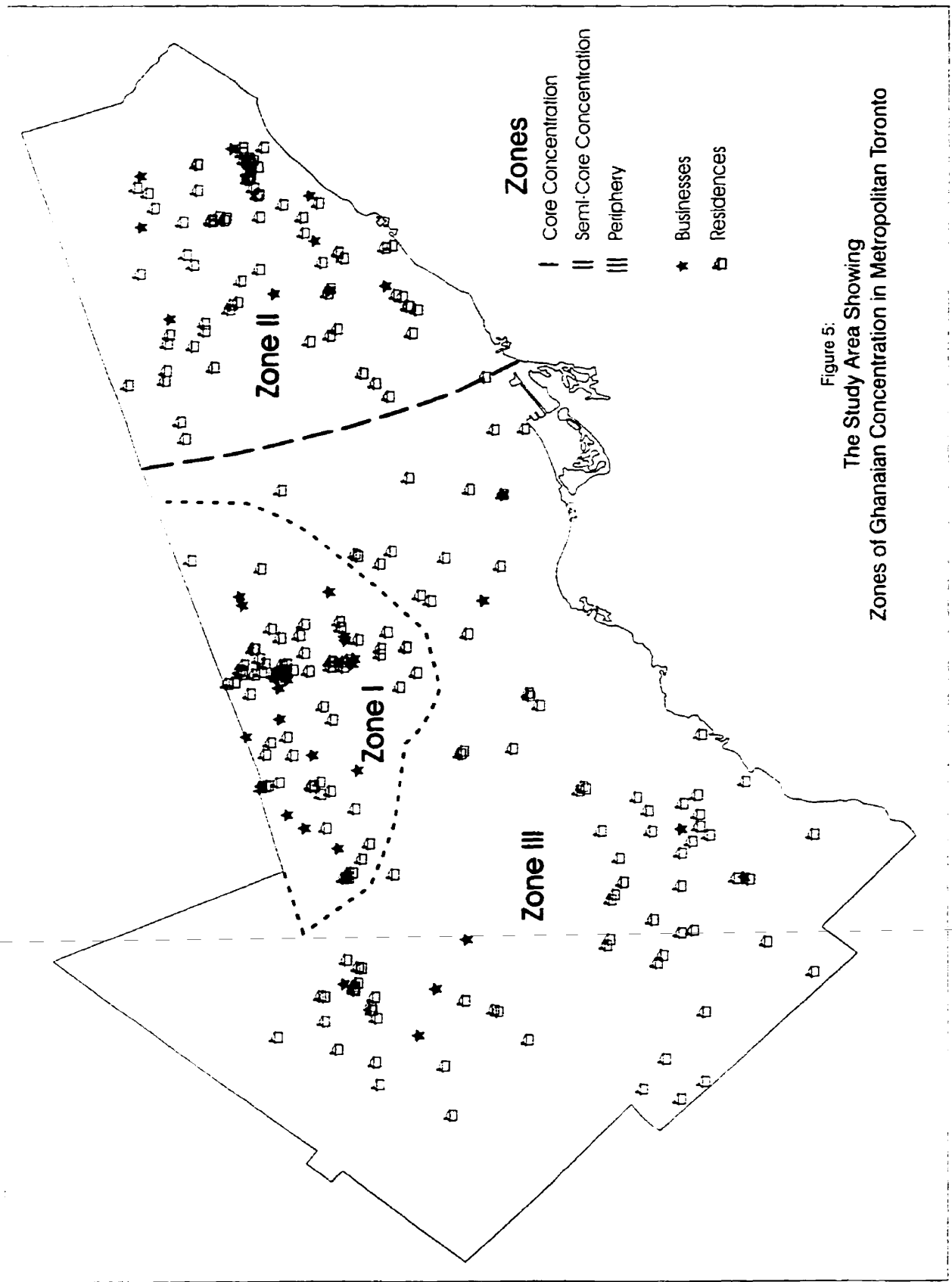


Figure 5:  
 The Study Area Showing  
 Zones of Ghanaian Concentration in Metropolitan Toronto

which some modifications were made before the main field work began.

The main field work was done in Metropolitan Toronto from May to October, 1998 and January to February, 1999. A sample was drawn from each of the three identified zones of Ghanaian concentration to take part in the study. Most interviews were done over the telephone, while others were done in person at Ghanaian shops or in the homes of the respondents and others were handed out to some respondents to fill out and return by themselves. The response rate for this last method was low, as many of the questionnaires were not returned so the method was discontinued. Overall, however, the response rate was very good. In all, 315 questionnaires were administered, out of which 300 were completed. Thirteen of the questionnaires that were handed out were not returned while two had too many unanswered questions and were, therefore, discarded. The 300 completed questionnaires are broken down among the three zones of Ghanaian concentration as follows – Core Concentration, 85; Semi-core Concentration, 100 and the Periphery 115. The distribution of respondents in each of the three zones does not correspond to the distribution of the Ghanaian population in Metropolitan Toronto<sup>6</sup> so, proportionally, it is not an accurate spatial sample of the Ghanaian population in the city. This might introduce some bias into the analysis. It is, however, a reflection of the ease with which respondents were obtained in each of the three zones (willingness to take part in the study) so it is the best that could be done under the circumstances.

The study employed households as the unit of analysis. In each household, the main bread winner was used as the respondent to the questionnaire. In most cases, this turned out to be the husband. However, some information was obtained about individuals in each household who, in one

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<sup>6</sup>North York, where the Core concentration is located, has the highest proportion of Ghanaians in Metropolitan Toronto (please see Table 4.3 on page 99), however, in the sample it has the lowest proportion of respondents.

way or another, contributes to the household economy.

A second set of questionnaires dealt with Ghanaian owned businesses in Metropolitan Toronto (Appendix 2). In connection with this, the owners of some Ghanaian businesses in the Toronto area were also contacted for information on the operation of their businesses. The businesses were identified and selected from the 1997-1998 Ghanaian Businesses and Professionals of Canada Business Directory and also, with the help of the Ghanaian Professionals and Businesses of Canada, an association of Ghanaian professionals and people involved in business. The *Ghanaian News*, a monthly newspaper for the Ghanaian community in Metropolitan Toronto was used to verify the current status of the businesses selected from the Ghanaian business directory. In all, the owners of 40 Ghanaian businesses in the Toronto area were contacted and agreed to take part in the study. The 40 businesses were split evenly between the two main types of Ghanaian businesses found in Metropolitan Toronto – Retail/Wholesale businesses, 20 and Service businesses, 20. About 180 businesses are listed in the 1997-1998 Ghanaian Businesses and Professionals of Canada Business Directory of which about 55 percent are Service businesses. However, the Retail/Wholesale businesses enjoy big support among members of the Ghanaian community in terms of patronage so it was decided that it was appropriate to have an even split among the two types of businesses in the sample. The 40 businesses which took part in the study were grouped by location into the three zones of Ghanaian concentration identified for this study as follows – Core Concentration, 22; Semi-core Concentration, 10 and Periphery, 8. This distribution is a rough representation of the location of businesses listed in the Ghanaian business directory, which shows the majority of the businesses located in the areas defined as the Primary concentration for this study. The majority of the interviews for the business owners were done in person at the shops while some were done over

telephone.

#### **5.4 Analysis of Data**

Similar to the collection of data, a variety of techniques, both quantitative and qualitative, were used to explore the research questions. The data obtained was analyzed, using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The first level of analysis used frequency tables to describe the distribution of the various variables under study. At a second higher level, comparisons between different variables and also differences in responses among the three zones of Ghanaian concentration identified for the study are presented in the form of contingency tables and the statistical significance of observed differences are tested by conventional chi-square tests. This mode of analysis applies to both the individual respondents and business owners. Based on the background and the expertise of the researcher, as well as the main thrust of the thesis, it was considered that this level of analysis was enough to bring out any observed zonal differences. It must be pointed out, however, that there are other ways by which the spatial patterns observed within the study group could have been analyzed. These include nearest-neighbour analysis and simple cluster analysis, involving small clusters within zones. The clusters could be defined by characteristics such as education, occupation and period of immigration, among others.

While the quantitative analysis allow for statistical descriptions and inferences, they are not sufficient to thoroughly explore the depth and complexities of the economic activities of the respondents. The observations of respondents are important in understanding the totality of their experience. In a few instances, therefore, a qualitative interpretation of responses is used to complement the quantitative methods as a means of providing a more in-depth analysis of the

responses. Direct quotes are not used; instead a summary of the comments and observations made by the respondents during conversations with them is provided. The combination of both quantitative and qualitative techniques has been shown to be useful in the analysis of research data. Insights resulting from qualitative analysis have been shown to be indispensable complements to those depicted by statistical tabulations (Park, 1993; Ley, 1988; Eyles, 1988).

Having described how the data for the study were obtained and analyzed, the rest of the paper is devoted to the analysis of the data obtained from the field work. Chapter six provides background information on the respondents and their migration patterns and initial settlement into the Toronto area. Chapter seven discusses the labour market activity of the respondents while Chapter eight dwells on self-employment among the respondents. Chapter nine then “brings the curtain down” by providing an overview of the study and the concluding comments.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **MIGRATION PATTERNS AND INITIAL SETTLEMENT OF THE GHANAIAN IMMIGRANT GROUP IN TORONTO**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

The rest of the dissertation concentrates on the analyses of the data obtained from the field work. This chapter deals with a discussion of the patterns of migration flow of the study group to Canada and their initial settlement in Metropolitan Toronto. The next two chapters are devoted to the labour market activities of the Ghanaian community in Toronto.

The present chapter is divided into three main parts. The first part gives a demographic profile of the respondents to the survey while the second part considers the motivations for immigrating to Canada and the patterns of migration of the study group. The last part of the chapter discusses issues relating to the initial settlement of the respondents in Toronto. Since the study seeks to determine spatial variations in the economic adaptation of the study group, the various variables under discussion are broken down, where appropriate, into the three identified zones of Ghanaian concentration (Core concentration, Semi-core Concentration and Periphery) for further discussion. The respondents are people of Ghanaian parentage, born and raised in Ghana, who emigrated to Canada as adults either directly from Ghana or through another country and had been in Canada for, at least, one year at the time of the study.

#### **6.2 Demographic Profile of Respondents**

This section provides information on age and gender distribution, marital status, household composition and educational levels of the respondents to the survey.

### 6.2.1 Age Distribution

The data on the age distribution of respondents are presented in Table 6.1 below.

**Table 6.1**

<b>Age Range of Respondents</b>		
<b>Age Group</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
20-29	27	9.0
30-39	138	46.0
40-49	111	37.0
50-59	23	7.7
60+	1	.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Field Data

From the table, it can be seen that the vast majority of respondents (83%) are aged between 30 and 49 years. There are smaller proportions of respondents in their twenties and fifties. There was only one respondent aged sixty years and above. The age distribution of the respondents is quite similar to that of the total Ghanaian immigrant population in Metropolitan Toronto as discussed in section 4.4 of Chapter 4 (Table 4.6) which shows that the majority of the Ghanaian population, 75.4 percent, are aged between the mid-twenties and mid-forties, with only a small proportion, about 5 percent, aged 45 years and over. While being a fair reflection of the age distribution of the Ghanaian population as a whole, the high proportion of respondents in their thirties and forties might also be due to the fact that the study targeted Ghanaians who are working, as these age groups form the bulk of the labour force population. A breakdown of age distribution by zone of residence suggests that the respondents in the outer zones are relatively older than those in the core concentration. While 39.1 percent of the respondents in the semi-core concentration and the periphery are aged between

50 to 59 years, the core concentration accounts for 30.4 percent of those in this age group. In addition, the sole respondent who is in his sixties lives in the semi-core concentration.

### 6.2.2 Gender Distribution

The majority of the respondents, about 76 percent, are males as revealed in Table 6.2 below.

**Table 6.2**

**Gender Distribution of Respondents**

<b>Gender</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Male	227	75.7
Female	73	24.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Field Data

The gender distribution of the respondents is a fair reflection of the structure of the Ghanaian population in Metropolitan Toronto, which is predominated by males (see Table 4.6 in Chapter 4). This is in line with conventional migration trends which show that, usually, the initial movement of migrants to a new place is undertaken by males who are later joined by their spouses and children. The observed gender distribution is also due to the fact that during the field work, the main bread winner of a household was asked to respond to the questionnaire. In the majority of cases, this turned out to be the husband. A break down of gender distribution by zone of residence shows that 37.4 percent of males live in the core concentration, while 33 percent are found in the semi-core concentration and 29.5 percent in the periphery. The distribution of female respondents, however, shows a reversal of the trend found among males. While 38.4 percent of females are found in the periphery, 34.2 percent of them live in the semi-core concentration and the core concentration has



27.4 percent of females.

### 6.2.3 Marital Status

The marital status of the respondents is shown in the Table 6.3.

**Table 6.3**

**Marital Status of Respondents**

<b>Status</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Married	236	78.7
Single	54	18.0
Separated	3	1.0
Divorced	7	2.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

From the table, it can be seen that the vast majority of the respondents, about 79 percent are married. Only a small proportion are single, separated or divorced. This might be a reflection of traditional Ghanaian values which cherish marriage and family life, as well as the age group of the people involved in the study.

### 6.2.4 Composition of Household

The respondents were asked about who live in their households. The responses obtained are set out in Table 6.4.

**Table 6.4**

**The Composition of the Household of Respondents**

<b>Composition</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Spouse and children	240	80.0
Multi-family (Room-mates)	24	8.0
Only respondent	36	12.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

Considering that the majority of respondents are married, it is not surprising that 80 percent of them said that they live in their homes with their spouses and children. While 12 percent of the respondents live by themselves, 8 percent shared their accommodation with friends. A break down of the composition of household by zone of residence shows an interesting finding for those who share accommodation (a strategy which some immigrants use to cut down on rent costs and to save money). Fifty percent of this group of respondents live in the core concentration while the rest is split evenly between the semi-core concentration and the periphery. The high proportion of people who share accommodation in the core concentration is not surprising because this is where the bulk of the Ghanaian population is found. One is, therefore, bound to be able to find people who would like to share accommodations easily in this area.

**6.2.5 Educational Level**

The data on educational level attained indicates that the respondents are well educated. The table below shows the distribution of the highest educational level attained by the respondents.

**Table 6.5****Level of Education of Respondents**

<b>Level</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Elementary	1	.3
High School	90	29.9
Trade/Diploma/non-Univ.	119	39.8
University	90	30.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

The table shows that about 30 percent of the respondents have, at least, a high school education, with 40 percent having a diploma or trade related education and 30 percent with university level education. Compared to the level of education of the total Ghanaian immigrant population as shown in Table 4.7 in Chapter 4 (University education – 7.2%, Trade/Diploma/non-Univ. – 34%) , the respondents involved in the study have much higher levels of education. This might be due to the fact that as the study targeted working people, it was likely to draw out a higher number of the more educated people in the community. It might also be partly influenced by current immigration policies which lay emphasis on the educational attainments of immigrants, prior to being admitted into the country.

The educational level of the sample compares quite favourably with that of the population of the Toronto area for 1996, as can be seen in Table 6.6.

**Table 6.6****Highest Level of Education by Visible Minority and Non-Visible Minority, Metropolitan Toronto, 1996**

Education	Groups									
	Black		South Asian		Chinese		Other Visible Minority		Non-Visible Minority	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Post Graduate	77	1.8	299	5.7	318	5.4	208	3.0	2,513	5.1
Some Univ. or Graduate	835	19.0	1,637	30.9	2,047	34.9	2,743	39.9	14,792	29.8
Below Univ.	3,480	79.2	3,345	63.3	3,493	59.6	3,931	57.1	32,241	65.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,392</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5,281</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5,858</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>6,882</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49,546</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Public Use Micro Data Files, 1996 Census.

N/B: The Data covers residents of the Toronto area aged 20-64.

The proportion of the respondents of this study who have university education, 30 percent, compares well with the proportion of the various groups which have a similar level of education (Post Grad./Some Univ. or Graduate) – 40.3 percent for the Chinese, 36.6 percent for South Asians, 20.8 percent for Blacks, 42.9 percent for members of other visible minority groups and 34.9 percent for members of the Metropolitan Toronto population who are not visible minorities. The proportion of the sample with university education is higher than that for the Black group, which has the lowest level of education among the various groups in the Toronto area. Overall, the educational levels of visible minorities in Metropolitan Toronto compare favourably with that of non-visible minorities.

### 6.3 Migration Patterns of Respondents

In this section, we discuss issues relating to the motivations for immigration and the various paths followed by the respondents on their journey from Ghana to Canada.

#### 6.3.1 Year of Arrival in Canada

Table 6.7 shows the period in which the respondents arrived in Canada.

**Table 6.7**

#### **Period of Immigration of Respondents**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Up to 1979	45	15.0
1980-1989	186	62.0
1990+	69	23.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Field Data

From the table, it can be seen that the respondents are of recent origin. Eighty five percent of them arrived in Canada from 1980 onwards, with the vast majority, 62 percent, arriving during the 1980s. The second largest group (23%) arrived during the 1990s and a small proportion (15%) arrived in the period up to the 1970s. The distribution of the period of arrival of the respondents is a good reflection of that of the Ghanaian population in the Toronto area as a whole, which is of a recent origin (88% arrived in Canada during the 1980s and beyond), compared to the total immigrant population of Metropolitan Toronto (see Table 4.4). A comparable data for the various groups in the Toronto area during the 1996 Census is shown in Table 6. 8.

**Table 6.8**

**Year of Immigration by Visible Minority and  
Non-Visible Minority, Metropolitan Toronto, 1996**

Year	Groups									
	Black		South Asian		Chinese		Other Visible Minority		Non-Visible Minority	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Before 1961	132	1.3	70	0.6	484	2.8	155	0.8	28,440	5.7
1961-1970	1,104	11.2	894	7.3	1,077	6.3	1,113	5.5	17,079	3.4
1971-1980	2,510	25.6	3,443	28.2	3,450	20.1	4,520	22.2	13,377	2.7
1981-1996	3,721	37.9	6,684	54.8	10,080	58.7	11,803	57.9	13,747	2.7
Canadian Born	2,354	23.9	1,111	9.1	2,080	12.1	2,779	13.6	428,246	85.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>9,821</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>12,202</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>17,171</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>20,370</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>500,889</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Public Use Micro Data Files, 1996 Census.

N/B: The Data covers residents of the Toronto area aged 20-64.

The period of arrival of the sample, and the total Ghanaian immigrant population of the Toronto area, is similar, in general terms, to that of the other visible minority groups in Metropolitan Toronto. For all these groups, the majority of the members arrived in Canada from 1980 onwards – 54.8 percent of South Asians, 58.7 percent of the Chinese, 57.9 percent of members of other visible minority groups and 37.9 percent of Blacks. However, the proportion of the respondents who arrived during the 1980s onwards is much higher than these groups. The majority of the non-visible minority group, 85.5 percent, were born in Canada. Among visible minority groups in the Toronto area, Blacks have been in the country longest with 38.1 percent arriving in the years up to 1980 (compared to 36.1% of South Asians, 29.2% of the Chinese and 28.5% of members of other visible minority groups) and they also have the largest proportion of the Canadian born, 23.9 percent (9.1% of South

Asians, 12.1% of the Chinese and 13.6% of members of other visible minority groups).

The major period of arrival of Ghanaian immigrants to Canada, the 1980s, corresponds to a period in Ghana's history which saw a lot of economic and political hardships which led to the massive influx of Ghanaians to foreign countries in search of 'greener pastures' (section 4.2 in Chapter 4).

### 6.3.2 Age at Time of Arrival in Canada

The data obtained shows that the respondents arrived in Canada at a relatively young age, as shown in Table 6.9.

**Table 6.9**

#### **Age at Time of Arrival in Canada**

<b>Age</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Under 20 years	19	6.3
20-29	196	65.3
30-39	80	26.7
40-49	5	1.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Field Data

About 72 percent of the respondents arrived in Canada before their thirties. The vast majority, 65 percent, arrived in their twenties while about 27 percent arrived in their thirties. Only about 2 percent of the respondents arrived in their forties while about six percent arrived before they reached twenty years. This latter group is likely to consist mostly of children who came to join their parents. The predominance of young people among Ghanaian arrivals in Canada is in line with traditional migration trends which depict that young people form the bulk of national and international migration streams. It is also a reflection of Canada's immigration policy which tends to favour young

people (on the points system, high marks are awarded to applicants who are young).

### 6.3.3 Reasons for Immigrating to Canada

The various factors the respondents gave as being the primary reason that led them to immigrate to Canada are set out in Table 6.10.

**Table 6.10**

#### **Reasons for Immigrating to Canada**

<b>Reason</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Family/Friends in Canada	84	28.0
Economic Advancement/Job	138	46.0
Education	35	11.7
Political	40	13.3
Missing Value	3	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Field Data

The table shows the importance of economic factors which have been shown to be a major reason accounting for the movement of people from place to place. The majority of the respondents, 46 percent, indicated that they immigrated to Canada primarily to seek economic advancement. About 12 percent of the respondents, on the other hand, came to further their education in Canada and stayed on after their graduation. While 28 percent of the respondents came because of their family and friends who were already in the country, about 13 percent of them came because of political reasons. These are people who were admitted into the country as refugees. Three of the respondents were not willing to reveal the reasons why they immigrated to Canada from Ghana.



### 6.3.4 Patterns of Migration Flow

'Geographically indirect' immigration flow, though occurring on a fairly large scale among immigrants to North America, has not received much attention in the literature (Greenwood and Young, 1997). According to Greenwood and Young (1997), this phenomenon occurs when the country of last permanent residence of an immigrant is different from his or her country of birth. In the context of the present study, this occurs when an immigrant lived in another country (apart from Ghana), for some time before moving to Canada. The study, seeking information about the occurrence of this phenomenon among the Ghanaian immigrant group in Metropolitan Toronto, asked the respondents whether they moved directly to Canada from Ghana or if they stayed for some time in another country before coming to Canada. The responses obtained are set out in Table 6.11 below.

**Table 6.11**

#### **Movement to Canada**

<b>Movement Type</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Moved direct to Canada	209	69.7
Lived in another Country	91	30.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Field Data

The table shows that 'geographically indirect' immigration is an important feature of Ghanaian immigration to Canada. While 70 percent of the respondents immigrated to Canada directly from Ghana, 30 percent of them lived in other countries for some time before moving subsequently to Canada. The study probed further by asking about the countries that those who lived outside Ghana before coming to Canada stayed in. Table 6.12 shows the responses obtained.

**Table 6.12**

**Country Lived in Before Canada**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Europe	67	73.6
United States of America	16	17.6
Other African Country	8	8.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Field Data

It can be seen from the table that countries in Europe serve as the most important 'stop-over' countries for Ghanaian immigrants in Metropolitan Toronto, accounting for about 74 percent of the respondents. The countries most frequently mentioned by the respondents as places where they stayed for some time before coming to Canada are Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium. Other countries mentioned are Britain, France, Portugal and Spain. The United States and some African countries (notably neighbouring countries like Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire) were also mentioned as countries in which respondents lived before moving to Canada. The length of time the respondents lived in these countries before coming to Canada ranged mostly from six months to five years, with a few living much longer. When asked why they lived in other countries before coming to Canada, the most commonly given reasons were that it was easier getting visas in Ghana to these countries and, also, that the cost involved in travelling to these countries was much more affordable. A few of them also studied in other countries before coming to Canada. This is in line with the findings of Greenwood's and Young's study (1997) on the patterns of immigration flows to Canada. Having lived in other industrialized countries before coming to Canada, it would seem that quite a sizeable proportion of the Ghanaian immigrant population in Metropolitan Toronto may have already experienced some aspects of the economic, social and cultural environments of industrialized

societies before their arrival in Canada. This background would be of help to them as they seek to adapt to life in Canada. Also important is the fact that the vast majority of the respondents lived in urban areas in Ghana before they left the country, as seen in Table 6.13.

**Table 6.13**

**City Lived in Just Before Leaving Ghana**

<b>City</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Accra	139	46.3
Kumasi	115	38.3
Other Regional Capital	27	9.0
Other Town	19	6.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Field Data

The cities in which the respondents indicated that they lived in before they emigrated from Ghana were grouped into four – Accra, which is the capital city of Ghana; Kumasi, Ghana’s second largest city; the capital cities of the other eight regions in Ghana and, finally, any other town outside of these three groups. All the cities in the first three groups are urban areas while some of the towns in the ‘other town’ category are in areas which can be said to be rural. The most important point from the table is that about 94 percent of the respondents lived in urban areas before their departure from the country.

There is an interesting pattern of relationship between reasons for immigrating to Canada and type of movement to Canada on one hand and gender on the other hand. The relationship between reasons for immigrating to Canada and the paths followed by the respondents to Canada is shown in Table 6.14.

**Table 6.14****Reason for Immigrating to Canada by Movement to Canada**

Reason for Immigrating	Movement to Canada			
	Moved Direct		Lived in another Country	
	Number	% within Movement	Number	% within Movement
Family/Friends in Canada	65	31.1	19	20.9
Economic Advancement/Job	87	41.6	51	56.0
Education	30	14.4	5	5.5
Political	25	12.0	15	16.5
Missing Value	2	1.0	1	1.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>209</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 10.48; Degree of Freedom = 4; Level of Significance = 0.05  
P-value = 0.03

It can be seen from Table 6.14 that the reason for immigrating to Canada varies with the pattern of movement adopted by the respondents on their journey to Canada from Ghana. For instance, while 31 percent of those who travelled to Canada directly from Ghana came to join family and friends, only 21 percent of those who lived in other countries before coming to Canada came for the same reason. There is a higher tendency for Ghanaians already in Canada to sponsor their relatives back home in Ghana to join them here. Another interesting relationship concerns those who came for political reasons. While 12 percent of those who came directly from Ghana came as refugees, the proportion among those who came from other countries, 16.5 percent, is higher. This is not surprising since those who fled Ghana because of political reasons were more likely to seek

refuge first in other countries before continuing eventually to Canada. It is also not surprising that a higher proportion of those who came from other countries moved to Canada for economic reasons, compared to those who came directly from Ghana (56 percent and 41.6 percent respectively). With their experience of life in other industrialized countries, Ghanaians coming from abroad stand a better chance of being admitted as independent immigrants to Canada than their counterparts coming from Ghana. A chi-square test shows that reason for immigrating to Canada is significantly different between those who immigrated directly to Canada and those who came to Canada indirectly.

Table 6.15 shows the relationship between reasons for immigrating to Canada and the gender of respondents.

**Table 6.15**

**Reason for Immigrating to Canada by Gender**

Reason for Immigrating	Gender			
	Male		Female	
	Number	% within Gender	Number	% within Gender
Family/Friends in Canada	42	18.5	42	57.5
Economic Advancement/Job	118	52.0	20	27.4
Education	32	14.1	3	4.1
Political	32	14.1	8	11.0
Missing Value	3	1.0	–	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>227</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 43.41; Degree of Freedom = 4; Level of Significance = 0.05  
P-value = 0.00

From the table, it can be seen that while 52 percent of males came to Canada for economic

reasons, about 27 percent of females came for the same reason. On the other hand, 57 percent of females came to join their relatives and friends as against 18 percent of the male respondents. Also, a higher proportion of males (14%) came for educational reasons than their female counterparts (4%). This is a reflection of the male dominated pattern of migration flow among the Ghanaian community. Usually, males come to Canada first; after they have settled down, they sponsor their spouses and children to join them. Differences in reasons for immigrating to Canada between males and females are statistically significant.

#### **6.4 Initial Settlement in Toronto**

This section discusses issues relating to how the respondents settled down when they first arrived in Metropolitan Toronto.

##### **6.4.1 First Canadian City Lived In**

The respondents were asked about the first city in which they lived upon their arrival in Canada. The responses obtained are outlined in Table 6.16.

**Table 6.16**

**First Canadian City Lived In**

<b>City</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Toronto	228	76.0
Montreal	45	15.0
Vancouver	9	3.0
Other City	18	6.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

It can be seen from the table that the vast majority of the respondents (76 percent) settled in

Metropolitan Toronto when they first arrived in Canada. Montreal served as the second largest city of initial settlement for the respondents, while a small percentage first settled in Vancouver. The cities of initial settlement cited under the 'other' category are Kitchener-Waterloo, Guelph, Hamilton, London, Fredericton, Edmonton and Peterborough. An interesting point is that all these cities are University cities, which might suggest that the respondents most probably went there for educational reasons. The initial settlement of the Ghanaian immigrant group closely follows that observed for other immigrant groups, especially visible minorities, which shows that Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver are the leading cities of initial settlement for the majority of Canadian immigrants (Badets, 1994; Moore et al., 1990). Those who first lived in other cities, apart from Metropolitan Toronto, were asked why they moved to Metropolitan Toronto. The most commonly given reason for moving to Metropolitan Toronto from other cities was the desire to find a job which, according to the respondents, is much easier in Metropolitan Toronto. Those who moved from Montreal to Metropolitan Toronto also cited language problems as a reason for the move to Metropolitan Toronto. Since Ghana is an English speaking country, the vast majority of Ghanaian immigrants to Canada do not speak French. Those who find themselves in a place like Montreal are, therefore, very likely to try and move to a place where they can interact more freely which, invariably, turns out to be Metropolitan Toronto.

#### **6.4.2 Place of Initial Settlement in Toronto**

The respondents were asked about their first place of residence when they arrived in the Toronto area. Of the 300 respondents, only 138 could provide 'useful' information<sup>7</sup> about their first

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<sup>7</sup>They were asked about the postal code of their first place of residence in Metropolitan Toronto. These were then categorised into where they fall within the three zones of Ghanaian concentration identified for this study.

place of residence. The others either could not remember the postal code of their first place of residence or the information they provided was too general to be of any use. Table 6.17 shows the area in Metropolitan Toronto where the respondents stayed when they first arrived in the city (those who could provide 'useful' information).

**Table 6.17**

**Area of First Residence in Metropolitan Toronto**

<b>Area</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Core Concentration	87	63.0
Semi-core Concentration	33	23.9
Periphery	18	13.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Field Data

From the table, it can be seen that more than half of the respondents (63 percent) settled in the core concentration, the main area of Ghanaian concentration in the Toronto area. While 24 percent of the respondents first settled in the semi-core concentration, the area closest to the core concentration, 13 percent settled in the zone farthest away from the core concentration, the periphery, when they first arrived in the Toronto area (see Figure 5). This finding supports the results of other studies which show that immigrants, especially visible minorities, usually settle among themselves when they first arrive in a receiving society (Allen and Turner, 1996a; Driedger, 1996; Schwab, 1992). Results of some studies have also shown that the pattern whereby immigrants initially settle among their own kind upon arrival in a host country does not usually apply to recent immigrants, who show a higher tendency of residing away from the main concentration of people from their home country (see for example, Allen and Turner, 1996a; Schwab, 1992). Table 6.18 shows how this trend among recent immigrants applies to the Ghanaian group in Metropolitan Toronto.



**Table 6.18**

**Area of First Residence in Metropolitan Toronto by Year of Arrival**

Year of Arrival	Area of First Residence					
	Core Concentration		Semi-core Concentration		Periphery	
	Number	% within Area of 1 <sup>st</sup> Res.	Number	% within Area of 1 <sup>st</sup> Res.	Number	% within Area of 1 <sup>st</sup> Res.
1970s	15	17.2	2	6.1	2	11.1
1980s	51	58.6	22	66.7	6	33.3
1990s	21	24.1	9	27.3	10	55.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 9.74; Degree of Freedom = 4; Level of Significance = 0.05  
P-value = 0.04

In terms of numbers, for all the year groups the majority of respondents settled initially in the core concentration. For both the core concentration and the semi-core concentration, the majority of respondents, who chose these zones as their first place of residence when they arrived in the Toronto area, arrived during the 1980s followed by those who came during the 1990s. However, if we focus attention on initial settlement in the periphery (area farthest away from the traditional Ghanaian concentration) and year of arrival, an interesting pattern emerges. Of the 18 respondents who settled in the periphery when they first arrived in the Toronto area, over half (55.6 percent) are recent immigrants (arrived in the 1990s). The second largest proportion, about 33 percent, arrived in the 1980s while only 11 percent of those who chose the periphery as the zone of their initial settlement on arrival in the Toronto area came in the 1970s. Differences in area of first residence in Metropolitan Toronto are statistically significant among the three arrival periods (up to 1970s, 1980s

and 1990s). This finding supports the results of studies which show that recent immigrants tend to settle initially more in peripheral areas, compared to their counterparts who arrived earlier on (contrary to the traditional model of immigrant settlement).

#### 6.4.3 Host on First Arrival in Toronto

In addition to finding out where the respondents stayed when they first arrived in Toronto, the study also sought to find out whom they stayed with when they first arrived in the city. The responses obtained are shown in Table 6.19.

6.19

**Host on First Arrival in Metropolitan Toronto**

Host	Number	Frequency
Stayed on Own	117	39.0
Stayed with a Relative	120	40.0
Stayed with a Friend	63	21.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

The table shows the important role that familial relationships play in the migration process and initial settlement of immigrants from the developing world – sixty one percent of the respondents either stayed with a relative or a friend when they first arrived in Toronto. The important role that relatives and friends play in the settlement process of immigrants is an essential feature of chain migration, which has been an important trait of the immigration process of many immigrant groups into North America (Tilly, 1994; Campani, 1992; Iacovetta, 1992). In chain migration, immigrants rely a lot on the contacts of friends and relatives already at the place of intended destination for information, assistance and encouragement, which help to inform and shape their movement. The family and friends of immigrants who are already settled at the place of destination

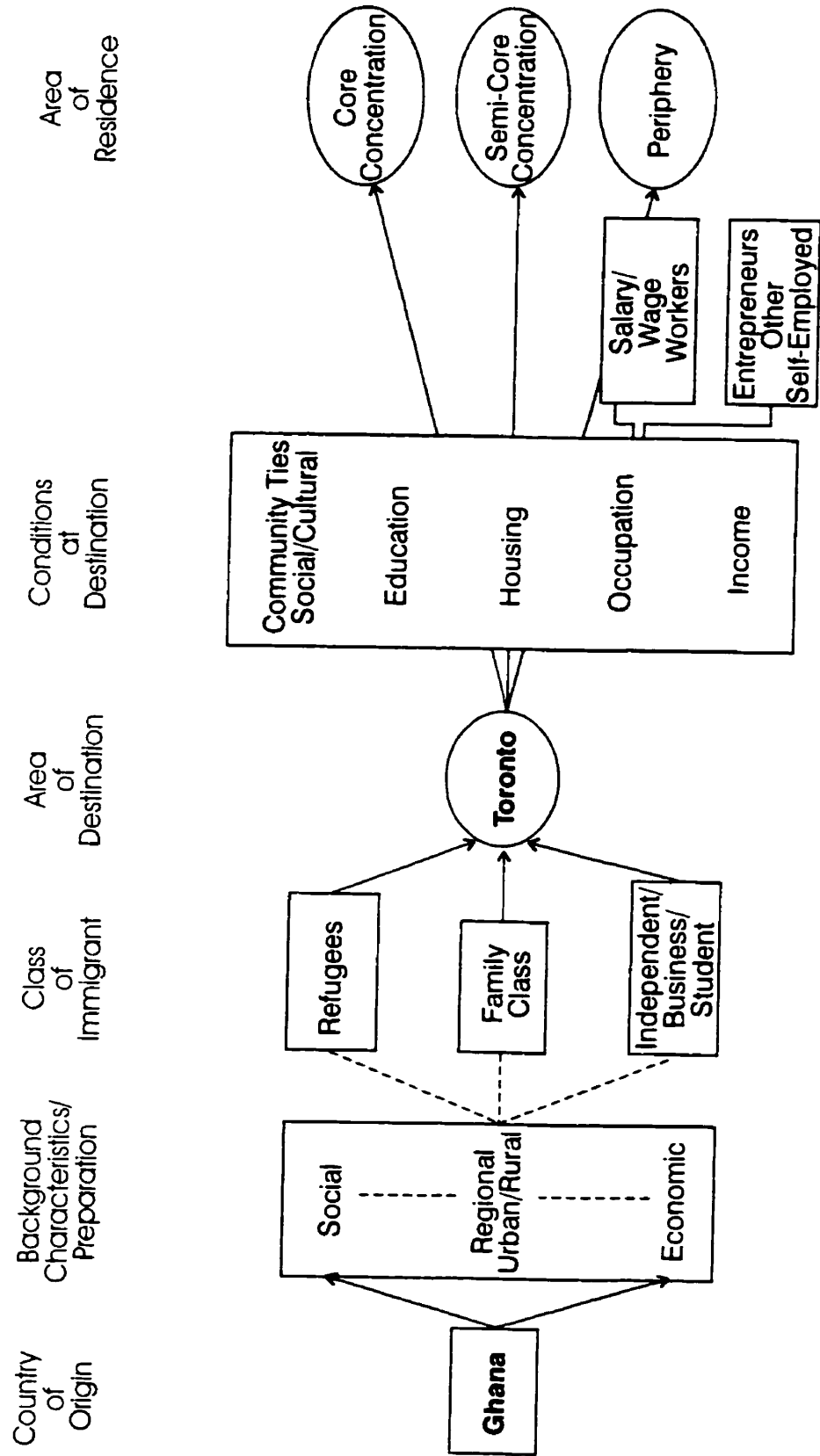
serve as a strong source of support to newly arrived immigrants. They play a crucial role in the initial adjustment process to life in the new society. Most of the time, they send information about opportunities at the place of destination to their families back home, which eventually leads to the migration of more people from the home country to the area of destination. Furthermore, in some instances, the prospective immigrants receive financial help from their kin already at the place of destination to enable them travel. During the early stages of residence in the new society when the newly arrived immigrant has not settled down, they are offered shelter, food and other forms of support by their family members and friends who have been resident there for some time. The earlier arrivals also assist the new arrivals in their settlement process by introducing them to people in the city and helping them to find jobs and accommodations of their own.

It can also be seen from the table that the initial settlement of the immigrants is not all about familial relationships as a significant proportion of respondents, thirty nine percent, stayed on their own when they initially arrived in Metropolitan Toronto. This would suggest that there is an appreciable level of individualism among the respondents.

### **6.5 The Influence of Background Preparation on Initial Settlement**

It is expected that the background preparation and previous experience that immigrants bring with them upon their arrival in a host society play an important role in their initial location choices. The relationship between background preparation and initial settlement, for the Ghanaian group, is portrayed in Figure 6. Immigrants from Ghana, who might be refugees, family dependents, independent or business immigrants, as well as students, come to Toronto with various socio-economic and regional characteristics from the home country (Ghana). These background

Figure 6:  
Spatial Dimensions of Ghanaian Immigrant Settlement in Toronto



characteristics, together with conditions already prevailing at the place of destination (Toronto), influence their initial location choices. This section explores the hypothesis that the previous experience that Ghanaian immigrants bring with them to Canada influences their initial location patterns in Metropolitan Toronto (that is, whether they reside initially in the core concentration, semi-core concentration or in the periphery).

#### **6.5.1 Educational Level and Initial Settlement**

Generally, all things being equal, it would be expected that the higher the level of education of the immigrant at the time of arrival, the higher would be the tendency to reside away from the core concentration of the immigrant's group. Table 6.20 shows the relationship between the educational level of respondents and their initial residence in Metropolitan Toronto.

**Table 6.20**

**Area of First Residence in Metropolitan Toronto by Educational Level**

Level of Education	Area of First Residence					
	Core Concentration		Semi-core Concentration		Periphery	
	Number	% within Area of 1 <sup>st</sup> Res.	Number	% within Area of 1 <sup>st</sup> Res.	Number	% within Area of 1 <sup>st</sup> Res.
Elementary, Ghana	0	0.0	1	3.0	0	0.0
High School, Ghana	21	24.1	8	24.2	4	22.2
High Sch., another Country	1	1.1	0	0.0	0	0.0
High School, Canada	3	3.4	2	6.1	1	5.6
Trade/Diploma/non- Univ., Ghana	7	8.0	2	6.1	3	16.7
Trade/Diploma/non- Univ., Canada	22	25.3	10	30.3	3	16.7
University, Ghana	12	13.8	4	12.1	0	0.0
University, another Country	2	2.3	1	3.0	1	5.6
University, Canada	19	21.8	5	15.2	6	33.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 19.49; Degree of Freedom = 26; Level of Significance. = 0.05;

P-value = 0.81.

Among those who chose the core concentration as their initial place of residence upon arrival in the Toronto area, 16 percent had a university education, either from Ghana or another country, at the time of their arrival. The corresponding proportions for the semi-core concentration and the periphery are 15 percent and 6 percent respectively. Considering that almost all of those who had university education in Canada already had a university degree upon their arrival, the respective

proportions for those with university education at the time of arrival among the three zones would be 38 percent in the core concentration, 30 percent in the semi-core concentration and 39 percent in the periphery. This compares to 25 percent of those with high school education at the time of arrival who chose the core concentration as their initial place of residence and 24 percent and 22 percent who chose the semi-core concentration and the periphery respectively as their initial place of residence upon arrival in the Toronto area. Differences in area of first residence among the various levels of education attained by the respondents are not statistically significant. It seems, therefore, that high educational level of the respondents does not negatively affect initial residence in the core concentration, as a high proportion of those with a university degree at the time of arrival chose the core concentration as their initial place of residence.

#### **6.5.2 Migration Pattern and Initial Settlement**

All things being equal, it would be expected that those who lived in other countries before coming to Canada, in all likelihood, had already been exposed to life in an industrialized country and would, therefore, adjust more easily to life in Canada. This group of immigrants would, thus, have less need to settle in the core concentration, compared to their colleagues who came to Canada directly from Ghana. It would, therefore, be expected that those who came to Canada from other countries would show a higher tendency of settling initially in the periphery than those who came to Canada directly from Ghana. Table 6.21 explores this relationship.

**Table 6.21****Area of First Residence in Metropolitan Toronto by Movement to Canada**

Movement Type	Area of First Residence					
	Core Concentration		Semi-core Concentration		Periphery	
	Number	% within Area of 1 <sup>st</sup> Res.	Number	% within Area of 1 <sup>st</sup> Res.	Number	% within Area of 1 <sup>st</sup> Res.
Moved Direct to Canada	60	69.0	18	54.5	13	72.2
Lived first in another Country	27	31.0	15	45.5	5	27.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 2.58; Degree of Freedom = 2; Level of Significance = 0.05  
P-value = 0.27.

The table does not seem to support the hypothesis that those who lived first in another country before coming to Canada would tend to reside initially more in the outer zones than the inner zone, compared to their counterparts who came directly from Ghana. For all the three areas of Ghanaian concentration, the respondents who moved to Canada directly from Ghana show a higher proportion of initial settlement than their counterparts who lived first in other countries before coming to Canada. Differences in area of first residence in Metropolitan Toronto are not statistically significant between those who immigrated to Canada directly and those who came through other countries.

### 6.5.3 First Canadian City Lived in and Initial Settlement

For the same reasons as those who lived first in another country before coming to Canada, it is expected that those who lived in another Canadian city before moving to Toronto will show a



higher tendency of initial settlement in the outer zones more than their counterparts who moved straight to Toronto from Ghana. Table 6.22 shows the relationship between first Canadian city lived in and place of initial settlement upon arrival in the Toronto area.

**Table 6.22**

**Area of First Residence in Metropolitan Toronto by First Canadian City Lived In**

First Canadian City	Area of First Residence					
	Core Concentration		Semi-core Concentration		Periphery	
	Number	% within Area of 1 <sup>st</sup> Res.	Number	% within Area of 1 <sup>st</sup> Res.	Number	% within Area of 1 <sup>st</sup> Res.
Toronto	65	74.7	25	75.8	11	61.1
Other Canadian City	22	25.3	8	24.2	7	33.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 7.31; Degree of freedom = 6; Level of significance = 0.05  
P-value = 0.29.

Differences in area of first residence between those who lived first in other Canadian cities and those who moved to Metropolitan Toronto directly from Ghana are not statistically significant. Therefore, the data does not support the hypothesis that those who lived in other Canadian cities before moving to Toronto will show a higher tendency of initial location in the outer zones more than their counterparts who came to Toronto directly from Ghana. In fact, for all the zones of Ghanaian residence, the respondents who came directly to Toronto from Ghana show higher initial settlement than their counterparts who lived first in other Canadian cities before moving to Toronto. It is, however, interesting that among those who chose the periphery as their initial place of settlement upon arrival in the Toronto area, the proportion who came to Metropolitan Toronto from

other Canadian cities (39%) is higher than the other two zones (25% and 24% for the core concentration and semi-core concentration respectively).

#### 6.5.4 Host on Arrival and Initial Settlement

All things being equal, it is expected that since those who stayed on their own upon arrival in Toronto have a greater control over where they stay initially than their counterparts who stayed with a relative or friend upon arrival, the former (stayed on own) will show a greater tendency of initial location in the highly dispersed zone than the latter (those hosted by a relative or friend). This is explored in Table 6.23.

**Table 6.23**

**Area of First Residence in Metropolitan Toronto by Host Upon Arrival**

Host	Area of First Residence					
	Core Concentration		Semi-core Concentration		Periphery	
	Number	% within Area of 1 <sup>st</sup> Res.	Number	% within Area of 1 <sup>st</sup> Res.	Number	% within Area of 1 <sup>st</sup> Res.
Stayed on Own	41	47.1	9	27.3	11	61.1
Stayed with a Relative	28	32.2	17	51.5	7	38.9
Stayed with a Friend	18	20.7	7	21.2	0	0.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 9.61; Degree of Freedom = 4; Level of significance = 0.05  
P-value = 0.05.

From the table, it can be seen that among those who first settled in the core concentration upon their arrival in the Toronto area, 47 percent stayed on their own while the rest either stayed with

a relative (32.2%) or a friend (20.7%). A similar trend (less than 50% staying on their own) exists for those who settled initially in the semi-core concentration. However, the pattern changes when it comes to initial residence in the periphery. Of those who chose the periphery as their initial place of residence, over half (61%) stayed on their own while the rest stayed with a relative. In sum, for both the core concentration and the semi-core concentration, the proportions who were hosted by a relative or friend upon their arrival are more than those who stayed on their own. The opposite is true for the periphery, where the proportion who stayed on their own is more than those who were hosted by a relative. The differences in area of first residence by host upon arrival are marginally significant. Thus, the data supports the hypothesis that those who stayed on their own upon arrival would tend to reside more in the periphery than those who were hosted by a relative or friend upon arrival in the Toronto area.

## **6.6 Movement Patterns**

The respondents were asked whether they had changed residences since they arrived in the Toronto area. The overwhelming majority, 84 percent, indicated that they had done so. They were then asked about the postal code of the last place they lived at prior to moving to their current residence. Only 112 of the respondents who had moved could provide 'useful' information about their previous residences. The movement patterns for this group of respondents is set out in Table 6.24.

**Table 6.24**

**Summary of Movement Patterns<sup>8</sup>**

From	To						
	Core Concentration		Semi-core Concentration		Periphery		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Core Concentration	29	76.3 (53.7)	9	28.1 (16.6)	16	38.1 (29.6)	54
Semi-core Concentration	3	7.9 (9.7)	22	68.7 (71.0)	6	14.3 (19.4)	31
Periphery	6	15.8 (22.2)	1	3.1 (3.7)	20	47.6 (74.1)	27
<b>Total</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>112</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: The column side of the table shows the zone in which the respondents currently reside while the row side shows the zone from which they moved to their current residence.

Figures in parenthesis are row percentages.

It can be seen from the table that movement among the respondents is mainly intra-zonal. For all the three zones, the previous residences of the majority of respondents were within the same zone. For the core concentration, 76 percent of the respondents moved within the same zone while 8 percent moved in from the semi-core concentration and 16 percent moved in from the periphery. For

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<sup>8</sup>The detailed table of movement on which Table 6.24 is based can be seen in Appendix 3.

the semi-core concentration, on the other hand, 69 percent of the respondents moved within the same zone while 28 percent moved in from the core concentration and 3 percent moved in from the periphery. In the periphery, 48 percent of the respondents moved within the same zone while 38 percent moved in from the core concentration and 14 percent moved in from the semi-core concentration. An interesting observation concerns the periphery. While for both the core concentration and semi-core concentration more than half of the respondents engaged in intra-zonal movement. for the periphery, on the other hand, more than half of the respondents (52%) moved in from outside the zone, especially from the core concentration. The comparative proportions for the other zones are 31 percent for the semi-core concentration and 24 percent for the core concentration. Looked at in a different way (if the table is read by row, instead of by column), it can be seen that more people moved away from the core concentration (46.2%), followed by the semi-core concentration (29.1%) and the periphery (25.9%). Thus, while being comparatively small, when inter-zonal movement occurs, there is the tendency for it to be from the core concentration towards the outer zones.

### **6.7 Summary of Findings**

Like the total Ghanaian immigrant population and other visible minority groups in Metropolitan Toronto, the respondents are of recent origin with the majority of them arriving in Canada from the 1980s onwards. They arrived in Canada at a relatively young age, about 72 percent of them arriving before their thirties.

Within Metropolitan Toronto, the majority of the respondents settled in the main area of Ghanaian residence, the core concentration, when they first arrived in the Toronto area. However,

recent immigrants (those who arrived in the 1990s) show a higher tendency of settling initially in the outer zones – the semi-core concentration and the periphery.

The study sought to find out the influence that background preparation and the experiences that the respondents brought with them had on their initial settlement patterns, specifically, whether they settled initially in the core concentration or in the outer zones. Overall, there were no significant differences in the patterns of initial settlement among respondents no matter their background preparation, with the exception of host upon arrival. Majority of respondents settled in the core concentration when they first arrived in Metropolitan Toronto. People with better background preparation and experience at the time of arrival in the Toronto area were as likely to settle initially in the core concentration as those with lesser background preparation and experience. On the other hand, those with lesser background preparation and experience were as likely to settle initially in the periphery as those with better background preparation and experience. For example, there were no significant differences in initial settlement (whether in the core concentration or the outer zones) between those with high levels of education and those with relatively lower levels of education. The same observation applies to patterns of migration and city of first residence. The only exception occurs in host upon arrival in the Toronto area. Those who stayed on their own show a significantly higher initial settlement in the periphery than those hosted by a relative or friend, who show higher initial settlement in the core concentration and the semi-core concentration. This shows the influence that individualism or independence can have on the settlement patterns of immigrants. As such people have the freedom to choose wherever they want to settle, they are more likely to settle in areas where job opportunities are, which are usually in the periphery.

The prevalence of economic reasons as a major motivating factor for migration flows (both

national and international) is borne out by this study. Almost half of the respondents indicated that they emigrated to Canada for economic advancement reasons. A fair proportion also came to join relatives who were already in the country. Males were found to be more likely to immigrate for economic reasons while females are more likely to come under the family class system (sponsored by relatives already in the country).

In terms of the paths followed to get to Canada from Ghana, even though the majority of the respondents came directly to Canada from the home country, 'geographically indirect' immigration is an important feature of Ghanaian immigration to Canada. That is, after leaving Ghana, the respondents lived in some other countries for some time before continuing to Canada. Thirty percent of the respondents fall under this category. Europe serves as the most important 'stop-over' region for Ghanaian immigrants on their way to Canada. Further analysis showed that there is a higher tendency for 'direct immigrants' to be family class immigrants while 'indirect immigrants' are more likely to be independent immigrants.

Like members of recent immigrant groups, the vast majority of the respondents settled in Metropolitan Toronto when they first arrived in Canada. To a much lesser extent, Montreal and Vancouver are the other important cities of initial residence for the respondents.

Upon arrival in the Toronto area, the majority of the respondents first stayed with either relatives or friends while a relatively smaller proportion stayed on their own. This shows evidence of chain migration which has been shown to be an important feature of the migration patterns of, especially, visible minorities into North America. Movement patterns among the respondents were found to be mainly intra-zonal. While inter-zonal movements are small, they are mostly from the core concentration towards the outer zones.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **OCCUPATIONAL ACTIVITY OF THE GHANAIAN IMMIGRANT GROUP IN TORONTO**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the participation of the respondents in labour market activities. It is divided into three main sections. The first section considers the occupational distribution of the respondents and certain factors relating to it while the second section discusses household adaptive strategies employed by the study group. A third section looks at the tenure of accommodation of the respondents.

#### **7.2 Occupational Distribution of Respondents**

This section discusses issues like the types of occupations respondents are engaged in, job search strategies, location of job and journey-to-work.

##### **7.2.1 Types of Occupation**

The respondents were asked the types of job they were engaged in at the time of the study. The responses obtained were classified into five main occupational categories – professional, semi-professional/administrative, sales/service/clerical, processing/machining/fabricating and self-employed<sup>9</sup>. Due to the small number of responses in some categories, the relevant Statistics Canada

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<sup>9</sup> Professional – Doctors, Dentists, Psychiatrists, Engineers, Architects, Computer Programmers, Bank Managers, Business Analysts etc.  
Semi-professional/Administrative – Teachers, Registered Nurses, Administrative Assistants etc.  
Sales/Service/Clerical – Sales Clerks, Tellers, Order Pickers, Purchasing Clerks, Receivers, Courier Drivers, Taxi Drivers, Truckers etc.  
Processing/Machining/Fabricating – Assembly Line Workers, Machine Operators, Fabricators, Carpenters, Welders etc.  
Self-employed – Business owners.



categories (shown in Table 7.2) were grouped together to form the five occupational groups used in the analysis of the respondents who took part in the study.

Table 7.1 shows the occupational distribution of the respondents.

**Table 7.1**

**Type of Occupation Engaged In**

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Professional	33	11
Semi-Professional/Administrative	36	12
Sales/Service/Clerical	100	33.3
Processing/Machining/Fabricating	94	31.3
Self-employed	37	12.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field Data

The table shows that the vast majority of the respondents, about 64 percent, are engaged in sales/service/clerical and processing/machining/fabricating occupations. The largest proportion of respondents, one-third of the total, are engaged in sales/service/clerical occupations. Only a small proportion of the respondents are engaged in professional occupations (11 percent) and semi-professional/administrative occupations (12 percent). About 12 percent of the respondents owned their own businesses. The next chapter will discuss this group of respondents in more detail. A comparable data on the occupational distribution of the population of Metropolitan Toronto during the 1996 Census is shown in Table 7.2.

**Table 7.2**

**Occupational Distribution by Visible Minority and Non-Visible Minority, Metropolitan Toronto, 1996**

Occupation	Groups									
	Black		South Asian		Chinese		Other Visible Minority		Non-Visible Minority	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Senior Manager	16	0.5	29	0.7	54	1.3	30	0.6	775	1.9
Middle Other Managers	144	4.2	313	7.9	426	9.9	390	7.3	4,534	10.8
Professionals	423	12.3	538	13.7	896	20.9	650	12.1	7,877	18.8
Semi-Prof. Technician	186	5.4	166	4.2	242	5.6	316	5.9	2,466	5.9
Supervisor Cler/Sale/Serv.	45	1.3	48	1.2	40	0.9	74	1.4	650	1.5
Supervisor Crafts/Trades	31	0.9	64	1.6	39	0.9	63	1.2	905	2.2
Administrative Snr Clerical	139	4.1	190	4.8	235	5.5	205	3.8	2,899	6.9
Skill Sale/Serv.	138	4.0	156	3.9	298	6.9	192	3.6	1,882	4.5
Skill Craft/Trad	197	5.7	186	4.7	148	3.5	306	5.7	2,437	5.8
Clerical Person.	620	18.1	621	15.8	589	13.7	830	15.5	5,553	13.3
Intermediate Sales/Service	453	13.2	340	8.6	447	10.4	724	13.5	4,615	11.0
Semi-skilled Manual Work	492	14.3	704	17.9	485	11.3	771	14.4	3,543	8.5
Other Sale/Serv	397	11.6	362	9.2	268	6.3	626	11.7	2,636	6.3
Other Manual Workers	148	4.3	223	5.6	119	2.8	187	3.5	1,101	2.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,429</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3,940</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4,286</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5,364</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>41,873</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Statistics Canada, Public Use Micro Data Files, 1996 Census.

N/B: The Data covers residents of the Toronto area aged 20-64.

From the table, it can be seen that with the exception of the Chinese, all the other visible minorities lag behind the non-visible minority group in the proportion of their members who are employed in the highest occupational categories (Senior Managers, Middle Other Managers and Professionals) – 22.3 percent of South Asians, 20 percent of the Other Visible Minority group and 17 percent of Blacks. The Chinese, on the other hand, have about the same proportion of their members in those occupational categories as the Non-visible Minority group, 32.1 percent and 31.5 percent respectively.

For ease of comparison with the sample for this study, the occupational distribution for the Toronto area can be broken down into the occupational categories used for the Ghanaian sample:

Professionals – Senior Managers, Middle Other Managers, Professionals.

Semi-professional/Administrative – Semi-professional Technician, Supervisor Clerical/Sales/Service, Supervisor Crafts/Trades, Administrative Senior Clerical.

Sales/Service/Clerical – Skill Sales/Service, Clerical Personnel, Intermediate Sales/Service, Other Sales/Service.

Processing/Machining/Fabricating: Skill Crafts/Trades, Semi-skilled Manual Work, Other Manual Workers.

The resulting occupational distribution is shown in Table 7.3.

**Table 7.3****Abridged Occupational Distribution<sup>10</sup> for  
Metropolitan Toronto, 1996**

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Groups</b>				
	<b>Black</b>	<b>South Asian</b>	<b>Chinese</b>	<b>Other Visible Minority</b>	<b>Non-Visible Minority</b>
	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Professional	17	22.3	32.1	20	31.5
Semi-Professional/ Administrative	11.7	11.8	12.9	12.3	16.5
Sales/Service/ Clerical	46.9	37.5	37.3	44.3	35.1
Processing/Machining/ Fabricating	24.3	28.2	17.6	23.6	16.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Public Use Micro Data Files, 1996 Census.

N/B: The Data covers residents of the Toronto area aged 20-64.

Just like the Ghanaian sample, all the various groups in the Toronto area have the highest proportion of their members engaged in Sales/Service/Clerical occupations. The Chinese and the Non-Visible Minority group have very high proportions of people in Professional occupations, about 32 percent. Overall, the Non-visible Minority group has the highest proportion of members with high status occupations (Professional and Semi-professional/Administrative), with 48 percent of their members engaged in such occupations. They are followed closely by the Chinese who have 45

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<sup>10</sup>Corresponding data for Self-employed people could not be obtained from the Public Use Micro Data Files.

percent of their members engaged in such occupations. The other visible minority groups have relatively much lower proportions of their members engaged in high status occupations – 34.1 percent for South Asians, 32.3 percent for members of Other Visible Minority groups and 28.7 percent for Blacks. The occupational distribution of the sample is quite similar to that of the Black, South Asian and Other Visible Minority groups, with the highest proportion engaged in Sales/Service/Clerical occupations and the second highest proportion engaged in Processing/Machining/Fabricating occupations. For all these three groups, the sample has a smaller proportion of people engaged in Sales/Service/Clerical occupations but a higher proportion of people engaged in Processing/Machining/Fabricating occupations. In general, it can be said that the occupational distribution of the sample corresponds well with that for the visible minorities in the Toronto area.

### 7.2.2 Years At Present Job

The majority of the respondents had held their present jobs for quite a long time, as can be seen in Table 7.4.

**Table 7.4**

#### **Years at Present Job**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1-2 years	89	29.7
3-5 years	149	49.7
6-10 years	54	18
10+ years	8	2.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Field Data

From the table, it can be seen that while about 30 percent of the respondents had held their

present jobs for a period of between one and two years, only a very small proportion of them, about 3 percent had held their jobs for ten years or more. About 50 percent of them had held their jobs for between three and five years. The highest number of years at present job mentioned was 28 years (one person) and the modal number of years at present job is three years, mentioned by 73 respondents (24.3%). The dearth of respondents who have held their jobs for a very long time (10 years or more) could be attributed to the fact that the majority of the respondents are of recent origin, having arrived in Canada mostly since the 1980s.

The majority of respondents, about 88 percent, indicated that they were working full-time on their jobs. Only about 12 percent of them indicated that they were working either part-time or on temporary assignments.

### 7.2.3 Period Between Arrival in Canada and First Job

The respondents were asked how long it took for them to find a job after their arrival in Canada. The responses obtained are set out in Table 7.5.

**Table 7.5**

#### **Length of Time Before Finding A Job After Arrival in Canada**

<b>Period</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Up to 3 Months	100	37.7
3-6 Months	81	30.6
6 Months - 1 Year	59	22.3
1-2 Years	16	6
2+ Years	9	3.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field Data

- N/B:
1. This is the very first job they held after their arrival in the country.
  2. The total excludes those who studied first after their arrival in Canada.

It can be seen from the table that it did not take the respondents long after their arrival in the country to find their first job. About 38 percent of them found a job within the first three months of their arrival while only about three percent had to wait for two years and over before finding their first job. This latter group are mostly people who came as refugees and had to wait for a long time before their stay in the country could be regularized. Overall, about 68 percent of the respondents found a job within six months of their arrival in Canada, which is quite good. It must, however, be pointed out that from conversations with the respondents it was gathered that most of these new jobs were just anything to keep them going while they tried to find their feet in the new society. They later had to find new jobs which were more to their liking and which could support them and their families. The situation for those who studied initially after their arrival in the country is set out in Table 7.6 below.

**Table 7.6**

**Length of Time Before Finding a Job After Education in Canada**

<b>Period</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Up to 3 Months	13	37.1
3-6 Months	14	40
6 Months - 1 Year	7	20
2+ Years	1	2.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Field Data

- N/B: 1. This is the very first job they held after their graduation.  
 2. The total excludes those who worked first after their arrival in Canada.

It can be seen from the table that the situation for those who studied first after their arrival is generally similar to that of those who worked initially after their arrival; they found jobs not long after their graduation. About 37 percent of them found a job within the first three months

of their graduation while only about three percent had to wait for two years and over before finding their first job. One important thing that the table portrays is that the proportion of those who obtained jobs within the first six months is higher among those who studied first than among those who entered the labour market immediately after their arrival in Canada (77 percent compared to 68 percent). For this group, 97 percent of the respondents obtained jobs within one year of their graduation while about 91 percent of those who worked first after their arrival obtained jobs within the same time span. It can, therefore, be said that the data supports the fact that education plays an important role in finding a job.

#### 7.2.4 Job Search Strategies

The respondents were asked how they got the jobs they were doing at the time of the study.

The responses obtained are set out in Table 7.7.

**Table 7.7**

#### **How Present Job was Obtained**

<b>Method</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Through own Effort	185	61.7
Canada Employment Centre	18	6
Private Employment Agency	28	9.3
Relatives/Friends	66	22
Other	3	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Field Data

One thing that stands out clearly from the table is the limited reliance by the respondents on the official structures available to help in job procurement in their job search strategies. Only about



16 percent of the respondents obtained their jobs through the assistance of a Canada Employment Centre or some other employment agency. While the vast majority of the respondents, about 62 percent, indicated that they obtained their jobs through their own personal efforts, a fair proportion of them, about 22 percent, relied on the network of relatives and friends to help them find their jobs. This supports the findings of other research which show that personal networks play an important role in job search strategies, especially among visible minorities (England, 1995; Hanson and Pratt, 1992; Jenkins, 1986, Freedman, 1985). This finding is also similar to the findings of research conducted by Jansen, Plaza and James (1999) on upward mobility among second generation Caribbeans living in Toronto. This study was part of the Metropolis Project in Toronto. They observe that “few of our respondents reported that they found a new job via ‘official’ government job assistance agencies” (p. 3).

The following sections discuss the issue of job search strategies further by looking at gender and spatial differences in job search strategies as well as the influence of job search strategies on occupational status.

### **7.2.5 Job Search Strategies and Gender**

Table 7.8 sets out the data on variations in job search strategies between males and females who took part in the study.

**Table 7.8****How Present Job was Obtained by Gender**

Method	Gender of Respondent			
	Male		Female	
	Number	% within Gender	Number	% within Gender
Through Own Effort	147	64.8	38	52.1
Canada Employment Centre	12	5.3	6	8.2
Private Employment Agency	18	7.9	10	13.7
Relatives/Friends	48	21.1	18	24.7
Other	2	.8	1	1.3
<b>Other</b>	<b>227</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 4.65; Degree of freedom = 4; Level of significance = 0.05  
P-value = 0.33.

For both males and females, the largest proportion of respondents indicated that they relied on their own personal efforts to find their jobs (64.8% and 52.1% respectively). A slightly higher proportion of females, about 25 percent, relied on personal networks of family members and friends to obtain their jobs than their male counterparts, about 21 percent of whom used the same method to get their jobs. It is also interesting that females generally tended to use Canada Employment Centres and other employment agencies more than males. This supports the findings of research which shows that females are more likely than men to use employment agencies as part of their job search strategies (England, 1995; Hanson and Pratt, 1992). How job was obtained is not statistically different between males and females.

### 7.2.6 Job Search Strategies and Area of Residence

Table 7.9 shows the spatial variations in job search strategies adopted by the respondents in the study.

**Table 7.9**

**How Present Job was Obtained by Area of Residence**

Method	Area of Residence					
	Core Concentration		Semi-core Concentration		Periphery	
	Number	% within Residence	Number	% within Residence	Number	% within Residence
Through Own Effort	41	48.2	72	72.0	72	62.6
Canada Employment Centre	7	8.2	6	6.0	5	4.3
Private Employment Agency	8	9.4	6	6.0	14	12.2
Relatives/Friends	28	32.9	15	15.0	23	20.0
Other	1	1.2	1	1.0	1	.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 14.76; Degree of freedom = 8; Level of significance = 0.05  
P-value = 0.06.

For all the three zones of Ghanaian residence identified for this study, the largest proportion of respondents indicated that they relied on their own personal efforts to get their jobs – 48.2%, 72.0% and 62.6% for the core concentration, semi-core concentration and the periphery respectively. However, as can be seen from the table, the proportion of respondents in the core concentration who got their jobs through their own efforts is lower than the proportion of respondents in both the semi-core concentration and the periphery. This observation becomes more interesting when we consider

those who relied upon personal networks as a means of obtaining their employment. A higher proportion of respondents in the core concentration, a third of the total sample in this zone, used personal networks of relatives and friends to get their jobs. This compares to corresponding proportions of 15 percent and 20 percent for the semi-core concentration and the periphery respectively. The relatively higher reliance on personal networks as a means for obtaining jobs in the core concentration, as compared to the two outer zones of Ghanaian concentration, may be attributed to the fact that since this is where the bulk of the Ghanaian population in the Toronto area is concentrated, the building of networks with other Ghanaians and reliance on these networks would be stronger in this area. It must, however, be pointed out that differences in how present job was obtained among the three zones are not significant. For all three zones, there is a limited reliance by the respondents on the official structures available to help in job procurement in their job search strategies (17.6%, 12.0% and 16.5% for the core concentration, semi-core concentration and the periphery respectively).

### **7.2.7 Job Search Strategies and Type of Occupation**

It has been argued in the literature that one of the negative effects of the reliance on personal networks as a means of obtaining jobs among visible minorities is that it helps to channel them more into low status occupations (Becker, 1979; Reitz, 1990; Pohjola, 1991). This section explores how this applies to the present study. Table 7.10 shows the relationship between the type of job search strategy employed and type of occupation the respondents were engaged in at the time of the study.

**Table 7.10**

**How Present Job was Obtained by Type of Occupation**

Method	Type of Occupation									
	Professional		Semi-Prof./Admin		Sales/Service/Clerical		Processing/Machining/Fabricating		Self-Employed	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Through Own Effort	28	84.8	23	63.9	51	51.0	50	53.2	33	89.2
Canada Employment Centre	1	3.0	0	.0	11	11.0	6	6.4	0	.0
Private Employment Agency	1	3.0	2	5.6	13	13.0	12	12.8	0	.0
Relatives/Friends	2	6.1	10	27.8	24	24.0	26	27.7	4	10.8
Other	1	3.0	1	2.8	1	1.0	0	.0	0	.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 39.30; Degree of freedom = 16; Level of significance = 0.05  
P-value = 0.00.

For all the occupational categories, the proportion of those who obtained their jobs through their own efforts is more than the proportion who employed other job search strategies. Focusing on those who relied on personal networks as a means of finding their jobs brings out some interesting points. For those in professional occupations, only a small proportion of 6.1 percent obtained their jobs through relatives and friends while a fairly high proportion of those in semi-professional and administrative occupations, about 28 percent, obtained their jobs through the same method. For those in sales/service/clerical occupations, 24 percent relied on relatives and friends to get their jobs and

about 28 percent of those in processing/machining/fabricating occupations adopted the same job search strategy. If we define sales/service/clerical and processing/machining/fabricating occupations as low status occupations, then it can be seen from the table that the majority of those who relied on personal networks to obtain their occupations found their way into low status occupations. On the other hand, if professional and semi-professional/administrative occupations are defined as high status occupations, then it is clear from the table that only a small proportion of those who relied on personal networks to obtain their jobs are found in high status occupations. There is a significant difference in type of occupation among the means by which job was obtained. This finding is consistent with the literature on the effect that reliance on personal networks as a means for obtaining employment among visible minorities has on their occupational status (Becker, 1979; Reitz, 1990; Pohjola, 1991 ). It can also be seen from the table that the majority of those who relied on Canada Employment Centres and other employment agencies are concentrated in low status occupations, with only a very small proportion in high status occupations. As is to be expected, the vast majority of those who are self-employed relied on their own initiatives to obtain their jobs.

In the next sections, we will consider the types of occupation engaged in by the respondents and their relationship to some factors which are likely to influence occupational status.

### **7.2.8 Type of Occupation and Year of Arrival**

One of the reasons that has been cited in the literature as contributing to the low occupational status of visible minorities is the recency of their immigration (Roy, 1997). It follows from such arguments that the length of time an immigrant group has been in a receiving country plays an important role in their occupational status – the longer they have been in the host country, the higher

their occupational status and vice-versa. This section explores the effect length of residence in Canada has on the occupational status of the respondents to the study. The relationship between the year the respondents arrived in Canada and their occupational status can be seen in Table 7.11.

**Table 7.11**

**Type of Occupation by Year of Arrival**

Occupation	Year of Arrival					
	1970s		1980s		1990s	
	Number	% within Arrival Yr	Number	% within Arrival Yr	Number	% within Arrival Yr
Professional	9	20.0	18	9.7	6	8.7
Semi-Professional/Administrative	11	24.4	20	10.8	5	7.2
Sales/Service/Clerical	4	8.9	63	33.9	33	47.8
Processing/Machining/Fabricating	15	33.3	54	29.0	25	36.2
Self-Employed	6	13.3	31	16.7	0	.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 36; Degree of freedom = 8; Level of significance = 0.05  
P-value = 0.00.

The table demonstrates the positive role that the length of stay in a host country has on occupational status of immigrants. Among the respondents who arrived in Canada during the 1970s, 20 percent of them are engaged in professional occupations whereas for those who arrived in the 1980s and 1990s, only 9.7 percent and 8.7 percent respectively are engaged in professional occupations. If professional and semi-professional/administrative occupations are defined as high status occupations, it can be seen that while 44.4 percent of those who arrived in Canada during the

1970s are engaged in high status occupations, only 20.5 percent and 15.9 percent of those who arrived in the 1980s and 1990s respectively are engaged in these occupations. On the other hand, if sales/service/clerical occupations and processing/machining/fabricating occupations are defined as low status occupations, then 62.9 percent and 84.0 percent of those who arrived in the 1980s and 1990s respectively are engaged in low status occupations, compared to 42.2 percent of those who arrived in the 1970s. The proportion of recent arrivals (those who arrived during the 1990s) who are engaged in low status occupations is particularly remarkable, especially when it is contrasted with the proportion of the same time period engaged in high status occupations. There is a significant difference in type of occupation by year of arrival in Canada. Clearly, the longer the respondents have been in Canada, the higher their occupational status and vice-versa. This is in line with established literature. The important influence of length of stay on high occupational status may be attributed in part to the fact that those who have stayed in the country longer may have adapted more to life in the host society and are, therefore, able to enjoy higher socio-economic mobility. For the self-employed, considerable length of stay is important for the preparation one needs to be able to start one's own business.

### **7.2.9 Type of Occupation and Gender**

Table 7.12 shows a break down of the type of occupation the respondents were engaged in by their gender.



**Table 7.12****Type of Occupation by Gender**

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Gender of Respondent</b>			
	<b>Male</b>		<b>Female</b>	
	<b>Number</b>	<b>% within Gender</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>% within Gender</b>
Professional	30	13.2	3	4.1
Semi-Professional/Administrative	27	11.9	9	12.3
Sales/Service/Clerical	58	25.6	42	57.5
Processing/Machining/Fabricating	82	36.1	12	16.4
Self-Employed	30	13.2	7	9.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>227</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 28.54; Degree of freedom = 4; Level of significance = 0.05  
P-value = 0.00.

It can be seen from the table that a much higher proportion of males, 13.2 percent are engaged in professional occupations than their female counterparts, of whom only 4.1 percent are engaged in professional occupations. About the same proportion of both males and females, 11.9 percent and 12.3 percent respectively are involved in semi-professional/administrative occupations. The highest proportion of males, about 36 percent, are engaged in processing/machining/fabricating occupations while, on the other hand, the highest proportion of females, 57.5 percent, are engaged in sales/service and clerical occupations. There is a significant difference in type of occupation between males and females. This finding is similar to that of Caribbeans in Toronto, as found in Jansen, Plaza and James' (1999) study. They found Caribbean females to be highly concentrated in

clerical and service occupations. Generally, they found out that a much lower proportion of Caribbean females than males work in manual occupations (Jansen et al., 1999). Going by our definition of high status occupations and low status occupations, it can be seen that a higher proportion of males are engaged in high status occupations than females (25.1% compared to 16.4 percent). Females, on the other hand, dominate in low status occupations (73.9% compared to 61.7%).

### 7.2.10 Type of Occupation and Educational Level

Table 7.13 shows the relationship between the type of occupation respondents were engaged in and the highest level of education attained by them.

**Table 7.13**

#### **Type of Occupation by Highest Educational Level**

Occupation	Highest Educational Level							
	Elementary		High School		Trade/Diploma/ non-Univ.		University	
	No.	% within Education	No.	% within Education	No.	% within Education	No.	% within Education
Professional	0	.0	0	.0	1	.8	32	35.6
Semi-Professional/Administrative	0	.0	1	1.1	11	9.2	24	26.7
Sales/Service/Clerical	1	100.0	41	45.6	44	37.0	14	15.5
Processing/Machining/Fabricating	0	.0	41	45.6	42	35.3	11	12.2
Self-Employed	0	.0	7	7.7	21	17.6	9	10.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 235.11; Degree of freedom = 52; Level of significance = 0.05, P-value = 0.00.

The table demonstrates the important role that education plays in the occupational mobility prospects of people. It is clear from the table that the higher the educational level of the respondents, the higher their occupational status and vice-versa. Differences in type of occupation by highest educational level is statistically significant. The vast majority of those in professional and semi-professional/administrative occupations have university degree. In fact, with the exception of one person (who has a trade/diploma/non-univ. education), all those in professional occupations have university education. What is a little bit surprising from the table is that a fairly high proportion of respondents with university education are engaged in low status occupations, with 15.5 percent and 12.2 percent of them in sales/service/clerical and processing/machining/fabricating occupations respectively. This, in part, is a reflection of the problems visible minorities face in Canada's labour market. Numerous studies have shown that despite high educational levels, visible minorities are disproportionately concentrated in low status occupations (for example, Roy, 1997; Driedger, 1996; Boyd, 1985). This is also reflected in the study conducted by Jansen and colleagues on Caribbeans in Toronto. They observe that although second generation Caribbeans have post secondary education, many of them reported that they face barriers in the labour market which prevent them from getting good jobs in the Canadian workforce (Jansen et al., 1999).

#### **7.2.11 Type of Occupation and Education in Canada**

One of the problems that has been cited in the literature as contributing to the problems faced by immigrants in the labour market is the difficulties involved in transferring educational qualifications from their home countries to Canada (Roy, 1997). Implicit in this type of argument is the idea that education in Canada plays an important role in occupational attainment in Canada. This section seeks to find out how this applies to our study group by comparing the occupational

attainment of respondents who have some education in Canada (and other foreign countries) and those who have had their education only in Ghana. The data is set out in Table 7.14.

**Table 7.14**

**Type of Occupation by Education in Canada**

Occupation	Country of Education									
	Trade/Diplo ma/non- Univ. - Ghana		Trade/Diplo ma/non- Univ. - Canada		University - Ghana		University - Canada		University - Other Country	
	% within No. Educ.		% within No. Educ.		% within No. Educ.		% within No. Educ.		% within No. Educ.	
Professional	0	.0	1	1.2	3	8.6	27	54.0	2	40.0
Semi- Professional/ Administrati ve	0	.0	11	13.4	11	31.4	11	22.0	2	40.0
Sales/Service /Clerical	12	32.4	32	39.0	10	28.6	4	8.0	0	.0
Processing/ Machining/ Fabricating	16	43.2	26	31.7	7	20.0	4	8.0	0	.0
Self- Employed	9	24.3	12	14.6	4	11.4	4	8.0	1	20.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: 1. This analysis involves only the two highest levels of education.

It is clear from the table that those with some education in Canada (and other countries, notably Britain and the United States) have an advantage in the labour market over their colleagues who have had their education only in Ghana. While only a very small proportion of those with university education from Ghana, 8.6 percent are employed in professional occupations, a very high

proportion of those with university education in Canada, 54 percent, are engaged in such occupations, with a corresponding proportion of 40 percent for those who had university education in other countries. There is a higher proportion of those with university education from Ghana in low status occupations than their colleagues with university education in Canada (48.6 percent, compared to 16 percent). It must, however, be pointed out that a big proportion of those with university education in Canada have got their master's and doctoral degrees so comparing them with their colleagues with education from Ghana, of whom only a small proportion have master's degrees, may not be entirely fair. Comparing those with a trade or diploma education, while none of those with education from Ghana is in a high status occupation, about 15 percent of their colleagues with education in Canada are engaged in high status occupations. Having an education in Canada prepares a person better for the job market so it is not surprising that those who have had some education in Canada are doing better in the job market.

#### **7.2.12 Spatial Differences in Occupational Distribution**

In this section, we explore how the occupational distribution of the respondents differs across the three zones of Ghanaian residence identified for this study. Table 7.15 sets out the relationship between occupational distribution of respondents and their area of residence.

**Table 7.15****Type of Occupation by Area of Residence**

Occupation	Area of Residence					
	Core Concentration		Semi-core Concentration		Periphery	
	Number	% within Residence	Number	% within Residence	Number	% within Residence
Professional	7	8.2	9	9.0	17	14.8
Semi-Professional/Administrative	10	11.8	10	10.0	16	13.9
Sales/Service/Clerical	28	32.9	34	34.0	38	33.0
Processing/Machining/Fabricating	25	29.4	36	36.0	33	28.7
Self-Employed	15	17.6	11	11.0	11	9.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 7.01; Degree of freedom = 8; Level of significance = 0.05  
P-value = 0.54.

The periphery has a higher proportion of respondents engaged in professional occupations than the other two zones (15% compared to 8% for the core concentration and 9% for the semi-core concentration). The periphery also has a higher proportion of respondents engaged in semi-professional occupations (14%) than the core concentration (12%) and the semi-core concentration (10%). When these two categories are combined, 29 percent of respondents in the periphery have high status occupations, compared to 20 percent in the core concentration and 19 percent in the semi-core concentration. For the core concentration and the periphery, the highest proportion of respondents (33%) are engaged in sales/service/clerical occupations. For the semi-core

concentration, on the other hand, the highest proportion of respondents, 36 percent, are engaged in processing/machining/fabricating occupations. While the core concentration has the highest proportion of self-employed people, (18%), the periphery has the lowest proportion of these people (10%). The semi-core concentration has a higher proportion of respondents engaged in low status occupations, 70 percent, than respondents from the core concentration and the periphery (62% for both zones). However, differences in occupational status among the three zones of Ghanaian residence are not statistically significant. In general terms, therefore, one could say that contrary to the tenets of the theory of spatial assimilation, which would have the core concentration to be weaker than the other two outer zones, the core concentration is quite strong, compared to the outer zones. The 'unusually' strong character of the core concentration may be attributed partly to the fact that it has a fairly high proportion of respondents who have a university education (31%), compared to 38 percent for the periphery and only 20 percent for the semi-core concentration. It has also been shown that the core concentration has served as the biggest place of initial settlement for newly arrived Ghanaians. Most of the time, people get attached to their first place of settlement and the networks they build there and, consequently, when it comes time for them to move, they move within the same locale or to places close to it (see Section 6.6 ). As a result, even after achieving an appreciable amount of socio-economic status, they do not move far away from the core concentration. This is especially true for members of visible minorities (Farley, 1995; Vaughan, 1984; Clark, 1986). This can be one reason why the core concentration still has a comparatively high proportion of respondents with high occupational status as well as high levels of education.

### **7.2.13 Location of Jobs**

The respondents were asked where their jobs are located. The responses obtained were

categorised into where they fit among the three zones of Ghanaian concentration identified for the study. The results are shown in Table 7.16.

**Table 7.16**

**Location of Job**

<b>Location</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Core Concentration	91	30.3
Semi-core Concentration	69	23.0
Periphery	140	46.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Field Data

It can be seen from the table that the majority of the respondents, 47 percent, have their jobs located in the periphery. While 30 percent work in the core concentration, the remainder work in the semi-core concentration. We examine this further by looking at where the respondents from each of the three zones of Ghanaian concentration work. The data is set out in Table 7.17.



**Table 7.17**

**Location of Job by Area of Residence**

Job	Residence					
	Core Concentration (R)		Semi-core Concentration (R)		Periphery (R)	
	Number	% within Residence	Number	% within Residence	Number	% within Residence
Core Concentration (J)	44	51.8	21	21.0	26	22.6
Semi-core Concentration (J)	8	9.4	55	55.0	6	5.2
Periphery (J)	33	38.8	24	24.0	83	72.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: 1. The column variables (R) represent the area where respondents live while the row variables (J) represent the area where they work.

2. Chi-square = 113.32; Degree of freedom = 4; Level of significance = 0.05, P-value = 0.00

For all the zones of Ghanaian residence, the majority of residents work in the same zone in which they reside. However, the proportion who work in the same zone in which they reside is highest in the periphery, where about 72 percent of the resident respondents work there. The proportion for those who live and work in the core concentration is 52 percent, while the corresponding proportion for the semi-core concentration is 55 percent. The importance of the periphery as a place of work for the respondents become very clear when we consider those who work outside their zone of residence. For the periphery, 28 percent of the respondents work outside their zone of residence, 23 percent in the core concentration and 5 in the semi-core concentration. In the semi-core concentration, on the other hand, 45 percent work outside their zone of residence. 21 percent in the core concentration and 24 percent in the periphery. Furthermore, in the core

concentration, 48 percent of the respondents work outside their zone of residence, 9 percent in the semi-core concentration and 39 percent in the periphery. Clearly, even for those who live outside the periphery, a high proportion still commute there to work. Differences in location of job among the three zones of Ghanaian residence are statistically significant.

#### 7.2.14 Journey to Work – How

Table 7.18 sets out a regional (zonal) breakdown of the data on how the respondents get to work.

**Table 7.18**

**How Respondents Get to Work by Area of Residence**

Transport	Residence					
	Core Concentration		Semi-core Concentration		Periphery	
	Number	% within Residence	Number	% within Residence	Number	% within Residence
Own Car	72	84.7	82	82.0	98	85.2
Public Transit	13	15.3	17	17.0	15	13.0
Other Means	0	.0	1	1.0	1	.9
Missing Value	0	.0	0	.0	1	.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 3.05; Degree of Freedom = 6; Level of Significance = 0.05  
P-value = 0.80

For the total sample, the vast majority of respondents, 84 percent, indicated that they go to work by their own car, while 15 percent go by public transit (either by bus or a combination of bus and subway). A very insignificant proportion (.7%) go to work by other means which include rides

to work by colleagues and friends, going by bicycle, motorcycle and taxicab. One person failed to respond to the question. Some of the people who go by public transit indicated that they work in downtown Toronto and since it is difficult to find parking there, they have decided to go to work by public transport. Sometimes, they park their cars at subway stations and pick them up at the end of the day when they return from work. For all three zones of Ghanaian concentration, the highest proportion of respondents go by their own car (85%, 82% and 85% for the core concentration, semi-core concentration and the periphery respectively). When it comes to the use of public transit as a means of transportation to the work place, the periphery has the smallest proportion of respondents, 13 percent, who use this mode of transportation (compared to 15% for the core concentration and 17% for the semi-core concentration). That there is not a significant difference in how respondents get to work among the three zones of residence is not surprising.

As a comparison, the corresponding data on how people in the Toronto area get to work is set out in Table 7.19.

**Table 7.19**

**Mode of Transportation to Work by Visible Minority and Non-Visible Minority, Metropolitan Toronto, 1996**

Transport	Groups									
	Black		South Asian		Chinese		Other Visible Minority		Non-Visible Minority	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Own Car	3,367	49.7	5,125	62.3	6,277	61.5	7,649	56.4	243,072	76.0
Public Transit	2,573	38.0	1,871	22.7	2,370	23.2	3,692	27.2	27,162	8.5
Other Means	828	12.2	1,235	15.0	1,555	15.1	2,212	16.2	49,787	15.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,768</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>8,231</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>10,202</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>13,553</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>320,021</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Statistics Canada, Public Use Micro Data Files, 1996 Census.

N/B: The Data covers residents of the Toronto area aged 20-64.

Generally, the data on mode of transportation to work for the sample is similar to that for the various groups in Metropolitan Toronto. For all the groups, the majority of the people get to work by their own means of transport and, just like the sample, the second popular means of transportation is public transit. However, the use of one's own means of transport to work is much higher among the sample (84%) than among the population of Metropolitan Toronto. For Toronto's population, the use of one's own means of transport to get to work is highest among the Non-visible Minority group, 76 percent, and lowest among Blacks, 49.7 percent. Conversely, the use of public transit is highest among Blacks, 38 percent and lowest among Non-Visible Minorities, 8.5 percent. The corresponding proportion for the sample, on the other hand, is 15 percent. The proportion which uses other means of transport to get to work is relatively small among all the groups, however, they are much higher than among the sample for this study.

### 7.2.15 Journey to Work – Duration

The respondents were asked how long it takes them to get to their work place from their residence when they go to work. The responses obtained are set out in Table 7.20.

**Table 7.20**

**Length of Time it Takes to Get to Work by Area of Residence**

Duration	Residence					
	Core Concentration		Semi-core Concentration		Periphery	
	Number	% within Residence	Number	% within Residence	Number	% within Residence
Up to 15 minutes	25	29.4	24	24.0	24	20.9
16-30 minutes	42	49.4	46	46.0	59	51.3
31-45 minutes	14	16.5	24	24.0	24	20.9
46 minutes – 1 hour	2	2.4	3	3.0	6	5.2
Over 1 hour	1	1.2	3	3.0	1	.9
Missing value	1	1.2	0	.0	1	.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 7.02; Degree of freedom = 10; Level of significance = 0.05  
P-value = 0.72.

The majority of the respondents, nearly half the total sample, indicated that they get to their work places within sixteen to thirty minutes, while about 24 percent get to their work places within fifteen minutes. Overall, about 73 percent of the respondents live within thirty minutes drive of their places of work, which seems to indicate that the respondents live quite close to their work places. Only a very small proportion of about 5 percent of the respondents take over forty-five minutes to an hour and over to get to work. Most of the people in this category are people who go to work by

public transit. Two people failed to indicate how long it takes them to get to work from their residences. When it comes to a regional break down of the length of time it takes respondents to get to work, the core concentration has the highest proportion of people who take the shortest time to get to work (within 15 minutes). About 29 percent of respondents in the core concentration get to their work places within 15 minutes, compared to 24 percent for the semi-core concentration and 21 percent for the periphery. About 79 percent of people in the core concentration get to their work places within 30 minutes. The corresponding proportions for the semi-core concentration and the periphery are 70 percent and 72 percent respectively. On the other hand, only a small proportion of 4 percent of respondents in the core concentration take from forty five minutes to one hour and over to get to work, compared to 6 percent for the semi-core concentration and the periphery. However, differences in the times respondents take to get to work among the three zones are not statistically significant.

Available data on commuting distance for the population of the Toronto area during the 1996 Census is shown in Table 7.21, as a way of comparison with the sample for this study.

**Table 7.21**

**Commuting Distance to Work by Visible Minority and Non-visible Minority, Metropolitan Toronto, 1996**

Distance	Groups									
	Black		South Asian		Chinese		Other Visible Minority		Non-Visible Minority	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 5km	1,988	32.2	2,409	31.7	3,192	33.1	4,614	36.4	112,292	38.7
5km - 9.9km	1,614	26.2	1,989	26.2	2,886	29.9	3,442	27.1	62,547	21.6
10km - 19.9km	1,644	26.6	2,025	26.6	2,376	24.6	3,004	23.7	58,467	20.2
20km - 30+km	926	15.0	1,180	15.5	1,185	12.3	1,626	12.9	56,595	19.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,172</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>7,603</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>9,639</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>12,686</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>289,901</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Public Use Micro Data Files, 1996 Census.

N/B: The Data covers residents of the Toronto area aged 20-64.

Unlike the data for the sample, the data for the population of Metropolitan Toronto provide commuting distances in terms of actual distances, not in terms of time. However, some comparisons can be made between the two sets of data. For all the groups, the majority of their members commute for less than 5km to get to their work places. Also, all the groups have more than half of their members commuting for up to 9.9km. Only a small proportion of the various groups commute for distances of 20km or more. There is no significant difference in commuting distance for the various groups. In sum, it can be seen from the table that the majority of the population of the Toronto area live quite close to their work places, which is the same as the finding made for the sample for this study. The sample, therefore, exhibits commuting characteristics similar to that of the population of

Metropolitan Toronto.

### 7.3 Household Adaptive Strategies

In this section, we focus our attention on some of the measures taken by the households of respondents to cope with the economic pressures faced by their households. Some of the issues discussed are whether respondents' households are one-income or two-income households and whether they do any extra work (aside of their regular income-generating jobs) that brings money into the home.

#### 7.3.1 One-income and Two-income Households

In addition to the respondent, the study sought information about other people who are employed in the respondent's household. Table 7.22 shows a break down of the responses obtained.

**Table 7.22**

**Who is Employed in Household by Area of Residence**

Person	Residence					
	Core Concentration		Semi-core Concentration		Periphery	
	Number	% within Residence	Number	% within Residence	Number	% within Residence
Only Husband	6	7.1	8	8.0	3	2.6
Only Wife	2	2.4	3	3.0	3	2.6
Husband and Wife	55	64.7	65	65.0	83	72.2
Parents and Children	3	3.5	5	5.0	4	3.5
Only Respondent	19	22.4	19	19.0	22	19.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 4.49; Degree of freedom = 8; Level of significance = 0.05, P-value = 0.81.



The vast majority of the households involved in the study, about 72 percent, are two-income households. These households have both husband and wife and, in some cases, some of their children working. A small proportion of households have only the husband working, about 6 percent while, on the other hand, about 3 percent of households have only the wife working. Twenty percent of the households had only the respondent living in them. The pattern is similar for all the three zones of Ghanaian concentration; differences in the people who are employed in various households are not statistically significant among the three zones. All of them have the highest proportion of households with both husband and wife working, with the periphery having the highest proportion of households in this category, about 72 percent. The core concentration and the semi-core concentration have about the same proportion of households with both husband and wife working, 65 percent. When it comes to households with only the husband working, the semi-core concentration has the highest proportion of households in this category, 8 percent, followed by the core concentration with 7 percent and the periphery with 3 percent. With households that have only the wife working, on the other hand, the core concentration has the smallest proportion of households, with 2 percent of households while both the semi-core concentration and the periphery have a similar proportion of 3 percent in this category. A small proportion of households have parents and some of their children working. The semi-core concentration has a slight lead in this group of households with 5 percent while both the core concentration and the periphery have 3.5 percent of respondents in this category. Overall, it seems that the majority of the households involved in the study have quite a good base to weather the economic pressures they face since most of them are two-income households.

### 7.3.2 Performance of Extra Jobs

The respondents were asked whether they or someone in their households engage in any other economic activity that brings income into the household<sup>11</sup>. The data obtained is set out in Table 7.23.

**Table 7.23**

**Performance of Extra Work by Area of Residence**

Extra Work	Residence					
	Core Concentration		Semi-core Concentration		Periphery	
	Number	% within Residence	Number	% within Residence	Number	% within Residence
Perform Extra Work	27	31.8	26	26.0	19	16.5
No Extra Work	57	67.1	74	74.0	96	75.7
Missing value	1	1.2	0	.0	0	.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 9.31; Degree of freedom = 4; Level of significance = 0.05  
P-value = 0.05.

It can be seen from the table that the majority of the households involved in the study do not perform any other income-generating jobs aside of their regular jobs. Only 24 percent of the respondents indicated that a member of their households perform extra income-generating jobs. One person failed to respond to this question. The low incidence of the performance of extra work among the participating households might be due partly to the fact that as was seen in the previous section, most of the households are two-income households. As a result of this, there might not be a great

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<sup>11</sup> This is defined as any formal or informal work, separate from their regular jobs, that serves as a source of income for their households.

need nor even the time to engage in any other extra work. A regional break down of those who perform extra jobs shows that the core concentration has the highest proportion of households that engage in this activity, about 32 percent, while the periphery has the lowest proportion of households in this category, at 16.5 percent. The corresponding proportion for the semi-core concentration is 26 percent. The regional break down of the performance of extra work seems to have an inverse relationship with the regional breakdown of two-income households. As was seen in the previous section, the periphery has the highest proportion of two-income households, followed by the semi-core concentration and the core concentration. It seems clear from this that the higher the proportion of two-income households, the lower the incidence of the performance of extra work in the households. There is a slightly significant difference in the performance of extra work among the three zones.

### **7.3.3 Type of Extra Work Performed**

The study sought to explore the performance of extra income-generating work further by asking about the kinds of extra work performed by the households. The responses obtained are set out in Table 7.24.

**Table 7.24**

**Type of Extra Work Performed by Area of Residence**

Extra Work	Residence					
	Core Concentration		Semi-core Concentration		Periphery	
	Number	% within Residence	Number	% within Residence	Number	% within Residence
Hair Braiding	6	22.2	9	34.6	4	21.1
Sell Clothing and other items	8	29.6	7	26.9	7	36.8
Sewing	5	18.5	1	3.8	4	21.1
Other work	8	29.6	9	34.6	4	21.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 13.69; Degree of freedom = 10; Level of significance = 0.05  
P-value = 0.18.

The most popular type of extra income-generating work engaged in by the households of the respondents is the selling of clothing and other petty items like bangles and ear-rings, with about 30 percent of households involved in this activity. This is closely followed by the performance of other work (jobs cited include electronics repair, carpentry – fixing of doors and windows, newspaper delivery, cab driving and baby-sitting), 29 percent, hair braiding, 26 percent and a small proportion, 14 percent, engaged in sewing. It seems from the list of extra work engaged in that this activity is mostly carried out by the women of the household. The first three activities are mainly the exclusive preserve of women among Ghanaian households. The males are most likely to be engaged in the activities which fall under the ‘other’ category. Respondents were asked who were their major

customers for the extra work performed. In most cases, these activities are geared towards fellow Ghanaians who, in all cases, constituted over 90 percent of customers (with the exception of cab driving and newspaper delivery). The other 10 percent are mostly other black immigrants. Hair braiding and sewing are usually done in the homes of the one providing the service. The customers come to the homes of the service provider to have their hair braided or they bring their clothing to be sewn. Those who engage in the sale of items, however, do so mostly by door-to-door, usually by telephone appointment. When they get pieces of wax print which they usually import from the Netherlands or the United States, they take them to the homes of their clients for them to make selections. Shoes are also popular items that are sold by this method. There is no significant difference in the type of extra work performed among the three zones.

#### **7.4 Housing Conditions**

In this section, we shift our attention to a discussion of the housing conditions of the respondents, specifically, the type of accommodations they live in and their tenure of accommodation.

##### **7.4.1 Type of Accommodation**

Table 7.25 shows the data on the type of accommodation in which the respondents live.

**Table 7.25****Type of Accommodation by Area of Residence**

Accommodation	Residence					
	Core Concentration		Semi-core Concentration		Periphery	
	Number	% within Residence	Number	% within Residence	Number	% within Residence
Detached House	7	8.2	13	13.0	18	15.7
Semi-detached House	3	3.5	16	16.0	8	7.0
Townhouse Condominium	7	8.2	8	8.0	4	3.5
Apartment	68	80.0	63	63.0	85	73.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 15.28; Degree of freedom = 6; Level of significance = 0.05

P-value = 0.02

It can be seen from the table that the vast majority of respondents, 72 percent, live in apartment buildings. A very small proportion of them live in detached houses (13%), semi-detached houses (9%) and townhouse condominiums (6%). A regional breakdown shows that the core concentration has the highest use of apartment buildings, at 80 percent, followed by the periphery at 74 percent. It is lower in the semi-core concentration where 63 percent of the respondents live in apartment buildings. The use of detached houses is highest in the periphery (16%), followed by the semi-core concentration (13%), while a relatively smaller proportion of residents in the core concentration (8%) live in such buildings. The differences in type of accommodation among the three zones are significant.

#### 7.4.2 Tenure of Accommodation

Respondents were asked whether they own or rent their accommodations. The responses obtained are set out in Table 7.26.

**Table 7.26**

**Tenure of Accommodation**

<b>Tenure</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Own accommodation	44	14.7
Rent accommodation	256	85.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Field Data

There is very little home ownership among the respondents, as only about 15 percent of them own their accommodations. The vast majority of the respondents, 85 percent, rent their accommodations. Home ownership among the sample is very low, compared to the population of Metropolitan Toronto as can be seen in Table 7.27.

**Table 7.27**

**Tenure of Accommodation by Visible Minority and Non-visible Minority, Metropolitan Toronto, 1996**

Tenure	Groups									
	Black		South Asian		Chinese		Other Visible Minority		Non-Visible Minority	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Owned With /Without Mortgage	1,587	36.4	2,912	55.4	4,657	79.7	2,999	43.8	34,025	68.9
Rented Band Housing	2,777	63.6	2,344	44.6	1,185	20.3	3,844	56.2	15,310	31.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,364</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5,256</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5,842</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>6,843</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49,335</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Statistics Canada, Public Use Micro Data Files, 1996 Census.

N/B: The Data covers residents of the Toronto area aged 20-64.

Among the various groups in Metropolitan Toronto, the Chinese have the highest rates of home ownership, at about 80 percent, followed by the Non-visible Minority group, about 69 percent of whom own their accommodations. At 36.4 percent, Blacks have the lowest rates of home ownership. The proportion who own their accommodations among the Chinese, Non-visible Minority group and South Asians is higher than those who rent their accommodations while for Blacks and members of the Other Visible Minority group, those who rent are more than those who own their accommodations.

The following sections consider some factors which are likely to influence home ownership among the respondents.

**7.4.3 Tenure of Accommodation and Year of Arrival**

Table 7.28 sets out the relationship between the year of arrival of respondents and home



ownership rates.

**Table 7.28**

**Tenure of Accommodation by Year of Arrival**

Tenure	Arrival Year					
	Up to the 1970s		1980s		1990s	
	Number	% within Year	Number	% within Year	Number	% within Year
Own accommodation	18	40.0	23	12.4	3	4.3
Rent accommodation	27	60.0	163	87.6	66	95.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 29.73; Degree of freedom = 2; Level of significance = 0.05  
P-value = 0.00.

Our attention, in this analysis, is focused on those who own their accommodations. It can be seen from the table that those who have been in the country longer have a higher propensity to own their accommodations. For those who arrived in Canada up to the 1970s, 40 percent own their accommodations. compared to 12 percent for those who arrived during the 1980s and only 4 percent for those who arrived during the 1990s. Differences in tenure of accommodation by year of arrival is statistically significant. The length of time spent in Canada, therefore, has a positive effect on home ownership. This may partly account for the low incidence of home ownership among the respondents. As was seen in the previous chapter, the Ghanaian immigrant population in Toronto is mostly of recent origin and, therefore, might not have a high propensity for home ownership.

**7.4.4 Tenure of Accommodation and Occupational Status**

The relationship between home ownership rates and the occupational status of respondents is shown in Table 7.29.

**Table 7.29**

**Tenure of Accommodation by Type of Occupation**

Tenure	Occupation									
	Professional		Semi-prof/Admin.		Sales/Service/Clerical		Processing/Mach./Fab.		Self-Employed	
	% within No.	% within Occup.	% within No.	% within Occup.	% within No.	% within Occup.	% within No.	% within Occup.	% within No.	% within Occup.
Own accommodation	17	51.5	10	27.8	2	2.0	9	9.6	6	16.2
Rent accommodation	16	48.5	26	72.2	98	98.0	85	90.4	31	83.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 55.58; Degree of freedom = 4; Level of significance = 0.05  
P-value = 0.00.

As is to be expected, there is a significant difference in home ownership rates by the occupational status of respondents. The higher the occupational status of the respondents, the higher the home ownership rates. Among the respondents who are employed in professional occupations, more than half own their accommodations, compared to 28 percent for those in semi-professional/administrative occupations, 2 percent for those in sales/service/clerical occupations and 10 percent for those in processing/machining/fabricating occupations. A fairly high proportion of those who are self-employed, 16 percent, also own their accommodations. Obviously, high occupational status has a positive effect on home ownership. This might, also, be a partial explanation for the low incidence of home ownership rates among the respondents, as the majority of them are engaged in low status occupations.

In addition to recency of immigration and low occupational status of the respondents, Owusu (1998) provides another possible explanation for the low home ownership rates among the Ghanaian community in Metropolitan Toronto. In his study of home ownership rates among Ghanaians in Metropolitan Toronto, Owusu (1998) argues that low home ownership rates among them are linked to their motives, back-home commitments and return migration intentions. While 81 percent of his respondents indicated that they would like to return to Ghana permanently some day, 4 percent of them would like to move to another country. Their unwillingness or inability to purchase homes in Toronto is directly linked to these intentions. Even under situations of improved income, 84 percent of the respondents indicated that they would not buy a house in Toronto. Their preference was to rent houses in Toronto while saving to buy houses back home in Ghana. In this vein, he found that Ghanaian immigrants are seriously committed to investing in home ownership in Ghana. While 31 percent of respondents indicated that they have completed projects or were in the process of undertaking projects in Ghana, an additional 56 percent had intentions to invest in home ownership in Ghana during their stay in Canada (Owusu, 1998).

#### **7.4.5 Tenure of Accommodation and Area of Residence**

We consider spatial variations in home ownership among the respondents in this section. The relevant data is shown in Table 7.30.

**Table 7.30**

**Tenure of Accommodation by Area of Residence**

Tenure	Residence					
	Core Concentration		Semi-core Concentration		Periphery	
	No.	% within Residence	No.	% within Residence	No.	% within Residence
Own accommodation	8	9.4	16	16.0	20	17.4
Rent accommodation	77	90.6	84	84.0	95	82.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 2.70; Degree of freedom = 2; Level of significance = 0.05  
P-value = 0.26.

From the table, it can be seen that home ownership is highest among the outer zones of Ghanaian concentration. The periphery and the semi-core concentration have the highest proportion of residents who own their accommodations, at 17 percent and 16 percent respectively. Only about 9 percent of respondents in the core concentration own their accommodations. However, there is no significant difference in home ownership rates among the three zones of residence.

**7.5 Summary of Findings**

The majority of the respondents were found to be engaged in Sales/Service/Clerical and Processing/Machining/Fabricating occupations. The largest proportion, a third of the respondents, is engaged in Sales/Service/Clerical occupations. Only a small proportion is engaged in Professional and Semi-professional/Administrative occupations. The majority of the respondents, therefore, are engaged in low status occupations. The majority of males are found in

Processing/Machining/Fabricating occupations while the majority of females are found in Sales/Service/Clerical occupations. There is a higher proportion of males in high status occupations than their female counterparts. In general terms, the occupational distribution of the sample corresponds well with that for visible minority groups in Metropolitan Toronto, especially, the general Black population and South Asians.

In their search for jobs, the respondents showed very limited reliance on official structures available to help in job procurement. They relied mostly on their own efforts or personal networks of relatives and friends to obtain their jobs. Further analysis showed that there was no significant difference between the job search strategies of males and females and, also, among the three zones of Ghanaian concentration identified for the study. The study lends support to research findings which show that one of the negative effects of the reliance on personal networks to find jobs is the channelling of visible minorities into low status occupations. A high proportion of the respondents who relied on personal networks are found in low status occupation. Only a very small proportion are found in high status occupations.

A positive correlation was found between length of stay in Canada and occupational status. More long term residents have high status occupations than their counterparts who have been in the country for a relatively short period of time. The same is true for education, with those who have high levels of education being concentrated more in high status occupations than those with low levels of education. Education in Canada was found to be especially important in this regard. At a zonal level, even though the periphery has the highest concentration of respondents engaged in high status occupations, there is no significant difference in the occupational distribution of respondents in the core concentration, semi-core concentration and the periphery.

Concerning the location of the places of work for the respondents, it was found that the majority of respondents' jobs are located in the periphery. For all the three zones, the majority of respondents work within their zone of residence. However, the proportion who work within their zone of residence is significantly higher in the periphery. On the other hand, the proportion which works outside their zone of residence is much higher in the semi-core concentration and the core concentration.

Majority of the respondents were found to get to work by their own means of transport, with a small proportion relying on public transit or other means of transportation. The respondents live quite close to their places of work. Seventy three percent of them get to their work places within 30 minutes. No significant zonal differences were found in either the mode of transportation to work or the duration of time it takes to get to work. The mode of transportation to work and duration of time of the respondents is generally similar to that of the total population of Metropolitan Toronto.

The vast majority of the households of respondents are two-income households. That is, both husband and wife and, in a few cases, some of their children are working. There is no significant difference in the number of people working in a household among the core concentration, the semi-core concentration and periphery. Majority of respondents indicated that they do not perform any extra work, apart from their regular jobs. Only about a quarter of the respondents perform extra work. The performance of extra work is highest in the core concentration and lowest in the periphery. For those who perform extra work, the activities engaged in are selling of clothing and other items, hair braiding, sewing and other work including newspaper delivery, electronic repairs and baby-sitting. These activities are geared mainly towards fellow Ghanaians. There are no differences in the kind of extra work performed among the core concentration, the semi-core

concentration and the periphery.

The majority of the respondents live in apartment buildings, with a small proportion living in detached and semi-detached houses. Home ownership rates are very low among the respondents, compared to that of the total population of Metropolitan Toronto. Only about 15 percent owned their accommodations. Home ownership was found to be positively related to both length of residence and occupational status. It was highest among long term residents and those with high status occupations. There are no significant differences in housing tenure among the core concentration, the semi-core concentration and the periphery.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **SELF EMPLOYMENT IN THE GHANAIAN COMMUNITY**

#### **8.1 Introduction**

As was pointed out in Chapter three, the development of ethnic entrepreneurship is crucial to the well-being of minority groups in a receiving society. The involvement of immigrant groups in business is very important as it can contribute to a more stable community for immigrants and it can also give, especially members of ethnic minorities, a feeling of possessing a greater stake in the society. For many visible minorities, especially those who lack the necessary skills and qualifications to succeed in the wider labour market, ethnic businesses serve as an important alternative source of employment. The level of minority business development has been said to be a good indicator of the socio-economic standing of an ethnic group and is a crucial instrument for socio-economic mobility. Lack of business development within an ethnic group may, in contrast, serve as a hindrance to the group's socio-economic mobility. Self-employment has served as an important 'lifeline' for a sizeable number of visible minorities. In their desire to succeed in their new 'homes', when they find that they cannot make it in certain occupations, some members of immigrant groups branch off into other activities such as creating businesses of their own in order to realize their dreams and aspirations.

This chapter focuses on self-employment among the Ghanaian immigrant group in Toronto, based on a survey of Ghanaian-owned businesses. Some of the issues dealt with are types of businesses developed among the Ghanaian community in Toronto, their location, the day-to-day running of these businesses and any links that they might have with businesses in Ghana.



## 8.2 Types of Businesses

In all, the owners of 40 Ghanaian businesses<sup>12</sup> were contacted and agreed to take part in the study. Ghanaian businesses in the Toronto area fall into two main groups – those that deal in retail and wholesale and those that provide services of various kinds. The total number of businesses involved in the study was split evenly between the two main groups (that is, 20 retail/wholesale businesses and 20 businesses providing services)<sup>13</sup>. Table 8.1 provides a break down of the main types of businesses that fall under the two groups.

**Table 8.1**

**Type of Business**

<b>Retail/Wholesale</b>	<b>Service</b>
Grocery shops Beauty Supply shops Textile Supplies Restaurants	Health Services – family physicians, psychiatrists, obstetricians etc. Auto shops Personal Services – hair care, videography, photography etc. Shipping/Travel Agencies Financial Services – forex bureaux, insurance, taxes etc.

The development of entrepreneurship among the Ghanaian immigrant group is geared towards a wide range of services to meet the needs of the group and the larger Canadian society.

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<sup>12</sup>The total number of businesses discussed in this chapter include three more businesses which were not part of the ‘self-employed’ category mentioned in the previous chapter. This is because the owners of these businesses had other jobs and were, therefore, included in another occupational category.

<sup>13</sup>In all, about 180 businesses are listed in the Ghanaian Businesses and Professionals Business Directory, 1997-1998 of which about 55 percent are Service businesses. However, due to the importance of the Retail/Wholesale businesses in terms of patronage and popularity among the Ghanaian community, it was decided that an even split in the sampling of the two business types was appropriate.

Most importantly, their main function seems to be the provision of goods and services from the home country (Ghana) which may, otherwise, not be available to the Ghanaian immigrant group. The wholesale/retail businesses are the most important in this regard, especially, the grocery shops. They provide all kinds of traditional Ghanaian food products and other items which can be obtained only from Ghana. Through these shops, the Ghanaian immigrant in Toronto can obtain any type of food, clothing and other products from Ghana that one can think of. By providing food and other products from Ghana, these shops help to make life in Canada a little bit easier for Ghanaian immigrants, many of whom may not be familiar with alternative products provided here, especially, during the initial stages of settlement in Canada. They help them to maintain ties with their roots while trying to fit into the Canadian society. The shipping/travelling agencies and forex bureaux<sup>14</sup> also play a very important role in the lives of the Ghanaian immigrant population. Through these agencies, they are able to maintain contact with their relatives back home in Ghana. The forex bureaux, especially, play an important role in the transfer of remittances from immigrants to their kin in Ghana. Usually, funds are transferred and are available for pick up by the family of the sender in Ghana within twenty four hours. Immigrants are also able to ship personal belongings to their families back home quite easily through the shipping agencies. An important service provided by the shippers is the provision of 220 volt electronic equipment (power used in Ghana), which are, normally, not available in regular Canadian stores.

### **8.3 Location of the Businesses**

The businesses that took part in the study were grouped by location within the three zones

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<sup>14</sup>Agencies which deal in foreign exchange and the transfer of funds to various countries.

of Ghanaian residence in Toronto identified for this study. The data obtained are shown in Table 8.2.

**Table 8.2**

**Location of Businesses**

<b>Location</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Core concentration	22	55
Semi-core concentration	10	25
Periphery	8	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Field Data

The majority of the businesses that took part in the study, 55 percent, are located in the core concentration, which also has the majority of the population surveyed in this research. The semi-core concentration had a slightly higher representation of businesses than the periphery (25% and 20% respectively). See Figure 5 for the location of the businesses in the three zones. The proportion of businesses in the various zones is a fair representation of the businesses listed in the 1997-1998 Ghanaian Business Directory.

The business owners were asked why they chose the particular areas where their businesses are located. The most popular reason for location cited by the respondents is the desire to be close to their customers, the vast majority of whom are Ghanaians. It is, therefore, not surprising that the majority of Ghanaian owned businesses are located in the core concentration, where the bulk of the Ghanaian immigrant population in Metropolitan Toronto live. There are some instances where the business owners live in either the semi-core concentration or in the periphery but have their businesses located in the core concentration. The reason they gave for this, during conversations with them, was that they want to be close to the centre of the Ghanaian population. Other factors of location, given in only a few cases, are proximity to home (of the owner), ease of accessibility for

their customers and good rent. In one instance, a doctor who has a private practice said that he wanted a location (for his business) that was close to the hospital where he has his hospital privileges.

#### 8.4 Background Characteristics of the Entrepreneurs

In this section, we consider a few characteristics of the business owners, such as their gender, the year they arrived in Canada, their educational levels and any background experience they had in the businesses they are doing now when they were in Ghana.

##### 8.4.1 Gender of Business Owners

Table 8.3 gives a break down of the gender of the business owners who took part in the study.

**Table 8.3**

**Gender of Business Owners**

Gender	Business Owners		Total Sample of Ghanaians	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Male	33	82.5	227	75.7
Female	7	17.5	73	24.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

Like the other occupational categories and the general population involved in this study, the majority of the self-employed people who took part in the study are males. It must be pointed out, however, that no matter who responded to the questionnaire, male or female, in most cases when it comes to the ownership of the businesses, it is a joint ownership between husband and wife. The people presented here could, therefore, be considered as just those who are 'fronting' for the various

businesses. Related to this, it has been pointed out that in patriarchal cultures (of which the Ghanaian community is an example), males are likely to be listed as owners of businesses even when their spouses also work for the businesses (Fernandez and Kim, 1998). Moreover, research has also shown that male immigrants are proportionally more likely to be engaged in self-employment than are females (Fernandez and Kim, 1998).

#### 8.4.2 Year of Arrival of Business Owners

Table 8.4 shows the distribution of the year in which the self-employed people arrived in Canada.

**Table 8.4**

**Year of Arrival of Business Owner**

Year	Business Owners		Total Sample of Ghanaians	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Up to 1979	8	20.0	45	15.0
1980-1989	32	80.0	186	62.0
1990+	-	-	69	23.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

Like the general Ghanaian immigrant population in Toronto, the vast majority of the business owners who took part in the study, 80 percent, arrived in Canada during the 1980s. This proportion is higher than the proportion of the total sample who arrived during the same period (62%). In addition, a slightly higher proportion of the self-employed arrived in Canada in the period up to the 1970s than the total sample (20% compared to 15%). It is interesting that, unlike the total sample, none of the business owners is a recent immigrant (that is arrived during the 1990s). Therefore, there is a higher proportion of long term residents among the business owners than among the total

population involved in the study. It seems that starting one's own business requires at least a 10 year residency in Canada. It is, therefore, likely that most of the Ghanaian businesses would be young. This would be discussed shortly. This finding is in line with the findings of research which have shown that length of residence in a receiving society is important to starting a business as considerable time is required for business preparation (Fernandez and Kim, 1998).

#### 8.4.3 Educational Level of Business Owners

The highest educational levels attained by the respondents can be seen in Table 8.5.

**Table 8.5**

**Educational Level of Business Owners**

Education	Business Owners		Total Sample of Ghanaians	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Elementary	-	-	1	.3
High School	7	17.5	90	29.9
Trade/Diploma/non-Univ.	21	52.5	119	39.8
University	12	30.0	90	30.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

It can be seen from the table that the self-employed people are fairly well educated, comparing favourably with the total sample. The lowest level of education attained by them is a high school education. 17.5 percent of the respondents. The majority of them, like the general Ghanaian immigrant population in Toronto, have a diploma or trade related education (52.5%). A fairly high proportion of them, 30 percent, also have a university degree, similar to the total sample involved in the study. Overall, therefore, they are quite well educated.

#### 8.4.4 Prior Experience in Present Business

The study sought to find out whether self-employed people had any experience in the businesses they are engaged in at the moment when they were in Ghana. The responses obtained are set out in Table 8.6.

**Table 8.6**

##### **Prior Experience in Present Business**

<b>Experience</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Experience in Ghana	14	35
No experience in Ghana	26	65
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Field Data

The majority of the business owners, 65 percent, were not engaged in the businesses they are involved in now when they were in Ghana. Only 35 percent of them were engaged in a similar business when they were back in Ghana.

In addition to finding out whether business owners had any prior experience in their businesses when they were in Ghana, the study also sought to find out whether they had any practical training in Canada, in the field of the business they are engaged in, before starting their business. Table 8.7 shows the responses obtained.

**Table 8.7**

##### **Practical Training in Canada**

<b>Training</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Training in Canada	15	37.5
No training in Canada	25	62.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Field Data

Like prior experience in Ghana, the majority of the business owners, 62.5 percent, did not have any practical training in Canada in the field of their business before starting their businesses. Only 37.5 percent of them had some practical training in Canada before getting into business.

Taken in conjunction, it seems that the majority of the business owners had no experience nor training in their areas of business prior to starting their businesses. This would seem to support the argument that some visible minorities, and members of the society at large, turn to self-employment when they find difficulties in getting work in the regular job market (Ward and Jenkins, 1984; Bailey et al., 1995; Lee, 1995; Fernandez and Kim, 1998).

Having discussed the background characteristics of the business owners, we turn our attention to an analysis of the Ghanaian businesses in the next section.

## **8.5 Characteristics of Ghanaian Businesses in Toronto**

This section focuses on a discussion of the characteristics of Ghanaian businesses in Toronto. Some of the issues that are considered are sources of capital, the day-to-day running of the businesses, employment of workers, composition of customers and links they might have with businesses in Ghana.

### **8.5.1 Year Business was Started**

The business owners were asked about the year in which their businesses were started. Table 8.8 portrays the responses obtained.



**Table 8.8**

**Year Business was Started**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1980s	10	25
1990s	30	75
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Field Data

It seems that Ghanaian businesses in Toronto are generally very young. The vast majority of the businesses that took part in the study, 75 percent, were established only this decade (1990s). Only 25 percent were set up during the 1980s. The relatively young age of Ghanaian businesses in Toronto is not surprising, considering the fact that the Ghanaian immigrant population in Toronto is itself of recent origin, the majority of them (including the business owners) having arrived in Canada mostly since the 1980s. Since most of them arrived in the 1980s, it can be expected that by the 1990s they would have been established enough in the Canadian system to be able to start their own businesses. That might account for the reason most of the businesses were set up during the 1990s. The time lapse needed to be able to start one's own business may be the reason why it was found out in the previous section that none of the Ghanaian immigrants who arrived in Canada this decade are found among the business owners.

### **8.5.2 Source of Capital**

The study also sought to find out how the business owners raised the initial capital they used to start their business. Table 8.9 shows the responses obtained.

**Table 8.9**

**Source of Capital**

<b>Source</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Bank	2	5
Personal Savings	21	52.5
Personal Savings/Family Support	10	25
Personal Savings/Bank	7	17.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Field Data

One thing that stands out clearly from the table is the very limited role of banks as a source of capital for the business owners. Only 5 percent of them got assistance solely from a bank when they were about to start their business. An additional 17.5 percent of the respondents had some bank support in addition to their own personal savings. The vast majority of the respondents, 52.5 percent, had to rely on their own personal savings to raise the initial capital to start their business. To complement their own savings, 25 percent of the respondents also had to fall upon their family members for support in raising their initial capital. The lack of support from banks in raising the initial capital among the respondents is similar to the case of other visible minority entrepreneurs (Lee, 1992; 1995). It must be pointed out, however, that members of the larger society who are embarking on a new endeavour may face similar difficulties in obtaining loans from the banks. Almost all the business owners interviewed for this study indicated that they found it very difficult getting any assistance from the banks and so they had to rely on their own resources in order to get their businesses off the ground. In most instances, they indicated that they could not meet the requirements laid down by the banks as a prerequisite for obtaining the venture loan needed to start their business.

### 8.5.3 Person Running Day-to-day Business

Table 8.10 shows the person who is in charge of the day to day running of the businesses that were involved in the study.

**Table 8.10**

**Person in charge of Daily Operation of Business**

<b>Person</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Myself	15	37.5
With help of Spouse/Family	25	62.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Field Data

In the majority of cases, the businesses involved in the study are run on a daily basis by the owner of the business, with the help of his/her family (62.5%). A relatively small proportion of respondents, 37.5 percent, indicated that they are solely in charge of the daily running of their businesses. It would seem, therefore, that most of the businesses are family-owned and family-operated.

We explore this further by examining whether there is any difference in the person in charge of the daily operation of business between the two types of businesses – wholesale/retail and service businesses. The data is shown in Table 8.11.

**Table 8.11****Person in charge of Daily Operation by Type of Business**

<b>Business</b>	<b>Person</b>			
	<b>Myself</b>		<b>With Help of Spouse/Family</b>	
	<b>Number</b>	<b>% within Person</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>% within Person</b>
Retail/Wholesale	3	20.0	17	68.0
Service	12	80.0	8	32.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 8.64; Degree of freedom = 1; Level of significance = 0.05, P-value = 0.00.

There is a clear difference between retail/wholesale businesses and service businesses in terms of the person who is in charge of the day to day running of the businesses (differences are statistically significant). Whereas service businesses tend to be run on a daily basis mostly by the owner of the business, retail/wholesale businesses are mostly run by the owners with the help of their families. Of those who run their businesses by themselves, 80 percent are in service businesses (compared to 20% for retail/wholesale businesses). On the other hand, for those who run their businesses with the help of their families, 68 percent are in retail/wholesale businesses while 32 percent are in service businesses. The most likely explanation for this trend is that most of the service businesses are specialized in operation and normally small in size and limited in length of daily service (for example, doctors and mechanics) and as such would not be likely to need the help of their family members who may not be trained in the field the business operates in. For the retail/wholesale businesses on the other hand, since they are in sales, any member of the family can be of help in the daily operation of the business.

#### 8.5.4 Employment of Workers

The business owners were asked whether they employ any workers in their businesses. The responses obtained are set out in Table 8.12.

**Table 8.12**

**Employment of Workers**

<b>Employment</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Employ Workers	17	42.5
Does Not Employ Workers	23	57.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Field Data

It can be seen from the table that employment rate is low among the businesses which took part in the study. The majority of the businesses surveyed, 57.5 percent, indicated that they do not employ any workers. Only a relatively small proportion of them, 42.5 percent, employ workers. It would be interesting to find out whether there is any difference in employment rate between retail/wholesale businesses on one hand and service businesses on the other. The relevant data is set out in Table 8.13.

**Table 8.13****Employment of Workers by Type of Business**

<b>Business</b>	<b>Workers</b>			
	<b>Employ Workers</b>		<b>Does Not Employ Workers</b>	
	<b>Number</b>	<b>% within Employment</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>% within Employment</b>
Retail/Wholesale	3	17.6	17	73.9
Service	14	82.4	6	26.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 12.38; Degree of freedom = 1; Level of significance = 0.05  
P-value = 0.00.

There is a statistically significant difference in employment rates between retail/wholesale businesses and service businesses. Service businesses have a much higher tendency to employ workers than retail/wholesale businesses. Among the businesses which employ workers, about 82 percent are service businesses; while only about 18 percent of retail/wholesale businesses employ workers. For the businesses which do not employ workers, on the other hand, about 74 percent are retail/wholesale businesses while 26 percent are service businesses. The higher employment rates among service businesses, compared to retail/wholesale businesses may be partly due to the fact that, as was seen in the previous section, retail/wholesale businesses have a higher participation by family members in the day to day running of the businesses while the participation of family members in service businesses is minimal. It is, therefore, likely that service businesses would have a higher need to employ workers than retail/wholesale businesses.

### 8.5.5 Number of Employees

Table 8.14 shows the number of workers employed by the businesses which took part in the study.

**Table 8.14**

#### **Number of Employees**

<b>Workers</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
One	4	23.5
Two-Three	11	64.7
Four-Five	1	5.9
Six and above	1	5.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Field Data

The majority of the businesses employ only a few workers. The highest number of workers employed by the businesses involved in the study is two to three workers; employed by about 65 percent of the businesses. A smaller proportion of businesses, 23.5 percent, employ only one worker. Overall, therefore, about 88 percent of the businesses which employ workers have only up to three workers. Only about 12 percent of the businesses employ four workers or more. This is in sharp contrast to the situation for Chinese businesses in Metropolitan Toronto. According to a study conducted by Lo and Wang (1999), as part of the Metropolis Project, "while 57 percent of the Chinese businesses are small (less than 20 employees) and 41 percent are medium-sized (20-199 employees), 2 percent of them, covering a range of business types in wholesale, manufacturing, realty and accommodation, employ 200 to 750 workers" (p. 5).

### 8.5.6 Composition of Employees

The business owners who employ workers were asked about the nationality of their

employees. The data obtained is set out in Table 8.15.

**Table 8.15**

**Composition of Employees**

<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
All Ghanaian	9	52.9
African or Black	1	5.9
Ghanaian/African or Black	1	5.9
Ghanaian/African or Black/ Other	3	17.6
Ghanaian/Other	3	17.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Field Data

N/B: The "Other" category consists of workers who are not Ghanaian, African or Black.

Over half of the businesses, about 53 percent, employ only Ghanaian workers while about 41 percent employ a combination of Ghanaians and other Africans/Blacks as well as other workers who are not black. About 18 percent of the businesses employ workers from all three categories (that is Ghanaian, other blacks and non-blacks). A similar proportion employs a combination of Ghanaians and non-blacks while about 6 percent employ a combination of Ghanaians and other blacks. Only one of the businesses (6%) had no Ghanaian worker. In this case, the worker involved is an African or other black. The Ghanaian content among the workers employed by the businesses is, therefore, very high. Possible explanations for this might include the desire to provide employment opportunities to members of the Ghanaian community (which is a form of bias), small nature of the businesses (as can be deduced from the available evidence) and the main group of customers served by these businesses, as would be seen shortly.



### 8.5.7 Recruitment of Workers

The study sought to find out how the business owners recruited their workers. The data obtained are set out in Table 8.16.

**Table 8.16**

#### **How Workers Were Recruited**

<b>Recruitment</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Through Relatives/Friends	11	64.7
Newspaper - Ghanaian	1	5.9
Newspaper - Ghanaian/Other	4	23.5
Other	1	5.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Field Data

The importance of personal networks in employment generation is, once again, seen here in the way in which the business owners got their workers. The majority of the business owners, about 65 percent, indicated that they obtained their workers through the help of relatives and friends. About 24 percent of them, on the other, obtained their workers through advertisements in Ghanaian and other newspapers. The heavy reliance on personal networks of relatives and friends to obtain workers might be partly responsible for the very high Ghanaian content in the workers employed by the businesses involved in the study.

### 8.5.8 Composition of Customers

We now turn our attention to the make up of the customers who patronize the businesses which took part in the study. Table 8.17 shows the relevant data.

**Table 8.17****Composition of Customers**

<b>Customers</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Majority Ghanaian	32	80
Majority African or Black	6	15
Majority Other	2	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Field Data

N/B: The "Other" category consists of customers who are not Ghanaian, African or Black.

The businesses surveyed cater mainly to Ghanaian customers. Eighty percent of the business owners indicated that Ghanaians form the bulk of their customers. A much smaller proportion of 15 percent, on the other hand, have the majority of their customers being other Africans or blacks while only 5 percent of the businesses have the majority of their customers being people other than Ghanaians or other blacks. Table 8.18 portrays the differences in the composition of customers among retail/wholesale businesses on one hand and service businesses on the other.

**Table 8.18****Composition of Customers by Type of Business**

<b>Business</b>	<b>Composition of Customers</b>					
	<b>Majority Ghanaian</b>		<b>Majority African or Black</b>		<b>Majority Other</b>	
	<b>No.</b>	<b>% within Customers</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>% within Customers</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>% within Customers</b>
Retail/Wholesale	17	53.1	3	50.0	0	.0
Service	15	46.9	3	50.0	2	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Field Data

N/B: Chi-square = 2.13; Degree of freedom = 2; Level of sig. = 0.05; P-value = 0.35.

In both retail/wholesale businesses and service businesses, Ghanaians constitute the majority of customers. However, the proportion (of Ghanaian majority) is slightly higher among retail/wholesale businesses than among service businesses (53%, compared to 47%). In the case where other blacks form the majority of customers, it is evenly split between retail/wholesale businesses and service businesses. On the other hand, where the majority of customers are non-blacks, the businesses involved are service businesses. Differences in the composition of customers between the two business types are not statistically significant. The respondents were asked to rank their customers in terms of proportions among the three groups (Ghanaians, other blacks and non-blacks). In the majority of cases, Ghanaians form about 80-85 percent of customers, with other blacks forming about 7-10 percent and non-blacks 5 percent or less. The dominance of Ghanaians among customers differs between retail/wholesale businesses and service businesses. While in most cases Ghanaian customers for retail/wholesale businesses range between 80-90 percent, for most service businesses, the Ghanaian proportion is between 50-60 percent. In addition, even among retail/wholesale businesses, there is a difference in the dominance of Ghanaian customers between grocery stores and restaurants on one hand and beauty supply stores and textile supply stores on the other hand. The proportion of Ghanaian customers is much higher among grocery stores/restaurants than among beauty supply/textile supply stores. In the table above, where other Africans or blacks form the majority of customers among retail/wholesale businesses, the businesses involved are beauty supply stores and textile supply stores.

Overall, therefore, retail/wholesale businesses are the most heavily patronized by Ghanaian customers and, within this category, grocery stores and, to some extent, restaurants are the most popular in terms of the dominance of Ghanaian customers. The grocery stores sell a wide range of

items including traditional Ghanaian food products, cosmetic products, calling cards, Ghanaian video and audio tapes, compact discs, magazines, cleaning supplies, cigarettes and so on. Most of the purely Ghanaian traditional food products are imported from Ghana while other food products are obtained locally (that is, in Toronto). Some of the companies that serve as important sources of supply for the Ghanaian stores are Goudas, Grace, New Park, Nicco Foods and Maple Lodge farms. For the beauty supply stores and textile supply stores, most of their products are obtained locally as well as from the United States, Italy and the Netherlands.

### 8.5.9 Links to Ghana

The business owners were asked whether their businesses have any links to businesses in Ghana. The data obtained are set out in Table 8.19.

**Table 8.19**  
**Links to Ghana**

<b>Link</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Have Links to Ghana	10	25
No Links to Ghana	30	75
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Field Data

Links to Ghana among the businesses is very minimal. Only 25 percent of the business owners indicated that their businesses have links to some businesses in Ghana. The majority of them, 75 percent, do not have any links to businesses in Ghana. Some of the links maintained concern some grocery stores which have some businesses in Ghana which supply them with food products from Ghana. Also, the shipping agencies have counterparts in Ghana who see to the clearance of goods shipped there from Toronto. Moreover, forex bureaux in Toronto have business arrangements

with banks in Ghana through whom they transfer funds from their clients in Toronto to their family members back home in Ghana. In most cases, the businesses in Ghana with whom links are maintained by Ghanaian businesses in Metropolitan Toronto are based in Accra, the capital of Ghana. The banks in Ghana with whom forex bureaux in Toronto do business are usually spread around the country, normally in all the regional capitals of Ghana. The majority of businesses which do not maintain any links to businesses in Ghana are those businesses which, in their normal operations, do not have any cause to maintain links to Ghana. These include medical practitioners, for example psychiatrists and obstetricians, beauty supply stores, which import their products mostly from the United States and Europe and auto mechanic shops. In addition to finding out about any links maintained with businesses in Ghana, the business owners were asked whether their businesses are part of larger organizations. Only two businesses (5%) were found to be a part of larger organizations. These businesses are branches of larger organizations based in the United States. The rest of the businesses involved in the study are solely owned and operated and have no links to any other organization. In comparison, Chinese businesses in Metropolitan Toronto have grown to the extent that they are no longer confined to single locations – 12 percent of them are headquarters of businesses mostly in retail and consumer services while 6 percent of them are branches of bigger businesses (Lo and Wang, 1999).

## **8.6 Summary of Findings**

Like the general sample, the majority of the respondents who are engaged in their own businesses are males. All of them are long term residents, the majority of them arriving during the 1980s. There is no recent immigrant (arrived during the 1990s) among this group of respondents.

Overall, there is a higher proportion of long term residents among the self-employed than among the total sample. They are fairly well educated. All of them have, at least, a high school education. More than half of them have a diploma or trade related education and almost a third have university education. It was found that the majority of them had no prior experience in the field of their business either in Ghana or in Canada before embarking on their business.

Ghanaian businesses in Metropolitan Toronto are of two main types – Retail/Wholesale businesses and Service businesses. The majority of them are located within the Core concentration. The major reason which influenced the location decision of the businesses was proximity to customers. It is, therefore, not surprising that the majority of them are located in the Core concentration. Other factors which influenced the location of the businesses are proximity to the home of the business owners, ease of accessibility and good rent.

Ghanaian businesses in Metropolitan Toronto are very young. Seventy five percent of them were established during the 1990s. This is, clearly, a function of the recency of residence in Canada of the business owners and the Ghanaian population in Metropolitan Toronto in general. The business owners had very limited bank support in the raising of capital to start their businesses. The majority had to rely on their own savings and support from relatives and friends to raise their initial capital.

The businesses are mainly family owned and operated. The majority of the businesses are run on a day-to-day basis by the owner with the help of family members. Further analysis showed that Service businesses have a higher tendency to be run on a daily basis by the owners themselves whilst Retail/Wholesale businesses are more likely to be run with the help of family members.

The businesses have low employment rates. More than half of them do not employ any

workers. In the case of employment, only a few workers are employed. Of the businesses which have employed workers, 88 percent have only up to three workers. An analysis of the composition of workers employed by the businesses showed a very high bias towards Ghanaians. Only a very small proportion of the workers are other Africans or Blacks and members of other ethnic groups. Service businesses have a significantly higher tendency to employ workers than Retail/Wholesale businesses. In terms of providing economic advancement to the Ghanaian community, therefore, Service businesses seem to provide better prospects. Workers for the businesses were recruited mostly through personal networks of relatives and friends. Other means of recruitment used are advertisements in newspapers, both Ghanaian and non-Ghanaian.

A vast majority of the businesses cater mainly to Ghanaian customers. The content of members of other groups (Africans or Blacks and others) among the customers of Ghanaian businesses is very small. Retail/Wholesale businesses showed a slightly higher proportion of Ghanaian customers than Service businesses, though the difference is not significant.

Finally, Ghanaian businesses in Metropolitan Toronto are mostly single entity businesses (not branches of other businesses) and they have very minimal links to businesses in Ghana. Only a very small proportion indicated that they are part of other businesses or have any links to businesses in Ghana.

## **CHAPTER NINE**

### **SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS**

#### **9.1 Introduction**

The major thrust or aim of this study, which focuses on the Ghanaian immigrant population living in Metropolitan Toronto (which has the largest proportion of Ghanaians in Canada), was to find out whether respondents living in the main area of Ghanaian concentration in Metropolitan Toronto have different socio-economic characteristics from those living away from the main Ghanaian concentration, as is suggested by the general urban ethnic literature. It had three specific research objectives. First, the study sought to ascertain the relationship between the residential location patterns of Ghanaian immigrants in Metropolitan Toronto and their socio-economic characteristics, as defined by their occupational distribution and issues related to it such as job search strategies, location of jobs, journey-to-work, household adaptive strategies (performance of extra work) and housing tenure. Secondly, it sought to find out the nature of the development of entrepreneurship among the Ghanaian community in Metropolitan Toronto, with a focus on the types of business created, their location, employment rates, customer base and any links they might have with businesses in Ghana. In order to understand and explain the general integration process of the Ghanaian immigrant group, it also sought to ascertain the motivations that the respondents had for emigrating to Canada, their migration patterns and the nature of their initial integration into the economy of Metropolitan Toronto.

To assist in the analysis, three zones of Ghanaian concentration in Metropolitan Toronto were identified for the study. The first zone is the main area of Ghanaian concentration, which was termed as the core concentration. Two other zones were identified based on distance and accessibility from



the core concentration. The second zone, which is closer to the core concentration was termed as the semi-core concentration. The last zone, the area farthest away from the core concentration, was termed the periphery (see Figure 5). The study sought to find out whether the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents in each of the three zones is significantly different from that of the other zones. This is an attempt to find out the extent to which the theory of spatial assimilation applies to the Ghanaian community in Metropolitan Toronto. Briefly, the main tenets of spatial assimilation postulate that when immigrants arrive in a receiving society, they initially settle among themselves in ethnic neighbourhoods and then as time goes on and they become more adapted to life in the host society and their socio-economic status improves, they move out of the ethnic neighbourhoods and reside among the wider community. If this is true for the Ghanaian group under study, then it implies that those living in the outer zones (the semi-core concentration and the periphery) should have better socio-economic characteristics than those living in the main area of Ghanaian concentration, the core concentration.

This chapter provides a summary of the main findings of the study and the concluding remarks. It is divided into five main sections, the first of which is the introduction. The second section deals with migration patterns and initial settlement, the third section dwells on occupational characteristics of the respondents, the fourth section discusses self-employment among the Ghanaian community and the last section provides concluding comments as well as suggestions about some issues that could be the focus of further research.

## **9.2 Migration Patterns and Initial Settlement**

This section is divided into three parts. The first section provides a summary of the

background characteristics of the respondents, the second and third sections deal with their migration patterns and initial settlement into the Toronto area.

### **9.2.1 Background Information on Respondents**

The respondents to the study are Ghanaian immigrants resident in the Metropolitan Toronto area, born and raised in Ghana, who emigrated to Canada as adults either directly from Ghana or through another country and had been in Canada for, at least, one year at the time of the study (May to October, 1998 and January to February, 1999).

The majority of the respondents are aged between 30 to 49 years, with smaller proportions in their twenties and fifties. The majority, over two-thirds, are males and the majority are married. There are only small proportions of people who are single, separated or divorced. The vast majority live in their homes with their spouses and children. They are fairly well educated, with 70 percent of them having either a high school education or college education and 30 percent having university level education. The background characteristics of the respondents is very similar to that of the general Ghanaian immigrant population in Metropolitan Toronto as a whole as indicated in the national Census of Population.

### **9.2.2 Migration Patterns<sup>15</sup>**

Like the total Ghanaian immigrant population and other visible minority groups in Metropolitan Toronto, the respondents are of recent origin with the majority of them arriving in Canada from the 1980s onwards. They arrived in Canada at a relatively young age, about 72 percent of them arriving in their twenties.

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<sup>15</sup>The summary provided here in Sections 9.2.2 - 9.2.3 is a recap of the summary provided in Section 6.7 (p. 150-152) at the end of Chapter 6.

The prevalence of economic reasons as a major motivating factor for migration flows (both national and international) is borne out by this study. Almost half of the respondents indicated that they emigrated to Canada for economic advancement reasons. A fair proportion also came to join relatives who were already in the country. Males were found to be more likely to immigrate for economic reasons while females are more likely to come under the family class system (sponsored by relatives already in the country).

In terms of the paths followed to get to Canada from Ghana, it was found that even though the majority of the respondents came directly to Canada from the home country, 'geographically indirect' immigration is an important feature of Ghanaian immigration to Canada. That is, after leaving Ghana, the respondents lived in some other countries for some time before continuing to Canada. Thirty percent of the respondents fall under this category. Europe serves as the most important 'stop-over' region for Ghanaian immigrants on their way to Canada. Further analysis showed that there is a higher tendency for 'direct immigrants' to be family class immigrants while 'indirect immigrants' are more likely to be independent immigrants.

### **9.2.3 Initial Settlement**

Like members of recent immigrant groups, the vast majority of the respondents settled in Metropolitan Toronto when they first arrived in Canada. To a much lesser extent, Montreal and Vancouver are the other predominant cities of initial residence for the respondents.

Within Metropolitan Toronto, the majority of the respondents settled in the

main area of Ghanaian concentration, the core concentration, when they first arrived in the Toronto area. However, recent immigrants (those who arrived in the 1990s) show a higher tendency of settling initially in the outer zones – the semi-core concentration and the periphery.

Upon arrival in the Toronto area, the majority of the respondents first stayed with either relatives or friends. Only a relatively smaller proportion stayed on their own. This shows evidence of chain migration which has been shown to be an important feature of the migration patterns of, especially, visible minorities into North America.

The study sought to find out the influence that background preparation and the experiences that the respondents brought with them had on their initial settlement patterns, specifically, whether they settled initially in the core concentration or in the outer zones. Four variables were used to determine the background preparation and experience of the respondents at the time of arrival in Canada. These are education, migration pattern (direct or indirect), first Canadian city lived in and host upon arrival. It was expected that the better the background preparation and experience the respondents had at the time of arrival, the lesser would be their need to settle initially in the main area of Ghanaian concentration.

Consequently, those with better background preparation and experience would show a higher tendency of initial settlement in the outer zones (the semi-core concentration and the periphery) than their counterparts with a lesser background preparation and experience, who would show a higher tendency of settling initially

in the core concentration. In the case of education, it was expected that those with high levels of education would be more likely to settle initially in the periphery while those with low levels of education would proportionally settle initially more in the core concentration. With regards to pattern of migration, because of their prior experience with life in an industrialized society, it was expected that those who lived in other countries for some time before coming to Canada would show a higher tendency of settling initially in the periphery more than their colleagues who came to Canada directly from Ghana, who would show a higher propensity of settling initially in the core concentration. For the same reason, those who lived first in other Canadian cities before moving to Toronto were expected to show a higher tendency of initial settlement in the outer zones more than their colleagues who settled initially in Toronto when they arrived in the country. Also, because those who stayed on their own upon arrival in the Toronto area had more control over where they stayed than their counterparts who were hosted by their relatives and friends already at the place of destination, it was expected that those who stayed on their own would show a higher tendency of settling initially in the periphery than their counterparts who were hosted by relatives and friends and vice-versa. Differences observed in initial settlement patterns among the various variables were tested by chi-square tests to determine whether they were significant or not.

Overall, there were no significant differences in the patterns of initial settlement. It was found that the majority of respondents settled in the core concentration when they first arrived in Metropolitan Toronto. People with better

background preparation and experience at the time of arrival in the Toronto area were as likely to settle initially in the core concentration as those with lesser background preparation and experience. On the other hand, those with lesser background preparation and experience were as likely to settle initially in the periphery as those with better background preparation and experience. For example there were no significant differences in initial settlement (core concentration or the outer zones) between those with high levels of education and those with relatively lower levels of education. The same observation applies to patterns of migration and city of first residence and host upon arrival. The only exception occurs in host upon arrival in the Toronto area. Those who stayed on their own show a significantly higher initial settlement in the periphery than those who were hosted by a relative or friend, who show higher initial settlement in the core concentration and the semi-core concentration. This shows the influence that individualism or independence can have on the settlement patterns of immigrants. As such people have the freedom to choose wherever they want to settle, they are more likely to settle in areas where job opportunities are, which are usually in the periphery.

Generally, therefore, background preparation and experience had no influence on whether the respondents settled initially in the core concentration, in the semi-core concentration or in the periphery. No matter the background preparation and experience, the respondents settled initially more in the core concentration than in the outer zones. This implies that the core concentration has a big attraction for new arrivals from Ghana, no matter their socio-economic status at the time of arrival.

Movement patterns among the respondents were found to be mainly intra-zonal, with the majority of the respondents moving within the same zone in which they reside. While inter-zonal movements are small, they are mostly from the core concentration towards the outer zones.

### **9.3 Occupational Characteristics**

This section is divided into three parts. The first part provides a summary of the findings on occupational activity of the respondents, the second part dwells on household adaptive strategies and the last part focuses on housing tenure.

#### **9.3.1 Occupational Activity<sup>16</sup>**

The majority of the respondents were found to be engaged in Sales/Service/Clerical and Processing/Machining/Fabricating occupations. The largest proportion, a third of the respondents, is engaged in Sales/Service/Clerical occupations. Only a small proportion is engaged in Professional and Semi-professional/Administrative occupations. The majority of the respondents, therefore, are engaged in low status occupations. The majority of males are found in Processing/Machining/Fabricating occupations while the majority of females are found in Sales/Service/Clerical occupations. There is a higher proportion of males in high status occupations than their female counterparts. In general terms, the occupational distribution of the sample corresponds well with that for visible

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<sup>16</sup>The summary provided here in Sections 9.3.1 - 9.3.3 is a recap of the summary provided in Section 7.5 (p. 197 - 200) at the end of Chapter 7.

minority groups in Metropolitan Toronto, especially, the general Black population and South Asians.

In their search for jobs, the respondents showed very limited reliance on official structures available to help in job procurement. They relied mostly on their own efforts or personal networks of relatives and friends to obtain their jobs. Further analysis showed that there was no significant difference between the job search strategies of males and females and, also, among the three zones of Ghanaian concentration identified for the study. The study lends support to research findings which show that one of the negative effects of the reliance on personal networks to find jobs is the channelling of visible minorities into low status occupations. A high proportion of the respondents who relied on personal networks are found in low status occupation. Only a very small proportion are found in high status occupations.

A positive correlation was found between length of stay in Canada and occupational status. More long term residents have high status occupations than their counterparts who have been in the country for a relatively short period of time. The same is true for education, with those who have high levels of education being concentrated more in high status occupations than those with low levels of education. Education in Canada was found to be especially important in this regard. At a zonal level, the periphery has a higher proportion of respondents with high status occupations, followed by the core concentration and the semi-core concentration. However, the differences in occupational distribution among the three zones are not significant.



Concerning the location of the places of work for the respondents, it was found that the majority of respondents' jobs are located in the periphery. For all the three zones, the majority of respondents work within their zone of residence. However, the proportion who work within their zone of residence is significantly higher in the periphery. On the other hand, the proportion which works outside their zone of residence is much higher in the semi-core concentration and the core concentration.

Majority of the respondents were found to get to work by their own means of transport, with a small proportion relying on public transit or other means of transportation. The respondents live quite close to their places of work. Seventy three percent of them get to their work places within 30 minutes. No significant zonal differences were found in either the mode of transportation to work or the duration of time it takes to get to work. The mode of transportation to work and duration of time of the respondents is generally similar to that of the total population of Metropolitan Toronto.

### **9.3.2 Household Adaptive Strategy**

The vast majority of the households of respondents was found to be two-income households. That is, both husband and wife and, in a few cases, some of their children are working. There is no significant difference in the number of people working in a household among the core concentration, the semi-core concentration and the periphery. Majority of respondents indicated that they do not perform any extra work, apart from their regular jobs. Only about a quarter of the respondents

perform extra work. The performance of extra work is highest in the core concentration and lowest in the periphery. For those who perform extra work, the activities engaged in are selling of clothing and other items, hair braiding, sewing and other work including newspaper delivery, electronic repairs and baby-sitting. These activities are geared mainly towards fellow Ghanaians. There are no differences in the kind of extra work performed among the core concentration, semi-core concentration and the periphery.

### **9.3.3 Housing Conditions**

The majority of the respondents live in apartment buildings, with a small proportion living in detached and semi-detached houses. Home ownership rates are very low among the respondents, compared to that of the total population of Metropolitan Toronto. Only about 15 percent owned their homes. Home ownership was found to be positively related to both length of residence and occupational status. It was highest among long term residents and those with high status occupations. There are no significant differences in housing tenure among the core concentration, the semi-core concentration and the periphery.

### **9.4 Self-Employment**

This section is divided into two main parts. The first part provides a summary of the background characteristics of the business owners while the second deals with the characteristics of the businesses.

#### **9.4.1 Background Characteristics of the Self-Employed<sup>17</sup>**

Like the general sample, the majority of the respondents who are engaged in their own businesses are males. All of them are long term residents, the majority of them arriving during the 1980s. There is no recent immigrant (arrived during the 1990s) among this group of respondents. Overall, there is a higher proportion of long term residents among the self-employed than among the total sample. They are fairly well educated, all of them have, at least, a high school education. More than half of them have a diploma or trade related education and almost a third have university education. It was found that the majority of them had no prior experience in the field of their business either in Ghana or in Canada before embarking on their business.

#### **9.4.2 Characteristics of Businesses**

Ghanaian businesses in Metropolitan Toronto are of two main types – Retail/Wholesale businesses and Service businesses. The majority of them are located within the core concentration. The major reason which influenced the location decision of the businesses was proximity to customers. It is, therefore, not surprising that the majority of them are located in the core concentration. Other factors which influenced the location of the businesses are proximity to the home of the business owners, ease of accessibility and good rent.

Ghanaian businesses in Metropolitan Toronto are very young. Seventy five percent of them were established during the 1990s. This is, clearly, a function of the

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<sup>17</sup>The summary provided here in Sections 9.4.1 - 9.4.2 is a recap of the summary provided in Section 8.6 (p. 222 - 224) at the end of Chapter 8.

recency of residence in Canada of the business owners and the Ghanaian population in Metropolitan Toronto in general. The business owners had very limited bank support in the raising of capital to start their businesses. The majority had to rely on their own savings and support from relatives and friends to raise their initial capital.

The businesses are mainly family owned and operated. The majority of the businesses are run on a day-to-day basis by the owner with the help of family members. Further analysis showed that Service businesses have a higher tendency to be run on a daily basis by the owners themselves whilst Retail/Wholesale businesses are more likely to be run with the help of family members.

The businesses have low employment rates. More than half of them do not employ any workers. In the case of employment, only a few workers are employed. Of the businesses which have employed workers, 88 percent have only up to three workers. An analysis of the composition of workers employed by the businesses showed a very high bias towards Ghanaians. Only a very small proportion of the workers are other Africans or Blacks and members of other ethnic groups. Service businesses have a significantly higher tendency to employ workers than Retail/Wholesale businesses. In terms of providing economic advancement to the Ghanaian community, therefore, Service businesses seem to provide better prospects. Workers for the businesses were recruited mostly through personal networks of relatives and friends. Other means of recruitment used are advertisements in newspapers, both Ghanaian and non-Ghanaian.

A vast majority of the businesses cater mainly to Ghanaian customers. The

content of members of other groups (Africans or Blacks and others) among the customers of Ghanaian businesses is very small. Retail/Wholesale businesses showed a slightly higher proportion of Ghanaian customers than Service businesses, though the difference is not significant.

Finally, Ghanaian businesses in Metropolitan Toronto are mostly single entity businesses (not branches of other businesses) and they have very minimal links to businesses in Ghana. Only a very small proportion indicated that they are part of other businesses or have any links to businesses in Ghana.

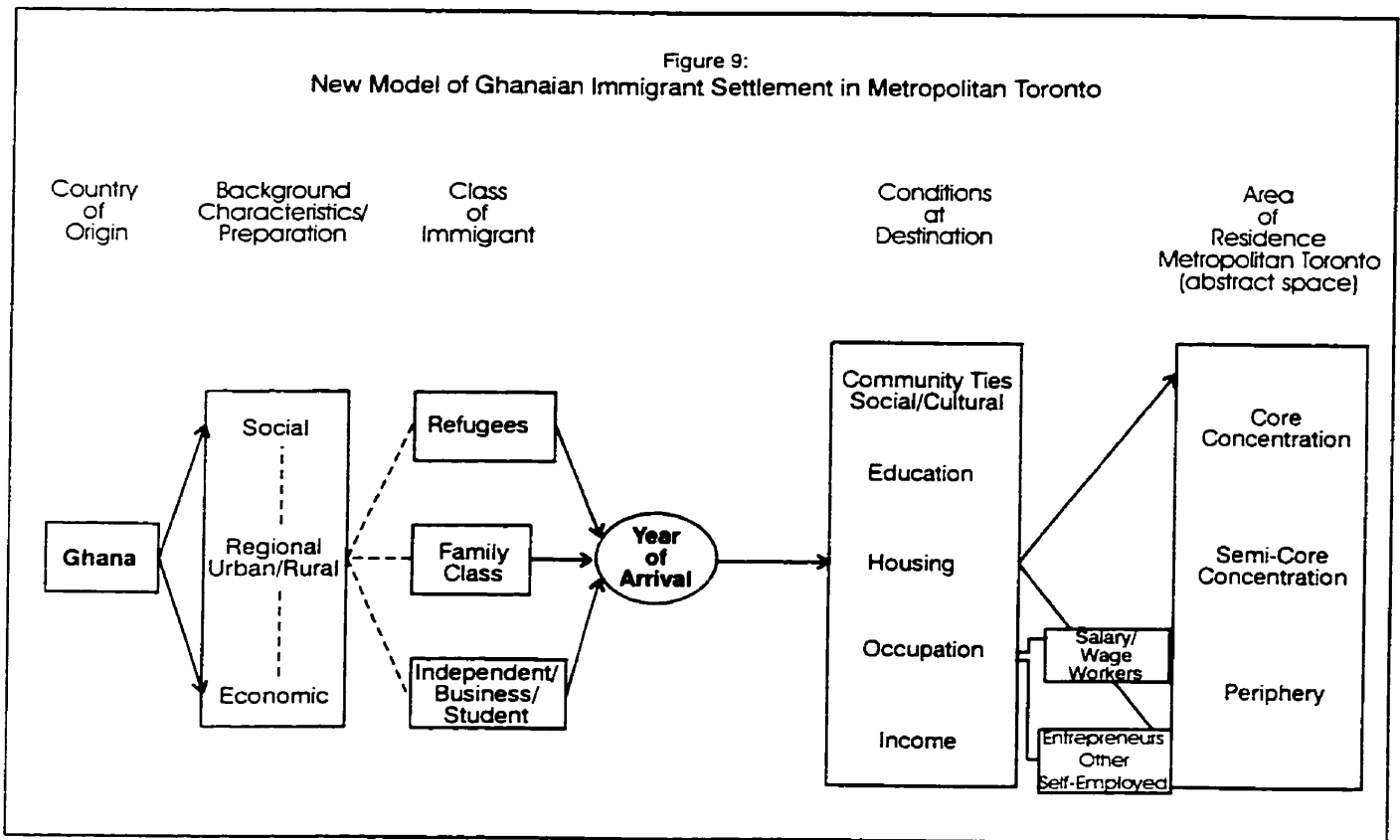
### **9.5 Concluding Remarks**

The findings of the study on the initial settlement of respondents contradict the traditional model of immigrant settlement which postulates that newly arrived immigrants will settle initially among their own kin and then disperse over time as they become more adapted to the host society and their socio-economic status improves. The model in Figure 6 (Spatial Dimensions of Ghanaian Immigrant Settlement in Toronto), which is reproduced here below Figure 9 for comparative purposes, is based upon this traditional model of immigrant settlement. Contrary to the traditional model, it was found that recent immigrants have a tendency of settling more in the outer zones (semi-core concentration and the periphery) than in the main area of Ghanaian concentration in Metropolitan Toronto. Furthermore, it was found that people with better background preparation and experience at the time of their arrival in Canada were as likely to settle initially in the core concentration as those with lesser background preparation and experience while those with lesser background preparation and experience at the time of arrival were as likely to settle initially in the

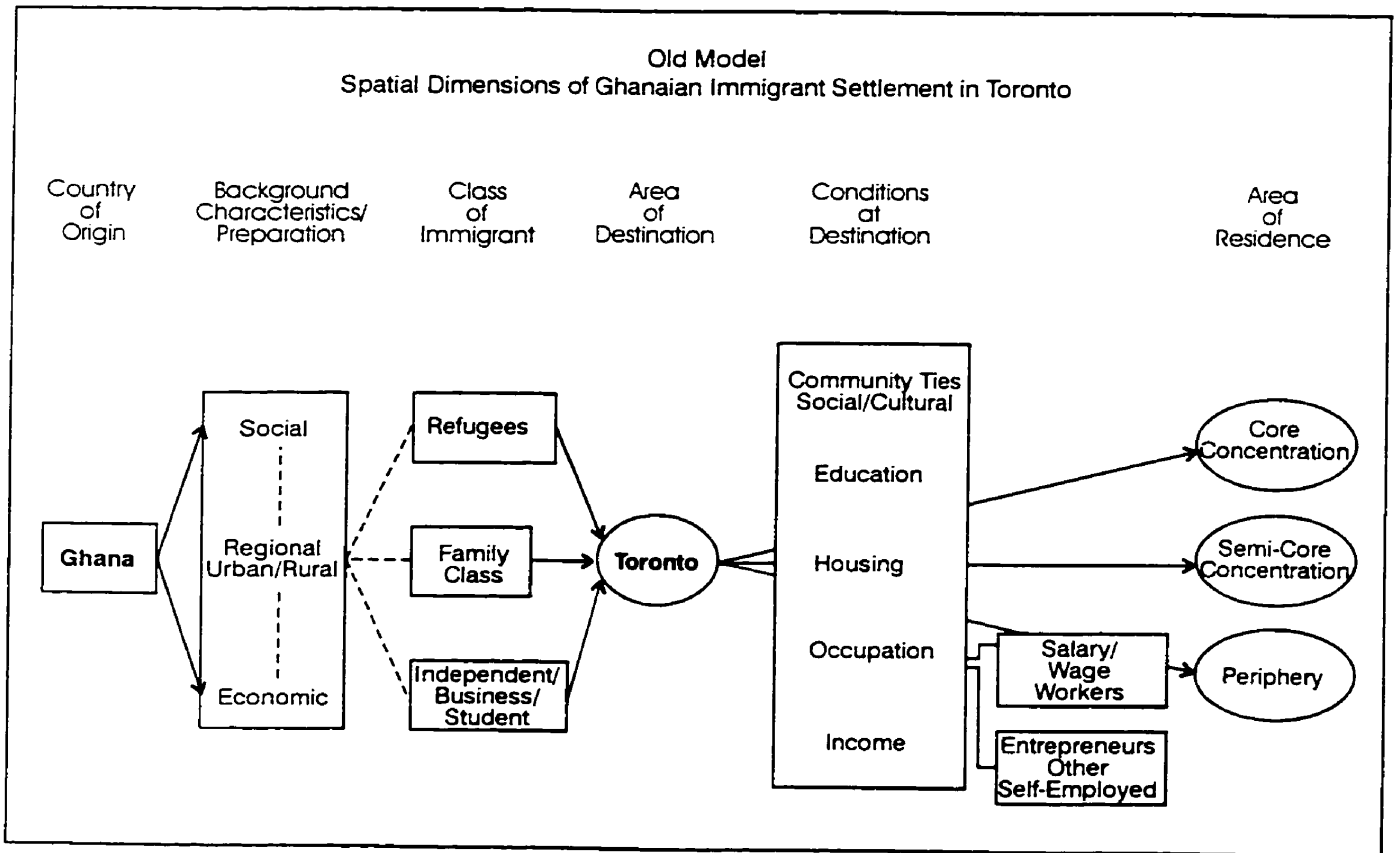
outer zones as those with better background preparation and experience. This contradicts the traditional model which implies that those with better socio-economic status at time of arrival in Canada would show a tendency of settling initially more in the outer zones than in the main Ghanaian concentration.

It could, therefore, be seen that the traditional model of immigrant settlement, while it may have worked in the past, does not work with the Ghanaian group under study at the moment. Changes in Canadian society in recent years – a changing urban landscape characterized by the availability of affordable housing in the suburbs, decentralization and dispersion of employment opportunities from city centres to peripheral areas, as well as a more tolerant and accepting receiving society – have made it possible for recent immigrants, most of whom are visible minorities, to disperse out in urban areas more than their forebears. Based on the findings of this study, a revision to the model in Figure 6 is proposed, as shown in Figure 9. In this revised model, instead of conceptualizing newly arrived immigrants as settling initially either among their own kin (core concentration) or away from their kin (outer zones) based on their socio-economic status, they should be conceptualized as being free, despite the background preparation and experience they come with, to find their own niches in Metropolitan Toronto based on their own individual circumstances. Thus, based on personal circumstances, a highly educated immigrant may choose to live among members of his/her ethnic group while another immigrant with a relatively lower level of education may choose to live away from members of his/her ethnic group. This implies that residence among members of one's ethnic group would not necessarily be construed as being negative and vice-versa. The model also takes into account the changing trends in initial settlement patterns of immigrants due to the conditions prevailing in the receiving society at their time of arrival.

Figure 9:  
New Model of Ghanaian Immigrant Settlement in Metropolitan Toronto



Old Model  
Spatial Dimensions of Ghanaian Immigrant Settlement in Toronto



When the findings of this study are taken in totality and set against the background of the main aim or thrust of the study (that is, spatial differentiation in occupational and other socio-economic characteristics), it can be seen that the Ghanaian group generally exhibits no significant spatial differences in their occupational and related socio-economic characteristics. The characteristics of people living in the main area of Ghanaian residence in Metropolitan Toronto, the core concentration, are not significantly different from that of those who live outside the main Ghanaian concentration (the semi-core concentration and the periphery).

The core concentration was shown to be comparatively strong and it forms an integral part of the life of the Ghanaian community in Metropolitan Toronto. In addition to being home to the majority of the Ghanaian population in the Toronto area, the core concentration serves as the biggest attraction to newly arrived Ghanaians, no matter the background preparation and experience they bring with them upon arrival in Canada and it also contains the majority of Ghanaian owned businesses.

Out of ten occupational and related socio-economic variables analysed in this study, it was found that in seven of them there are no differences in the characteristics of respondents living in each of the three zones of Ghanaian concentration identified for this study<sup>18</sup>. The socio-economic status of those living in the core concentration is, therefore, similar to that of those living in outer

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<sup>18</sup>Variables showing no significant spatial differences –  
Type of occupation, Job search strategies, How respondents get to work, Duration of time to work, Who is employed in household, Type of extra work performed and Tenure of accommodation.

Variables showing significant spatial differences –  
Performance of extra work, Location of jobs (those who work outside their zone of residence) and Type of accommodation.



zones (semi-core concentration and the periphery). Movement is, therefore, not taking place according to the lines outlined by the theory of spatial assimilation which would have residents in the outer zones having much stronger socio-economic status than those living in the core concentration. Does this mean the study group is not adapting well to life in Canada? This is not necessarily the case since a comparatively high proportion of respondents with high socio-economic status still continue to live in the core concentration. This implies that for some groups of people, residence in ethnic concentrations is not necessarily synonymous with low socio-economic status or lack of adaptation. For some reasons, even people who are well to do socio-economically, may choose to live among members of their ethnic group. One of these reasons may be linked to the nature of the immigration experience for the group in question. For many Ghanaian immigrants, for example, immigration is seen as a temporary phenomenon. They have intentions of returning permanently to their homeland in the future. Thus, instead of buying a home in Metropolitan Toronto (most probably in the periphery), they prefer to live in apartments while saving to buy a home in Ghana (see p. 196). As a result of this, even people with high socio-economic status may continue to live in the main area of Ghanaian residence. This phenomenon does not occur only in the case of international migration but in internal migration within Ghana as well. In Ghana, many migrants to urban areas save money in order to build homes back in their home towns, where they intend to return when they retire (see Okoree, 1995). Another reason may be found in differences between the design and structure of Metropolitan Toronto and that of typical United States cities. Most of the studies on spatial assimilation are based on United States cities with 'decayed inner cities'. Metropolitan Toronto, on the other hand, does not have a similar inner city. Each of the municipalities or boroughs that make up Metropolitan Toronto is complete with residential as well

as business facilities. The Core concentration of the Ghanaian community in Metropolitan Toronto, as defined for this study, is not located in an inner city but rather a suburb (North York) while the outer zones (Semi-core concentration and Periphery) are also in the suburbs (Scarborough and Mississauga/Brampton respectively). There is the likelihood, therefore, that socio-economic conditions in these areas may be similar and this may account for the lack of significant differences in the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents among the three zones identified for this study. This finding of the study (lack of significant differences in socio-economic characteristics among the Core concentration and the outer zones) is consistent with research which have shown that for members of visible minority groups, especially Blacks, high socio-economic status does not necessarily translate to residence outside of ethnic neighbourhoods (Hartshorne, 1991; Farley, 1995; Clark, 1986).

It must, however, be pointed out that the study provides findings which suggest that, in terms of socio-economic status, the periphery is in the process of developing into the strongest zone of Ghanaian residence in Metropolitan Toronto. Though zonal differences are not significant, the periphery has the highest proportion of respondents with university education, high occupational status and home ownership. It was also found that the majority of the respondents have their jobs located in this zone. In addition, movement among the respondents was found to be from the core concentration towards the periphery, which also attracts a higher proportion of recent arrivals (those arriving during the 1990s). The combination of these factors would seem to suggest that the periphery would emerge as the leading socio-economic zone among Ghanaian immigrants in Metropolitan Toronto within the next few years.

The development of private enterprise among the Ghanaian community in Metropolitan

Toronto is at a very early stage. Ghanaian owned businesses are small, young and in the process of growing. They are not as developed and as diversified as that for groups such as the Chinese. Though very beneficial to the Ghanaian community in Metropolitan Toronto, at their present stage of development, they cannot be relied upon to provide a meaningful economic support and advancement opportunities to the Ghanaian community. With the right commitment and direction of purpose from all the stake holders concerned, there is the hope that in the near future, Ghanaian businesses would be able to provide meaningful support to Ghanaians and the Toronto community in general.

The findings of the study have contributed to established literature on the life and experiences of immigrants in a receiving society. In most cases, the findings are consistent with existing literature. To some extent, its major contribution is in the area of our understanding of the economic adaptation of small, recent groups of immigrants, for example, those from Africa, who have received very little research attention. To the best of the knowledge of the researcher, no study has so far been done on any group from Africa in Canada which focuses on spatial differentiation in occupational and related socio-economic characteristics. The closest study to this one is that of Owusu (1996) on the Ghanaian community in Metropolitan Toronto. Owusu's (1996) study differs from the present one in that it focused on the distribution of the Ghanaian community in Metropolitan Toronto, their residential choice behaviour (type of housing, tenure of accommodation etc.) and the factors that influence their residential behaviour (see also Owusu, 1998). It also examined the development of social networks among the Ghanaian community in Metropolitan Toronto – the formation of associations and their importance to members of the Ghanaian community and social interactions between Ghanaians and non-Ghanaians. There is also another study by Konadu-Agyeman (1999) on

the migration experience of African immigrants in Canada with a special focus on Ghanaians in the Greater Toronto Area. The study draws a link between international migration of Africans and internal migration within African countries and shows that international migration of Africans is a logical extension of internal rural-urban migration, in search of better living conditions abroad. The study also shows that international migration flows of Ghanaians (and other West Africans) are characterized by a series of step-wise moves (geographically indirect immigration), with stops in other countries before eventually getting to Canada (a phenomenon which is also seen in internal migration within African countries).

The present research is an important step in filling the gap in knowledge created by the dearth of research on immigrant groups from Africa. However, more research is needed in this field, of which a few suggestions are made here. In the first place, more comparative studies along the same lines involving people from different countries in Africa are needed to establish the extent to which the characteristics of the various groups merge or differ from each other. Also, this study shows that people with high socio-economic status continue to live among people of their own kind but it gives no indication (apart from a couple of conjectures) about why they do not move out, as they would normally be expected to. More empirical studies are needed to help us understand the reasons for continued residence in ethnic neighbourhoods in spite of the achievement of high socio-economic status. It could be pointed out that the level at which the analysis was done (zonal level) was too broad to bring out any spatial differences in the observed socio-economic characteristics. It is, therefore, recommended that similar studies at a more micro level, for example, using simple cluster analysis, should be done in an attempt to bring out any spatial differentiation that may have been overlooked as a result of the level at which the present analysis was done.

The findings about self-employment among the Ghanaian community are exploratory in nature. More study is needed to find out their growth potential and how best they can be harnessed to contribute effectively to the economic advancement of the Ghanaian group and the Toronto community as a whole. More studies are also needed to determine how private enterprise in the Ghanaian community compares with that of other groups and the general population of Metropolitan Toronto.

## APPENDIX 1

### QUESTIONNAIRE (INDIVIDUALS)

The researcher would like to request your involvement in a research project examining the relationship between the economic adaptation of Ghanaian immigrants in Toronto and their residential location patterns. The researcher, who is a student at Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario, is undertaking this project as part of his doctoral (Ph.D) programme in Geography.

All answers will remain confidential and you will remain completely anonymous. You are free to skip any questions and to withdraw from the survey at any time. Your time and effort in helping with this study is greatly appreciated.

**Researcher:** Edmund N. Okoree  
Telephone No.: (519) 885-1955  
**Supervisor:** Dr Russell Muncaster  
Telephone No.: (519) 884-1970 ext. 2928

#### **A: Background Information**

1. What is the postal code of the area you live in?-----

Or the nearest major intersection? -----

2. Why did you choose your present place of accommodation?

1. Relatives/friends live here ( )
2. Other Ghanaians live here ( )
3. It's close to my work place ( )
4. Cheap rent ( )
5. More dwelling space ( )
6. Nice and safe neighbourhood ( )
7. Other (specify) ( )

3. Have you lived in the same residence since you arrived in Toronto?

1. Yes ( ) 2. No ( )

4. If No, what was your previous (last place of residence) postal code? -----

Or nearest major intersection? -----

5. For how long did you live at your previous place? -----

6. What type of accommodation do you live in?

1. Detached house ( )
2. Semi-detached house ( )
3. Townhouse condominium ( )
4. Apartment: a. Low rise ( ) b. High rise ( )
5. Other (specify) ( ) -----

7. Do you 1. own ( ) 2. rent ( ) your accommodation?

8. What is your sex? 1. Male ( ) 2. Female ( )

9. What is your age range?

1. Under 20 ( )
2. 20-29 ( )
3. 30-39 ( )
4. 40-49 ( )
5. 50-59 ( )
6. Over 60 ( )

10. What is your marital status?

1. Married ( )
2. Single ( )
3. Separated ( )
4. Divorced ( )
5. Other (specify) ( ) -----

11. What is the highest level of education you have attained? Please indicate where you attained it by writing G (Ghana), C (Canada) or O (Other country, please specify) against the particular level of education attained.

1. Elementary ( ) -----
2. Secondary (G.C.E. O' Level) ( ) -----
3. High School (G.C.E. A' Level) ( ) -----
4. Post-Sec: Nursing, Teacher training etc. ( ) -----
5. Vocational/Technical ( ) -----
6. Diploma/Advanced Teaching Certificate ( ) -----
7. University ( ) -----
8. Other(specify) ( ) -----

12. What is the composition of your household?
1. Spouse ( )
  2. Children ( ) Number-----
  3. Multi-family ( )
  4. Other (specify ( ) Number-----

13. How many people are in your household? -----

14. In which city/town/village in Ghana did you live just before you left Ghana? -----

**B: Initial Settlement**

15. What year did you arrive in Canada?-----

16. At about what age did you move to Canada?

1. Under 20 ( )
2. 20-29 ( )
3. 30-39 ( )
4. 40-49 ( )
5. 50-59 ( )
6. Over 60 ( )

17. Why did you move to Canada?

1. Family/friends in Canada ( )
2. Economic advancement/job ( )
3. Education ( )
4. Political ( )
5. Other (specify) ( )-----

18. When you left Ghana, was Canada your ultimate destination?

1. Yes ( )
2. No ( )

19. Did you move straight to Canada? If **Yes**, go to Q21

1. Yes ( )
2. No ( )

20. If **No**, what country (s) did you live in? Please indicate length of stay there.

-----

length of stay -----



21. Why did you first live in another country before coming to Canada?

-----  
-----

22. Which city did you settle in when you first arrived in Canada? -----

23. If Toronto was not the first city you settled in,

a. when did you move to Toronto? -----

b. why did you move to Toronto? -----

24. With whom did you stay when you first arrived in Toronto?

1. On your own ( )

2. Relative ( )

3. Friend ( )

4. Other (specify) ( ) -----

25. What is the postal code of your first place of stay in Toronto?-----

Or nearest major intersection? -----

**C: Participation in Economic Activities**

26. What was your occupation in Ghana? -----

27. If you were unemployed, were you

1. A student ( )      2. Other (please specify) -----

28. Who is your present employer? -----

29. What kind of business is your present work place involved in? -----

-----

30. What do you do there? -----

-----

31. What is your job title? -----

32. For how long have you been working there? -----

33. How many workers are in your department or unit? -----

34. Is your place of work owned by

- 1. Ghanaians ( )
- 2. Other Africans/Blacks ( )
- 3. Other ( )

35. Do you work

- 1. Full-time ( )
- 2. Part-time ( )

36. Please list other jobs you have held since arriving in Canada -----

-----  
-----

37. How long did it take you to find a job after your arrival in Canada?

- 1. Up to three months ( )
- 2. Three to six months ( )
- 3. Six months to one year ( )
- 4. One to two years ( )
- 5. Two years and above ( )
- 6. Other (specify) -----

38. If you studied first, how long did it take you, after graduation, to find a job?

- 1. Up to three months ( )
- 2. Three to six months ( )
- 3. Six months to one year ( )
- 4. One to two years ( )
- 5. Two years and above ( )
- 6. Other (specify) -----

39. How did you find your present job?

- 1. Through own personal effort ( )
- 2. Canada Employment Centre ( )
- 3. Private employment agency ( )
- 4. Ethnic/Cultural Association ( )
- 5. Relatives/friends ( )

6. Other (specify) ( ) -----

40. What is the postal code of your place of work? -----

Or the nearest major intersection? -----

41. How do you get to work?

1. Own car ( )

2. Public transport ( )

3. Other (specify) ( )

42. Approximately how long (in time) does it take you to get to work? -----

**D: Household Adaptive Strategy**

43. How many people in your household are employed? -----

44. Which members of the household are employed? (Please tick as many as apply)

1. Husband ( )

2. Wife ( )

3. Children ( )

4. Other (please specify) ( ) -----

45. Do members of the household do any other work that brings money to the home?

1. Yes ( ) 2. No ( )

46. If yes, what kind of work? -----

47. What percentage of the customers served in the above work are

%

1. Ghanaian

2. Other African/Black

3. Other(specify)

**E: Community Network/Social Organization and Interaction**

48. Do you belong to any Ghanaian group(s) in your community or in the city?

1. Yes ( ) 2. No ( )

49. If yes, what type of group(s)? (Please tick as many as apply)

- 1. Social/cultural/ethnic ( )
- 2. Professional ( )
- 3. Religious ( )
- 4. Other (specify) ( )-----

50. How do you get in touch with other Ghanaians in your community or in the city?  
(Please tick as many as apply).

- 1. Telephone ( )
- 2. Visitation ( )
- 3. Church ( )
- 4. Other (specify) ( )-----

51. How often do you get in touch with other Ghanaians in your community/city?

- 1. Daily ( )
- 2. Weekly ( )
- 3. Bi-weekly ( )
- 4. Monthly ( )
- 5. Other (specify) ( )-----

52. Do you belong to other non-Ghanaian groups in your community or in the city?

- 1. Yes ( )
- 2. No ( )

53. If yes, what type of group(s)? (Please tick as many as apply).

- 1. Social/cultural/ethnic ( )
- 2. Professional ( )
- 3. Religious ( )
- 4. Other (specify) ( )-----

**F: Living in Canada and Ties with Ghana**

54. Have you visited Ghana since your arrival in Canada?

- 1. Yes ( )
- 2. No ( )

55. If yes, how many times? -----

56. If you visit Ghana, how often do you do so?

- 1. At least once a year ( )
- 2. At least once in three years ( )
- 3. At least once in five years ( )
- 4. Other (specify) ( ) -----

57. Do you send any money or goods to relatives/friends in Ghana?

- 1. Yes ( )
- 2. No ( )

58. If yes, how often?

- 1. At least once a year ( )
- 2. At least once in two years ( )
- 3. At least once in three years ( )
- 4. Other (specify) ( ) -----

59. Why do you send it?-----

-----  
-----

Thank you very much for your co-operation.

## APPENDIX 2

### QUESTIONNAIRE (SELF-EMPLOYED)

The researcher would like to request your involvement in a research project examining the relationship between the economic adaptation of Ghanaian immigrants in Toronto and their residential location patterns. The researcher, who is a student at Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario, is undertaking this project as part of his doctoral (Ph.D) programme in Geography.

All answers will remain confidential and you will remain completely anonymous. You are free to skip any questions and to withdraw from the survey at any time. Your time and effort in helping with this study is greatly appreciated.

**Researcher:** Edmund N. Okoree

Telephone No.: (519) 885-1955

**Supervisor:** Dr Russell Muncaster

Telephone No.: (519) 884-1970 ext. 2928

#### **A: Business Information**

1. What kind of business are you engaged in? -----  
-----

2. What is the name of your business? -----

3. What is the address of the area where your business is located?

Street No. -----

Postal code -----

4. Why did you choose this location? -----

5. How did you raise capital to start your business?  
-----

6. Is your business part of a bigger organization?

1. Yes ( )      2. No ( )

7. If yes, what is the parent organization? -----

8. If no, do you have branches in other parts of Toronto? Please indicate the location.

-----  
-----

9. Does your business have any link to any business in Ghana?

1. Yes ( )    2. No ( )

10. If yes,

a. in what city is the business in Ghana located? -----

b. what type of link do you have with the business in Ghana?

-----

11. Who is in charge of the day- to- day running of the business?

1. Myself ( )  
2. With the help of my spouse ( )  
3. With the help of other family members ( )  
4. Other help (please specify) ( ) -----

12. Do you employ any people in your business? 1. Yes ( ) 2. No ( )

13. If yes, how many? -----

14. What percentage of your workers are

%

1. Ghanaian  
2. Other African/Black  
3. Other

15. What percentage of your workers are

1. Full-time ( )    2. Part-time ( )

16. How did you recruit your workers? (Please tick as many as apply).

1. Through friends/relatives ( )  
2. Ghanaian newspapers/magazines ( )  
3. Other newspapers/magazines ( )

4. Other (please specify) -----

17. Where do your workers live in Toronto? -----

18. What percentage of your customers are %

- 1. Ghanaian
- 2. Other African/Black
- 3. Other

19. What type of business are you engaged in?

- 1. Service ( )
- 2. Retail ( )

20. If you are in retailing, what type of products do you sell?

-----  
-----

21. Where do you get your products?

-----  
-----

**B: Preparation and Experience**

22. What year did you arrive in Canada? -----

23. Did you have any experience in the business you are involved in now when you were in Ghana?

- 1. Yes ( )
- 2. No ( )

24. Before you started your business, did you work with any other related business in Canada?

- 1. Yes ( )
- 2. No ( )

25. If yes, was it owned by

- 1. Ghanaians ( )
- 2. Other Africans/Blacks ( )
- 3. Other ( )



26. What year did you start your business? -----

27. Did you have any practical training before starting your business? 1. Yes ( ) 2. No ( )

28. If yes, where?

-----

-----

**C: Background Information**

29. What is the postal code of the area you live in? -----

Or the nearest major intersection? -----

30. What is your age range?

- 1. Under 20 ( )
- 2. 20-29 ( )
- 3. 30-39 ( )
- 4. 40-49 ( )
- 5. 50-59 ( )
- 6. Over 60 ( )

31. What is your sex? 1. Male ( ) 2. Female ( )

32. What is your marital status

- 1. Married ( )
- 2. Single ( )
- 3. Separated ( )
- 4. Divorced ( )
- 5. Other (please specify) -----

33. What is the highest level of education attained by you? Please indicate where you obtained it by writing G (Ghana), C (Canada) or O (other country, please specify) against the particular level of education.

- 1. Elementary ( ) -----
- 2. Secondary (G.C.E. O' Level) ( ) -----
- 3. High School (G.C.E. A' Level) ( ) -----
- 4. Post-Sec: Nursing, Teacher training etc. ( ) -----
- 5. Vocational/Technical ( ) -----
- 6. Diploma/Advanced Teaching Certificate ( ) -----
- 7. University ( ) -----

8. Other(specify) ( ) -----

Thank you very much for your co-operation.

**APPENDIX 3**

**MOVEMENT PATTERNS**

**Movement Patterns – Core Concentration**

<b>Current Postal Code</b>	<b>Previous Postal Code</b>	<b>Within Same Postal Code</b>	<b>Different Postal Code, Same Zone</b>	<b>Different Postal Code, Different Zone</b>
M9V 5C2	M3M		.	
M3M 1K3	M6N			• (3)
M9W 6Z2	M9V		.	
M6B 1K2	M3J		.	
M3L 2J1	M6E			• (3)
M6L 2E6	M3H		.	
M3M 1R8	M3M	•		
M9V 1N8	M3L		.	
M3M 1R9	M3M	•		
M3N 2W3	M5R			• (3)
M9N 2T7	M9N	•		
M9V 4M2	M1M			• (2)
M3J 2V1	M1B			• (2)
M9V 3T8	M3N		•	
M3M 1K3	M9V		•	
M6M 3T8	M9L		•	
M6A 2N3	M6M		•	
M3N 2X2	M9N		•	
M9V 5C2	M5A			• (3)
M9V 4C4	M2J			• (2)
M3N 2R5	M3N	•		
M3N 2G4	L5R			• (3)
M9V 4C3	M9V	•		
M9V 4C3	M9V	•		
M3M 1R8	M3M	•		
M3J 2V7	M3H		•	
M2R 1Z5	M6A		•	
M3N 2P8	L4J			• (3)
M9V 5C2	M9V	•		
M3N 2P3	M3N	•		
M9V 1T5	M3L		•	
M9V 3E3	M3M		•	
M3J 1T2	M9N		•	
M3M 1J6	M6L		•	
M9M 1V7	M2R		•	
M6B 2E4	M3N		•	
M3L 1Y4	M6L		•	
M3M 2X3	M3N		•	

**Source:** Field Data

N/B: (1) – Moved from the Core concentration (2) – Moved from the Semi-core concentration;  
 (3) – Moved from the Periphery.

**Movement Patterns – Semi-core Concentration**

<b>Current Postal Code</b>	<b>Previous Postal Code</b>	<b>Within Same Postal Code</b>	<b>Different Postal Code, Same Zone</b>	<b>Different Postal Code, Different Zone</b>
M1E 2N1	M1M		•	
M1P 3R5	L5N			• (3)
M1G 3S7	M1P		•	
M1B 3Z3	M1K		•	
M1L 2N5	M1H		•	
M1E 2R4	M1J		•	
M1B 3G2	M1J		•	
M1P 2N1	M1J		•	
M1K 4H8	M2J		•	• (1)
M1E 2G1	M3N			
M1G 1R9	M1J		•	
M1J 3E1	M1G		•	
M1K 1S2	M1J		•	
M1K 5G6	M1K	•		
M1M 3W5	M1E		•	
M1G 3G3	M3M			• (1)
M1E 2S1	M9V			• (1)
M1W 2N4	M3N			• (1)
M1W 2R5	M1H		•	
M1T 2G7	M1T	•		
M1M 3W6	M1E		•	
M1W 1Z3	M3L			• (1)
M1V 1P2	M9R			• (1)
M1W 1T9	M2H		•	
M1E 2N1	M9P			• (1)
M1G 1R5	M3N			• (1)
M1L 1L3	M1H		•	
L3P 4K4	M1T		•	• (1)
L1V 6V2	M3M			
M1L 1N6	M1K		•	
M1J 1J5	M1G		•	
M1N 1M3	M1P		•	

Source: Field Data

**Movement Patterns - Periphery**

<b>Current Postal Code</b>	<b>Previous Postal Code</b>	<b>Within Same Postal Code</b>	<b>Different Postal Code, Same Zone</b>	<b>Different Postal Code, Different Zone</b>
L5C IH3	L5B		.	
L6Y 4N6	M3M		.	• (1)
L6Y 4E8	L5A		.	
L6W 4L5	L4Y		.	
L5V 2A4	M1H		.	• (2)
L4Z 3N5	L5V		.	
L4Z 3N5	M9R		.	• (1)
L6T 3M1	L4T		.	
L5A 1A5	L5A	•		
L5A 1A5	M1H			• (2)
L6S 4J4	M3N			• (1)
L5R 3R9	M3N			• (1)
L5A 1A5	L5A	•		
L5G 1L9	M9B		.	
L5L 5R9	L5A		.	
L6T 3X4	M3N			• (1)
L5A 3E5	M3N			• (1)
L6T 3X6	M3M			• (1)
L4T 4G1	M1G			• (2)
L5V 1W5	M9V			• (1)
L6S 5J6	L6Y		.	
L4T 2V2	L4Z		.	
L5N 6J9	M1H			• (2)
L4T 4J6	L5C		.	
L4T 2V2	L5V		.	
L6T 3X6	L4T		.	
L6S 2J8	L5E		.	
L6R 2E3	L6T		.	
L6T 3L9	L5B		.	
M3C 1S4	M5T		.	
M4C 2L7	M3M			• (1)
M5R 2N9	M3B		.	
M5A 3E9	M9V			• (1)
M5A 4C6	M3J			• (1)
M3C 1C1	M9W			• (1)
M6E 3P6	M6E	•		
M4S 3G1	M3N			• (1)
M5A 4C6	M1H			• (2)
M4H 1K8	L1V			• (2)
M9A 4Y5	M9P			• (1)
M5T 1S6	M6B			• (1)
M9B 1K8	M9L			• (1)

Source: Field Data

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