



**SELECTED PAPERS FROM THE 2018
CONFERENCE ON COMMUNITY EDUCATION
AND DEVELOPMENT: PERSPECTIVES ON
ENGLISH-SPEAKING BLACKS AND MINORITIES**

ORGANIZED BY THE BLACK COMMUNITY RESOURCE
CENTRE (BCRC) IN COLLABORATION WITH THE
INSTITUTE FOR COMMUNITY
EDUCATION/ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND
DEVELOPMENT (ICED) AND HELD AT CONCORDIA
UNIVERSITY, DECEMBER 6-7, 2018



The Black Community Resource Centre (BCRC) is a growing, resource-based organization that strengthens community capacity by providing professional support to organizations and individuals in need. The Centre is committed to helping visible minority youth rekindle their dreams, and achieve their full potential. We take a comprehensive approach to meet the needs of English-speaking youth. By referring to the “Holistic Project” approach through our community service, we recognize that youth have many needs (e.g., socio-cultural, educational, and economic, etc.) that must be addressed in order for youth to achieve their greatest potential in our society.



Funding for this report was provided by the Government of Canada through the Canadian Heritage - Cooperation with the community Sector - Community life, Development of Official Language Communities, and the Government of Quebec through the Secretariat for relations with English-speaking Quebecers.

The views expressed herein do not necessarily represent the views of the Funders.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Article 1 from Series of 5 Community Education and Development: Perspectives on Employment, Employability and Development of English-Speaking Black Minority of Quebec <i>Clarence S Bayne</i>	1 - 51
Article 2 from Series of 5 Empowering African-Canadian Career Excellence <i>CEDEC research team</i>	53-76
Article 3 from Series of 5 Black-White Differences in Canadian Educational Attainments And Earnings <i>Rosalie Masella and James McIntosh</i>	77-89
Article 4 from Series of 5 Black and English-Speaking in Montreal: An Intersectional Snapshot <i>Bonnie Zehavi</i>	90-96
Article 5 from Series of 5 Black Academic Scholarship Fund (BASF) and Education - Gaining Equity in Education and Empowering Black Learners Sylvia E. A. Piggott	97-101

Special Issue 2019, Article 1 from Series of 5 (Editorial)

Collaborative Unity and Existential Responsibility

**COMMUNITY EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT:
PERSPECTIVES ON EMPLOYMENT, EMPLOYABILITY
AND DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING BLACK
MINORITY OF QUEBEC**

Clarence S Bayne*

Director of ICED, John Molson
School of Business, Concordia University,
President of BCRC

Clarene.bayne@concordia.ca

* Corresponding author

ABSTRACT

Background

On December 7, 2018, the Black Community Forum of Montreal held a conference on “Community Education and Development: perspectives on English-Speaking Blacks and Other Minorities”. The IJCDMS Journal has selected a number of the conference papers for publication in its Special Conference Series: “Collaborative Unity and Existential Responsibility.” This article serves as an overview to the conference; and provides a theoretical framework against which the reader can derive a better understanding of those papers. It allows the reader to reflect meaningfully on the optimality of the decision search rules adopted by various cultural sub-groups, by comparing them to the behaviors of successful agent types in the computer simulated studies discussed in this paper. The targeted cultural sub-populations are the English-Speaking Blacks in Montreal. method of lecturing to cater for the next generation of learners.

Framework and approach

The overall research approach used is based on critical realism. We postulate that patterns in the responses of leadership in a social dynamic system may be impacted by values and uncertain events that are better explained by using a qualitative system analysis as opposed to traditional quantitative analyses based on positivist assumptions. We consider Montreal and Quebec societies diverse complex adaptive systems generating outcomes, not

Accepting Editor: Raafat George Saadé | Received: February 14, 2019 | Revised: March 23 & June 24, 2019 | Accepted: July 19, 2019

Cite as: Bayne, C. S. (2019). Community Education and Development: Perspectives on Employment, Employability and Development of English-Speaking Black Minority of Quebec. *International Journal of Community Development & Management Studies*, 3 (sup 1), 1-51, Retrieved from: <http://ijcdms.org/Volume03/v3sup1p01-051Bayne6069.pdf>

(CC BY-NC 4.0) This article is licensed to you under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/). When you copy and redistribute this paper in full or in part, you need to provide proper attribution to it to ensure that others can later locate this work (and to ensure that others do not accuse you of plagiarism). You may (and we encourage you to) adapt, remix, transform, and build upon the material for any non-commercial purposes. This license does not permit you to use this material for commercial purposes.

	always predictable, in environments that vary from very hospitable to inhospitable.
Findings	There is a history of Black social entrepreneurship initiatives aimed at reducing the negative impact of fragmentation, gaps in communication and knowledge states, and solving the problems of integration and development posed by exclusion, racial and systemic discrimination.
Who benefits	This paper is of interest to social entrepreneurs, community developers and strategists; policy makers; government agencies, students and researchers.
Keywords	English speaking visible minorities Quebec and Canada, non-visible minorities, social and economic indicators, fitness landscape, complex adaptive systems, employment rate, social entrepreneur, ruggedness of landscape

BACKGROUND

This paper was motivated by the work being done by Black English speaking and non-Black English-speaking community based organizations and institutions in Montreal aimed at eliminating racial and systemic discrimination, solving the problems of under and unemployment and the brain drain problem in the English-speaking and Black communities of Montreal and Quebec. Recently, this work has been brought to the attention of the two communities and the Secretariat for Relations with English Speaking Quebecers (SRESQ/SRQEA) at a meeting of 14 Black community based organizations (December 6 2018) and at a Conference sponsored by the Black Community Resource Center and the ICED, Concordia (December 7 2018). Several of the papers have been selected for presentation in this IJCDMS Special Conference series. These papers, with two exceptions, are essentially descriptive and qualitative in their research approaches. But they were chosen because they provide evidence for some of the propositions about community development and decision making in complex social systems with diverse sub-populations or cultural minorities, under conditions of different degrees of change and uncertainty. The Conference title was Community Education and Development: perspectives on English-Speaking Blacks and Other Minorities. The purpose of the Conference was “to bring practitioners and policy makers in the public and community spheres together to present, discuss, and share information on the problems of community education and development in the Quebec context; and specific to the Black and other official language communities.” A sub-objective was the organizers’ intention “to identify and explore the degree to which the problems of identity and vitality retention facing the Black English speaking minorities differ from those of the larger English speaking minority community; and [to gather] information on various approaches in current usage or planned to address these problems”. The overall approach is therefore based on that of critical realism. We postulate that patterns in the responses of leadership in a social dynamic system may be impacted by values and uncertain events that are better explained by using a qualitative system analysis as opposed to traditional quantitative analyses based on positivist assumptions. We consider Montreal and Quebec societies diverse complex adaptive systems generating outcomes, not always predictable, in environments that vary from very hospitable to inhospitable. The paper examines the strategic behaviors of the English-speaking Black social entrepreneurs to the system dynamics and in relation to the nature of the environment over time. Speakers represented the views of a network of approximately seventy (70) community based organizations in the Black and larger English-Speaking Communities in Montreal and throughout Quebec: William Floch, Secrétaire Adjoint, Secretariat for Relations with English Speaking Quebecers, the keynote speaker, presented a demographic report based on Census 2016 describing the status of the English-speaking and French-speaking Blacks in

Quebec society (Floch W. Appendix I, Tables 1-16 2019). Ten papers were presented.¹ The sessions were selected so as to provide information from the organization cases about the absence or presence of social entrepreneurial and social enterprise patterns in the responses of the leadership agencies to problems of community development, and the sustaining of the cultural, economic and political vitality of the two communities. The overall approach adopted is qualitative, not the case study methodology made popular by Robert Yin. The studies and presentations use both quantitative and qualitative data from several sources. Presentations take the form of descriptive overviews of the leadership responses and approaches to addressing these problems. The following are description of the topics presented, some of which form part of this Special Conference Series.

1. Social and economic indicators of English-Speaking Blacks in Quebec, a comparative analysis
2. Education and Employability. Perspectives on English-Speaking minorities in the education system of Quebec: challenges for education and employability.
3. Empowerment and acceptance through education: the teaching of history through a Canadian focused education.
4. QCGN approach to community Development in the English-speaking communities of Quebec.
5. Community Building Skills to support Job Search and Career development for English-speaking Newcomers of Quebec.
6. Innovative approaches to community Development: employability and entrepreneurship.
7. Empowering African Canadian Career Excellence and the Brain Drain problem.in the English-Speaking Black Community.
8. Identity the arts and history: employment and employability and the arts (BTW); Youth Engagement in researching and rediscovering 100 Years of Black Community history (BCRC); Evidence of community in the archives of the Negro Community Centre (Concordia Library).
9. Dramatic readings and reflections on immigration.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND PRESENTATION: MULTIPLICITY APPROACHES

For the purpose of this study, we take the position that there are patterns in engagement by leadership (social entrepreneurs) that are better explained by using a qualitative system analysis approach (based on an ontology of critical and “conventional realism”) as opposed to quantitative scientific methodologies of positivist explanations of reality (Morais,2011; Marschan-Pie-

¹ Mr. Russell Copeman, former Mayor of NDG/CDN Borough, and current Executive Director of Quebec English Speaking School Boards Associations (QESBA); Dr Dorothy Williams, Historian and author of four books, president of BlackBiblio, and Linton Garner, Executive Director Western Quebec English Speaking Regional Association; Nina Kim, Project Manager, CEDEC; Aki Tchitacov, Executive Director of YES Montreal and Annalise Iten, Director of Job Search; Quincy Armorer, Artistic Director of BTW; Alexandra Mills, Special Collections Archivist, Library and Archives, Concordia; Tenisha Valliant, project director, Margaret McDevitt-Irwin, and Nadia James-Samuels of 100 Years of Living History(BCRC); Bonnie Zehavi, Project Director, DESTA Black Youth employment and development Project (a CIF program Government of Canada); Lynda Giffen, Director of Community development and Engagement, Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN).

kari, & Welch, 2011) This article serves as an introduction and background to the papers selected from the Conference for presentation in this series. It provides a framework and theoretical context against which the reader can have a better understanding of the contribution of those articles which themselves provide data that explain the propositions and theoretical exposition presented here. In this paper we use propositions developed from information derived from simulations of applications of complex adaptive systems (CAS) theory to explain the patterns in indicator variables and event outcomes (proxy measures of human wellbeing) from the strategies/actions of sub-populations of cultural minorities. Cultural minorities are defined as combinations of individual human agents that have common attributes. There are many of these different sets of states or sub-populations in the society. They enter the system at differing times as competing and or collaborating entities seeking to participate in the social, economic and political life and decision-making processes of Quebec and Canada. The targeted cultural sub-population is the English-speaking Blacks or non-white sub-populations of African descent in Quebec. More specifically, we focus on the groupings of these diverse cultural populations located in Montreal. While the focus is on the English-speaking Black minorities, the analytical approaches used are useful in understanding the interactions of all cultural groups searching to improve their chances for survival, and to attain a higher quality of life in Quebec and Canada. Each group is assumed to be using its ingenuity/innovating capacity to improve its chances for achieving long life (the reproduction and perpetuation of life) and engaging fully in the search for purpose and the continuous improvement in their objective and subjective wellbeing. In short, the underlying assumption is that the social and economic entrepreneurs (live agents or organizational entities) that determine the uniqueness of sub-cultures are constantly searching to move the members of that sub group to higher fitness peaks associated with environments that vary in nature from highly supportive of higher levels of objective and subjective wellbeing to inhospitable or very rugged or uncertain environments. We argue that the objective is to maximize utility on an individual and group level. However, this is limited over time by the laws of diminishing marginal returns to scale and the ingenuity capacity of sub-cultures. This utility or fitness can be approximated from the patterns that emerge in the relationships between agents (individuals, organizations, institutions, environments) and the outcomes of these relationships: fertility rates, longevity, survival, education levels, skills, employment and employability, income, sense of belonging, representation, participation, cultural vitality, etc. The papers that follow on this article are informative in the sense that they may present evidence of existing and emerging patterns of engagement. We postulate that these patterns vary and become more or less predictable depending on the degrees of uncertainty (rapidity of change) in the interactions between social agents and external environments (Gill, G. 2015; and Gill, G et al 2018). We warn that, because the fitness landscapes (theoretical mappings of outcome possibilities expressed as utility) are constantly changing, our data and cases must be subjected to continuous review. In this situation we are not operating in the realm of knowledge obtained from models based on the positivist assumptions that knowledge consist of fixed facts that are independent of our values. We are in the real world outside the laboratory, in a complex adaptive social system where everything is dependent on everything else; where our data may be qualitative and dependent on our values (beliefs): explanation may be value based. For example, I am unemployed not because I am less skilled than my fellow graduate, but because the entrepreneur of the employing agency believes that Canadian experience is preferred to immigrant acquired experience. Also, because the fitness landscape is continuously changing, the experimentation methods may not be generalizable over time and all situations; hence one is persuaded to admit of a strategy that admits of the existence of “plausible rival hypotheses” (Yin, 2018). Thus the paper makes no claims that data from the previous periods and experiences prove conclusively or not the presence of hypothesized patterns of relationships; or determine the exact nature of, or the existence of cause and effect outcomes between the skills level of Black graduates and their level of employment; and or their future out migration from Quebec. Statistical measures of positive or

negative association are based on the assumption of one-to-one and linear relationship. It is not the ultimate proof of cause and effect, especially in a dynamic social system.

In fact, it can be convincingly argued that even when using laboratory type statistical analysis and experimental models, cause and effect need to be explained by common sense observation or the use of some sophisticated sense-making method. Therefore, like Robert Yin we conclude that “to be authoritative we need to draw our conclusions from a broad literature having both cross-disciplinary and historical perspectives” (Yin, 2018). The Conference presentations provide us with some of those histories/narratives and data for sense making explanations. We have decided to apply the Cynefin sense making framework, one of several feedback loop systems of analysis used in complex social systems analysis.

Explication: The Cynefin sense making method

The Cynefin sense making framework (Irena Ali, 2007) is a tool that enables the critical realist social entrepreneur to think in a systematic way about the best choices or methods and organizational architectures and strategies to use in making decisions when faced with situations determined by the five domains of reality, ranging in uncertainty from the know to the complicated but knowable, to the chaotic, to the complex, and situations of extreme of disorder. The Cynefin framework is a descriptive systems dynamic approach. It allows the analyst to use narrative, cultural beliefs and the local mythology for understanding and explaining the social aspects of sense making (plausible explanation of cause and effect outcomes); and making organizational choices and decisions taking into consideration the ruggedness of the landscape: classified as the known, complicated but knowable, chaos, complexity and a condition of disorder. (See Figure 1).

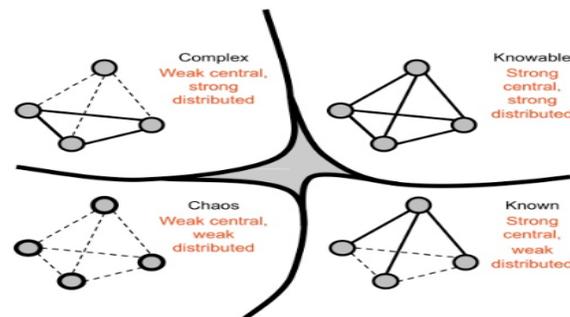


Figure 1: The Five Domains of Ruggedness/Uncertainty and Plausible Organization Response

Ali in an article titled “Coexistence or operational necessity” used the method to explore the role of formally structured organizations and informal networks during troop’s deployment. The case provides useful explanations of the kinds of command control (entrepreneurial responses/interactions) and type of institutional environments operating in situations similar to troop deployment. Canadian development presents the case of waves of new immigrants coming into territories of which they have limited living and working experience; and which are occupied by groups of persons that at best are described as reluctant hosts (Palmer, 1976).

Thus, in this paper we make observations on the responses of the Black English-speaking leaders or organizations (social entrepreneurs) in the Montreal environments in the sixties and seventies. Then we search for identifiable patterns in these responses and compare the results with those derived for similar strategies from multi-agent simulations of complex adaptive system

(MAS) studies based on the Kauffman NK model (Gill, 2015; Kobti et al, 2003). This deductive approach allows us to assess the contribution of the strategies used by the social entrepreneurs to reach the objective: moving to a higher fitness level on the landscape. The general patterns in behaviours are further explored using the Cynefin sense making framework as an analytical tool for describing and explaining behaviors in the operating environment: describing the activities of individuals and expectations in those environments; for mapping the path of those activities as the circumstances change, and for explication (sense making) of the interactions between the formal organization and informal networks under different situations(domains of reality). Thus, the paper provides some analytical tools that enable the reader to reflect meaningfully on the extent to which agents (exemplars and or social entrepreneurs representing cultural networks) adopt behaviors for improving the fitness of the sub-group they represent; and the degree to which those behaviors mirror the behaviors of the most successful agent types in the computer simulated studies discussed in this paper. To what extent are the behaviors/strategies of these social entrepreneurial agents and agencies a reflection of, or mimic, the properties of communication, cooperation, competition, hemophilic behaviors. Are the learning models used consistent with optimal types suggested in the literature of organizational design studies (Shrivastava and Grant, 1985) and multi-agent system studies: imitative, information seeking, formal management, participative, and bureaucratic. We will address these questions (propositions) in the pages and sections that follow.

LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL ENTREPRENEUR

Leadership and communication are central forces in the agent based social system. It is a leadership based on social change as the interactions between intelligent agents or networks of agents using diverse methods for interacting between themselves and their environments over time and under changing degrees of complexity. The term “social entrepreneurship” emerged in the USA in the mid-nineties. There are two streams of thought. One school of thought focuses on the generation of “earned income” to serve a social mission, the “the social enterprise school”. The other school focuses on establishing new and better ways to address social problems or meet social needs (the social innovation school). In either case a need or want must exist and the entrepreneur must be able to recognize the opportunity and have the ingenuity capacity and capability (innovative capabilities) to address those (Steven et al, 2014). We use the term social entrepreneur and social entrepreneurship in the broader meaning to include enterprising social innovation that recognizes the gaps in needs and wants to result from the complex relationships between the social realities and the physical and institutional environments in which entrepreneurs evolve. Our social entrepreneur is not the superman entrepreneur of Classical business theory, the Schumpeterian large change-maker driven by the forces of “creative destruction”. In fact, according to William Baumol he/she may not exist outside the world of classical economic equilibrium (Baumol, 2006). It may not be a person, but an organization or network of agencies collaborating, communicating, or competing (Baumol, 2005; Martin, Rogers 2007; Light, 2001). In addition to transforming existing realities, opening up new pathways for the marginalized and disadvantaged, and creating mechanisms to mobilize utility producing resources that operationalize society’s potential to affect social change, our social entrepreneurs are social sector leaders, activists that exhibit to differing degrees Gregory Dees’s five essential characteristics (Dees, G. 2001). The concept describes an entity that is continuously engaged in

- Adopting a mission to create and sustain social value (not just private value),
- Recognizing and relentlessly pursuing new opportunities to serve that mission,
- Engaging in a process of continuous innovation, adaptation, and learning,
- Acting boldly without being limited by resources currently in hand, and
- Exhibiting heightened accountability to the constituencies served and for the outcomes created.

SOCIAL ENTREPRENEUR IN SOCIAL SYSTEMS DYNAMIC ENVIRONMENT

The self-adaptive learning model with cultural change algorithms explores how one goes about making the best choices under different degrees of predictability and unpredictability. This helps to explain the position of minorities on the fitness landscape. Grandon Gill (Gill, 2012) identifies four (4) general classes of agents that interact with and respond to changes in the social, institutional and external environments using certain learning models and organizational structures. They are described as: randomized hill climbing agents (live entity operating in an environment) that take no advice and go off on random choice rules searching for higher fitness by probing adjacent states (immediate probable utility producing alternative combinations of attributes); imitative agents who look for guidance from nearby agents; expert-guided agents who are advised based on a statistically derived view of the landscape; and goal-setting agents who establish goals based upon observing other clients and then steadfastly pursuing those goals regardless of intervening fitness levels. Computer simulations of these models show that different domains of reality require different types of organizational structures or archetypes and different types of entrepreneurial responses (Gill, 2012 and 2015).

The performances of these different agents in simulated studies also strongly suggest that an optimal strategy for development involves the sharing of information across kinship groups. Gill in a study of hemophilic versus expert agent/organizational behavior states that when environments exhibit low-complexity (hospitable known and knowable domains), expert-guided agents match or outperform all other agent types. As complexity grows (inhospitable, chaos, complex and disorder domains) expert-guided performance becomes worse than no guidance at all. In general, imitative agents and goal-setting agents track together until substantial levels of complexity are reached. At this point, the goal-setting agents outperform all other agent types (Gill, 2012). We can divide what Gill describes as a rugged landscape (external environments characterized by high degrees of uncertainty) into five domains and their associated theoretical best operational agent/organizational types (Ali, 2007). These are classified as: the known situations; and the complicated but knowable situations; Chaos, the complex and the un-ordered. They all require different strategies or behavior responses that are determined by the degree of predictability possible in the particular environment. The action taken by the social entrepreneur may be orchestrated or improvised. Extremely rugged (hostile and unpredictable) environment situations require that one search for stability first before acting. In less rugged environment one is required to probe, sense and adapt (Figure 2).

Five Domains of Uncertainty or Rugged Environments

In figure 1 (above) we present a graphic description of the Cynefin Five Domains

- The Known, or Simple: characterized by stability and clear relationship between cause and effect. Simple contexts, once properly assessed, require straightforward management and monitoring. The approach is to Sense - Categorize – Respond (SCR). This suits a vertical way of working with weak horizontal links and adherence to best practices is appropriate
- The Knowable or Complicated: in which the relationship between cause and effect requires analysis, often leading to several options, and/or the application of expert knowledge. The approach is to Sense -Analyze – Respond (SAR). In such an environment vertical and horizontal links need to be strong and good practice rather than best practice, is more appropriate.
- The Complex or domain of Emergence: in which the relationship between cause and effect can only be understood in retrospect. Emergent patterns can be perceived but not predicted. The approach, therefore, is to Probe -Sense – Respond (PSR) and then allows emergent practice. There are no ‘right’ answers and the need for increased levels of interaction and communication as well as creative and innovative approaches is greater. In this domain, the horizontal connections between individuals ideally need to be strong with weak vertical connections
- The Chaotic or domain of rapid response - there is no visible relationship between cause and effect at system level and no time to investigate or ask for input. Therefore, reducing turbulence and establishing order is important, and then sensing where stability is present and where it is not, i.e. sense reaction to initial intervention, and then respond by transforming chaos into complexity where patterns can emerge. Top-down or broadcast communication is imperative in those situations. The overall approach, therefore, is to Act - Sense – Respond (ASR). The connections between individuals in this domain should be weak or non-existent.
- Disorder (the central shaded area): a destructive state of not knowing what type of relationship exists between cause and effect. In this domain decision-makers interpret at the same situation from their own disposition to act and they will often revert to their own comfort zone in making a decision or conversely; it is a state of decision paralysis.

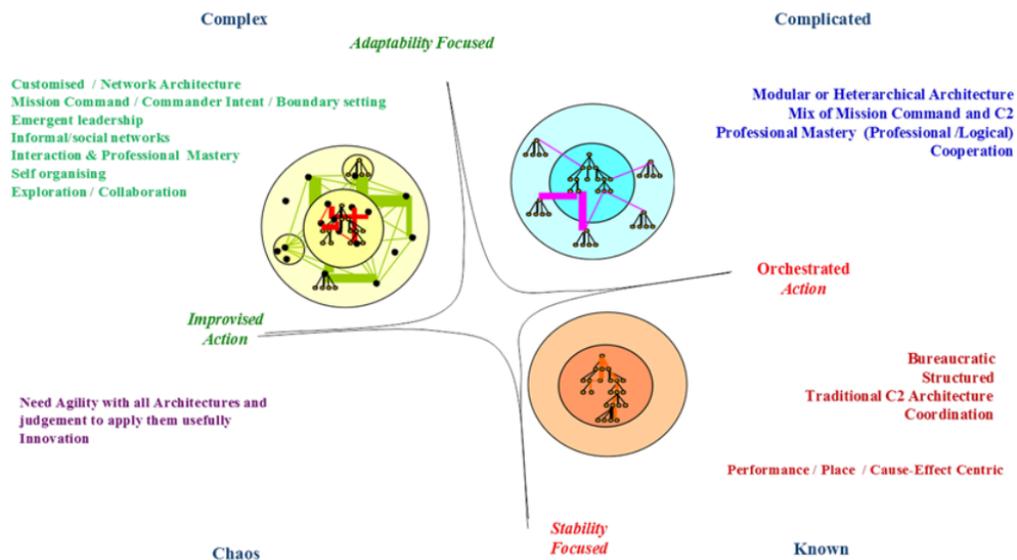


Figure 2: Defense Deployment: A Case Study of Organizational Architectures and External Environment

Source: Ali, I. (2011)

Quebec is a physical part of the Canadian geography, biosphere and Nation state. The Quebec Nation State is a parliamentary democracy under the Canadian Charter of Rights and freedoms and the “Quebec Charte des droits et libertés de la personne de Québec”. Within this system there are many different types of sub-groups and diverse cultures and ethnicities that collaborate, corporate, and compete with each other. In this diversity, the French-speaking settler classes are dominant or the supra-ordinate sub-culture. It dominates the legislature and controls the decision making processes of the society subject to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom, La Charte and certain quasi-constitutional arrangements in the Canadian Federation and in Quebec: the “notwithstanding clause”, the Official Minorities Act, Bill 101 in Quebec, the Canada-Québec Accord relating to immigration and temporary admission of aliens. The question is how does or have the governments and mainstream institutional and organizational arrangements within Canada, or the control and influencing of the knowledge content of the belief spaces succeeded/assisted in bringing about the full participation and development of Blacks within the Quebec and Canadian societies? If there are gaps in these expectations of Blacks with respect to their position on the Quebec and Canadian landscape did the leaders of the Black community recognize them and take innovative action to reduce these gaps? For example, given the fragmentation of the Black community and the closed nature of the sub-cultures in that community, to what extent have the leaders of the “Black Communities” of Montreal and Quebec been able to expand their kinship boundaries, or increase cross cultural communications and sharing of knowledge among the many groupings within the Black community, and with mainstream knowledge creation and accumulation institutions and arrangements in the external environment? In short, what were and how effective have their responses been in reducing the barriers they face in education, social and economic development, inclusion and access to justice? On entering the Quebec environment, how have they acted to close the gaps in ingenuity (Homer-Dixon, 2001) between their communities and other minority and mainstream cultures on the landscape?

FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

THE FITNESS LANDSCAPE: MONTREAL, QUEBEC AND CANADA

Let us consider Montreal a fitness landscape consisting of many types of leadership networks; and the Black community, as defined by Census Canada, a sub-grouping consisting of many sub-cultures. Beyond the arrival of Mathieu DaCosta (1660) Blacks in the British and French colonies of settlement (emergent Canada) were treated as mere objects with labor content with no creative ability; and incapable of creating and sustaining a British style Western civilization. They were not treated as citizens with rights and freedoms equivalent to the White settlers. They were labor content to be acquired and used up or become obsolescent human capital (Walker, 1980). However, this is certainly not how Blacks saw themselves. This is reflected in the histories, the culture and mythology of Blacks and observed in their responses to being in Canada or Western societies (Dr. Charmaine Nelson, *Kayne West is Wrong: Slavery Wasn't A Choice, And the Enslaved Resisted*; Austin, David, 2013; Paul C. Hébert, 2015). A critical question for this paper is what have been the development strategies of the leadership of the Black community. During the post-1960 period with the rapid expansion of Black population through immigration, what were the barriers they faced? And have their responses been optimal in the

sense suggested by the simulated patterns observed for successful agents in the CAS models (Kobti, 2003; Gill, 2012 and 2015).

Human social systems are embedded in the biosphere. Community development takes place in a total environment consisting of multiple agents (individuals, organizations, cultural groups, ethnicity groups, families, societies, eco-systems, etc.) that interact with each other in a countless number of non-predictable ways. The dynamics of such complex and adaptive systems have been studied by a type of model based on the Kaufman NK model (Kauffman, 1993). The human social system is considered a CAS system. The human system differs from other such systems in that the human agent is capable of thought, learning through a process of observation, perception, action and reflection on success-error experiences. They may adapt or make selective choices or interact by collaboration, corporation, competition; communication and exchange; or exclusion (homophilic states). The human agent (as social entrepreneur) is also capable of self-change and of creative transformation of its environment; and finding innovative ways to address gaps in their needs and wants. An important feature of the fitness landscape is that action or interactions of human agents with other agents cause change in the system as a whole which in turn causes the human agent to change. This process repeats itself causing continuous transforms of the fitness landscape. The process consists of combinations of utility bearing factors that provide different levels of utility. These possible outputs are affected by the probability that they will be realized (the ruggedness of the environment), as well as unpredictable events (innovations, wars, natural disasters: earthquakes, meteorites impact in the ocean, tsunami etc.). In a human social system, the underlying logic of the actions (interactions) of the social entrepreneur is to maximize the objective and subjective well-being (utility). This is dependent on the possibilities offered in the emergent landscape for finding the appropriate combination of utility producing factors: that is to say finding and attaining points in the landscape with the highest fitness peaks. We refer to the total possible mapping of such points as a “fitness landscape”: a mapping of the utility of all possible combinations of factors generated by the interactions in the landscape. Because of the dynamic and non-linear relationships in the system, the fitness landscape is constantly changing. Clearly there are peaks and troughs. The peaks are the most desired positions on the fitness landscape (places of increasing vitality, high quality life and wellbeing) and troughs that are the least desired (decreasing vitality, low quality of objective and subjective well-being). In the one-dimensional framework of the Porter “Vertical Mosaic” as a Totem pole analogy of fitness, the fitness peak is the top of the Totem and the trough of the fitness landscape is the bottom of the Totem. In the Totem analogy the movement is static, because those that attain the uppermost top positions use power and advantage to limit the movement of those below (Porter, 1966). The fitness landscape model lends itself to a dynamic analysis of what is a complex social environment. Discovering and reaching a peak point on the landscape or moving from a low peak to a higher peak involves a search process operationalized by both private and social entrepreneurs in the sense defined in Paul C. Light’s “Searching for Social Entrepreneurs: Who they Might be, Where They Might be Found? What They Do?” (Light, 2001) and J. Gregory Dees’s framing a Theory of Social Entrepreneurship, (J. Gregory Dees and Beth Battle Anderson: 2001).

In the Kaufman NK model of adaptive complex systems, used by Gill to study human agent behaviors under different degrees of uncertainty (domains), these social entrepreneurs may be classified according to the different strategies and learning approaches that they use. Gill (Gill,

2012 and 2015) describes four types: the random hill climbers; expert-guided agents; imitative agents; and goal setting agents. Each group search for, share and use information differently. Each group communicates across subcultures differently or not at all. Through these processes' knowledge is created, accumulated, updated and stored as inventories of ingenuity (Homer-Dixon, 2001) for use by future generations in similar future situations. But these inventories might not be accessible to all subcultures on the landscape. Gill's research, using CAS simulations, supports the proposition that information sharing between agents/cultural groups (Gill 2012; and 2015) improves the chances that ethnic groups that do not practice hemophilic behaviors are more likely to be able to reach a higher point on the Maslow pyramid of needs more quickly. Kobti et al (2003) in earlier studies show that the sharing of information makes it possible for sub-groups to more effectively overcome disastrous events (Kobti et al, 2003; Bayne et al, 2018). This shall be useful in helping us to understand the possible impact of cultural and country of origin fragmentation in the Black populations that immigrated to Quebec and Canada in the sixties and seventies.

The Problem of Strong Cultures That Are Closed

Among those searching the fitness landscape there may be subgroups (sub-cultures or ethnicities) that are closed in the sense that they do not imitate, share or seek information from other groups. Parliamentary or centrally controlled systems of government are frequently dominated by specific sub-cultures or classes (groupings of persons who enjoy a certain state). Members and social entrepreneurs who belong to such dominant sub-cultures often control entry and exit from that sub-group. They may refuse to share and/or deny other sub-groups access to information or participation in the sub-group or culture. When such a sub-culture is the dominant and controlling decision making culture there are likely to be significant gaps in the ingenuity/innovative capacities between the diverse groups making up the society. Such a system may arise because of competitive rivalry, superior military power and ownership of capital capacity, and superior organizational and numeric strength of the dominant sub-culture. One often hears the terms, systemic discrimination, exclusion and the denial of the access to justice based on race, religion, and language to describe situations like this. This type of landscape was captured and described by John Porter (Porter, 1966) in his portrayal of Canada as a "Vertical Mosaic" which he likened to a totem with the White Anglo-Saxon Protestants at the top and the French, other Europeans, Blacks and visible minorities, and indigenous peoples at the bottom. Today one notices the evolution of a vertical form of that Mosaic in Quebec, where the White French speaking Quebecer has used its political powers, kinship networks, linguistic discrimination to rise to the top. On the other hand, the White English-Speaking peoples, visible minorities, English speaking Blacks, and the indigenous peoples are at the bottom. We postulate that it is not very fruitful to discuss community development with respect to one subgroup without considering the decisions and reactions of other subgroups; and the effect of these interactions in terms of the impact on the fitness landscape as a whole. We postulate that strong closed culture behaviors that inhibit communication and sharing across cultures and kinship groups reduce the quality of life for all kinship groups on the landscape. But we also note that strong cultures, in the absence of hemophilic exclusion (such as systemic discrimination and racism), also facilitate efficient and quick communication in the face of rapid change and uncertainty in the external environments (Gill, 2015). Thus, we argue that any discourse of Black development in Canada is a very complex subject which can benefit from an analysis based on the theory of complex adaptive social systems using a Kauffman NK model (Kaufman. 1993).

It is our contention that the interactions between two major kinship groups (French settler group and the English settler group) in the Canadian fitness landscape impact on the fitness of

Blacks in the Quebec fitness landscape. These two dominant sub-cultures and ethnicities are closed to Blacks by their common beliefs in doctrines of race superiority; practices of systemic discrimination and racism against Blacks and other persons not racially and culturally similar to them (see Porter's Vertical Mosaic). We intend to examine whether the responses of leaders of Black kinship groups are consistent with our theoretical expectations derived from multi-agent complex adaptive systems simulations; are they in some sense the result of optimal or sub-optimal search processes. To conduct our analysis, we state the following:

- In culturally and ethnically diverse social systems, the problems of survival and development of culture and the vitality of specific kinship groups cannot be solved by simply borrowing competitive market-oriented success strategies and best practices of classical economic and management theory from one group and applying it to the other. The fitness landscape is populated by diverse racial and cultural groups. In this landscape, the market exchange system is only one aspect of the cultural framework within which the different cultural and kinship groups develop and plan their survival strategies.
- Different sub-groups occupy different positions in the fitness landscape: they face different topographies, have different access to information and possess different information processing capacities. They possess different factor endowments in the form of learned skills; and have different histories. These differences influence their responses and actions.
- No group on the fitness landscape can avoid or disregard the dynamics of self-organizing agents interacting in an evolving social and economic landscape. Social human systems are very complex. To understand why some groups, survive and thrive while others do not do as well, we need to adopt a holistic research approach, which allows us to draw our conclusions from a "broad literature having both cross-disciplinary and historical perspectives" (Yin 2018).
- We need to study the patterns in the demographics and states (social, economic and political) of different kinship groups in the context of the entire dynamic system, and each group's capacity for innovation (Homer-Dixon, 2000).
- We must determine what are the types of relationships and institutional arrangements that define the system? What types of operations, learning strategies and capabilities, and social relationships best improve the resiliency of the system as a whole, but provide a fair and socially acceptable quality of life for all kinship sub-groups?

Case Analysis of the Black Community and Its Settlement

In 1960 there were 6000 Blacks in Quebec, almost all of which lived in Montreal. According to the 2016 Statistic Canada Census there were 319,230 Blacks living in Quebec 270 940 or 84.9% are located in Montreal (Appendix 1 Table 1). The growth of the population is attributed largely to immigration from the Black and African diaspora. Blacks are the largest visible minority group in Quebec. In 2006, an estimated 188,100 people reported Black as their visible minority group in Quebec. This represents up 23.6% from 152,200 in 2001. Census 2016 data show an increase by 44.04% over 2006 to 270,940 (Figure 3). In 2006, they represented 2.5% of Quebec's population and 28.7% of its visible minority population. Four out of every 10 Blacks in Quebec were born in Canada. Those who were born outside Canada came as immigrants from more than 100 different countries. Over one-quarter or 27.8% were born in an African country. But the leading country of origin was Haiti in the Caribbean accounting for 52.5%. More than one-quarter (26.0%) of the foreign-born Blacks in Quebec immigrated to Canada since 2001. In the Census Metropolitan Area of Montreal, the largest visible minority group is Black. How would we expect this population to settle in Quebec over the period starting in 1960 to the current time? The 2006 Census enumerated about 169,100 Blacks in Montréal. This group made

up nearly three in 10 (28.6%) of Montreal's visible minorities and over one-fifth (21.6%) of all Blacks in Canada. An estimated 55.9% of Blacks in Montréal were foreign-born. Among them, over one-half (55.4%) were born in Haiti (Chui, Tran and Maheux H el ene, Census Year 2006).

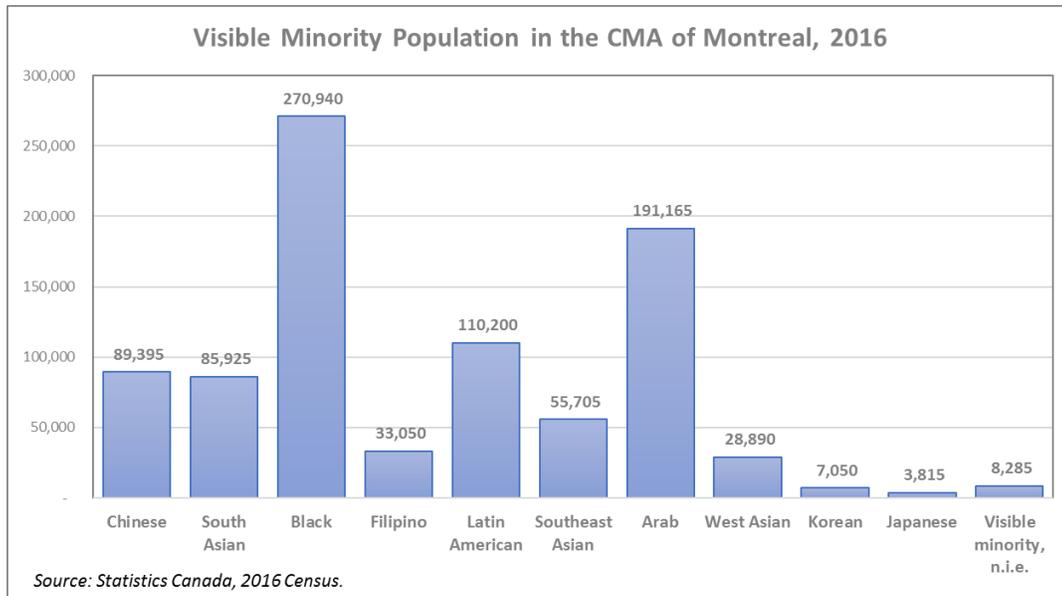


Figure 3: Montreal Visible Minorities Both Sex

If we consider Quebec to be a fitness landscape; and that the Black population is essentially a new sub-group consisting of many sub-cultures entering the landscape in search of a position on the highest possible peak in the fitness landscape; what would be the possible dynamics on the landscape as a result of this change in demographics and ethnic and cultural differences represented by the growth of the new populations?

DEMOCRACY AND SETTLEMENT REQUIREMENTS AND EXPECTATIONS

According to Homer-Dixon, based on the history of Western cultures and society, it would seem that for humans to explore their landscapes efficiently and effectively, the social system needs to be structured in a way that gives individuals, groups, organizations the freedom to be creative and ingenious; to be motivated to search for alternatives; to store experience and share knowledge and information. It appears that these human systems must evolve a belief system of laws and values which give individuals, households, groups, and organizations the tools and capacities they need to work on solving problems in parallel (Homer –Dixon, 2001). In the Figure below (Figure 4: mapping of a system at work) the Canadian system is defined as such a system. But it is a system that from social and historical perspectives operates as Porters “vertical Mosaic.” For immigrant Blacks at the point of entry to the country and resident Blacks from birth there are barriers to effective settlement, education and professional training, employment, development, participation and access to justice. The Figure maps some of the details of how these barriers intervene. First, the Black community consists of many cultures from many different countries. They are statistically classified as Blacks in the sense that they are of African descent and possess a common characteristic that identify them as not white in color. As a collective, the Black community construct is an isolated weak culture. It is fragmented into many

sub-cultures that are in themselves closed. This means that the collective and the parts are highly likely to be victims of the Kaufman Complexity catastrophe: life at the foothills of the of the fitness peaks in the landscape or at the base of the “Vertical Mosaic”. Some of the reasons for this are explained in the Figure 4. These are cross classified according to environments and social influencing factors in the rows with immigration policies, budgets for management of settlement of immigrants; constitution and charter rights and freedoms and access to benefits and justice in the columns. We define Canada as an emergent free competitive market and democratic society with a Western style parliamentary system and a multi-cultural (or inter-cultural) system of governments and administration. Historically it has been dependent on immigration to build and sustain the economic and cultural vitality and safety of the Country from settlement colony status to independent nation hood. Immigration remains central to the economic development and sustenance of the vitality and security of the country. But also historically, race preferences in the immigration laws and regulations have had a long term direct and indirect negative impact on the resources allocated to immigrant settlement in general and Black and visible minorities in particular (Winks , 1971; Mensah, 2010; Henry, 1968; Henry, 1973; Walter,1980; Williams, 1997; Bertley, 1977; Bayne et al, 1989; Bayne, 1990 and Palmer, 1976).

Canadian immigration as a state policy for nation building is not a smooth and altruistic process. It is one in which throughout the twentieth century the British settler class is the dominant decision-making force at work, and the French a counterforce seeking to reconstruct and sustain their own territories of capture and their social and economic vitality. Professor Howard Palmer in a paper presented at a Conference on Multiculturalism, Ottawa, 1976 described the Anglo-Canadians as a reluctant host (Palmer, H., *Multiculturalism as State Policy*, 1976, pp91-118). The picture he paints of the interactions between the expatriate settlers and resident classes across the territory is one of significant conflict. This conflict revolves around differing and changing visions of two settler classes across the country and in the Federal and provincial legislatures about the values and future cultural look of the country. The conflict has had less of a negative impact on the privileges, opportunities and rights of the dominant settler classes than the non-British and non-French residents in various parts of the country. Today, the Black immigrants (like other immigrants) coming to Quebec face very extrinsic complex environments. They face restricted rights with respect their place of origin, the way that they express their religious beliefs (the Proposed Bill 21). They are denied the right to choose the language of education for their children. While in other parts of the country, Blacks and other immigrants do have those rights and the rights to choose to have a French education or an English education. Bill 21 restricts the freedom of religious expression in Quebec. The French enjoy a freedom of choice of language for work and education wherever they are in Canada; whereas the English-Speaking citizens do not have those same rights in Quebec. Quasi-constitutional arrangements relating to the use of official languages and the notwithstanding clause in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms permit the French populations in Quebec the right to use language as a tool to “discriminate” against English speaking Canadian Citizens and residents in the Quebec labor market, the workplace, and with respect to their choice of the language of education for their children. As a result of the notwithstanding clause and Bill 101, Quebec is the only Province in Canada where French (a single language) is the only official language and the language of work.

The papers presented to the Conference by William Floch, Nina Kim, Project manager of the CEDEC; and Bonnie Zihavi of the DESTA Black Youth network suggest that these arrangements have had a significant negative impact on the first and second generation English-speaking Black youth population in terms of their performance academically, their employability, and the rate at which graduates are leaving for work elsewhere (CEDEC, Summary Report, 2013). This is corroborated by studies conducted by Professor Emeritus Marie Mc Andrew, Faculty of Education, University of Montreal (Clemencki, J., PhD dissertation, Supervisor Marie Mc Andrew, 2010). Also, the social, political and historical perspectives presented by the presenters seem to strongly support the proposition that there is a brain drain of graduates from the English speaking Black communities and a stagnation, or even a decline in the vitality of that community since Bill 101 in 1977 (William Floch 2018; CEDEC ACCE, 2013). This paper raises questions as to the Black and social entrepreneur's responses to these types of environments. How did they construct the search rules for maximizing the objective and subjective wellbeing of the members of their cultural/ethnic groups? It should be noted that each of the organizations presenting papers have been created in direct response to and with the intent of finding solutions to the problems of education, employability, employment, exclusion, access to rights, freedoms and justice; and concerns about the sustaining of the vitality of the Black and non-Black English speaking minority communities. This is frequently discussed against the barriers of the cultural nationalist and hemophilic strategies employed by the French majority populations. In effect, what the Conference seems to suggest is that there is an emerging network of English-speaking organizations as a strategic response to the challenges faced by the linguistic minority of English-speaking residents. What is even more important is the fact that the conference reveals an evolving collaboration (sharing of information and ideas) and communication between the Black community social entrepreneurs such as DESTA, BCRC, the Black Community Forum (BCF) and the White English speaking linguistic minorities as represented by CEDEC, SRESQ, YES Montreal, QESBA and QCGN.

The interactions between social, cultural, organizational groups and other entities result in patterns in relationships that are constantly changing. The outcomes or realized fitness may be influenced by our beliefs and values or unpredictable events that do not lend themselves strictly to simple cause and effect predictions based on the assumption that facts are predetermined and fixed and independent of our values. Realized fitness (level of objective and subjective wellbeing) of a state or a set of states is a function of some combination of attributes and the likelihood that utility producing combinations of these attributes will actually be experienced or realized (Gill, Mullarkey, and Satterfield, 2018). What state or set of states (scenarios) are chosen in any time period may be affected by unexpected events or changes in relationships between attributes in the system (innovation) for example, the exit or entrance of agents (people and or organizational agencies) from or to the system. The system is therefore a dynamic process. Thus, developing a plan of action for growth requires an analysis and understanding based on a dynamic feedback loop sort of analysis: a system thinking approach. Below (Figure 4), we use the Cynefin framework to give an insight to the probable reasons for the settlement patterns observed in Black and visible minority immigrant populations on entering Quebec in the post 1960 immigration periods.

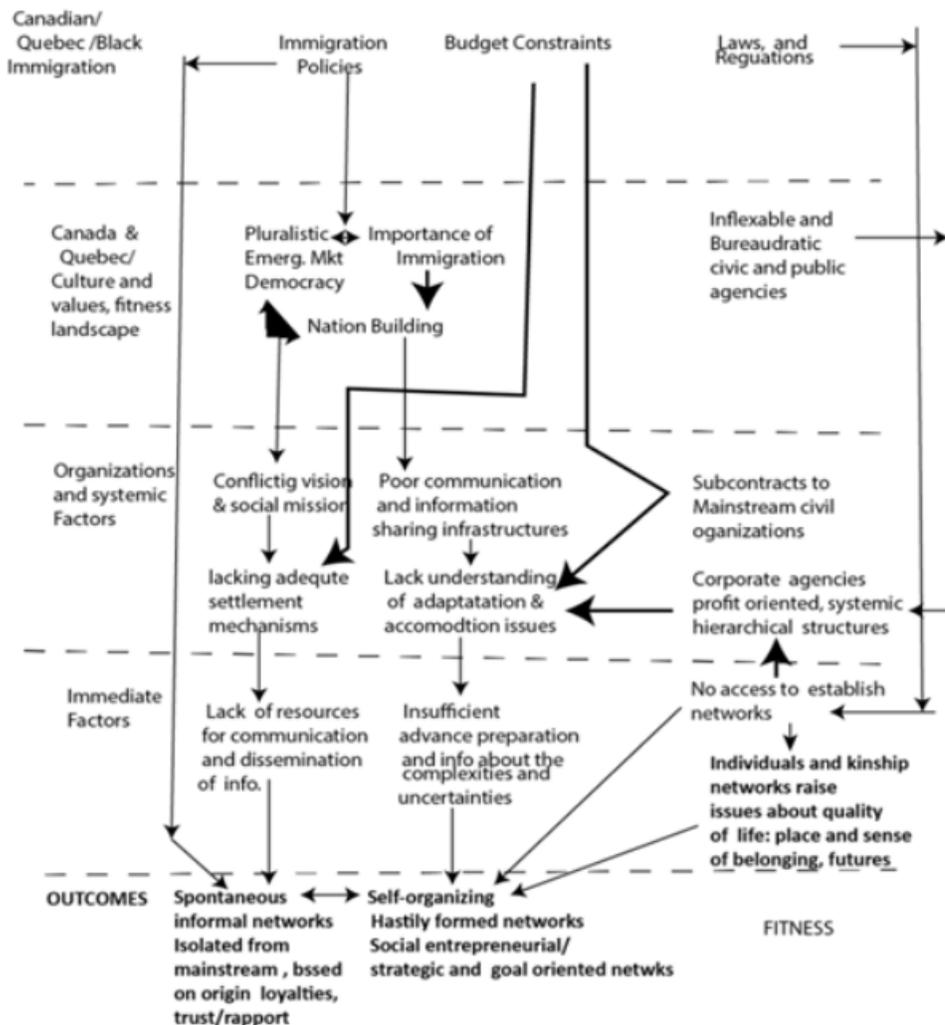


Figure 4: A Cynefin-Mapping of Predictions of Responses to Initial Fitness Landscape

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES AS EXPLANATION IN COMPLEX ENVIRONMENTS

The Cynefin framework (Figure 4) maps the social entrepreneurial process using a narrative format that enables us to deduce plausible cause and effect associations in a complex adaptive social system. The narrative begins with immigration to Canada in the post Trans-Atlantic mercantilist and African slave trade period. The narrative has changed to reflect a more welcoming Canadian democracy, in most parts of Canada with a possible exception in Quebec. Canadian immigration authorities have promoted Canada as a star of the North, a land of opportunity, tolerance, and harmony in diversity. These are the expectations established in the minds of the emancipated Blacks from the Caribbean and Africa and its diaspora following on the democratization of the Canadian immigration laws and policies in the early sixties. But when the diverse streams of Black immigrants had solved the problems of entering the Canadian fitness landscape, they found a turbulent extrinsic complex environment. Nationalism and separatism were on the rise in Quebec. What they met was the rumblings and jockeying in Porter’s “Vertical Mosaic”. There were inadequate settlement mechanism put in place or supported by government to address the immediate, socio-cultural and transition needs of what quickly became a misplaced population of domestic workers (Henry, 1968), and students that could not find jobs on graduation to match their qualifications and expectations (Torczyner and Springer, 2001).

The government bureaucracy and the private corporate sectors showed little or no understanding or care about the adaptation and psycho-social problems of settlement faced by Blacks in the emergent societies of the sixties and seventies. These turbulences (extrinsic complexity: ruggedness of the landscape) were the challenges that inspired action of a social entrepreneurial nature. The demands of the new immigrants caused changes in the attitudes of policy makers, employers, educational institutions, and the citizens of Montreal and Quebec. Initially, the immigrant Blacks sought assistance, support and guidance from the small community of Blacks (6,000 at Census 1960) and their established community organizations created in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Figure 5): the Colored Women's Club (1900); Union United Church (1907); the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA 1919); the Negro Community Center (1927); the Negro Theatre Guild (1942) the Negro citizenship Association (1966). The new immigrant and student sub-groups on the University campuses created country of origin style social and cultural agencies and student associations that pushed the Montreal and Quebec social system towards new social and cultural accommodations: new social and political disequilibrium points, or different configurations of the net benefit surface. Indicators of these changes were represented by proxy events such as the street carnivals (Carefete/Carifesta, 1971), the Black Writers Conference (1968), the Sir George Williams University student unrest 1969; the Creation of the first national Black federation of Canadian Organizations and leadership, the National Black Coalition of Canada (1969); the protest marches for democratic rights; new cuisines and menus: roti, souse, maubie, Jamaican Patties and Jerk chicken, West Indian rum cake, Callalou and crab, coucou; new hair styles, mix marriages. They introduced a new literature, new types of theatre, folk dance and Afro-Caribbean rhythms: the reggae, kaiso and the steel pan orchestra (Mellowtones, Play Boys, Sallah Wilson Steel Pan Academy). The Black Workshop of the Trinidad and Tobago Association was launched in 1968 with the expressed purpose to reconstruct a Black and Caribbean style art and culture in the new West Indian communities; and develop a Black Canadian literature and theatre. The long-term goal was to claim a place in Canadian emerging culture for the Black arts and culture from Africa and throughout its diaspora; and to provide a space for Black artists to create and work. The history of the organization, its interaction with the performing arts and cultural networks in Canada and its contributions to the Multicultural mission of the country is well documented in the articles "Le Black Theatre Workshop of Montreal: un nouveau Belan Bayne ", Clarence (2001); the Canadian Encyclopedia, "Black Canadian Theatre, 2017).

In the Conference session on "Reflections on Immigration", two poems by Bayne depict the pain of the transition from immigrant entry to citizenship and full participation still denied. In the poem "Black Butterfly" he plays back the voice of Rubin Snow Goat Francois, a Black immigrant refugee who in a poem suicide note cries out,

"I was to come here, get some Bread. Put my life together. But here I am. Can't get no work. Can't get Mr. Immigration man, to give me that break. That is my right...I wanted to say hang on...just hang on man. But I could hear no words. As from my shrinking downtown room, I stare at the City and my soul burn in hell's fires."

Thus, the Blacks and other visible minority newcomers soon realized that the landscape was more hostile and volatile than they may have envisioned from their points of origin. They discovered that, as Professor Howard Palmer describes it (Multiculturalism as state policy, 1976), that they were received by two reluctant hosts, engaged in heated debates about the size, racial and cultural composition and values of the future Canada: the Biculturalism Commission, the Trudeau Multiculturalism Solution, the FLQ bombings and kidnappings; the rise of Quebec nationalism, the "gang of eight" and the repatriation of the Constitution and the introduction of the "notwithstanding clause" (1982); referendums and anti-immigrant sentiments expressed by left-leaning Nationalists and far-right groups and leaders. The hostility and discrimination

against immigrants of color and African ancestry does not differentiate on the basis of country of origin. They were racialized and assigned a status based on common racial traits and historical circumstances: The Transatlantic and African slave trade, mercantilist and colonial capitalism (Williams, Eric “Capitalism and Slavery”, 1944). They came face to face with what Robin Winks (Blacks in Canada, Chapter 10, 1971) and other historians in Canada described as the “color line” (Walker, 1980), a set of principles based on racial prejudices against Blacks embedded in the belief system of Canadian settler ruling classes. Winks noted that while racism and slavery of the plantation type practiced in the United States and Caribbean was not present in Quebec, Blacks faced discrimination and were treated at best with benevolent neglect. In Canada, Blacks were valued for their labor input to jobs that Whites did not want. Black acceptance has been more linked to shortages in labor supply and the business cycle for low wage consumer products as opposed to acceptance as nation builders equal to Whites (Walker p81). They were not taken seriously as capable participants in the democratic and decision-making processes of Canadian society and nation building (James Walker, Part 3 Canada’s Color Line and the Black Response, 1980). Getting beyond the lower rungs of the totem pole (climbing up to the highest fitness peak) has proven and continues to prove very arduous. This is reflected in the William Floch and CEDEC presentations to the Conference (Floch and CEDEC, IJCDMS, Special Conference Issue 2019).

What were or are the responses of the social entrepreneur agencies in the community?

SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURS RESPONDS TO THE MARKET EXCLUSION OF BLACKS

Immigration, Emigration and Inter-Provincial Migration Factors

According to Montreal Economic Institute (MEI), since 1990 there has been a significant departure of persons fewer than 15 and in the age group 15-25 from Quebec. There was a rebound in the period 2010 – 2017 but it was weak compared to the increase in the rest of Canada. Boyer in an article, Labor Shortage: The “Disappearance” of Quebec’s international migration was clearly positive, although it was proportionally lower than Ontario’s. As for its net interprovincial migration, it is systematically negative, which seems to indicate that Quebec’s capacity to attract is relatively weak.” It warns that “The fact that cultural or linguistic factors can in part account for this situation, it must not be used as a pretext for inaction.” (Boyer, Marcel, 2018). Detailed data is lacking, but this out-migration of youth is believed to also exist in the Black Community. Moreover, Black community leaders strongly believe it is having a negative impact on the vitality of the English-speaking Black communities. This has prompted collaboration between the CEDEC and BCRC to determine English speaking university Black graduate career intentions, and their needs and the requirements essential to pursuing those careers in Montreal and Quebec. The social entrepreneurial response to addressing this employment problem came from the Black student bodies at Concordia and McGill universities, and the BCRC and CEDEC organizations in the English-Speaking communities. Thus, the African Canadian Career Excellence (ACCE) initiative aimed at addressing this problem arose out of an ongoing relationship between the African and Caribbean Students’ Network (ACSioN) and the Black Community Resource Centre (BCRC) to reverse the loss of educated Black graduates, and to reduce unemployment and underemployment in the region. (CEDEC ACCE, Student Survey, 2013). From the point of embarking as immigrants, and from birth and entry into the school system, members of the Black community in Quebec inherit a history of chronic unemployment and under-employment of Blacks across all age groups. In Canada, systemic discrimination and

racism has contributed to this high census recorded unemployment rates. An analysis by Professor Bayne based on Statistics Canada Census data on employment from the early eighties show that whether a Black person was born here or outside of Canada and came here, has a degree, certificate, diploma or trade; whether the person is young or old, male or female that he/she would be more likely than any White person to have to live out his or her life exposed to low incomes, and unemployment caused by discrimination in the work place and the labor market. The Chair of the “Task Force Report on the Full Participation of Black Communities in Quebec Society” (James, 2005), firmly stated that the “Task Force was particularly sensitive to the testimonies of the new generation of young Blacks born here, who continue to face problems of exclusion due to prejudice and discriminatory attitudes”. Lise Thériault, Minister of Immigration and Cultural Communities, (August 2005) made the following statement about the status of Blacks in Quebec, “...members of the black communities, including those born in Québec and who have lived here for more than a generation, face more challenges than other Quebecers in developing their full potential. Many of them are confronted with specific difficulties in areas such as employment, academic achievement, youth issues, and underrepresentation in decision-making positions or are the targets of discriminatory attitudes and behavior that their talent, determination and training are not always sufficient to overcome”. According to the 2016 Census data this situation has not changed for Blacks as a whole. Tables 1 below show that with respect to the acquisition of highest levels of education Blacks in general are doing as well as and in some instances better than the population as a whole.

Table 1: Black communities in Québec Total population 15 years and over by highest level of schooling

Highest Level of Schooling, 2016	Black Population		Total Population	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total Population Aged 15+	231,555	100.0%	6,634,280	100.0%
Less than high school graduation	44,070	19.0%	1,323,065	19.9%
High school graduation certificate only	47,935	20.7%	1,426,980	21.5%
Some postsecondary education	139,550	60.3%	3,884,235	58.5%
Trades certificate or diploma	27,885	12.0%	806,585	12.2%
College certificate or diploma	38,625	16.7%	1,165,510	17.6%
University certificate below bachelor's degree	10,995	4.7%	236,255	3.6%
University degree:	53,020	22.9%	1,361,730	20.5%
Bachelor's degree	29,595	12.8%	872,065	13.1%

University certificate above bachelor's degree	5,720	2.5%	118,955	1.8%
Master's degree	14,160	6.1%	281,215	4.2%
Earned doctorate	2,360	1.0%	50,455	0.8%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016 Census, Target Group Profiles - Visible Minority

Table 2 shows that Blacks are much less likely to as the total population 15+ to not have a secondary education, 2.5% of the Black population 15+ did not have a secondary qualification in the 2016 census. In addition, 39.7% of the Black population 15+ had a secondary qualification versus 41.5% for the total population 15+. In terms of concentrations of studies, except for Visual and performing arts, and communications tech; Agriculture, natural resources and conservation; Architecture, engineering, and related technologies Black were equivalent or more concentrated in the fields of studies than the total population 15+.

Table 2: Black communities in Québec Total population 15 years and over by major field of study

Major Field of Study, 2016	Black Population		Total Population	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total Population Aged 15+	231,555	100.0%	6,634,280	100.0%
Secondary	92,005	39.7%	2,750,050	41.5%
No postsecondary qualifications	5,760	2.5%	273,320	4.1%
Visual and performing arts, and communications tech.	3,690	1.6%	156,720	2.4%
Humanities	7,265	3.1%	215,730	3.3%
Social and behavioral sciences and law	19,040	8.2%	380,995	5.7%
Business, management and public administration	33,395	14.4%	879,190	13.3%
Agriculture, natural resources and conservation	1,600	0.7%	85,485	1.3%
Architecture, engineering, and related technologies	18,090	7.8%	828,405	12.5%
Physical and life sciences and technologies	5,580	2.4%	140,995	2.1%
Health and related fields	30,250	13.1%	480,230	7.2%
Mathematics, computer and information sciences	7,010	3.0%	152,105	2.3%
Other	20	0.0%	1,055	0.0%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016 Census, Target Group Profiles - Visible Minority.

However, in terms of the socio-economic characteristics (Table 3) Blacks lag the population significantly. The percentage of the population 15+ that is employed is 87% compared to 93% for that population as a whole; Blacks are twice as likely to be unemployed (13.2 %) as the total population (130%). 62 percent worked part time in the previous year (2015) versus 52.7 % for the population as a whole; the population 15+ without income was more than double that for the population as a whole 6.9% compared with 3.3%. The medium income of Blacks is 77 percent of that for the general population (\$25,351 versus \$32,995). It is not surprising that 24 % of the total population 15; and 24% of the Black population over 15 years lived below the low-income measure compared with 14.6% for the population as a whole. Among Blacks the William Floch presentation (Floch, Appendix I, 2018) show that Black English-Speaking Quebecers are doing worse than French speaking Blacks in terms of these economic characteristics and in terms of completion of completion of higher degrees.

Table 3: Economic Characteristic of Black and Total Population 15 years and over, 2016

Economic Characteristics, 2016 Labor Force and Income Status	Black Population		Total Population	
	Number	Percent- age	Number	Percent- age
Total Population Aged 15+	231,555	100.0%	6,634,280	100.0%
In the labor force	160,740	69.4%	4,255,500	64.1%
Employed	139,855	87.0%	3,949,330	92.8%
Unemployed	20,890	13.0%	306,170	7.2%
Worked in Past Year	158,735	68.6%	4,405,965	66.4%
Worked full year full time (2015)	60,810	38.3%	2,084,015	47.3%
Worked part year (2015) or part time	97,930	61.7%	2,321,950	52.7%
Population 15 years and over with- out income	16,055	6.9%	217,270	3.3%
Population 15 years and over with income	215,500	93.1%	6,417,010	96.7%
Average Income (\$)	31,329		42,546	
Median income (\$)	25,351		32,995	
Below Low-Income Measure (LIM- AT)	76,470	24.0%	1,160,225	14.6%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016 Census, Target Group Profiles - Visible Minority

It is believed that there is a systemic bias in the Quebec labor market against the hiring of Blacks which has led to an outward migration of Black graduates from the colleges and universities in Montreal. Arguably, this is partly a reflection of the lower levels of education achievement shown for English Speaking Blacks relative to other populations in the 2016 Census (Floch, Appendix A, Table 4, 2018). In fact, these results from a master's thesis written by Julie Dominique Hautin (Hautin, 2008), and a survey and study commissioned by the BCRC and CEDEC (ACCE, Employment Survey, 2015), are supported by Census 2016 data on employment in Table 3 above. These data and surveys seem to confirm the proposition that structural and other system discriminatory factors are at work in the market that are against the hiring of Blacks in general. English speaking Blacks are doing even worse on all the socio-economic indicators (Floch, Appendix A, Table 4, 2018). This may be accountable in part for Black graduates leaving Montreal for work in Toronto and other places outside of Quebec.

THE CASE AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE BLACK SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURIAL RESPONSES

In the mid-seventies through to the late nineties, several organizations emerged in the social economy sectors of Black and White English-speaking communities to address the problems of settlement and economic inequalities. Among those in the Black English-speaking community were the Black Community Council of Quebec (BCCQ), the Black Studies Center (BSC), the Black Theatre Workshop (BTW), the Quebec Board of Black Educators (QBBE), the National Black Coalition of Canada (NBCC) and the Black Community Resource Center (BCRC). The BCCQ focused on the reconstruction of a self-sufficient Afro-centric community out of the disparate and fragmented sub-populations of Black immigrants coming to Quebec between 1960 and 2000. It evolved quickly as a central controlling system under the leadership of Carl Whittaker, its principal designer and Executive Director (Roach, Cecil Focus Magazine 1982). By the mid-eighties the BCCQ decentralized into a network of regional and suburban leaderships to meet the regional needs of Blacks. As a result, its centralizing control was challenged by the emergent regional and established sector associations. In addition, the island Associations that were initially excluded from the BCCQ negotiated an arrangement in 1991 with the three levels of Government to create a "Table des Concertation" to address the cultural, education and socio-economic problems of the English-Speaking Black communities in Quebec. The objective was to create a forum with a permanent mechanism that would be the strategic voice of an all-encompassing network of Black organizations. This was the Val Morin Community Black Community Forum established in 1992. The BCCQ was asked to play the role of the permanent central administrative arm and socio-political voice of this larger and more inclusive network. But it was a very reluctant host and chose to facilitate the process of developing such a structure rather than assuming the responsibility for managing it. By 1995 Whittaker had more or less withdrawn from the leadership of the BCCQ under pressure to reconsider the closed membership policy of his pan-African style community development strategy ("Communau-logy").

The BCRC was created by Ricardo Gill in 1995 and assumed/inherited the unfilled role of the permanent mechanism approved by the Black Community Forum (Black Community Forum, 1992). To avoid the stress of internal conflict partly resulting from the search of the new leadership of the emerging regional organizations for flexibility in decision-making and greater autonomy, BCRC adopted a network and collaborative leadership approach to community development. It is described by C. Bayne (Secretariat off Black Community Forum 2017) as a strategy of "collaborative unity and existential responsibility". It advocates collaboration and the concept of network leadership but recognizes that in practical need for *moving forward with the willing*,

committed and socially responsible few. The management of the BCRC believes that a solution to the chronic unemployment and under-employment across all age groups in the Black communities requires a holistic programming and community development approach based on partnerships; that solutions must be part of a broader, persistent and more dynamic framework of action; that any plan must involve various public institutions and main stream agencies of civil society, which has a responsibility towards their fellow citizens belonging to the ethno-cultural minorities. Thus, BCRC believes that to increase the competitive and innovative capacity of future generations of youth in the Black communities, it is essential to adopt a strategy of development that is based on a holistic model that tracks, and supports the development of the youth from childhood to productive and successful adulthood and citizenship. To achieve this objective, BCRC has engaged at different times in partnerships with the BSC and the QBBE; ICED (JMSB, Concordia), Batslaw Youth and Family Centers, the English Montreal School Boards (EMSB) and Lester B Pearson school Boards, the QCGN, CEDEC and ACSioN. The partnerships have been aimed at solving problems of the child in the family, the schools, and the community: the full development of the child in its environments over its total development into adulthood. In order to find practical solutions to the problem of un-employment and under-employment of English-speaking Blacks presented in a number of reports (Torczyner and Springer 2004; Yolande James, 2006; Floch, W. Appendix I 2018), The Black Studies Center (BSC) in partnerships with QBBE, researched and developed a program in education remediation and positive parenting. In addition, the BCRC entered collaboration with CEDEC and ACSioN to create the ACCE initiatives program. The ACCE initiative is a social entrepreneurial response to the concerns about the reduction in the vitality of the Black English-speaking Community due to the stagnation in the growth of the population, the loss of the highly educated members of its community, and the possible increasing gap in the ingenuity (innovative capacity and capability) of the community compared with other Quebec communities. Accordingly, the strategic objective of the ACCE Initiative is twofold:

1. To encourage Black youths in particular, to stay in the province of Quebec in order to contribute to the vitality of the community as a whole; and
2. To encourage and assist employers as they move toward diversifying their workforce.

The initiative hopes to mitigate the exodus of educated Black youths by helping them attain meaningful and sustainable local employment that is commensurate with their skills. It is important to note that the social entrepreneur here is not a single large scale pattern-breaking/change-making superman of Schumpeterian theory, which William Baumol described as the “Invisible men” (Baumol, William, 2008), but a network of community agencies (Paul Light, ANOVA, Vol 1 Number 3). All three partners of the ACCE initiative (BCRC, CEDEC, ACSioN) made a commitment to strive to engage key partners and stakeholders to help mitigate the exodus of young educated Blacks from Montreal (CEDEC ACCE 2013 and ACCE-Employment-Survey-Report 2015). More specifically, this partnership aims to:

1. To encourage networking within Montreal’s Black community;
2. To enhance professional capacity building;
3. To move towards having a civic work force with a representative number of Black employees;
4. To reduce the unemployment rate in Montreal, especially within the Black community.

Addressing the problem of fragmentation and the Kauffman Complexity Catastrophe

The first partial attempts to solve the problem of fragmentation in the post 1960 Black, largely immigrant, community of Montreal came from the leaders of the Trinidad and Tobago Association and the Jamaican Association of Montreal. In the mid-sixties C. Bayne of the Trinidad and Tobago Association, Ivan Morrison of the Jamaica Association, and Frank Sealey, a member of the Trinidad and Tobago Association, attempted to put in place an alliance of Caribbean Associations. The attempt failed but was replaced by a project called the West Indian House, launched by C. Bayne (Trinidadian), Carl Taylor (Barbados heritage), Winston Nicholson (Barbados), and George Richardson, a Grenadian (Goodman, J the Montreal Star, 1964). The consultations created a network of communication and dialogue between the West Indian Island associations that became the springboard for the recruitment of resident members committed to the reconstruction and reorientation of the McGill Committee for West Indian Affairs. This was later renamed the Canadian Conference Committee. In the summer of 1967, at an election held in the Hall Building, Concordia University, the radical left leadership of Franklyn Harvey, Alfie Roberts and Tim Hector was replaced by Black community activists committed to social, cultural and economic transformation of Quebec and Canadian society. This new group under the leadership of Clarence Bayne (a lecturer at Concordia University) was disciples of the Lloyd Best and Kari Levit Caribbean New World School of economics and development. Bayne and Dorothy Wills, a Social worker, with the support of a network of West Indian Associations and local Black Canadian leaders of established Canadian organizations, organized a Conference at Sir George Williams on "Problems of Involvement in Canadian Society with Reference to the Black Peoples" (Expression 1968, and Dave Austen, 2013). This leads to the launching of the National Black Coalition of Canada (NBCC) in 1969. The NBCC was the first ever federation of Black Canadian organizations and leaders from across the country. While it was national in focus, it created the conditions for a social and legitimate political unity of Black and Caribbean Canadian organizations in Montreal. However, it formally and strategically ceded the responsibility for the Provincial organization and leadership to the emerging pan-Africanist agency, the Black Community Council of Quebec (BCCQ) that was being developed by Carl Whittaker, the community development officer of the Negro Community Center (NCC). This arrangement spearheaded by Bayne and Whittaker involved the BCCQ becoming a member of the National Black Coalition both at the Quebec level and the national level. The Pan-Africanist perspective of BCCQ meant that only individuals and agencies that served the needs and wants of Blacks independent of Country or Island of origin, gender, religion, and ideology were offered membership to the BCCQ. On the other hand, the National Black Coalition of Canada regional membership was inclusive of all categories of Black organizations.

Initially, the BCCQ Pan-Black policy position created resentment and friction with the Island associations, but after many meetings and discussions it was agreed that there was a legitimate role for the BCCQ Pan-Africanist perspective parallel to the cultural retention orientations, and the kinship and external island loyalties that were the focus of the Island associations. After three years of debate (1971-1974) there was a reluctant acceptance by Carl Whittaker and the supporters of the BCCQ pan-African approach that there would be a division of powers: matters affecting Blacks as a collective would come under the jurisdiction of BCCQ. Matters relating to Blacks and their countries of origins, culture specific activities and celebrations, kinships and family specific traditions would be the domain of the Caribbean Island Associations, African and other country of origin organizations. The BCCQ and its specialist agencies represented

the Black community in education, issues of rights and freedom, health, the wellbeing and development of youth, employment and employability, cultural tourism festivals, arts and culture, political representation and consultations, the strengthening of organizations and the family, and community development. It was a total community development plan carried out by specialist agencies (BSC, QBBE, BTW) and regional associations in Lasalle, Cote des Neiges, NDG, the Sud Ouest, Laval, the West Island, the South Shore. The NBCC continued presence gave voice to all Black organizations, no matter what gender, religion, country of origin or Island of origin as long as they were committed to the building of the Canadian nation as an inclusive and cohesive multi-cultural nation. In 1991, in response to demands from a diverse cross section of credible Black leaders in the English-speaking Community to develop a cooperative and inclusive planning process with government agencies, the Liberal Government of Quebec created a “Table de Concertation” for the Black English-speaking community.” To ensure that the Black English-speaking community at large was informed and consulted on the policy initiatives being discussed at the “Table de Concertation”, it was decided to request that a Black community forum be convened,

- To develop a process which will identify a long-term development plan for the Black community;
- To ensure that this planning process is a cooperative effort within the Black community;
- To identify and promote a structure to support the planning process;
- To develop effective partnerships within the network of Black community groups;
- To encourage effective implementation strategies for the benefit of the total community and;
- To provide a Forum for networking and strengthening existing relationships.

This Forum was convened at Val Morin July 3-5, 1992. It was funded by the Minister of Multiculturalism and supported by the City of Montreal and the provincial Minister of Cultural Communities. In 1992, the Black Community Council of Quebec (BCCQ) hosted the Community Forum at Val Morin Quebec, to create policies and mechanisms for the long-term strategies for the development of Blacks. The Forum adopted a comprehensive approach and covered topics ranging from over-representation of the Blacks in the prison and correction system, childcare, health care, education, unemployment, Black business and the role of NGOs, and participation in the political system. The practices and experience revealed in the consultations and narrative of some seventy organization leaders at Val Morin (1992) seem to conform to the logic and pathways suggested by a Cynefin framework of analysis of the development process in a complex community system. First the leadership identified the gaps in the expectations of their respective cultural groups. They also realized the negative impact of their competition among themselves for restricted resources and limited access to justice and equal opportunity. By setting aside differences of a personal and philosophical nature and thinking across disciplines and island cultures, the leadership from various sub-populations of interests was able to agree on practical mechanisms for addressing social and economic problems that affect their members as a whole. In order to reduce the social cost of unwarranted organizational competition and strife, the Forum divided the community-based organizations into sectors according to their mission and mandates. Then they got a consensus among organizations to work within their mission

and mandates and expertise. Except for a very few organizations, that agreement is still honored today.

The Black Community Forum version of Pan-Africanism and community development sought to be more inclusive of all categories of Black organizations as compared with the BCCQ version. It also initially sought to separate political representation and accountability from the social entrepreneurial aspects of community development. Moreover, it followed the network leadership form of social entrepreneurship that falls within the social innovation school of thought of community development. But while the Val Morin Forum, recommended the creation of a permanent structure to implement the objectives of the Forum, it left it quite unclear as to how this would be accomplished. Nevertheless, the recommendations of the Forum represented a bold movement by the leadership of the Black community to reduce fragmentation (isolation and low level of communication and collaboration) in the Black communities and to increase the capacity and ingenuity in the communities to respond effectively to change and external anti-Black competitive agents and political arrangements.

The BCCQ: The Black Community Forum at the Val Morin Conference approved resolutions and recommendations as guidelines and demands that were forwarded to the various levels of Government and public institutions by the host agency (the BCCQ). In terms of its social entrepreneurship and innovative action, the most critical was the resolution to create a permanent structure that would implement the recommendations of the Forum. It was not clear whether this structure was to be also responsible for management of Black political engagement and participation in the formal political processes of the Province and Country. The next was a resolution to mandate the creation of a permanent structure to bring the community together to formulate a common strategic plan, and to act as one voice in moments of crisis: address crises threatening the vitality of the community and the development of its members; to reduce rivalries and duplication; and develop strategies for the development of the community. For two to three years the BCCQ acted as a facilitator of meetings of the representatives of several Black community-based organizations who tried to create this permanent agency. Several meetings were organized at the BCCQ offices at Old Orchard, NDG. But it became clear that there was a need for an enthusiastic committed champion and an alternative approach: that approach became available by the largely independent emergence of a new agency with the mission to assist community organizations; lobby governments and public institutions to provide resources and funding to strengthen Black community organizations serving the Black Communities of Montreal. The Black Community Resource Center emerged as the agency to carry out the implementation of this mandate. The concept of the Black community Resource Center as an organization that would provide resources, and managerial training for the strengthening of Black community organizations, and create a network of leadership through a system of partnerships, was presented by Ricardo Gill at a special plenary session of the Val Morin Forum (July 5 1992). It took three years of intense and broad-based community consultations and the personal attention and championing of the project by the Honorable Sheila Finestone, in her capacity of Secretary of State for Multiculturalism and the Status of Women. The organization was launched in 1995 with significant Federal funding.

The BCRC: The emergence of the BCRC coincided with the growing demands from the maturing regional Black Community Associations for greater self-autonomy. These demands were

formally expressed and documented at a joint symposium of BCCQ Member Community Associations hosted by the West Island Black Community Association (WIBCA March 13, 1993). Among other personal stresses, this and the withdrawal of several key organizations from the BCCQ Federation (Black Theatre Workshop, Black Studies Center, and the Quebec Board of Black Educators) arguably, may have been the reason for the resignation of Carl Whittaker from the BCCQ and his withdrawal from community engagement. Several individual Black organization members continued to grow and consolidate their structures. But a vacuum in leadership was created at the collective community level. The Black Community Resource Center emerged as the default new agency in the mid-nineties that would take up the functions of the permanent mechanism proposed by the Forum. BCRC adopted a holistic approach to programming based extensively on creating partnerships, and finding innovative ways to address problems of health, delinquency, single parent and childcare problems, violence in the homes, and youth unemployment. The organization was funded by the Federal Government of Canada. So, it was able from the out start to establish a well-paid and highly professional administration using best practices in governance and management. At the community level, it formed a federated linkage with the Black Studies Center, the Quebec Board of Black Educators, the Union United Church, the Black Theatre Workshop and several others cross cultural agencies. In order to carry out the mission of the permanent mechanism envisaged by the Forum (1992), the BCRC created a standing committee called the BCRC Black Community Leadership Forum. It maintained close working relationship with the Quebec Board of Black Educators, the Black Studies Center, Batslaw Youth and Family Centres, Jamaica Association under the leadership of Noel Alexander, and with the NDG and Cote des Neiges Black Community Associations and several of the Island Associations. It became the go to organization in the community for Federal agencies, as well as provincial and city government agencies and public institutions. It became the primary coordinating agency for key organizations in the Black community at several key consultations with the Provincial Government: such as the Yolande James Task Force (2005) and City of Montreal Intervention Plan for Black Communities, (7 MAY 2004). Through its Executive Director Sharon Springer, BCRC played a key role in the research and development of a study of “The Evolution of the Black Community of Montreal: change and Challenge” under the direction of James L. Torczyner, Consortium for Ethnicity and Strategic Social Planning (Torczyner, J. L. 2001). This study played a key role in bringing to the attention of the various levels of Government and the Montreal public the gaps in the needs of the Black community, the unacceptable high levels of unemployment in an essentially employable community; and the large sections of the community living below the poverty line. The Black Community Resource Center network of partners and collaborators consist of the highly respected Black Theatre Workshop, Black Studies Center, The Quebec Board of Black Educators (QBBE), Union United Church, BASF, the Quebec Black Medical Association (QBMA), the Black History Month Round Table, and the ICED (JMSB) Concordia. The Quebec Board of Black Educators and the Black Studies Center have seats on the BCRC’s Board of Directors.

The Black Community Forum (BCF): In addition to its federated structure and network partnerships, the Black Community Resource Center is the administrative arm of the Black Community Forum. It is responsible for carrying out the mandate and recommendations given to it by the General Meetings of the Black Community Forum. It hosts and carries out the administrative functions of the Secretariat of the BCF from its offices in the NDG-Cote des

Neiges borough. Unlike the previous attempts at the creation of a unified Black voice, the Secretariat of the BCF represents a network approach to community leadership, as opposed to the traditional concept of the “Entrepreneur” as a single super powerful change maker. It avoids confusing unity with centralized control. Its mission is carried out largely through partnerships. Partners and member organizations of the Forum are accountable to their respective Boards. But partnerships conform jointly and strictly to the terms of the agreement and or the contribution agreements. The priorities set by the General Meeting of the Forum act as guidelines for the operations and strategic planning of the member organizations, subject to their missions and a review by a consultative process. This review is partly motivated by a larger consultation process required by the Federal Government of Canada for determining its funding policies (Government of Canada, 2018; Action Plan for Official Languages 2018-2023; QCGN, PSSC, 2018). The BCRC and other Forum members are invited to participate with a broad cross section of organizations in the Black and larger English-Speaking Communities of Quebec and with the Governments of Quebec and Canada in the development of these priorities and funding criteria (QCGN 2018, Priority Setting Committee II, QCGN. <http://www.qcgn.ca>). Thus BCRC has strengthened the bargaining position of the English Speaking Black Community by its membership on the Board of the QCGN where it has taken a very active position in advancing the priorities approved by the Black Community Forum as distinct from those of the larger White English speaking community (Secretariat of BCF, The Road Ahead, BCRC Files, 2017). Also in 2018, BCRC entered into a contribution agreement with the Secretariat for Relations with the English Speaking Quebecers (SRESQ) in which an important aspect of the agreement is to facilitate direct communication between the Black community and the Government of Quebec; and engage in a collaborations to explore ways in which the government can help to improve the position of the English-speaking Black community on the Montreal and Quebec fitness landscapes (BCRC and SRESQ/SRQEA Contribution Agreement, 2018). There are other key instances of social entrepreneurial responses of leaders to meet the settlement and integration needs of the English-speaking Black community. These historical perspectives give fuller exposition of the sense mapping of the path taken to realizing cultural expectations, reducing gaps in the innovative capacity of the Black English-speaking communities; and recognition of the contributions of Blacks to the cultural richness of Montreal, Quebec and Canadian societies.

The Trinidad and Tobago Association of Montreal: a significant cultural agency of the sixties and seventies. Trinidad and Tobago Association was founded in 1964 but got its letters patent in October 1965. It was started by a group of Trinidad students at McGill and Sir George Williams University, under the leadership of Clarence Bayne and Arthur Goddard. The purpose was to introduce a Trinidadian style theatre, music and culture to the Montreal society; to reconstruct a vibrant Caribbean community based on Caribbean art and cultures; and to forge a unity between the Black and Caribbean peoples of Montreal and Quebec within the framework of the emerging Canadian multicultural society. Its leadership was central to the creation of the West Indian House (1964). It launched the Black Workshop (1968) which became the Black Theatre Workshop of Montreal; and it was an active participant in the reconstruction and reorientation of the Canadian Conference Committee from its focus on Caribbean affairs to addressing local needs. The Association gave its total support to the creation of the National Black Coalition of Canada (1969). The T and T association introduced the Trinidad style Carnival, “Mas”

as an indoor competition in its Carnival Dances in the late sixties up until 1971 (Figure 4). This preceded the Union United Church first street Carnival organized by Reverent Frank Gabourel and Winston Robert in 1972; the Cote des Neiges Development Project Carnival of 1975, and the carnivals of the West Indian day Carnival Committee. The Trinidad and Tobago Association introduced Montrealers to the First professional Steel Orchestra from Trinidad and Tobago as a stop off on its tour of North America. The Association contracted the Desperados Steel Orchestra to produce a series of “Concerts in Steel” at West Mount Auditorium, Montreal, and in Ottawa, August 27 – September 5, 1970. The Association under the management and capitalization by Clarence Bayne and partners (Jimmy Horsham, Earl Basso, and Oswald Downes) ran a successful version of the Expo 67 entertainment at the Trinidad and Tobago Pavilion at Man and his World 1971. This provided work for a significant workforce of approximately 30 Black students and resident Trinidadians and helped to popularize the Caribbean culture on the Island of Montreal. But, the most significant and lasting contribution of the Association to the City and Canada is the Black Theater Workshop.

Montreal Black Theatre Workshop and the Vision celebration Event: As stated earlier, The Black Theatre Workshop emerged out of the initiatives of the Trinidad and Tobago Association as part of the mechanism that the T and T Association put in place to pursue its cultural mission to produce a vibrant Black and Caribbean Canadian art form. It is one of the oldest Black English-Speaking professional theatre Companies in the history of Canada theatre (officially 50 years at July 2018). In addition to producing Black Theatre, its repertoire is considered by critics to be great art. It has won 13 META awards between 2016 and 2018; including the best production for the last three consecutive years of that period. In addition to enriching Canada’s multi-cultural performance traditions in the arts, for the last 33 years it has been organizing a prestigious awards event annually to recognize the contributions of individuals to Canadian and Black art and culture: The Martin Luther King Jr Lifetime Achievement Award. Vision Celebration celebrates the vision of Martin Luther King Jr. It is one of the most prestigious events in the City of Montreal. The competences of the recipients of the awards attest to that: Oscar Peterson, Daisy Sweeny, Dr. Oliver Jones, Dr. Dorothy Wills, Charlie Biddles, Dr. Clarence Bayne, Dr. George Elliott Clarke, Walter Borden, Austen Clarke, Djnet Soeurs, Rainee Lee, Bertrand Henry, Terrey Donald, Don Jordon, Anthony Sherwood, Winston Sutton, to name a few. Several of these artists have received the Order of Canada and the Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Awards. In addition, several other awards are made to young artists of promise: The Victor Phillip Award, the Gloria Alleong Award, and the Dr. Clarence Bayne Award for Excellence in Community Services. I artistic mentorship program makes a significant contribution to the training and professionalism of young Black and other minority artists graduating from the performing arts programs in the City of Montreal and across the country. It has raised the profile, visibility, employability and employment of Black artists across the country (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black_Theatre_Workshop), and is well on the way to fulfilling the mission of creating a Black Canadian Theatre and Literature set for it by the leaders of the founding organization, the T and T Association.

QBBE: An Innovator Education and employability: a long-term plan of action. The Quebec Board of Black Educators (QBBE) was founded in 1969. At the time of its creation, it was innovative in both its structure and its programming. The QBBE itself was the innovative framework within which all its other innovations were developed: the DaCosta-Hall Summer

School, the Bana Program, and the role QBBE key founding members played as part of the PSBGM Parity Committee in creating mechanisms to help solve the problems affecting Black students; the hiring of a significant number of Black teachers; and the creation of the Multi-racial/Multicultural Advisory committee to assist in the implementation of the new PSBGM multicultural/multiracial policy for its diverse cultural populations. On its thirtieth Anniversary the organization honored its founding members and exemplars: Garvin Jeffers, Ms. Ivy Jennings, Dr Leo Bertley, Dr Clarence Bayne, Ms. Sybil Ince-Mercer, the Honourable Rosvelt Douglas; Dr Rosvelt Williams (third from bottom row), followed by Ms. Marion Lowe-McLean and Mary Robertson. Absent from photos below are Mr Oswald Downes and Professor Carl Knights. Except for Douglas and Knight all the above were educators working in the English Education systems: in private, primary, secondary and higher education institutions in Montreal. (Image 1 below)

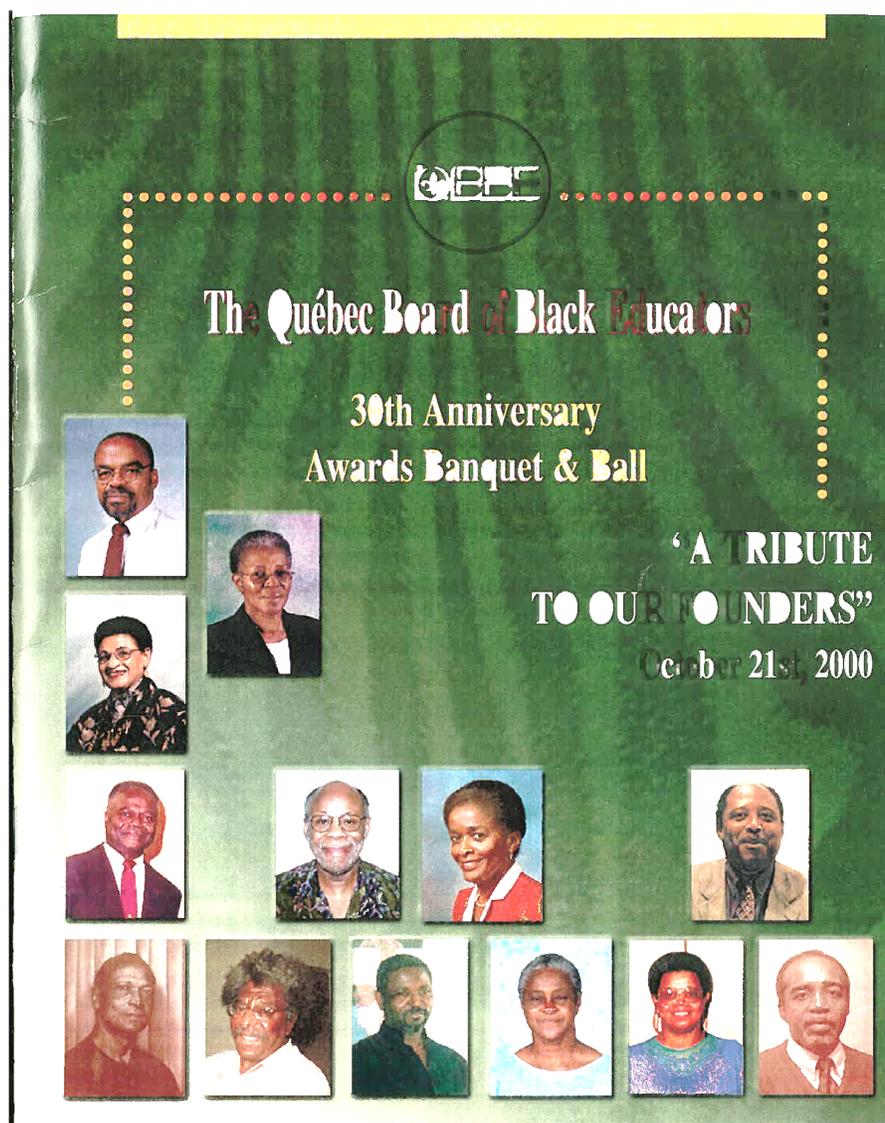


Image 1: The 30 Anniversary of the Quebec Board of Black Educators, 2000

In the process of addressing the needs of Black students, the QBBE evolved as a natural by-product of the negotiations that took place with different levels of government, the colleges, and universities. It represented a social entrepreneurial response of Black scholars, educators and community persons to the problems that Black youths were facing in the school system and labor markets. In its startup stage the group faced criticism from militant competitive left-wing Black Power advocates but fought back to establish the organization and its first innovation, DaCosta-Hall. The founders of QBBE were among the first post 1960 immigrant Blacks acting directly and in collaboration with the English education system to change the system of education and move members of their community to higher points on the social and economic index of Quebec and Canadian society.

The key researchers and negotiators were Dr. Leo Bertley, Dr. Clarence Bayne, and Dr. Roosevelt Williams and Garvin Jeffers. Dr. Bertley emerged as the lead researcher, developer and spokesperson for the group in the early seventies. It was his commitment and tenacity that helped the group to overcome the competitive rivalries of Black radical and anti-establishment activists, internal community apathy and mistrust; and the state of extrinsic hostility in the form of racism and systemic discrimination that the QBBE had to confront. It was Ashton Lewis's, Clarence Bayne's, Curtis George and Garvin Jeffers counter strategies and tactical social and managerial approaches that saved the QBBE from collapse in the face of inter-organizational conflict, attacks on the integrity of the leadership; and lapses in management and governance. The DaCosta-Hall Program was initially created to remediate and enrich the educational performance of high school students and reduce the high failure rates of Black students in the English Montreal primary and secondary school system. Its immediate action was to facilitate admission to the new college system (CGEPS), to Concordia and McGill Universities; and to ensure the success of those students who chose to study at any of the universities mentioned above. The years 1974 to 1978, were five years of intense activity. The organization used the PSBGM Black teachers' network to great advantage. They used the presence of certified Black professionals in the school system to monitor the processing of Black youth; and to disseminate information to various audiences: students, teachers, principals, parents, and school board administrators. In a 17-point agreement with the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, they got the PSBGM leadership to hire a Black liaison officer to co-ordinate the EMSB Multicultural/Multi-racial Policy: Code C-13. It was also able to negotiate a significant increase in the number of Black educators, administrators and other workers in the system.

QBBE 1985 -2005

In 1985 Curtis George became the President of QBBE. Under his Presidency, the QBBE embarked on revitalization, hosting two important workshops. The first workshop, held in late October 1989, was intended to develop a three-year Plan of Action positioning the QBBE to deal with Multiculturalism in the 1990s. This workshop held a second session in November of the same year. Fifteen recommendations were brought forward. Some of the key strategic actions recommended by the workshop were:

- The need for the organization to broaden its intervention to include Black students and educators in the Montreal Catholic School Commission (MCSC);
- The need to go into the French sector to deal with problems of English-Speaking Black children in those schools;

- The need to be more actively involved in communicating the importance of French language training;
- The review of Da Costa-Hall and Bana Programs with the purpose of creating a learning institute and establishing literacy programs for the Black community.

Another major refocusing of the QBBE vision in the mid-nineties led to the creation of links with the Black educators and organizations across the country. The collaboration with Canadian Alliance of Black Educators (CABE) Toronto led to the creation of the National Council of Black Educators of Canada (NCBEC) launched in October of 1993.

QBBE the School of Graduate Studies and ICED Concordia University

The activism of QBBE is further evidenced by its request that Concordia work with the Black community to address issues of Black youth education and community development. In 1993, an Advisory Committee on Multiculturalism and Issues of Equity was set up by the University of Concordia and jointly chaired by Professor Clarence Bayne and Martin Quicy, the Dean of Graduate Studies. It invited organizations in the Black Community to partner with the University as part of the University's commitment to reaching out to the communities in its "basin of services." The University developed a plan intended to encourage Black scholars to enter graduate studies at Concordia, and to facilitate and support their work. On the other hand, the Black community, specifically the Montreal Association of Black Business and Professionals (MABBP) and the Quebec Black Medical Association (QBMA), reciprocated with making two scholarships available to Concordia students. Partly as a result of these initiatives, the John Molson School of Business (JMSB) invited QBBE and the Black Studies Center to work with the ICED (JMSB) on a project to promote social entrepreneurship and conduct experiments in small and medium business start-ups. This was a strategy for creating a commercial and social enterprise infrastructure in the Black community aimed at solving the problem of chronic unemployment; and integrating its members into the social and economic fabric of Quebec society. Out of this initiative ICED has developed a model for community entrepreneurship and economic development that was used as part of an ICED-DESTA Black Youth Network economic development program; and as part of a joint business startup and incubation project with the Blacks Studies Center (Bayne C, 2005).

It is important to note that The Institute for Community Entrepreneurship and Development (ICED) evolved from the Entrepreneurship Institute for the Development of Minority Communities (EIDMC) that was established in 1994 by the Faculty of Commerce and Administration to respond more effectively to the needs of minority communities. Its training programs were in direct response to the specified needs of the leadership of two communities: the Cree Nations and the Black English-Speaking immigrant communities. The purpose was to acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to improve their situation as well as the economic and social conditions in their communities. ICED continues to assist key representatives and organizations within these communities to engage in research and experimentation with managerial tools and training that facilitate social and economic development. Examples are its collaborations with the QBBE to operate entrepreneurship seminars for youth (Image 2 below); and ongoing research with the BCRC and BSC on business and economic strategies; community communication and network development.



Image 2: ICED-QBMA Summer Entrepreneurship Program for Black Youth August 2011

SUMMARY

The 1960 Canadian Census states that the Black population of Quebec was 6000 persons most of whom lived in Montreal, mainly in the District of Little burgundy. They were predominantly English-speaking Blacks whose ancestors were escaped slaves that came to Quebec via the Montreal underground Railroad, servants of loyalists from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, immigrants from the West Indies that came here to join the second War effort, students and domestic workers. The Black population remained stagnant for over 100 years during the period 1863 – 1963, due to immigration laws that restricted Asiatic, and Black immigration from Africa and the Black diaspora. But the falling birth rates in Quebec from the early sixties, the democratization of the Canadian immigration laws in the sixties, the movement of the country towards the adoption of multi-culturalism as a state policy, plus the growth of the economy resulted in a rapid increase in immigration from the Caribbean, to Canada, more specifically from the West Indies or English speaking Black Caribbean, to Canada and Quebec between 1960 and 1981. The Black population increased from 5000 in Montreal to just over 49 000 by 1981. This represented a significant growth in the vitality of the English and French-speaking Black populations of Montreal and Quebec. In 1986, the number of English-speaking Blacks were 19,000 compared to 35,000 French speaking, a growth of over 300 percent over 1960 in each case. But the growth rate of the English-speaking Black community of Quebec has declined dramatically with changes in the immigration act to emphasize the labor market needs of Canada and immigration from French speaking countries. The vitality of the Black English-speaking communities in Quebec is believed to be in further decline with the passage of Bill 101 in 1977. The reasons for this decline are social, political and economic: the significant drop in immigration rates that are a result of the Quebec Government nationalist immigration policies supported by the immigration accord signed between Quebec and the Federal Government of Canada; the notwithstanding clause written into the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms which allows Quebec to legally deny certain constitutional rights of the peoples of Quebec.

Quebec majority French speaking leadership uses Bill 101 to discriminate against English-speaking populations as a strategy for protecting the French language and culture. In that minority, the Black English-Speaking populations have suffered the most from the practice of racism, and

linguistic and systemic discrimination. Census data consistently show that their educational status and acquisition are approximately equivalent to the French and other groups. But they are two to three times more likely to be unemployed compared with the general rate of unemployment in the Province; they are among the highest category with families living in poverty; they have significantly lower income per person employed compared with Whites with equivalent skills and educations.

Moreover, the Black community capacity for effective social entrepreneurial interaction aimed at reducing its disadvantages is compromised because the community is fragmented: the community consists of many smaller West Indian and other Black country of origin sub-groups. These sub-cultures tend to be closed to each other and lack the capacity for effective communication among themselves and with the larger society. Thus, the community as an entity is prone to the effects of the Kauffman complexity catastrophe: the tendency to be clustered around the lower peaks in the fitness landscape. This is exacerbated by the fact that the members are subjected to racist and systemic discrimination and exclusion by the dominant mainstream groups that control the private and public employment sectors. It is believed that on graduation the most skilled members of the group emigrate to other Provinces where English speaking Black graduates can find jobs more easily; and be compensated in the market for being able to speak and work in French. Several studies based on the Canadian Census and Ministry of Education data on student performance (Bayne, C 1990 ; James L. Torczyner, James L. and Springer, S 2001; McAndrew, Marie University of Montreal, 2008) show that dropout rates among Blacks have been reduced considerably in the English speaking school system over the period 1970 to 2005. But with the introduction of Bill 101 in 1977 and the modified Education Act, English speaking Blacks, especially first- and second-generation Blacks of Caribbean ancestry, were increasingly forced to go into the French school system. Studies show that these students are having problems completing programs and are generally underperforming (Professor Marie McAndrew, Faculty of Education, U of M, 2005; and William Floch (Floch Appendix1 2018). All studies point to systemic bias in the French school system as a factor influencing the poor performances of English-speaking Black youth.

Employability and Education: The data strongly support the proposition that significant systemic discrimination exists in the market and workplace against Blacks; and that English-speaking Black immigrants from the Caribbean seem to be the most targeted in that respect. They are the least prepared: 65.8 % of the age group 15-29 has a high school diploma or less compared with 51.7% for the English speaking non-visible minority and 49.9 percent for the French-speaking non-visible minority populations. 8.7% have a university degree at bachelor level or above compared with 13.4 percent for French speaking Blacks and 13.6% for French-speaking non-visible minority populations. (Floch, Appendix A, Table 7, 2018) The best trained and educated Blacks are more likely to experience unemployment than non-visible minority population groups: approximately twice as much on the average. They are most underemployed and underpaid compared with non-visible population 15 years of age and older. They are more likely to be living in poverty (Floch, Appendix I, Tables 15 and 16, 2018).

The stagnation of the English speaking Black populations in the Province and the comparatively much lower proportion of the population in the age group 15-29 with University degrees

at bachelor level or less is consistent with free market economic theory and the Darwinian adaptation thesis: labor as a factor of production will move to locations on the fitness landscape where the socio-economic and psycho-social returns are highest for the factor; or where it can be adapted most effectively. That is, to psycho-social spaces outside of Quebec, International corporate spaces, and the “underground.”

Black leaders and organizations have shown a vigorous social entrepreneurial response to racism, the “color line” and exclusion from the benefits accessible to non-Black and other visible minority citizens living in Quebec. A significant number of Black social organizations emerged in the sixties (Black Studies Center, the Quebec Board of Black Educators, the Jamaica Association, Black Studies Center, T and T Association, Black Theatre Workshop, BCCQ, etc.) with clear strategies and objectives for changing these negative conditions; and creating a more inclusive and cohesive society. The central strategy for the advancement of Blacks, especially the English-speaking Black community, has been education: that is reducing the failure rate in the English and French school systems and increasing Black enrollment and graduates from Quebec Universities. But this is not achieving its full impact in terms of employment because of the persistence of systemic and racist barriers used as competitive and hostile strategies by the mainstream for gaining and controlling positions of social and economic advantage on the Quebec fitness landscape. Thus, the education, graduation, employment and retention of Blacks in Quebec is a problem created by racial biases against Blacks and English-speaking minorities in the public and mainstream business sectors of Quebec. This has resulted in direct action from the BCRC, CEDEC, ICED (Concordia), DESTA Black Youth Network, La Ligue des Noirs, to develop short and long-term strategies to solve this problem. They have promoted small business start-ups and self-employment; and sought to inform governments and the private sectors on the benefits of diversity in hiring for Quebec;

All three levels of Government have put laws in place that reject the practice of racism and discrimination in Canada. This is what Justin Trudeau had to say on “the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination” February 4, 2018: “Today, we come together to recognize the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. The Government of Canada strongly condemns any form of discrimination at home and in our global community. We will continue to promote inclusiveness, acceptance, and equality in Canada and around the globe, and will never stop working for a safer, more equal, and more respectful world”. But the employment performance of the Federal, Provincial and Municipal governments, especially in Quebec, with respect to the hiring of visible minority, immigrants and non-French populations, makes a mockery of these platitudes. Moreover, the provincial government strategic expenditures, outside the school system and Universities, on educational and development in visible minority communities has tended to support partnerships with mainstream community programs aimed at making the larger communities and neighborhoods safe; as opposed to building the capacity within minority communities for solving the core problems of unemployment and under-employment among Blacks and other visible minorities. This has had the effect of maintaining the various Black communities as enclave communities dependent on the institutions of the two mainstream White dominant middle and upper classes of the society.

There is little evidence in Quebec of a well-informed commitment on the part of the Provincial or Municipal governments to create within these communities the social and economic capital

that would build and support the capacity for innovation and ingenuity. The locus of control and the capacity for continuous growth seem to be always created outside the Black community and made dependent on expertise in one or the other “duality. This gap in the socially desirable representation of Blacks in problem solving in the society has been documented and brought to the attention of the Quebec Provincial Government and the Federal Government by a network of leadership in the English speaking Black community, the Black Community Forum and other key agencies in the Black Communities (Reports of the Black Forum 2016, 2017 and 2018). It also has been effectively represented in the Report of the QCGN Priority Steering Committee, Phase II, recently submitted to the Federal Government, the Department of Canadian Heritage, September 2018 and November 2018. The November Report stresses the need for the Official Language Plan to create a “mechanism to address vulnerability in our [English-Speaking] community of communities in its various forms”; and points to the fact that it is not sufficient to address mainstream priorities that “do not necessarily meet the needs of enclave minority communities.” The report also stressed that funding should be prioritized for communities, within which there are individuals, and groups that are most vulnerable, some of which face multiple challenges. For example, groups such as the English-speaking Blacks that are struggling with the effects of marginalization, discrimination, exclusion and isolation from other English-speaking minority communities, and Quebec society. Specific cases in point are persons in precarious socio-economic situations, such as the disabled, low income and the unemployed and racialized populations such as the English-speaking Black community, especially those of West Indian ancestry. The Report states that they qualify high on the list for prioritized attention. The William Floch presentation produced Census data for 2016 that show that the English-speaking Blacks are among the most disadvantaged among the minorities of the Province of Quebec. The data strongly support Black demands for an investigation into racism and systemic discrimination that they consistently show exist, along with the social and economic isolation introduced by the language policies of the governments of Quebec. The QCGN Report concludes that there is a strong case for “robust, targeted and well-funded efforts...to support such communities’ drive to move from vulnerability to vitality”. Similar demands were made by the Reports of the Black Community Forum held at Val Morin 1992, BCRC, 6767 Cote des Nieves June 2016, 2017 and October 2018, by the Yolande James Task Force Report on the Full Participation of Black Communities in Québec Society (March 2006), reports to the City of Montreal over the period 2003-2016; and the recent demands by an alliance of Black organizations (Montreal in Action) led by Balarama Holness successfully calling for the City to hold a public consultation on systemic racism and discrimination based on identifiers and fitness proxies: race, gender and religion; and citizenship status and socio-economic condition. (Marchenkova, Darya, Gazette August 17, 2018).



Image 3: The citizen-based Montreal in Action filed their petition calling on the city to hold a public consultation on systemic racism and discrimination on July 27, 2018. Courtesy of Balarama Holness (Center)

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The solution to the Black English-speaking problems of integration and development requires a holistic culture-specific approach. There is no specific targeted government support or plan of action for Black minority youth to maximize their potential within the City or regions where they are growing up. It is the belief among some Black English-speaking community groups that engage in development, that to have access to Government or private funding resources they must show that Black youth are at risk with a potential for constituting a threat to the community. They postulate that this type of community programming that caters only to the needs of the youth at risk panders to the perception that Blacks are the “White man’s burden” and a ward of his moral and civic responsibility. There is a sense that governments and mainstream institutions deal with Black youth as potential problems, not with their development as complete beings within their communities, who are the future leaders of the country. Hence, they claim that these projects are typically not effective development or civic informing for the Black kinship subgroups. They are ill-conceived strategies, poor in culture specific community asset creation capability and community development. What is needed is a growth plan which is not simply based on the best practice in the dominant White community, but rather one that promotes innovation within communities and which uses the best tools appropriate for that community and the peoples it serves, or for that ethnicity and its particular needs and wants. In all cases synergistic leadership and the highest quality management standards must be encouraged. Community based service providers must be funded to enable them to compete in the market

for the best trained Black and other visible and minority employees and contributors. One cannot run a program effectively in positive parenting with employees that are unemployable because they failed out of school before finishing high school. You cannot correct their situation by running a tutorial program with failed College teachers. To avoid these problematic situations, one must be able to compete effectively in the mainstream labor and skills market for efficient supplies of skilled human resources. It is observable that the larger White mainstream not-for-profit community organizations receive funding that allow them to acquire skills at relative competitive market rates; while most Black non-profits when they receive funding are unable to pay much more than half of the starting salary of the equivalent job situation in the White agency. There are no Black community-based organizations that have a pension plan arrangement. Government agencies need to be more sensitive to these inequalities and encourage better choices of quality personnel and training for certain programs to ensure quality deliverables to the community members being served. At the same time, they need to be less bureaucratic in order to avoid isomorphic distortions in the mission and mandates of the community based organizations that they support. This approach facilitates a better assessment and response to the changing dynamics in the communities and cultural subgroups. Governments need to create mechanisms for evaluating the funding and ingenuity needs of the individual communities and sub-cultures, as these agencies respond to changes in the larger societies of which they are a part, or to gaps that develop in their competences as the total society changes.

There are significant social entrepreneurial responses from the Black leadership to the problems of integration, and barriers to development from the practice of mainstream racial and systemic discrimination. But fragmentation in the Black population may have rendered these responses less effective than may have been possible. However, the paper presentations to the Conference and cases sited in this paper reveal an ongoing history of social entrepreneurship initiatives to reduce the negative impact of fragmentation and gaps in communication and knowledge transfer. There is evidence of a constant effort by Black social entrepreneurs to organize to solve the problems of racism and systemic discrimination, under and unemployment, and the general problem of access to equal opportunity and justice. In short, social and economic entrepreneurs in each of the Black sub-cultures are constantly searching to move the members of the group to higher fitness peaks on the fitness landscape: higher levels of objective and subjective wellbeing, in the face of change in the degrees of uncertainty; or the extrinsic complexity of the type of environment faced by Black English-speaking and other visible minority sub-cultures on the landscape. However, these initiatives are often weakened by the lack of unity in the group caused by cultural and ethnic differences; and demographic factors embedded in the country of origin histories and cultures of the sub-populations. For example, French speaking and English-Speaking Black immigrants from the Caribbean benefit differently from White Franco nationalism in Quebec. In Quebec, the French speaking Blacks seem to enjoy a socio-economic advantage over English speaking Blacks. However, both suffer the negative impact of racial biases (the Color line) against Blacks as a racialized sub-population of the society. Yet, the factors of fragmentation have slowed moves to create a strong united voice binding the two groups together in the struggle to overcome the inherited disadvantages of the historical circumstances of slavery, colonialism and social devaluation based on White race superiority concepts of nation building and civilization. Thus any solution to the Black English-speaking problems of integration and development requires a holistic approach that is culture specific, interactive, and uses a

sense-making systems approach to understanding which factors/variables determine the best and desired state or combinations of states at a given time for the minority Black sub-populations. This is a system in which community priorities are not addressed in some linear order of importance (youth, education, employability, health, anti-racism, security, strengthening of families, strengthening of community organizations, communication, etc). It is not a system that is driven by the classical superman entrepreneur of traditional business theory, the Schumpeterian large change-maker driven by the forces of “creative destruction”. According to William Baumol, he/she may not exist outside the world of classical economic equilibrium (Baumol, 2006). It may not even be a person, but an organization or network of agencies collaborating, communicating, or competing (Baumol, 2005; Martin, Rogers 2007; Light, 2001).

According to George Dees (Dees, 2001), this complex adaptive human system requires a social entrepreneur leadership that is committed to transforming existing realities, opening up new pathways for the marginalized and disadvantaged, and creating mechanisms to mobilize utility producing resources that operationalize society’s potential to affect social change. As stated earlier, social entrepreneurs are social sector leaders, activists that exhibit, to differing degrees, a capacity for continuously engaging in

- Adopting a mission to create and sustain social value (not just private value),
- Recognizing and relentlessly pursuing new opportunities to serve that mission,
- Engaging in a process of continuous innovation, adaptation, and learning,
- Acting boldly without being limited by resources currently in hand, and
- Exhibiting heightened accountability to the constituencies served and for the outcomes created.

The Black leadership of Montreal may have had difficulty in determining which of several terms (negroes, coloured people, Blacks or African Canadians) captured more completely the identity of the sub-populations of the constituents they served or seek to represent; and to precisely whom they are most accountable for their missions and mandates. But since 1900, some social entrepreneurs emerged who adopted missions to create and sustain a set of social values and characteristics that defined a sufficiently commonly held perception of the boundaries of a “Black” community. The cases presented above show that key community agencies lead by individual social entrepreneurs have acted boldly and engaged in a process of continuous innovation and adaptation to define and sustain a perception of community. Some of these agencies are the Coloured Women Club, Union United Church, the UNIA, the NCC, , the Jamaica and the Trinidad and Tobago Associations, the NBCC, BTW, QBBE, the BCCQ, the Black History Month Round Table, the Black Community Resource Center, la Maison d’Haiti. Their activities span more than a 100 years, mostly under-funded, ignored by Quebec and the Canada government and societies. They are dependent on volunteer labour and skills. The increasing cost of management and inadequate capacity act as barriers to Black community organizations and leadership access to ingenuity created and stored by other competing mainstream kinship groups on the Canadian and Quebec fitness landscape.

In the years following the early sixties, the closed cultures of the immigrant sub-groups making up the “Black community” acted as a deterrent to reducing the gaps in communication and ingenuity between the Black communities and other cultural sub-populations. In part, this has

resulted in a noticeable stagnation, even decline in the vitality of some of the subgroups of the English-speaking Black community. In the English-speaking Black community, the NCC has vanished along with its capital assets. So has the Negro Citizenship Association and the Negro Theatre Arts Club. The latter has been effectively replaced by the Black Theatre Workshop, and several other Black arts and cultural agencies. The existence of most other community agencies are at significant risk of failure. However, there is evidence that the social entrepreneurial response to this threat is significant. This is underlined by the creation of the National Black Coalition of Canada in 1969 and the subsequent creation of the NCC Outreach programs (The first stage of the Black Community Council of Quebec) in 1973. This was a community development agency based on a Carl Whittaker version of Pan-Africanism (“communology”). The central objectives of the Black response to the challenges of fuller integration into Quebec and Canadian society, exclusion, racial and social discrimination and continues to be the strengthening of community organizations, the creation and promotion of Black art and culture, the strengthening of the family, and the education and employment of Black youth.

This uniquely English-speaking Black development strategy was embodied in the action plan for the Black Community Council of Quebec. In response to criticism and demands for diversification of the concept to include all Black organizations, a Black community forum was convened at a community town hall held at Val Morin, Quebec, in July 1992. The recommendations of the Forum (Black Community Forum) represent a bold movement by the leadership of the Black community to reduce fragmentation (isolation and low levels of communication and collaboration) in the Black communities and to increase the capacity and ingenuity of the communities to respond effectively to change: to develop counter strategies to external anti-Black competitive agents, and the systemic discriminating political arrangements, introduced by the “notwithstanding clause”, and legitimized in Bill 101 and other acts supporting Quebec’s nationalism.

REFERENCES

- African-Canadian Career Excellence (2015), Employer Survey: Summary Report, August 2015. Received from: <https://cedec.ca/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/CEDEC-ACCE-Employer-Survey-Report-August-2015-FINAL-EN-Branded.pdf>
- Ali, I. (2011). *Coexistence or operational necessity: the role of formally structured organisation and informal networks during deployments*. Defense Science and Technology Organization (Australia) Joint Operations Division.
- Austin, D. (2013). *Fear of a Black Nation: Race, sex, and security in sixties Montreal*. Between the Lines.
- Baumol, W. J. (2006, January). Return of the invisible men: The microeconomic value theory of inventors and entrepreneurs. In *annual meeting of the American Economic Association, Boston*.
- Bayne, C. (2005). Black Business and social entrepreneurship in Quebec: the spirit of social entrepreneurship and small business solutions to Black employment 1960-2006. *Multiple Lenses Conference*,
- Bayne, C. S. (1990). Black community submission... Montreal, Quebec into the 1990s (Excerpt from the Black Community Submission on Culture Public Hearing on the Proposition de la Culture et des Arts). *Canadian Theatre Review*, (83), 24.
- Bayne, C., & Saadé, R. (2013, July). Informing Minority Communities: The English Speaking Black Community of Montreal. Towards a Deployable Model. In *Proceedings of the Informing Science and Information Technology Education Conference*. Informing Science Institute.

- Bayne, Clarence (2001) Le Black Theatre Workshop of Montreal: un nouveau Belan, *L'Annuaire théâtral*, 29, CRCCF 2001
- Bayne, Edina and Bayne, Clarence (1995) The Quebec Board of Black Educators-An Innovator: etching Educational Success, NCBE and Multiculturalism Canada, December 1995 Revised April 2009. . Internet date 6 April 2019: <https://bscportal.wordpress.com/the-quebec-board-of-black-educators-an-innovator/>
- BCCQ Member Community Associations Joint Symposium hosted by the West Island Black Community Association, WIBCA March 13, 1993, BSC_C. Bayne Fonds BSC Archives.
- Bertley, L. W. (1981). THE UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL, 1917-1979.
- Black Community Forum (1992) "Community Forum" Received from: <https://bscportal.files.wordpress.com/2015/03/communityforum8.pdf>
- Boyer, M. (2018). Labour Shortage: The "Disappearance" of Quebec's Youth. *MEI*. Available at: <https://www.iedm.org/82907-labour-shortage-disappearance-quebecs-youth>
- Canadian Encyclopedia, (2017). Black Canadian Theatre. Received from: <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/black-canadian-theatre>
- CEDEC (2019) *ACCE: Empowering African-Canadian Career Excellence, The IJCDMS Conference Series. April 2019.*
- CEDEC ACCE (2013), *Community Economic Development and Employability Corporation and African-Canadian Career Excellence Undergraduate Student Survey 2011-2012 Summary Report, CEDEC, Montreal, Quebec Canada*
- Celemencki, J. (2010), Portrait of Young Quebecers Originating from the Caribbean and Sub-Saharan Africa English Sector, PhD Thesis, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
- Chui, T., Maheux, H., & Tran, K. (2008). *Canada's Ethnocultural Mosaic, 2006 Census: Census Year 2006*. Statistics Canada.
- City of Montreal (2004). Intervention Plan for Black Communities, Documents de Direction des Affaires Interculturelle, Travail; Tremblay City Administration, 7 MAY 2004).
- Dees, J. G., & Anderson, B. B. (2006). Framing a theory of social entrepreneurship: Building on two schools of practice and thought. *Research on social entrepreneurship: Understanding and contributing to an emerging field*, 1(3), 39-66.
- Floch, W. (2018), English-speaking Blacks in Quebec Highlights from the 2016 Census, SRESQ, Dec 7 2018
- Floch, W. (2018, Dec 07), I, English-Speaking Blacks in Quebec: Highlights from the 2016 Census, Conference on Community Education and Development: Perspectives on English Speaking Blacks and Other Minorities, BCRC-ICED, Montreal
- Floch, W., & Pocock, J. (2012). The Socio-economic status of English-speaking Quebec: Those who left and those who stayed. *Decline and prospects of the English-speaking communities of Quebec*, 129-173.
- Floch, W., & Pocock, J. (2012). The Socio-economic status of English-speaking Quebec: Those who left and those who stayed. *Decline and prospects of the English-speaking communities of Quebec*, 129-173.
- Gill, G. (2012). Informing on a Rugged Landscape: Homophily versus Expertise. *Informing Science*, 15.
- Gill, G., Mullarkey, M., & Satterfield, R. K. (2018). Informing on a Rugged Landscape: How Complexity Drives Our Preferred Information Sources. *InformingSciJ*, 21, 1-18.
- Gill, T. G. (2015). *Informing Science Volume Two: Design and Research Issues*. Informing Science.
- Goodman, J. (1964, August 4). West Indian House Has New Place. *The Montreal; Atsr*.
- Government of Canada, (2018). Investing in Our Future: 2018-2023 Action Plan for Official Languages, Government of Canada

- Hautin, J.D. (2008). Francophone immigrants leaving Montreal to Settle in Toronto: What Happened and What is Happening? MA Thesis, Ryerson University, Toronto Canada.
- Hébert, P. C. (2015). "A Microcosm of the General Struggle": Black Thought and Activism in Montreal, 1960-1969. PhD Thesis, University of Michigan, U.S.A.
- Henry, F. (1968). The West Indian Domestic Scheme in Canada. *Social and Economic Studies*, 17(1), 83.
- Henry, F. (1973). *Forgotten Canadians: The Blacks of Nova Scotia*. Don Mills, Ont.: Longman Canada.
- Homer-Dixon, T. (2001). *The Ingenuity Gap*. Vintage Canada.
- Kauffman, S. A. (1993). *The origins of order: Self-organization and selection in evolution*. OUP USA.
- Kobti, Z., Reynodls, R. G., & Kohler, T. (2003, December). A multi-agent simulation using cultural algorithms: The effect of culture on the resilience of social systems. In *The 2003 Congress on Evolutionary Computation, 2003. CEC'03*. (Vol. 3, pp. 1988-1995). IEEE.
- Light, P. C. (2005, November). Searching for social entrepreneurs: Who they might be, where they might be found, what they do. In *Draft presented at the Conference of the Association for Research on Nonprofit and Voluntary Organizations, November* (pp. 17-19).
- Mc Andrew, Marie et Ledent, Jacque > (2008). :a Réussite Scolaire Jeunes des Communautés Noires au Secondaire. Université de Montréal, Septembre 2008
- Marchenkova, D. (2018, August). Montreal to hold public consultation on systemic racism, discrimination. *Montreal Gazette*. Available at: <https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/montreal-to-hold-public-consultation-on-systemic-racism-discrimination>
- Martin, R. L., & Osberg, S. (2007). Social entrepreneurship: The case for definition.
- Mensah, J. (2010). African Canadians: History, experience, social conditions.
- Morais, R. (2011). Critical realism and case studies in international business research. *Rethinking the case study in international business and management research*, 63-85.
- Nelson, C. (2018). Kanye West is Wrong: Slavery Wasn't A Choice, And the Enslaved Resisted. Available at: https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/charmaine-nelson/kanye-west-slavery-choice-tmz_a_23425795/
- Ney, S., Beckmann, M., Graebnitz, D., & Mirkovic, R. (2014). Social entrepreneurs and social change: tracing impacts of social entrepreneurship through ideas, structures and practices. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Venturing*, 6(1), 51-68.
- Palmer, H. (1976). *Multiculturalism as State Policy*.
- Porter, J. (2015). *Vertical mosaic: An analysis of social class and power in Canada*. University of Toronto Press.
- QCGN (2018) Priority Setting Committee II Recommendations to the Department of Canadian Heritage, QCGN. [http:// www.qcgn.ca](http://www.qcgn.ca).
- Richardson, G. (1999). *Education Innovations: The Montreal Experience*.
- Roach, Cecil Ed. (1982, June) Focus: Exclusive Interview with Mr Carl Whittaker, *Focus Magazine* 1 (1),5-10. Available at: https://bscportal.files.wordpress.com/2016/02/focus_vol1_no1.pdf
- Secretariat of BCF, (2017). *The Road Ahead*, BCRC Files.
- Shields, J., Drolet, J., & Valenzuela, K. (2016). *Immigrant settlement and integration services and the role of non-profit providers: A cross-national perspective on trends, issues and evidence*. Ryerson Centre for Immigration and Settlement.
- Shrivastava, P., & Grant, J. H. (1985). Empirically derived models of strategic decision-making processes. *Strategic management journal*, 6(2), 97-113.
- Torczyner, J. L., & Springer, S. (2001). The evolution of the Black community of Montreal: change and challenge. *Montrel (QC): McGill Consortium for ethnicity and social planning*.

- Walker, J. W. S. G. (1980). *A history of Blacks in Canada: A study guide for teachers and students*. Minister of State, Multiculturalism.
- Williams, E. (1994). *Capitalism and Slavery*. 1944. *Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P.*
- Winks, R. W. (1997). *Blacks in Canada: A History* (Vol. 192). McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP.
- Yin, R. K. (2017). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods*. Sage publications.

APPENDIX A

English-Speaking Blacks in Quebec: Highlights from the 2016 Census

William Floch, Adjoin Secretary to the **Secretariat for Relations with English-speaking Quebecers**, Quebec, Canada Secretariat for Relations with English-speaking Quebecers, With Notes by Dr. Clarence Bayne, Director of ICED, JMSB, Concordia.

Conference Title, “Demographics and State of the English speaking Blacks in the Quebec Social and Economic”, of The Black Community Resource Center (BCRC) in collaboration with the Institute for Community Education/Entrepreneurship and Development (ICED).

Concordia, December 7th, 2018

The data used in this report are from Statistics Canada population statistics for Census 2016 for the English speaking Black populations. The Census of 2016 show the Black population of Quebec to be 319 230 which is 3.1% of the Total visible minorities populations (1,032,365) making it the largest single visible minority group in Quebec. The ethnic origin of the Black population is predominantly Caribbean and a total of 201,625 or 63.2 % is of Caribbean origin. Of these 143,165 are of Haitian origin, representing 44.8 percent of the Black population in 2016 and 67% of the Black population of Caribbean origin. (Census Profile, 2016 Census). Overall, the data shows that the ESBC tend to be the most marginalized and disadvantaged sub-groups.

Socio-economic Status Population 15 y ears and over:

Figure 1 represents that for the population 15+ in Quebec for Census year 2016 English – Speaking Blacks having an high school diploma or less represented 48.1% of that subpopulation compared with 37.1% for the French –Speaking Black subpopulation. English speaking Blacks underperformed the French speaking Black sub-population by 11 % and the non-visible French speaking population and English-speaking non visible populations by 6-7%.

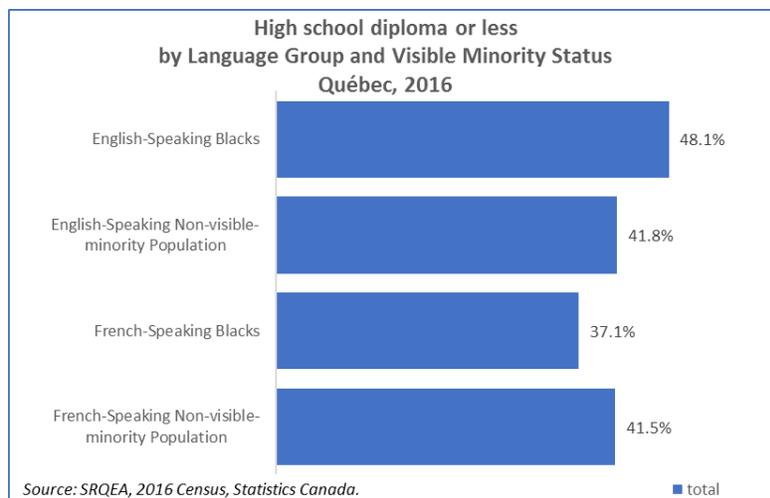


Table 1: Population 15+ - With High School Diploma or Less

Figure 2 shows levels of education attainment for University degree at Bachelor’s level or better. It is noted that the percentage of English-speaking Blacks with a university degree of Bachelor or better is 16.6% compared with 24.7% for French-speaking Blacks, and 18.3% for non-visible French-speaking minority population and 27.3% for non-visible English-speaking minority populations. Thus, Blacks are doing significantly worse at the higher levels of education attainment. But English-speaking Blacks are doing somewhat worse than French-speaking Blacks. There are some questions in other papers as to whether this difference is not a reflection of delays in the completion of graduation relating to English s-speaking Black or the out-migration phenomena. (C. Bayne, CEDEC)

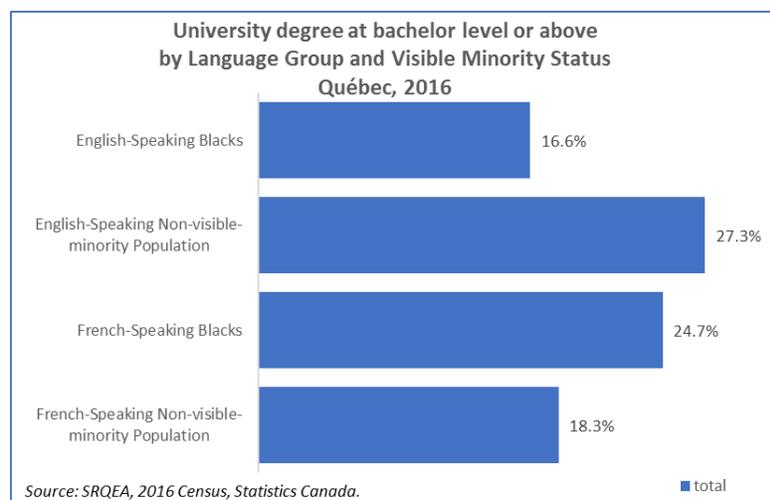


Figure 2: Population 15+ - Bachelor’s Degree or Above

Figure 3 shows that French-speaking Blacks tend to more active in the labour-force. All other grouping including the English-speaking Black have 35% -36% of their populations not in the labour force, compared with 28,8% for the French-Speaking Blacks.

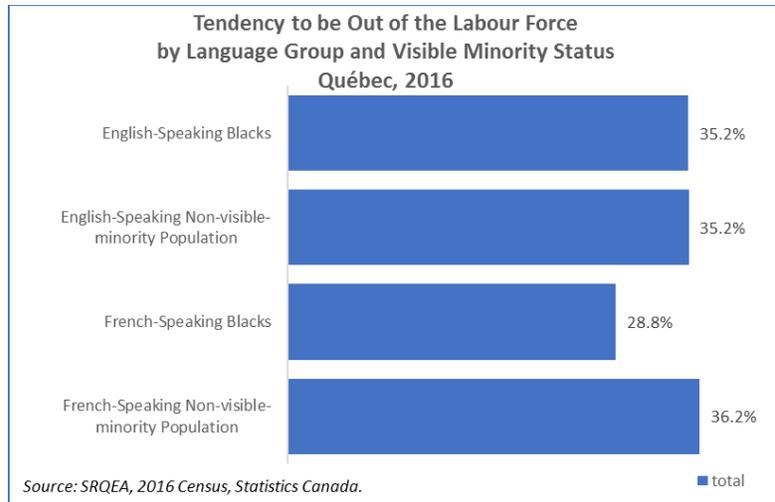


Figure 3: Population 15+ - Not in the Labor Force

Figure 4 presents the employment rates of the subgroups of Black-English and French-speaking populations.

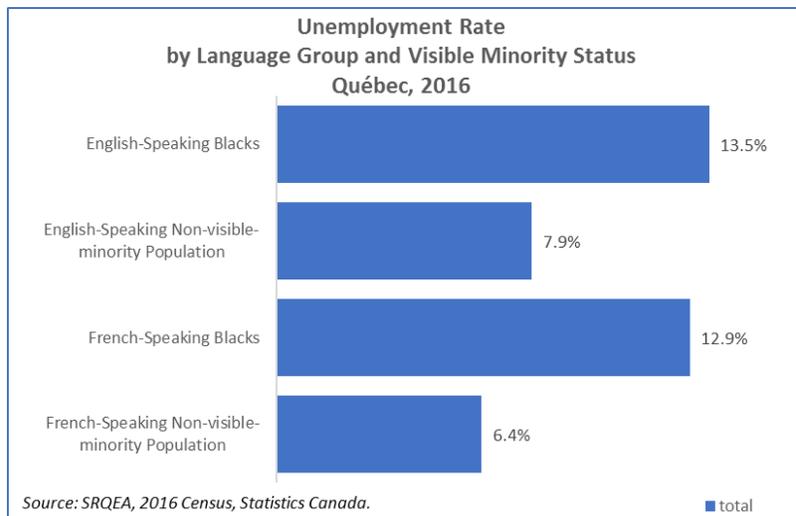


Figure 4: Population 15+ - Unemployment rate

Both populations suffered approximate twice as much unemployment (12.9% French-Speaking and 13 % English-Speaking) compared with the rest of the population (6.4% -7.9%). This is reflected in Figure 5. Figure 5 shows that a significantly greater proportion of Blacks (approximately 45%) have incomes below \$20,000 annually compared with 30% to 35 % for Whites.

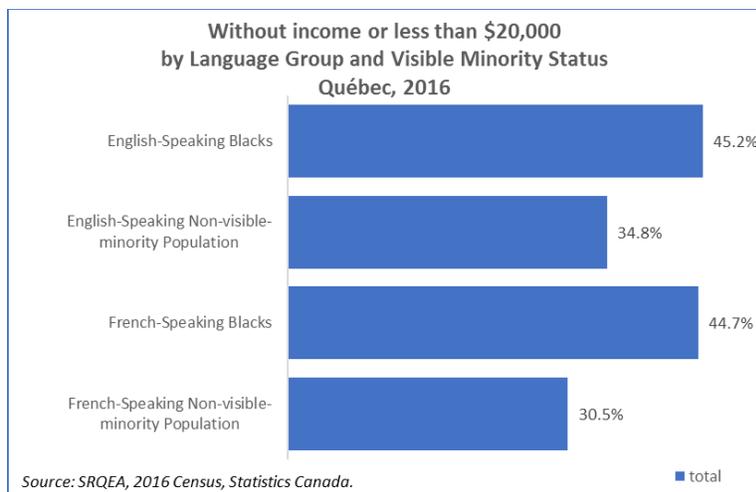


Figure 5: Population 15+ - Without income or income less than \$20,000

At the upper end of the scale the story continues to be as bad for Blacks, with the English-speaking Blacks doing the worse: 15.2 % of English-speaking Blacks earned incomes above \$50,000 compared with 30.4% for non-visible English-speaking populations. On the other hand, 18.0% of French speaking Blacks earned \$50,000 compared to 29.7% non-visible French speaking populations (Figure 6).

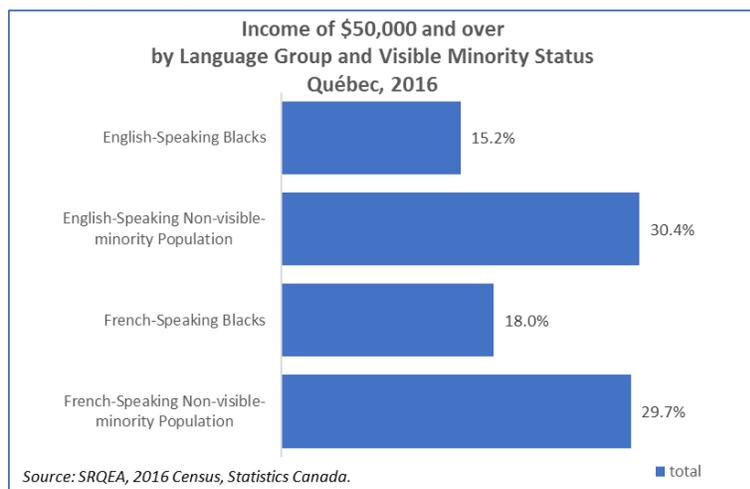


Figure 6: Population 15+ With Income Greater than \$50,000

Figure 7 demonstrates that 65.8% the English-speaking young adults are less likely to complete a high school diploma; or complete it much later in life. This can be compared with 58.5% for the French-Speaking Blacks; and 51.7% and 49.9% for the English Speaking and French-Speaking non-visible minority populations respectively. For those acquiring a University degree at the Bachelor level or better the English-Speaking Black youth are doing even worse

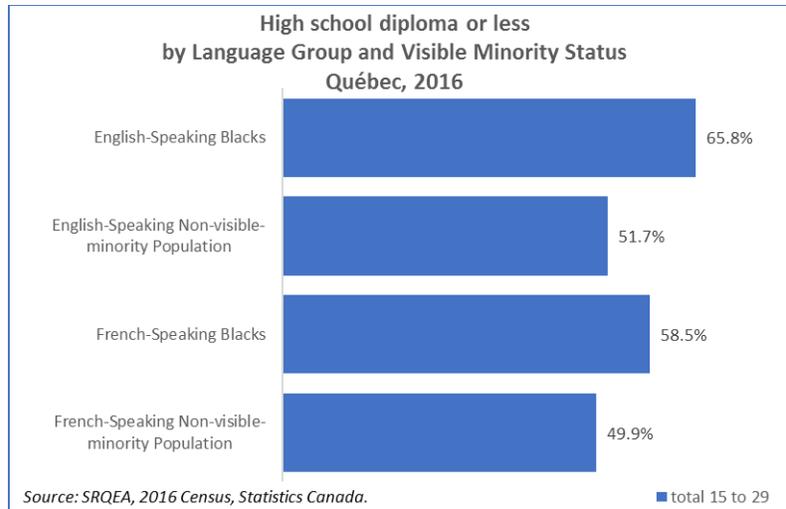


Figure 7: Population 15-29 - High School Diploma or Less

Figure 8 displays that only 8.7% of the population are acquiring a University degree at the Bachelor level or better, compared to 13.4 % for the French-Speaking Black youth, 13.6% and 19% of the French-Speaking and English-Speaking non-visible minority youth populations respectively.

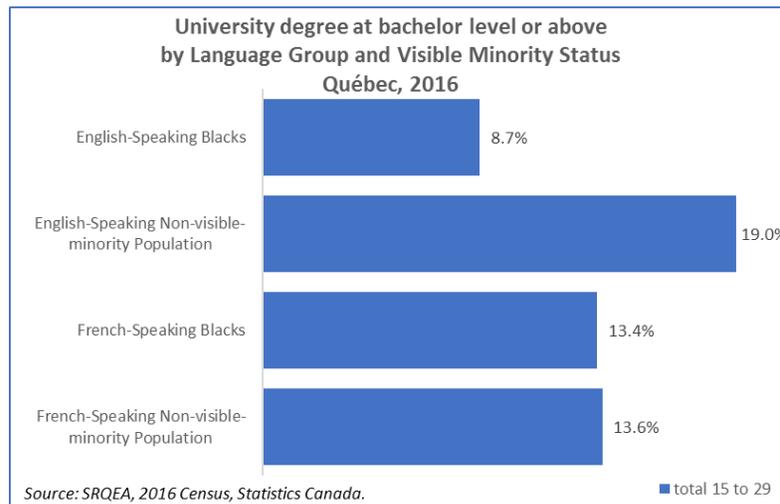


Figure 8: Population 15-29 – Bachelor’s Degree or Above

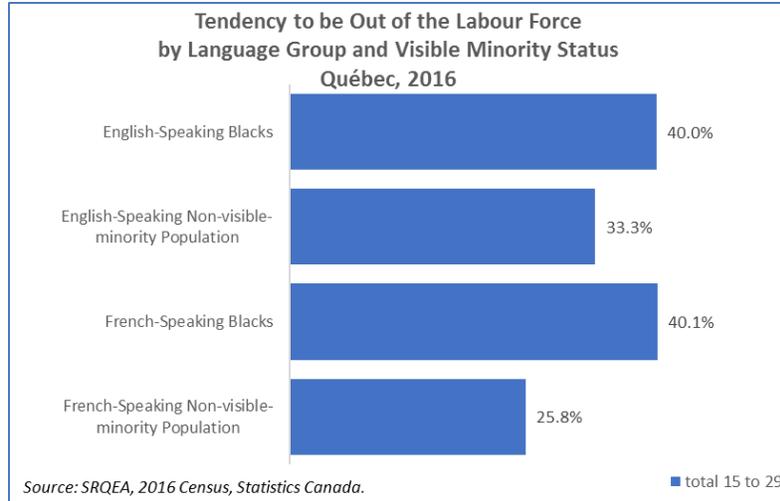


Table 9: Population 15-29 years old out of the Labor Force

For English-speaking Blacks, the unemployment rates are twice as high as the non-visible French speaking youth populations: approximately 19% versus 9% (Figure 10). Approximately 75% of the population is in the low-income bracket (\$20,000 and less: Figure 11) and they are almost absent from the bracket \$50,000 and more (approximately 3%, Figure 12). Overall this leads to a situation of significant poverty in the English-Speaking Black populations as reflected in Figures 13 -15 showing the household socio-economic structures and the tendency for the linguistic and the visible and nonvisible population to find themselves in a state that subject them to live under the poverty line.

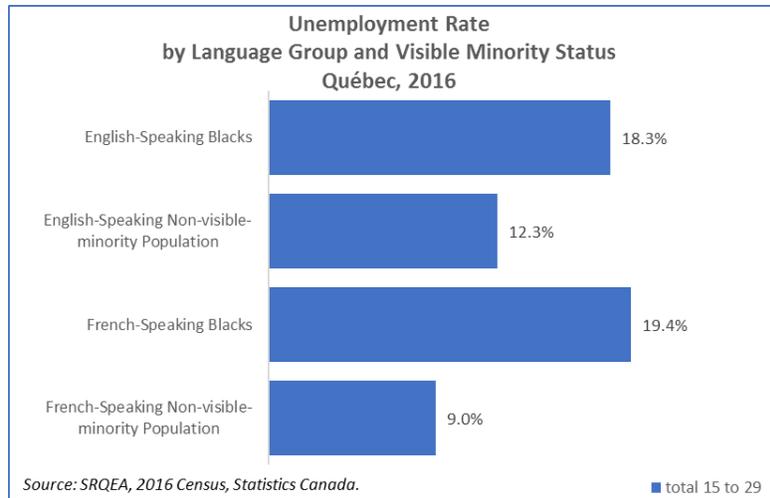


Figure 10: Population 15-29 years old – Unemployment

Figures 11 and 12 show that Black youths (age group 15-29) are more likely to be over-represented in low level occupations in Quebec and under-represented in high level occupations. This creates a phenomenon that Floch and Pocock described as the missing middle (Floch and Pocock, 2015). That is for the French -Speaking White population there is a 33% likelihood that they will get a job paying between \$20,000 and \$50,000, whereas for the Black or English speaking the likelihood is 15% to 20%.

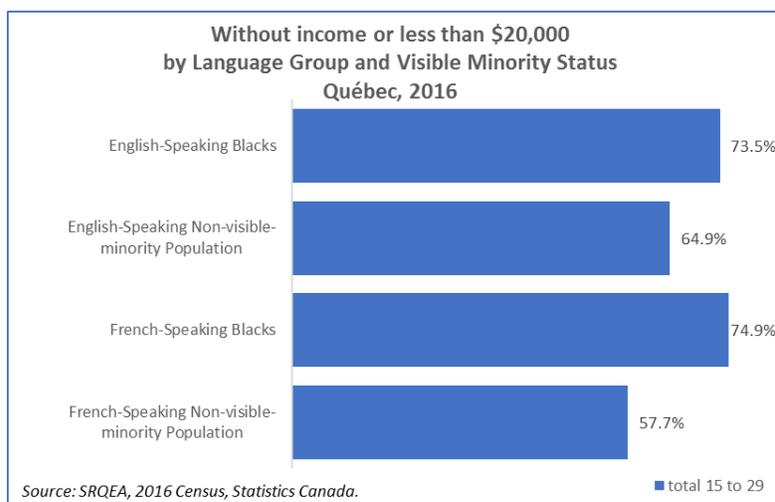


Figure 11: Population 15-29 without income or income less than \$20,000

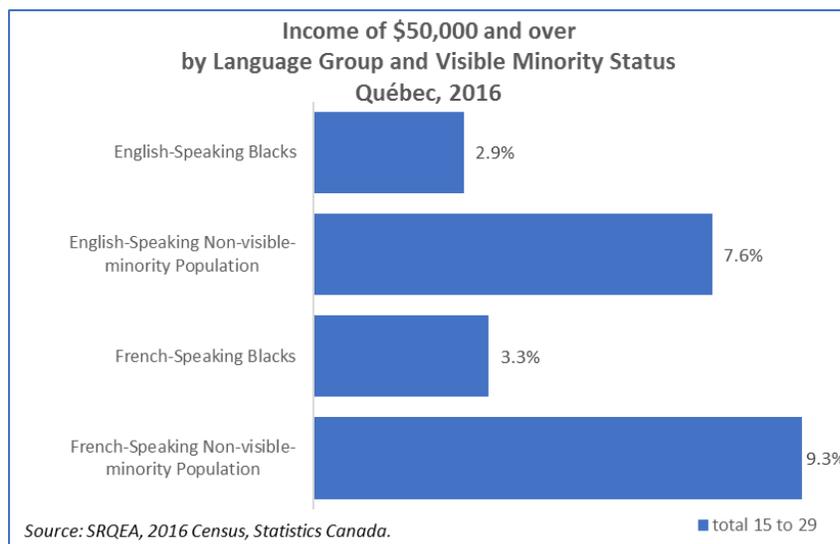


Figure 12: Population 15-29 with Income Greater than \$50,000

Tables 13, 14 and 15 show the proportion of the official languages (French and English speaking) visible and non-visible populations in Quebec that are single parent families and live below the low-income cut-off for Canadians. The variables single parent families and LICO* are used as overall proxy measures of the objective wellbeing of the ethnic and linguistic sub-populations in Quebec. They show that Black populations are two to three times as likely as non-visible populations to live in single-parent family units (Figure 13).

* Household Living Arrangements and Tendency to Live Below the Low-income Cut-off (LICO)

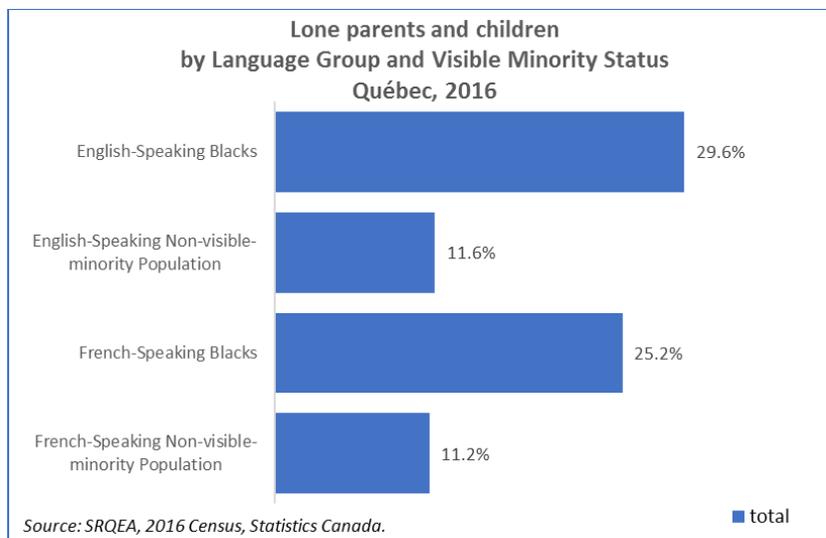


Figure 13: Persons Living in Lone-parent Families

Figures 14 and 15 depict that they and a half as likely to be living lone parent families and twice as likely to be living below the low income cut off or poverty line.

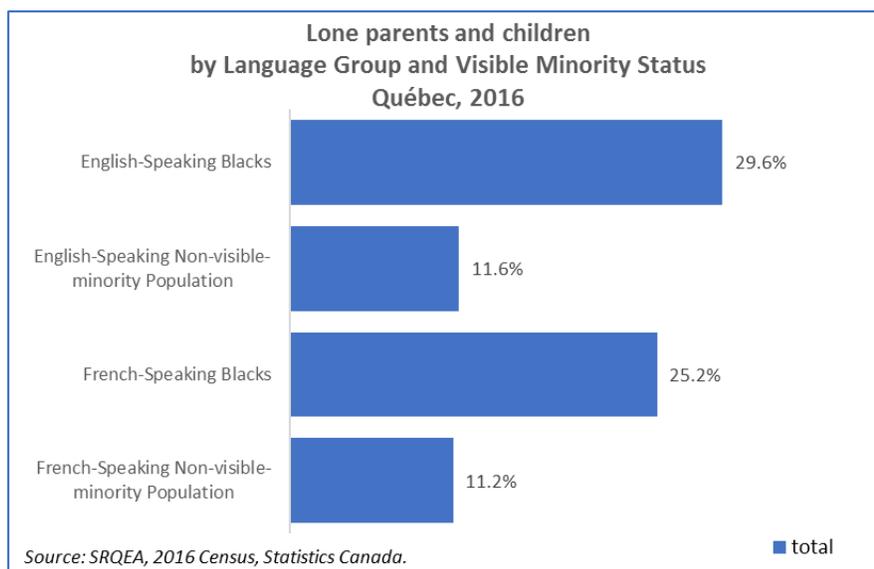


Figure 14: Persons Living in Lone-Parent Families

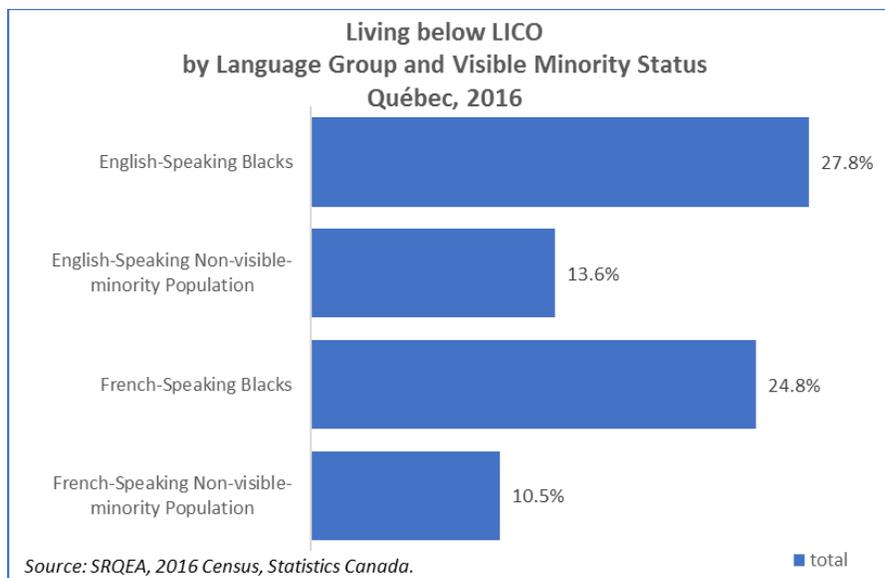


Figure 15: Total Population Living Below the Low-Income –Cut-Off (LICO).

Figure 16 shows that in 2016, 36.8% of the single parent English-Speaking Black population versus 32.5% the single-parent French-Speaking Black families lived below the poverty or subsistence line. By comparison only 17.2 % of the French-Speaking non-visible minority populations and 20% of the English-Speaking non-visible minority populations lived below the LICO.

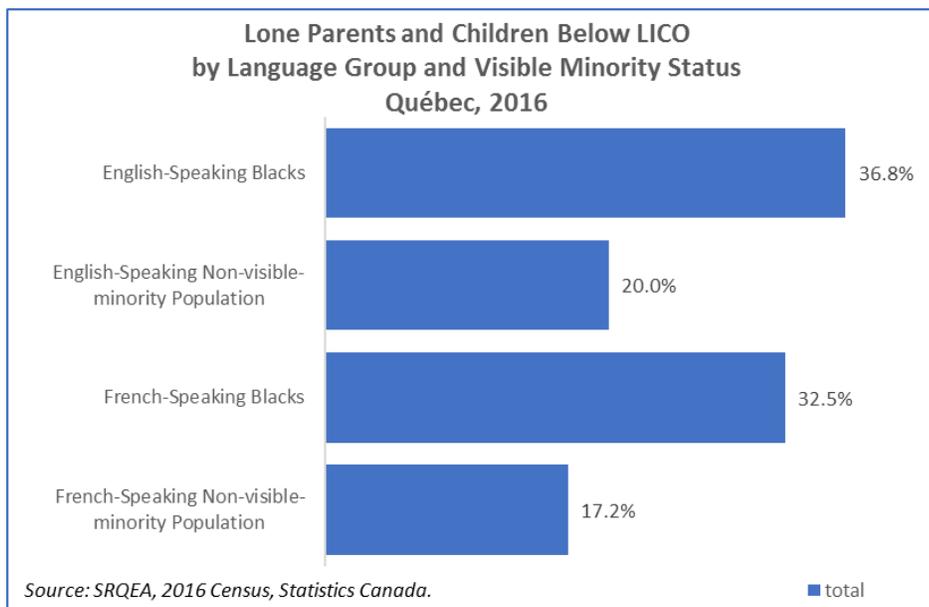


Figure 16: Persona Living in Lone-parent Families below the Low-Income Cut-off (LICO)

Special Issue 2019, Article 2 from Series of 5

Collaborative Unity and Existential Responsibility

**EMPOWERING AFRICAN-CANADIAN CAREER
EXCELLENCE**

CEDEC*

Huntingdon, QC, Canada

communications@cedec.ca

*CEDEC assists communities in taking full advantage of the creative and innovative potential of public, private and civil society collaboration. As such, its work is presented as a team effort and not that of a single individual.

ABSTRACT

Aim/Purpose	The African-Canadian Career Excellence (ACCE) initiative was developed to address the loss of highly-educated, English-speaking Black youth from the Greater Montreal Area (Quebec, Canada) facing issues of unemployment and underemployment.
Background	The ACCE initiative partners – African and Caribbean Synergic inter-organizational Network of Canada (ACSioN Network), Black Community Resource Centre (BCRC) and Community Economic Development and Employability Corporation (CEDEC) – worked to mitigate the exodus of educated Black youth through building their professional capacities to attain meaningful, sustainable local employment; encouraging their contribution to Quebec’s vitality, and assisting employers to diversify their workforce.
Methodology	The Black undergraduate students of African descent who were surveyed were English-speaking youth from the Greater Montreal Area; these included Canadian citizens, landed immigrants and temporary and permanent residents. Survey respondents will be referred to as Black African undergraduate students for the remainder of this article. In the 2011-2012 academic year, Black African undergraduate students from five Montreal post-secondary institutions were surveyed. On-campus promotion and in-person solicitation resulted in a non-random convenience sample of 92 individuals. Data from the 34 categorical and open-ended questions in an English-language online survey were analyzed using SurveyMonkey, Microsoft Excel and SPSS.
Contribution	Montreal’s English-speaking Black African undergraduate students represent an under-documented demographic in migration studies, specifically in terms of

Accepting Editor: Clarence S Bayne | Received: March 23, 2019 | Revised: June 23 & September 30, 2019 | Accepted: November 10, 2019

Cite as: CEDEC (2019). Empowering African-Canadian Career Excellence. *International Journal of Community Development & Management Studies*, 3 (sup 1), 53-76, Retrieved from: <http://ijcdms.org/Volume03/v3sup1p53-76CEDEC6029.pdf>

(CC BY-NC 4.0) This article is licensed to you under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/). When you copy and redistribute this paper in full or in part, you need to provide proper attribution to it to ensure that others can later locate this work (and to ensure that others do not accuse you of plagiarism). You may (and we encourage you to) adapt, remix, transform, and build upon the material for any non-commercial purposes. This license does not permit you to use this material for commercial purposes.

career plans, workplace skills, career path, employment resource awareness and discrimination. This portrait highlights the experience and career expectations of Montreal Black African undergraduate youth and is relevant within the contexts of Black history, community development, skills and career development, education and employment.

Findings	These results suggest that English-speaking Black African undergraduates expected to follow an appropriate career path in their desired field by attaining meaningful and sustainable local employment commensurate with their skills. Many of these youth were not able to access the same career opportunities as their peers, and therefore left before fully participating in Quebec's economy.
Recommendations for Practitioners	This article suggests that businesses seeking to diversify their workforce can collaborate with public institutions and civil society organizations to better prepare and integrate Montreal's skilled Black African youth. It is suggested that career-advancement training focus on addressing job security and skills gap concerns, in addition to awareness of discrimination in the workplace and strategies for identifying and redressing the situation.
Recommendation for Researchers	Future research could be conducted within the same Montreal population to compare the findings a decade later. Subsequent outreach to targeted employers might reveal progress and additional recommendations in diversifying their workplace.
Impact on Society	Collaboration among public institutions, private businesses and civil society organizations can lead to increased integration of Black African youth into the labour market.
Keywords	African-Canadian, Black-African youth, multiculturalism, Quebecers, English-speaking, discrimination, systemic discrimination, employability, workforce development, labor force development, community economic development, labor market, skills gap, diversify, diversity, recruitment strategy, public policy, African issues

BACKGROUND

CEDEC presented findings from the ACCE initiative at the conference entitled *Community Education and Development: Perspectives on English-Speaking Blacks and Other Minorities*. The purpose of the Conference was “to bring practitioners and policy makers in the public and community spheres together to present, discuss, and share information on the problems of community education and development in the Quebec context, specific to the Black and other official language communities.” The conference was sponsored by the Black Community Resource Center (BCRC) and the Institute for Community and Economic Development (ICED) and was held at Concordia on December 7, 2018. The ACCE initiative was formed in 2010 to propel African-Canadian career excellence and to proactively address the concerns expressed by the Black English-speaking communities regarding the perceived systemic biases operating in the Canadian and Montreal economies and societies. These concerns were seen, and continue to be seen, as barriers to the economic development and to the vitality of the community. In looking to the past, employment-centered community initiatives sought to address similar concerns about systemic biases that were perceived as barriers to economic development and workforce integration in the post-World War context, as discussed in Dr. Clarence Bayne's article “Community Education and Development: Perspectives on Employment, Employability and Development of English-Speaking Black Minority of Quebec” in this Special Conference Series: “Collaborative Unity and Existential Responsibility” in the *International Journal of Community Development and Management Studies (IJCDMS)* (Bayne, 2019).

While Dr. Bayne has provided a detailed historical and contextual overview of the English-speaking Black community with respect to employment and employability in Montreal, it is worth setting the stage for the reader here and situating the ACCE initiative work within previous broader community initiatives. Note that this timeline presents several highlights; however, it does not presume to mention all events or important moments in history. The first major collective and organized initiative to remedy the problem of employment and employability came in the 1950s and mid-1960s from two sectors of the community: the sleeping car porters and the new immigrant and Black University scholars and graduates and Caribbean students at Sir George Williams and McGill universities. Black men in Montreal, and several other Canadian cities, were able to become members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP), an American-based union that would greatly improve their working conditions. “Beginning in the 1960s, changes in the travel industry caused railways to employ fewer sleeping car porters; however, the impact that the BSCP made within Canadian history is profound. At a time when Black people were fighting for their basic human rights, the BSCP was a much-needed group that helped to fight for the rights of Black men in the workplace.” (Oyeniran, Channon, *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2019) The sleeping car porters’ struggle remained specific to the rail transportation sector; however, since it was the main source of employment for Black males, it was critical to the economic wellbeing of the Black community, located mainly in Little Burgundy at that time. Through membership in this chapter, Canadian Black porters were able to unionize and sign a collective bargaining agreement in 1945, which led to “monthly salary increases, one week’s paid vacation and overtime pay. As well, porters gained the right to put up plaques in sleeping cars that clearly stated their name.” (Oyeniran, Channon, *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2019) The BSCP also worked to fight discrimination to be able to rise to the rank of conductor, which was achieved in 1954 through filing “a complaint with the federal Department of Labour, under the Canada Fair Employment Act of 1953.” (Oyeniran, Channon, *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2019)

The second major initiative came from new immigrants and Black university graduates. It was broad-based and dealt with all areas of the social and economic system. The approach was holistic: based on the premise that education was essential to the social and economic success of Black youth, the unacceptable high failure rates of Blacks in the school system had to be reversed. This was one of the first instances of the community getting behind a movement through formal negotiations with powerful mainstream institutions, including universities, school boards and colleges. By the mid-1970s the English-speaking Black community began to re-engineer the community structures and to create a more encompassing community development strategy to advance economic opportunity and activity. The Caribbean students and scholars at McGill and Concordia universities turned their attention to educating Black youth. They mobilized the Black immigrant community and the English-language education institutions to support a comprehensive program for Blacks aimed at reducing the number of Black youth failing out of their education system, sliding into at-risk categories, and becoming wards of the justice system. This approach brought together education institutions (school boards and post-secondary institutions), schools and the community to solve the education problems of Black youth including unacceptably high dropout rates, delinquency, social detachment, and failed lives (Bayne, 2019).

These stakeholders created the Quebec Board of Black Educators (QBBE) after extensive honest discourse with the leadership of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (PSBGM), which later became the English Montreal School Board (EMSB). In partnership with Dawson and Vanier colleges along with McGill and Concordia universities, they were able to create a system of education for Black youth by which they could enhance their employment opportunities. The QBBE’s DaCosta and Bana summer programs, a Black transition program and summer business and history program, in collaboration with Dawson College, served the needs of thousands of students. This collaboration has expanded to include ICED (JMSB, Concordia), the provincial government (Ministry of Education), the EMSB, including research collaborations with the Black Studies Center (BSC) (positive parenting), the Université de Montréal Faculty of Education and the McGill Faculty of Education (2019, Department of Integrated Studies). Despite these initiatives and solutions, there remained a systemic

bias in the workforce amplified for Black graduates and consequently for the vitality of the English-speaking Black communities. Studies conducted by the McGill University Consortium for Ethnicity and Strategic Social Planning (MCESSP) in 1997 and 2001 revealed that the Black unemployment rate in Montreal was twice that of non-Blacks, at 13.4% compared to 6.6%. Blacks were underrepresented in higher paying jobs, occupying only 1.8% of posts in management, 1.4% of judges, lawyers, and 1.8% of doctors (Torczyner, 2001, 1997). In Quebec, the proportion of visible minorities among employees in the civil service was 10.1% in 2004-2005 (Task Force Report on the Full Participation of Black Communities in Quebec Society, 2006). Blacks are over-represented in sectors where salaries are comparatively low and unemployment rates are higher, such as sales and manual work (Caribbean and African Self-Reliance International, CASRI, 2004). Several studies pointed out that even highly-educated ethnic minorities regularly encounter discrimination when seeking employment in Quebec (Piché, 2002; Fortin, 2002). Since the 1990s, Montreal has faced this issue with a steady out-migration of its educated visible minority immigrants, despite being a major starting destination for newcomers to Canada (Hou & Bourne, 2006; Symons, 2002). Consistent with these studies, Blacks with university degrees face difficulty finding work (Flegel, 2002), a consistent wage gap compared to their colleagues (Milan & Tran, 2004), and fewer opportunities for advancement (Modibo, 2004). After fruitless attempts at integrating into the job market in Montreal, both foreign-born and Canadian-born Blacks often move on to Toronto with most citing systemic barriers to fulfilling careers in Montreal and the belief that Toronto offers better career opportunities (Hautin, 2008; Krahn, Derwing & Abu-Laban, 2005; Moghaddam & Perreault, 1992). This has negatively impacted the aspirations of skilled Black graduates to pursue a career in Montreal and in Quebec. This 'brain-drain' of educated young people to other cities inevitably has a negative impact on the numbers and vitality of Montreal's Black middle-class community. The spotlight was turned on this issue when the Quebec Superior Court found the City of Montreal guilty of systemic racial discrimination and ordered it to change its practices and pay damages to an urban planning employee (The Montreal Gazette, June 12, 2013). In the Learn Canada 2020 declaration, the Council of Ministers of Education, representing all Canadian provinces and territories, underscored the direct link between a well-educated population and a vibrant knowledge-based economy and enhanced personal growth opportunities for all Canadians (Statistics Canada, 2009).

THE ACCE INITIATIVE

The ACCE (African-Canadian Career Excellence) initiative arose out of an ongoing relationship which began in 2008 between the African and Caribbean Synergic inter-organizational Network of Canada (ACSioN Network) and Black Community Resource Centre (BCRC) to address the loss of strong, highly educated young adults from the Greater Montreal Area as they face issues of unemployment and underemployment in the region. The ACCE initiative was created from a concern that the ongoing underemployment and out-migration of educated Blacks has been taking a toll on the Black communities in Quebec. Project funding had historically targeted employment remediation at local community organizations and para-government offices to address issues of the Black unemployed or the working poor in Quebec. Few resources had been directed at the integration of university-educated Blacks into the careers they wanted in Quebec (Comité Aviseur-Jeunes, 2004). The ACCE initiative's mandate was to facilitate the transition to meaningful local careers for this group by better preparing both the career seekers and their potential employers. Over time, it became apparent that despite their initial enthusiasm, many graduates found themselves unable to secure work in their chosen professions within the city. BCRC was concerned by the loss of these highly-educated young adults from the region. The ACSioN Network shared this concern, having observed that its alumni members often left the city before they could mentor the organization's younger student members. Mindful of the struggles of the Black community to sustain its own institutions, to build vital and dynamic neighborhoods and to support economic growth, BCRC approached the Community Economic Development and Employability Corporation (CEDEC) in 2010 with a proposal to create a

joint initiative to address this out-migration. In 2010, CEDEC marshalled its resources to set up an initiative called the “Black Graduate League” in collaboration with BCRC, the ACSioN Network, and several community volunteers. The committee worked on a blueprint for collectively moving forward, including plans to poll current university students about their desire to remain in the city and their willingness to participate in career advancement training. The topics of these training sessions to support Black youth to integrate into the Quebec workforce would be informed by the poll results collected from the students. By the fall of 2010, BCRC had secured an intern from the School of Community and Public Affairs at Concordia University to actively build relationships with Black student associations and Black community organizations, and to promote the initiative’s plans to gather data through a survey. In those initial months, the committee, now called the “Black Graduates’ Initiative,” continued to refine a working timeline and plans were made to secure external funding. In March 2011, the initiative’s name was changed to “ACCE” or African-Canadian Career Excellence. During the committee discussions in the spring of 2011, significant time was spent developing the first undergraduate student survey for a fall launch. Participants began completing the survey in September 2011.

The ACCE Initiative’s Objectives

The objectives of the ACCE initiative were to

- 1) Effectively mitigate the exodus of educated Black youth by helping them attain meaningful and sustainable local employment that is commensurate with their skills;
- 2) Encourage Black youth to stay in the province of Quebec and contribute to the vitality of the middle-class community as a whole and;
- 3) Strive towards a civic work force with a representative number of Black employees.

The ACCE committee aimed to reach the last objective by encouraging networking within Montreal’s Black community and enhancing professional capacity building among young Black students and graduates.

METHODOLOGY

In 2011, CEDEC, along with BCRC and the ACSioN Network, developed a survey to gather information about educated Black African youth in the Greater Montreal Area. The sample used for selection of the data for the study is essentially a non-random convenience sample. The target group was undergraduate university students of Black African descent from Concordia University, McGill University, Université du Québec à Montreal (UQAM), Université de Montréal, and the École du Barreau. The survey was conducted by the ACSioN Network, whose team used on-campus promotion and in-person solicitation to increase the number of participants in the survey. Once candidates had confirmed they were of African ancestry, they were encouraged to participate in the online survey either independently or with an ACSioN Network team member ready to assist them. In total, the survey captured original data from a sample of 92 Black undergraduate students, a demographic which previous migration studies may have overlooked due to its extremely transient and non-mainstream nature. Given the opportunity to gain insights into this transient demographic, careful consideration was given to developing a well-rounded survey. The sampling instrument designed by the ACCE initiative consisted of 34 categorical and open-ended questions in an online format, accessible in English through an application called SurveyMonkey. Data provided by the SurveyMonkey analysis function, as well as data transferred to Microsoft Excel and SPSS statistical analysis programs, were used to create the following tables and charts summarizing the results. As the data are derived from a convenience sample using the best available and most convenient data gathering techniques, they are context dependent. They do not provide a causal explanation of the propositions, in and of themselves, about the existence and effect of certain values and social practices and attitudes,

such as racism, systemic discrimination and social preferences. It can be convincingly argued that outside the laboratory, the positivistic arguments that underpin the laboratory-type scientific experimentation need to be subjected to tests of common sense or a sophisticated, sense-making method. Therefore, like Robert Yin, CEDEC has drawn its conclusions from a “broad literature having both cross-disciplinary and historical perspectives.” (Yin, 2018) The reader is therefore warned that, because the fitness landscape (theoretical mappings of outcome possibilities expressed as utility) is constantly changing the data, cases must be subjected to continuous review (Bayne, Community Education and Development, IJCDMS Conference Series April 2019). In this situation, CEDEC is not taking a sample and making observations on variables to obtain information under laboratory-controlled conditions. These types of science-based sampling methods are frequently based on positivist assumptions that knowledge is facts, which are independent of its values. This is certainly not the case in social systems of the type that are being investigated, where outcomes are partly determined by beliefs and attitudes: Canadian, Quebec, vs. real or perceived “others” values. This is in the real world outside the laboratory, in a complex adaptive system where everything is dependent on everything else, where the data are qualitative and value-based. Moreover, the researchers had no direct prior control over the variables. They work with what is observable and produced by the dynamics of the system. In this type of situation, observed patterns are associations that require sense-making explanations. For example, “I am unemployed not because I am less skilled than my fellow graduate, but because employers believe that Canadian experience is preferred to experience acquired abroad.” In short, the perfectly competitive market condition and the ideal of democracy do not exist because of imperfections in the society (exclusion, racism, systemic discrimination), which are values-based. Also, because the fitness landscape/ human and external environment is continuously changing, the experimentation methods may not be able to produce information that is generalizable over time and all situations. Hence one is persuaded to admit, in our methods and analysis, of the existence of “plausible rival hypotheses.” (Robert K. Yin, 2018). For these reasons, CEDEC does not claim that data sets, such as the survey results presented in the CEDEC ACCE survey (CEDEC 2013 pp9-21), prove conclusively the presence of hypothesized patterns of relationships. Additionally, they do not determine the exact nature of or the existence of cause and effect between Black graduates’ skills, employment in Quebec, and emigration to seek work and careers elsewhere. In fact, to obtain information that answers the question as to the role that racism and systemic discrimination play in the decision to emigrate to other provinces, the results of other studies and cases should be studied. The presentations in this special conference issue of IJCDMS provide the reader with some of those histories/narratives and data for sense-making explanations. The data and results of the surveys shared here are not intended to be used to reveal the existence of some inalterable ultimate truth; rather, these data are meant to be reviewed in terms of seeing whether the outcomes as expressed by various agents and institutions reflect the expectations of ideal economic opportunities for certain sub-populations.

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The following 17 tables and charts represent the major results of the survey. Collectively they form a snapshot of the attitudes, beliefs, and aspirations of Black undergraduates attending Montreal’s post-secondary institutions between September 2011 and February 2012. For clarity, findings are introduced in terms of their value to the study. The main finding in each group of tables or charts is summarized. Observations are then offered to enhance interpretation of the results, followed by recommendations for tailoring career-advancement training modules.

CHARACTERISTICS AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Age Group

Respondents’ ages were recorded to determine career stage and, ultimately, to compare to existing and future research on youth, undergraduate and graduate student migration, etc.

Table 1: Respondents Age Group

What age group do you belong to?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
17-20 years of age	15.7%	14
21-29 years of age	60.7%	54
30-35 years of age	18.0%	16
36 years of age and over	5.6%	5
Total	100	89

Source: CEDEC ACCE Undergraduate Student Survey, 2011-2012. Montreal, QC, Canada

Observation and Module Consideration:

Approximately three-quarters of respondents (76.4%) were under 30 years of age, a typical undergraduate student age. The fact that approximately one-quarter of the group was over the age of 30 suggests a return to school for career-advancement or change in career direction for these respondents. Based on this data, career-advancement training should take into account the group's age range and employment history to incorporate any relevant workplace experiences that participants may be able to share with one another.

Residency in Quebec

Respondents were asked to indicate their location and length of time as a member of Montreal or Quebec society, as a measure of their familiarity with and ties to the city and culture (Table 2).

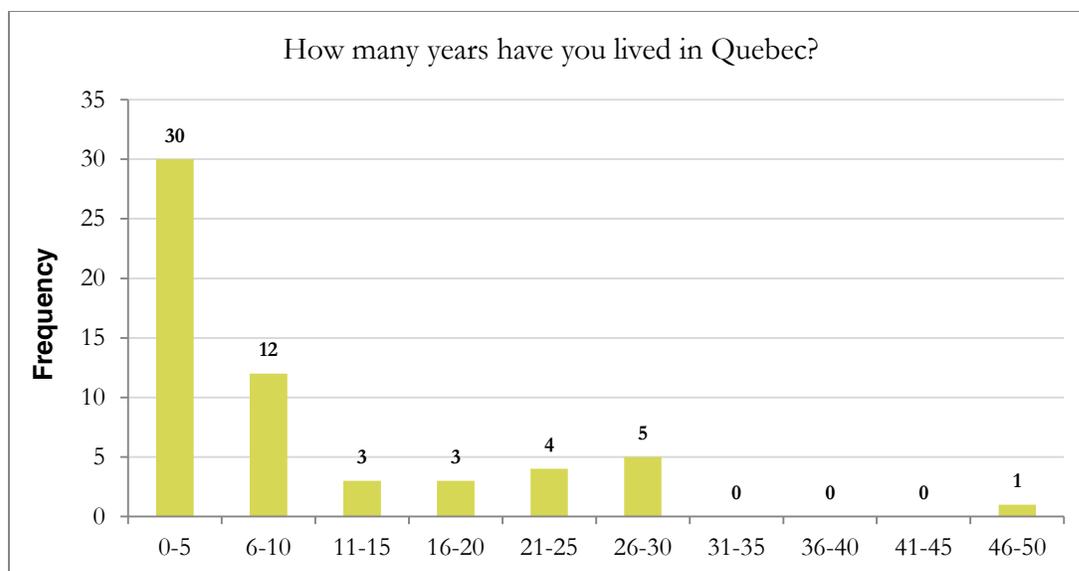
Table 2: Quebec Residency

Do you live in the Greater Montreal Area?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	94.5%	86
No	5.5%	5
Total	100	91

Source: CEDEC ACCE Undergraduate Student Survey, 2011-2012. Montreal, QC,

Observation and Module consideration:

As shown above, about 95% of survey participants live in the Greater Montreal Area (GMA), consistent with studies showing that 93% of Blacks living in Quebec were located in the GMA (Statistics Canada, 2006) and reinforcing ACCE's focus on this region. The average duration of residency in Quebec of those who answered this question was 10.2 years. Half of the respondents have lived in Quebec for more than 5.5 years. Other results, not shown, indicate that approximately 60% of respondents were born in Canada (half in Quebec, half in other provinces) and 40% were born abroad (Figure 1). Career-advancement training should take into account that close to 70% of the students may have been born in other Canadian provinces or beyond. A review of relevant aspects of Quebec's unique multicultural, political, and business context may be useful to this group.



Answered question N = 58 Mean = 10.2 years Median = 5.5 years

Source: CEDEC ACCE Undergraduate Student Survey, 2011-2012. Montreal, QC, Canada.

Figure 1: Year of Quebec Residency

MIGRATION AND CAREER PLANS

Post-graduation: Intentions & Aspirations

To capture the students' current migration intentions, several questions addressed their post-graduation plans. Students were asked if they were obligated to leave Quebec upon graduation (e.g., as part of their bursary contract), if they already had plans to move elsewhere, or if they hoped to launch careers in Quebec, if possible.

Table 3: Intention to Leave or Stay

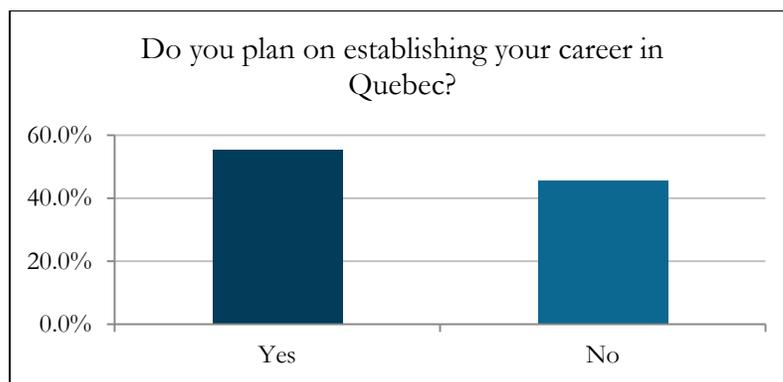
Are you under any obligation (contractual or otherwise) to leave Quebec upon graduation?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	6.5%	6
No	93.5%	86
Total	100	92
Are you planning to stay in the province of Quebec upon graduation?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	40.2%	37
No	14.1%	13

Do not know yet	47.8%	44
Total	100	92

Source: CEDEC ACCE Undergraduate Student Survey, 2011-2012. Montreal, QC, Canada.

Observation

As shown in Table 3, only 14% of respondents indicated an intention to leave upon graduation (including the six respondents who were under obligation to leave). Thus, vast majorities (86%) plan to stay in Montreal or are still undecided. When asked specifically if they planned on establishing a career in Quebec, indicating a longer-term commitment to the province, respondents were split more or less evenly: 55.4% envisioned their careers evolving in Quebec (Figure 2).

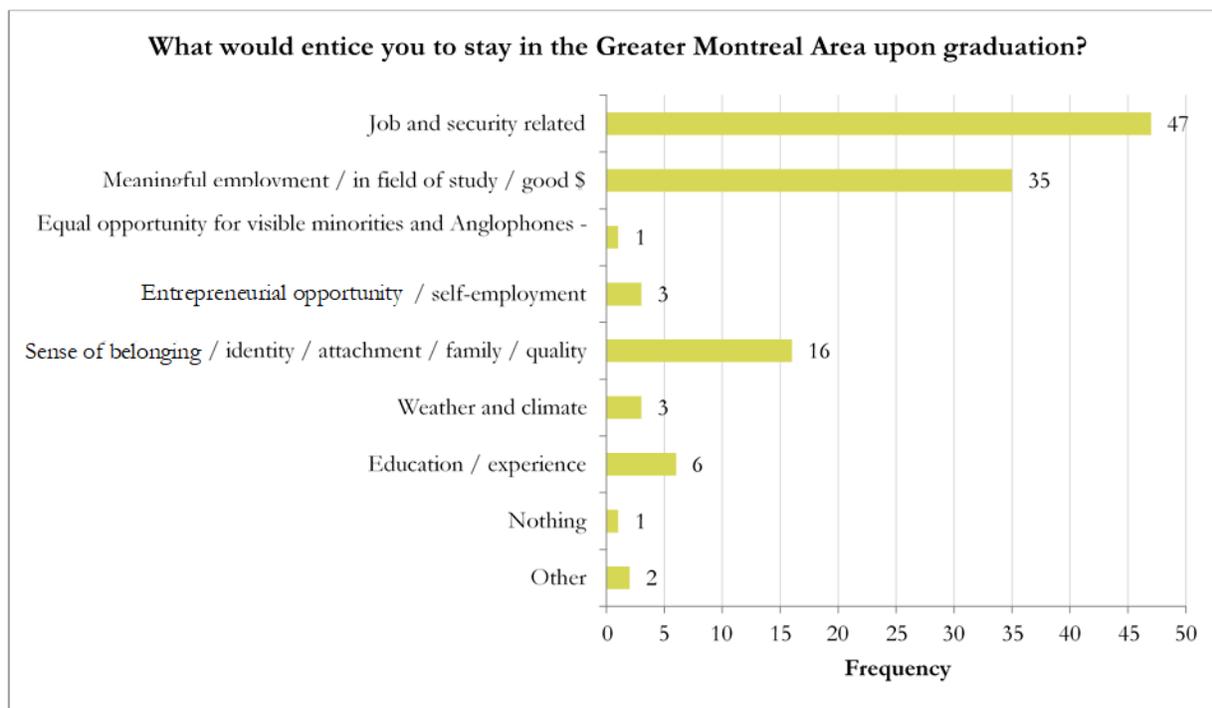


Source: CEDEC ACCE Undergraduate Student Survey, 2011-2012. Montreal, QC, Canada

Figure 2: Plan for Establishment

Module Consideration

Given that 86% of the Black students surveyed envision staying or are still open to staying in Quebec, this period in their lives provides a critical opportunity to address concerns that may soon influence a decision to work elsewhere. Even though many students do not envision a long-term career plan in Quebec, the ACCE committee hopes to increase that probability by helping to support a strong career foundation.



Source: CEDEC ACCE Undergraduate Student Survey, 2011-2012. Montreal, QC, Canada.

Figure 3: Reason for Establishment in Montreal

Observation

Of the 144 reasons participants listed as inducements to stay in Montreal, 41.2% referred to “job security” and 31% were concerned with “meaningful employment in their field of study with good pay,” which indicates that economic activity and advancement are key priorities in retaining educated young people within Quebec. The third most popular response category was “sense of belonging / identity / attachment / family”, at 14%.

Module Consideration

Career-advancement training must address their concerns of job security, meaningful employment, and good pay. The students will benefit from exploring the range of local employers that may provide meaning and sense of belonging, exploring careers both within and beyond their fields of study, and weighing salaries with quality of life factors. Entrepreneurship opportunity in Montreal was not considered an enticement to stay for the vast majority. Trainers may wish to address this topic, providing relevant resources or information that the group may not have considered.

WORKPLACE SKILLS AND PLANS

Work Experience

The following table provides a list of industries in which the students have gained work experience (both paid and volunteer). Multiple free-entry responses were permitted to this question and results were then grouped into categories.

Table 4: Work Experience and Background

In what industries have you previously worked?		
Industry	Response Count	Response Percent
Business, management, finance, marketing, sales	67	32%
Customer Service	34	16%
International, humanitarian, non-profit, community	25	12%
Education	19	9%
Politics, government	13	6%
Hospitality, tourism, real estate	12	6%
Health Care	12	6%
Construction and manufacturing	7	3%
Computer science, information technology, management information systems	5	2%
Art, fashion, culture	5	2%
Other	5	2%
Transportation, warehousing	4	2%
Primary and extractive	3	1%
Answered questions		76
Total responses		211
CEDEC ACCE Undergraduate Student Survey, 2011-2012. Montreal, QC, Canada.		

Source: CEDEC ACCE Undergraduate Student Survey, 2011-2012. Montreal, QC, Canada.

Observation

Of those who responded to this question (76 of the original 92), a total of 211 industries were cited, indicating that most participants had worked in more than one industry. Most (32%) had worked in some aspect of business/ management/ finance/ marketing/ sales, with the next largest categories being customer service (16%) and humanitarian or community-type work (12%). Other common employers were the education sector and work in politics/government. Three-quarters of the respondents indicated that this work had taught them skills that would help them in their future careers.

Module Consideration

Training should ensure that these students' market and sell their experience when seeking local employment: through tailored resumes, persuasive work-related references, and interview techniques that maximize the skills they have acquired.

CAREER PATH

Students were asked to indicate the industries in which they desired to find work after graduation. This information provides greater detail for tailoring career launch strategies than simply noting the students' programs of study. In conducting the survey, multiple free-entry responses were permitted to this question, and results were grouped into the categories below.

Table 5: Work Experience and Background

In what industry would you like to find employment?		
Industry	Response Count	Response Percent
Business, management, finance, marketing, administration	14	25%
Politics, government, community development	9	16%
International organizations, humanitarian, non-profit	7	13%
Engineering, research and development	5	10%
Education, social sciences	5	10%
Computer science, information technology, mgt info systems	4	7%
Hospitality, tourism, real estate	4	7%
Art, fashion, culture	3	5%
Law	3	5%
Health care	1	2%
Answered questions		48
Total responses		55

Source: CEDEC ACCE Undergraduate Student Survey, 2011-2012. Montreal, QC, Canada.

Observation

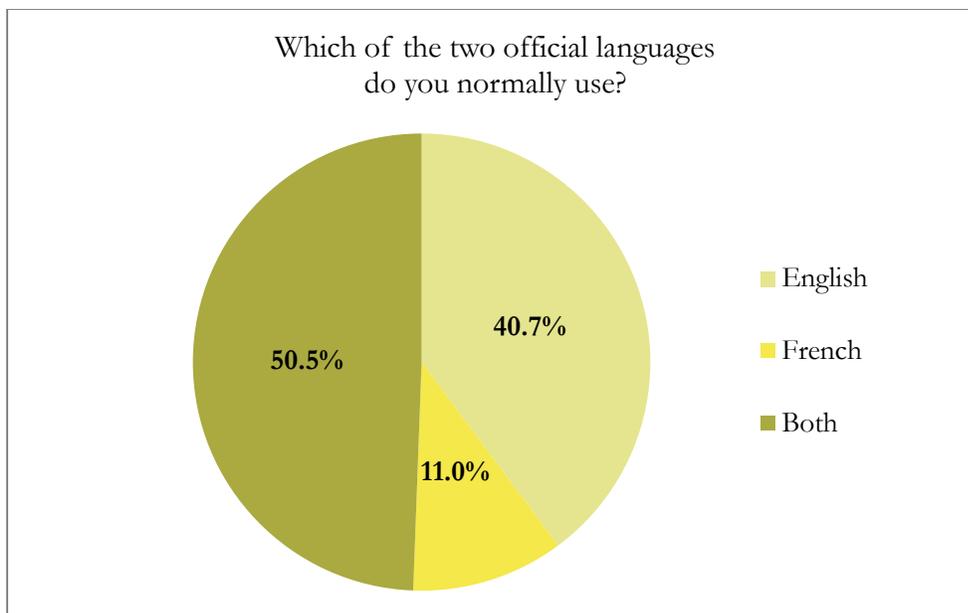
Approximately one-third (35.6%) of respondents hope to build their careers in the same industry in which they have worked prior to or during their studies, while the remaining two-thirds (64.4%) seek careers in a different industry, one in which they may not have experience or contacts. One-quarter of respondents aim to work in some aspect of business, such as management, finance or marketing. The next largest category was municipal, provincial or federal government. These results indicate an interest in working in larger, established organizations with standardized employment practices and perhaps job security.

Module consideration

Note that only 48 of the total 92 subjects chose to answer this question, perhaps indicating uncertainty as to opportunities or future plans. As such, any career- advancement training should take the group's uncertainty and openness into consideration and should include guidance in identifying suitable careers.

Workplace Skills: Language Ability

A few survey questions addressed the student's facility with languages. Particularly of interest was the ability to use both French and English in the workplace, often a deterrent to finding work in Montreal (Hautin, 2008).



Source: CEDEC ACCE Undergraduate Student Survey, 2011-2012. Montreal, QC, Canada.

Figure 4. The Usage of Language

Observation

Figure 4 shows that approximately half of the 91 respondents regularly use both official languages (English and French). However, as shown in Table 8, close to 40% of respondents believed that their French-language skills may not be at the level employers are seeking in Quebec. Only 4% were similarly concerned about their English-language skill level.

Table 6: Language as an obstacle

Is your level of French an obstacle in finding employment?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Very much	14.9%	11
Somewhat	24.3%	18
Not at all	60.8%	45
Total	100	74
Is your level of English an obstacle in finding employment?		
Very much	2.7%	2
Somewhat	1.4%	1
Not at all	95.5%	70
Total	100	73

Source: CEDEC ACCE Undergraduate Student Survey, 2011-2012. Montreal, QC, Canada.

Module consideration

As bilingualism, and the ability to speak French in particular, is of importance when seeking a job in Quebec, career-advancement training should emphasize continued improvement of written and spoken French at a level used in the sector or industry participants are considering.

Workplace Skills: Computer Competency

A variety of skills are required in the workplace, including facility with computers. While most students use computers for their academic assignments and social networking, employers may use computer programs specific to an industry or company.

Table 6: Computer Skills and Competency

Is your level of computer skills an obstacle in finding employment?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Very much	4.1%	3
Somewhat	6.8%	5
Not at all	89.9%	65
Total	100	73

Source: CEDEC ACCE Undergraduate Student Survey, 2011-2012. Montreal, QC, Canada.

Observation

Close to 90% of respondents felt confident that their current level of computer skill was adequate for obtaining employment. Only 10% of respondents consider their computer skill “Somewhat” to “Very much” an obstacle to employment. However, 20% of subjects chose not to answer this question, perhaps indicating an uncertainty of the current requirements of their future employers.

Module consideration

These students self-identify as being highly computer literate. Career-advancement training should encourage students to research and upgrade their computer skills, if necessary, to match those required in their desired job. This will provide an additional advantage during their job search.

Workplace Skills: General

To gain an overall impression of the students’ perceptions of their readiness to launch a job search and their confidence in their abilities, participants were asked to rate whether they thought their current skills would be attractive to employers.

Table 7: Computer Skills and Competency

Do you feel that your skills would be desired in today’s job market?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Very much	58.1%	43
Somewhat	36.5%	27
Not at all	5.4%	4
Total	100	74

Source: CEDEC ACCE Undergraduate Student Survey, 2011-2012. Montreal, QC, Canada.

Observation

As shown in Table 7, about 60% of survey participants felt confident that the skills they have acquired thus far will be desirable to potential employers. The other 40% felt less prepared. As with the previous question, a relatively high number of participants declined to answer, also suggesting uncertainty.

Module consideration

Training should emphasize the transferability of skills already acquired to align with a variety of employment opportunities, building the students' awareness of their marketability as well as drawing attention to any skills gaps.

Employment Resource Awareness

Black graduates seeking to launch local careers will need to avail themselves of all resources that can connect them with their first and future jobs. Participants were asked to rate their familiarity with such services and then list the resources they would access.

Table 8: Awareness of Employment Resources

Are you aware of the available resources in your area for finding employment?		
Answer Options	Response Percent	Response Count
Yes	44.6%	33
No	55.4%	41
Total	100	74

Source: CEDEC ACCE Undergraduate Student Survey, 2011-2012. Montreal, QC, Canada.

Observation

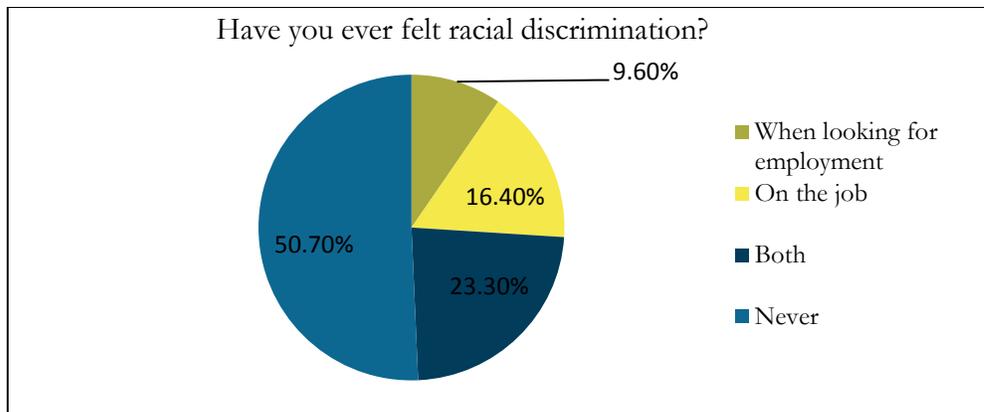
As Table 8 indicates, just under half of the respondents are aware of the employment resources in their area to help them find jobs. The employment resources and services that students listed fell into the following categories: university career planning services, government job banks and online job listings (e.g. Craigslist, IBM). This indicated insufficient awareness of available resources; therefore, increased knowledge and use of these employment resources and services could be benefit participants.

Module consideration

There is a need for informing the participants of the variety of useful local employment resources, including placement agencies, networking groups, alumni activities, mentorship etc.

Discrimination

Preparing the students for racial discrimination they may encounter in the local job market will form the crux of ACCE's career preparation modules. Ultimately the training aims to provide Black university graduates with the awareness, tools, and support to integrate into local workplaces that may have traditions of discrimination in their hiring and promotion practices. For this first phase of the ACCE initiative, survey participants were simply asked to indicate if they had experienced workplace discrimination.



Source: CEDEC ACCE Undergraduate Student Survey, 2011-2012. Montreal, QC, Canada

Figure 5: Experience of Discrimination

Observation

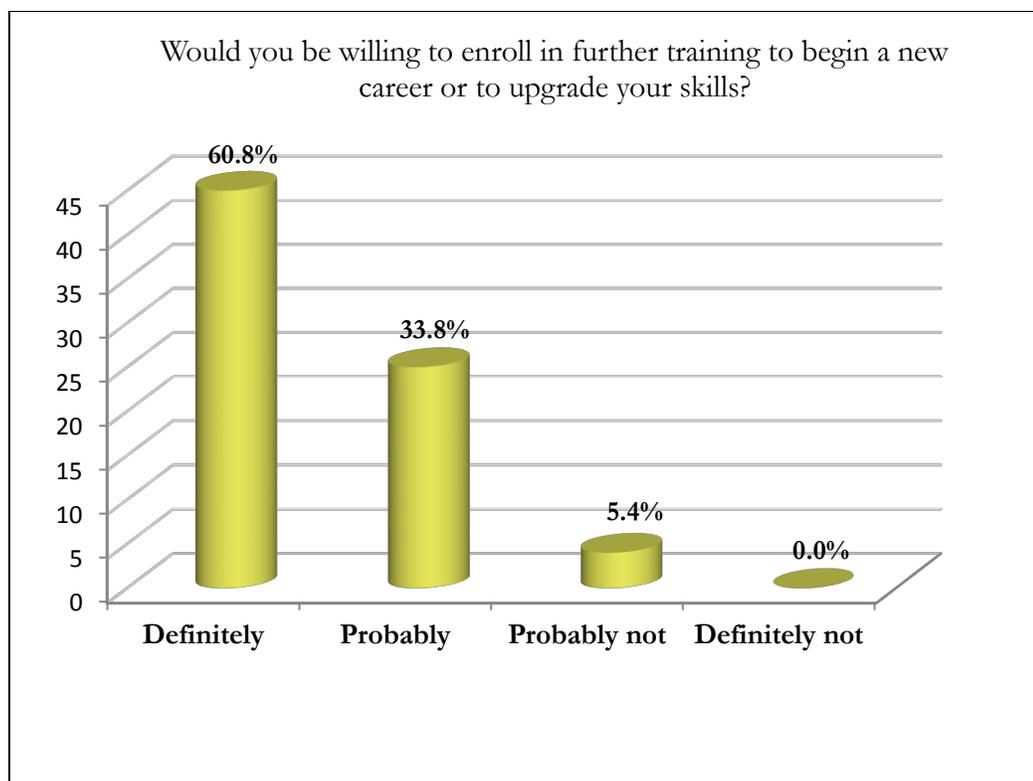
Half of respondents indicated that they had experienced racial discrimination – either when looking for employment, on the job, or in both situations. The remaining half of respondents reported that they had never felt work-related racial discrimination. Approximately 20% of the total 92 survey participants chose not to answer, perhaps a reflection of the limited response options offered by our survey. This question will be expanded on and fine-tuned in future surveys.

Module consideration

Career training should raise the group’s awareness of discrimination in local workplaces (common situations, typical encounters, etc.). As young workers in student jobs, part-time jobs and volunteer posts, many survey respondents have not experienced the wage gap or promotion pass-overs documented in studies of Blacks pursuing careers in Montreal. Sharing strategies for dealing with racial discrimination in the workplace, redress procedures, intra- and inter-personal approaches, and means of dealing with the stress resulting from discriminatory encounters will be invaluable to all Black graduates.

Interest in Career Orientation & Integration Training

The second phase of the ACCE initiative involves tailoring the career launch and advancement training modules to support Black graduates’ integration into their careers of choice in Montreal. A major purpose of the undergraduate student survey was to determine if the target group showed interest in participating in such a program. Responses to the question “Would you be willing to enroll in further training to begin a new career or upgrade your skills?” are shown in Figure 6.



Source: CEDEC ACCE Undergraduate Student Survey, 2011-2012. Montreal, QC, Canada

Figure 6: Experience of Discrimination

Observation

Of the 74 respondents to this question, 70 or 95% indicated that they would “Definitely” or “Probably” enroll in further training to help begin a new career. Respondents were clearly interested in participating in a program that may enhance career success. These students recognize the potential value of additional career awareness and skill acquisition to their transition from school to work.

Module Consideration

These results reveal the students’ perception of the utility of such training to improve their chances for meaningful employment after graduation. Facilitators can assume that the module participants will be personally motivated to attend sessions.

CONCLUSION

Research on African-Canadian employment integration, current practices, and systemic ethnic or racial bias in the labour market portends that Black graduates may face particular challenges that their peers may not (Williams, 1989, 1997; Henry & Tator, 2002, 2005; Agocs & Jain, 2001). Resulting from systemic barriers and futile attempts at integrating into Montreal’s labour market, both foreign-born and Canadian-born Blacks often pursue better career opportunities elsewhere. (Hautin, 2008; Krahn, Derwing & Abu-Laban, 2005; Moghaddam & Perreault, 1992). This ‘brain-drain’ of educated young people adversely impacts the economic development and vitality of Montreal’s Black middle-class community. The results of the survey support this research and suggest that many have found fewer employment opportunities in Quebec, leading them to pursue employment offers outside the province. Since the 1990s, Montreal has seen a steady out-migration of its educated visible minority immigrants, despite being a major starting destination for newcomers to Canada (Hou & Bourne,

2006; Symons, 2002). The three most notable insights from the survey finding are that 1) most respondents prioritized job security or meaningful employment, which indicates that economic activity and advancement are key factors in retaining educated young people in Quebec; 2) many acknowledged the value of career orientation, and 3) many were interested in participating in advancement training to enhance their chances of attaining meaningful and sustainable local employment in line with their skills. The Black and English-speaking communities operate on the belief that this scenario of systemic discrimination and barriers to accessing the labour market must change and posit that a strong Black community in Montreal must have positive economic opportunities to enhance its growth and economic participation. Increased integration of educated Blacks and immigrants into the labour market and social structures is crucial to growing and maintaining a qualified workforce that meets the demands of the future of work in Quebec.

CEDEC, BCRC and the ACSioN Network identified that this situation can be alleviated in part by designing gender-sensitive interventions, building on transferable skills, addressing skills gaps, raising awareness of potential discrimination, facilitating job-search training, creating more awareness around employment resources, and connecting local employers with students to enable them to explore careers within and beyond their fields of study. In order to effectively mitigate this ongoing exodus of educated Black youth it is essential to enable them to attain meaningful and sustainable local employment commensurate with their skills and contribute to the vitality of the middle-class community to make a more representative workforce. The [original report](#), which contains the complete set of tables and charts, may be viewed or downloaded on CEDEC's web site: <https://cedec.ca/publication/>.

REFERENCES

- Agocs, C. & H.C. Jain (2001). *Systemic Racism in Employment in Canada: Diagnosing Systemic Racism in Organizational Culture*. Toronto, Ontario: Canadian Race Relations Foundation.
- Bayne, C. S. (2019). Community Education and Development: Perspectives on Employment and Employability, and Development of the English-Speaking Black Minority of Quebec. Montreal, Quebec. *International Journal of Community Development and Management Services*, 3(sup 1), 66-68; 85-86
- Flegel, P.F. (2002). Challenges to Canadian multiculturalism: the case of Black Montreal. *Canadian Issues*. 39-41.
- Fortin, S. (2002). Social ties and settlement processes: French and North African migrants in Montreal. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 34(3), 76.
- Henry, F & C. Tator (2005). *The Colour of Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society, 3rd ed.*, Toronto, Ontario: Nelson.
- Krahn, H., T.M. Derwing, & B. Abu-Laban (2005). The Retention of Newcomers in Second-and Third-Tier Canadian Cities. *International Migration Review* 39(4), 872-894.
- Hautin, J.D. (2008). Francophone immigrants leaving Montreal to settle in Toronto: What happened and what is happening? Theses and dissertations. Retrieved from <http://digitalcommons.ryerson.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1119&context=dissertations>.
- Hou, F., & L.S. Bourne (2006). The Migration-Immigration Link in Canada's Gateway Cities: A Comparative Study of Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver." *Environment and Planning*, 38(8).
- Milan, A. & K. Tran (2004). Blacks in Canada: Along History. Statistics Canada. Retrieved from <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/11-008-x/2003004/article/6802-eng.pdf?st=HuhdK67X>
- Modibo, N. N. (2004). The Shattered Dreams of African Canadian Nurses. *Canadian Women Studies*. 23(2), 111-117.
- Moghaddam, F.M. & S. Perreault (1992). Individual and Collective Mobility Strategies among Minority Group Members. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 132(3), 343-57.

- Oyeniran, Channon. (2019). Sleeping Car Porters in Canada. The Canadian Encyclopedia. Historica Canada. Retrieved from <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/sleeping-car-porters-in-canada>.
- Piché, V. (2002). Immigration, diversity and ethnic relations in Quebec. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 34(3), 5.
- Statistics Canada (2006). Census Tract Profiles, catalogue no. 92-597-XWE.
- Statistics Canada (2009). Education Indicators in Canada: Fact Sheets. Retrieved from <http://www.cmec.ca/Publications/Lists/Publications/Attachments/187/CMEC-2020-DECLARATION.en.pdf>; <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/81-599-x/81-599-x2009003-eng.htm>.
- Statistics Canada (2012). Retrieved from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/concepts/definitions/minority-minorite1eng.htm>.
- Symons, G. L. (2002). The State and Ethnic Diversity: Structural and Discursive Change in Québec's Ministère de l'Immigration. *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études Ethniques au Canada*, 34(3), 28-46.
- Minister of Immigration and Cultural Communities, Ministère de l'immigration et des communautés culturelles. (2006). Task Force Report on the Full Participation of Black Communities in Quebec Society. Direction des affaires publiques et des communications: Montréal. Retrieved from <http://www.midi.gouv.qc.ca/publications/en/dossiers/CommunautesNoires-RapportGroupeTravail-en.pdf>
- Torczyner J. L. & S. Spinger (2001). Montreal Black Communities Demographics Project: The Evolution of the Black Community of Montreal: Changes and Challenges. *McGill Consortium for Ethnicity and Strategic Social Planning*.
- Torczyner, J.L. (1997). Canadian Black Communities Demographics Project: Preliminary Findings. Diversity, Mobility and Change: The Dynamics of Black Communities in Canada. *McGill Consortium for Ethnicity and Strategic Social Planning*.
- Williams, D.W. (1989). *Blacks in Montreal: 1628-1986, An Urban Demography*. Montreal, Quebec: Dorothy W. Williams.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1

From the analysis of the ACCE Undergraduate 2011-2012 Student Survey, the following aspects have emerged as pivotal considerations to the successful development of training modules to be offered to Black undergraduate students in the Greater Montreal Area (GMA):

1. Age range and relevant workplace experiences: Consider the training group's age range and employment history to incorporate any relevant workplace experiences that participants may be able to share with one another.
2. Relevant cultural, political and business context: Consider that close to 70% of Black students participating may be coming from outside Quebec; highlight Quebec culture, political and business content relevant to these job seekers.
3. Gender differences: Consider that a greater proportion of participants may be female (60:40) and that their career path interests and workplace concerns may differ from those of their male counterparts.
4. Personal branding and marketing: Ensure that these students' market and sell their experience when seeking local employment, through tailored resumes, persuasive work-related references, and interview techniques that maximize the skills they have acquired.
5. Transferability skills: Emphasize the transferability of skills already acquired to a multitude of employment opportunities, building the students' awareness of their marketability as well as drawing attention to any skills gaps.
6. Potential careers: Consider the students' indecision with respect to career plans, as well as the wide variety of potential careers in the respondents' desired categories of *business* and *government*; include a segment to support participants in identifying their ideal career field and the current job market supply and demand.
7. Lack of entrepreneurial interests: Address students' lack of interest entrepreneurship, address concerns and direct them to resources and support for self-employment such as Afrofund Entrepreneurial, Ujamaa Initiative.
8. Professional skills in both official languages: Emphasize continued improvement of written and spoken French and English to a level used in business communication.
9. Workplace computer skills: Identify computer skills upgrading that is required to reach the levels, including software, currently used in desired jobs.
10. Employment resources: Make the employment resources in the area known to the students, including placement agencies, networking groups, alumni activities, mentorship etc.
11. Psychological readiness: Address psychological preparedness for transition to the work world, critical self- assessment of skills gaps and training needs, as well as methods for re-searching their preferred job's daily activities.
12. Local labour market knowledge: The students will benefit from exploring the range of local employers that may provide meaning and sense of belonging, exploring careers both within and beyond their fields of study, and weighing salaries with quality of life factors.
13. Conflict resolution and management: Raise awareness of current statistics on salary comparisons and employment rates for Blacks, situations and types of encounters typically faced, strategies for dealing with racial discrimination in the workplace. These include redress procedures, intra- and inter-personal strategies, dealing with the stress resulting from discriminatory encounters at work.

APPENDIX 2

ACCE Undergraduate Training Modules

A set of career orientation themes were identified as being important to address with Black undergraduates in Montreal:

Personality profile development – capitalizing on strengths; networking with peers and mentors; dealing with stress; creating support/community outside the office

Professional relationship management and office rules – sense of business self-awareness; boundaries; adapting behaviours to improve business relationships with colleagues, supervisors and clients; collaboration and teamwork; understanding, managing, and working in an environment with office politics

Work norms – unions; pay cheques and taxable benefits; accessing human resources services; business etiquette; corporate dress; communication strategies; time management; negotiating salary; understanding formal evaluations

Cross-cultural communication – strategies to develop awareness and knowledge of corporate culture / individual cultural differences; working with diverse teams; handling racial / gender conflict with co-workers and bosses

APPENDIX 3

Recommendations from the ACCE Undergraduate 2011-2012 Student Survey

From the analysis of the ACCE undergraduate 2011-2012 student survey, the following aspects have emerged as pivotal considerations to the successful development of training modules to be offered to Black undergraduate students in the Greater Montreal Area:

1. Age range
2. Relevant workplace experiences
3. Relevant cultural, political and business context for job seekers
3. Gender difference
4. Personal branding and marketing
5. Transferable skills
6. Potential careers
7. Lack of entrepreneurial interests
8. Professional skills in both official languages
9. Workplace computer skills
10. Employment resources
11. Psychological readiness
12. Local labour market knowledge
13. Conflict resolution and management

Based on this data, including the aspirations of Black undergraduates, the following themes for career-advancement were prioritized: personality profile development; professional relationship management and office rules; work norms; and cross-cultural communication.

The learning acquired through any of the modules should be specifically targeted to obtaining meaningful and gainful employment within Quebec and enhancing economic activity.

APPENDIX 4

Challenges in attaining a diverse workplace (ACCE 2015 Employer Survey: Summary Report, August 2015, CEDEC)

When asked to elaborate on the specific challenges they faced, respondents described them as follows:

- “There is no discrimination at the company and all candidates are equally viewed (they are hired based on their capacity to perform the job).”
- “There is very few People of African descent in my community. I can't determine the Aboriginal status of applicants.”
- “Stigma and people’s attitudes sometimes [contribute to challenges in recruiting candidates from certain disadvantaged groups].”
- “[The main challenge is] to provide a work environment that is accepting of diversity from upper management to the shop floor. Traditionally "the old boy's network" is still in operation and systemic racism makes it uncomfortable for diversity employees, especially people of African descent. To establish a base-line understanding, including key metrics, of the Company’s current strengths and weaknesses with respect to workplace diversity has not effectively and efficiently been address[ed], so diversity employees quit, become users of the EFAP program due to effects of discrimination and African-Canadian Career Excellence 2014 Student Survey 14 non-inclusion. To recommend effective and efficient strategic actions, initiatives, and goals and evaluate the outcomes of each annually.”
- “Our jobs outside of our offices would require full mobility making it difficult to integrate those with physical disabilities. Our target populations are African-Canadians or visible minorities, but we would not automatically refuse to hire an Aboriginal candidate.”
- “Our company is successful at recruiting candidates from visible minority backgrounds. Our challenge is that the front line and middle management candidates we hire represent the diverse community we serve, but upper management and board members are not representative of the community. This is changing and the leadership team is far more diverse than it used to be, but there is still work to be done.”
- “[Our company is] currently active in diversity recruitment. There is a Diversity Leadership Council (DLC), which was formed in 2010 to enhance the diversity and cultural competence of the organization to create an atmosphere that is supportive of diverse populations. Through the DLC, the company intended to develop a sustainable workplace where all can contribute in an engaging work environment assisting in attracting and recruiting the best talent while continuing to motivate existing employees. But, there is no mandate for INCLUSION. There are no inclusion policies or practices leaving the Aboriginal, people of African descent, visible minorities and mature workers isolated from work teams and work groups and subject to systemic challenges alone and often bullied and harassed and discriminated by management and non-management employees. The DLC is ineffective and falls short because diversity employees are excluded from the initiatives, especially non-management employees and women. DLC members meet only four times a year with two of the meetings being in-person. A council member is expected to attend at least 3 of the 4 meetings annually. All council members are expected to contribute a minimum of 2 days per quarter worth of time for the attending of meetings, recruitment activities, outreach pro-

grams, and other council-led initiatives. However, there is no interaction with the groups they are there to represent and they do not appear to have any power.”

- “There is no Aboriginal HR Manager, there is no African descent/visible minority HR Manager and most HR professionals do not have harassment or discrimination investigation training. Most employees [are] hire[d] on early in their career and become eligible to retire in their late 40's early 50's, so new hires that are mature workers are not actively recruited as a rule. There are so few positions and such a low turnover [that] promotions are rare.”
- “The systemic discrimination with built in barriers and isolation make promoting Aboriginal, visible minorities, especially people of African descent, and mature workers challenging. Mature workers are thought to be "too old to learn" and visible minorities, especially people of African descent are not SEEN. If you do not SEE the employee, how can you promote the employee? Very challenging.”

Special Issue 2019, Article 3 from Series of 5

Collaborative Unity and Existential Responsibility

**BLACK-WHITE DIFFERENCES IN CANADIAN
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS AND EARNINGS**

Rosalie Masella*	Economics Department, Concordia University, Canada.	623econometrics@gmail.com
James McIntosh	Economics Department, Concordia University, Canada.	james.mcintosh@concordia.ca

* Corresponding author

ABSTRACT

Aim/Purpose	Data from two large Canadian surveys are used to analyze educational and earnings performance of Blacks and Whites. The main purpose of this study is to determine how well blacks perform relative to Whites in these two areas.
Background	Canadian researchers have been studying black performance in education and labor markets since the 1970's. Much of this research was done before 2000. It showed that there was considerable discrimination in the way Blacks were treated in the labor market but fewer problems concerning their success in the educational system. Since then more data has become available and it is possible to re-examine this issue and explore new dimensions of black economic performance.
Methodology	Educational outcomes are categorical and are analyzed by ordered Beta probability models. Earnings functions are estimated by mixed linear regression models where the mixing procedure is used to account for unobserved differences in respondent ability.
Contribution	Our results update and expand what was known before 2016 using the most recent Canadian Census and Youth Smoking Survey of which the latter contains academic performance information for students in primary and secondary school.
Findings	The main results show that while Black males are able to access the educational system without much racial prejudice, they are not treated fairly in the labor market. Black females do less well in both the educational system and labor markets. Blacks earn significantly less than Whites for all age groups, all levels

Accepting Editor: Clarence S Bayne | Received: April 12, 2019 | Revised: October 15, 2019 | Accepted: November 11, 2019

Cite as: Masella, R. and McIntosh, J. (2019). Black-White Differences in Canadian Educational Attainments and Earnings. *International Journal of Community Development & Management Studies*, 3 (sup 1), 77-89, Retrieved from: <http://ijcdms.org/Volume03/v3sup1p77-89Masella6070.pdf>

(CC BY-NC 4.0) This article is licensed to you under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/). When you copy and redistribute this paper in full or in part, you need to provide proper attribution to it to ensure that others can later locate this work (and to ensure that others do not accuse you of plagiarism). You may (and we encourage you to) adapt, remix, transform, and build upon the material for any non-commercial purposes. This license does not permit you to use this material for commercial purposes.

of education, and in all occupations. They are more likely to be less than fully employed and more likely to be at the bottom of the income distribution. These findings are consistent with earlier studies but the amount of discrimination is larger and black/white earnings differentials are larger than those found by researchers using earlier surveys.

Recommendation for Practitioners	These results are disturbing and the persistence over long periods of time suggests that some form of expanded government intervention is needed.
Recommendations for Researchers	The surveys used here provide inadequate information on the process of discrimination. More and better data is needed to understand why, for example, black students do less well than their white counterparts in primary and secondary school and yet overcome these problems in tertiary education.
Impact on Society	Discrimination of any sort is costly to the victims but is also detrimental to society as a whole since it represents a failure our institutions to deliver a fair and just society for all groups regardless of race or ethnicity. We hope our results will draw attention to the need to address this problem.
Keywords	Canada, Racism, Blacks, Ordered probability Models, Beta Distributions, Mixtures.

INTRODUCTION

Canada is a nation of immigrants. In 2016 visible minorities accounted for 21.6% of the population. As is the case for Blacks, which make up 5.6% of the population and are the third largest visible minority, most of them are first generation immigrants. Table 1 indicates that about 80% of Blacks were born outside of Canada. Whites, which are the remaining 78.4% of the population, also trace their ancestry to previous generations of immigrants mostly from Europe. As a result, Canada is an ethnically and racially diverse country. Most Canadians embrace the idea of cultural diversity and see Canada as an inclusive and upwardly mobile society where most people have a reasonable chance of getting access to the educational system and receive rates of remunerations which reflect their educational qualifications and abilities. The purpose of this study is to determine whether this optimistic view is an accurate reflection of the economic and social conditions facing Canadian Blacks by examining whether they have the same opportunity to obtain the benefits that are available to the majority of Canadians. Is access to higher education the same for Blacks as it is for Whites? Are the benefits of higher educational qualifications the same for both Blacks and Whites? Are poverty levels higher for Blacks than other Canadians? Why study Blacks? Blacks are the most visible of our visible minorities. They have been here since before confederation as noted by Milan and Tran (2004). They are also at the center of continuing social conflict. Most Blacks live in the two largest Canadian cities, Toronto and Montréal, where there has been some racial tension and conflict between Black youth and the police. Montréal is a recent example. There is a perception among black communities that Canadian and especially Québec society is racist. Many feel that they are not treated fairly in the markets which are most important to them. Previous research has shown that this is more than just a perception. Racism against Blacks is a reality and it is a serious problem that should be a major concern for those involved in the administration of Canadian social policy.

This study focuses on Blacks exclusively. The performance of other visible minorities also deserves scrutiny; but as our preliminary analysis uncovered, the visible minority category is quite heterogeneous and the differences between minority groups are as distinct as those between minorities and Whites, a point that was noted by Hum and Simpson (1999). The two largest minority groups are Chinese and South Asian but they differ in their cultural and linguistic origins and thus need to be considered separately. Due to the special nature of Aboriginal communities, research on them re-

quires specialized expertise which neither of us has, hence they are also not considered. Also, the data bases which are used here are probably not representative of First Nations.

Our approach to the analysis of differences in black-white performance measures is quite different from what other researchers have done. We focus on the transition of respondents from early age primary-secondary education, then to post-secondary education, and then on the labor market as mature adults. Blacks come into contact with various institutions as they progress through the system and can respond to them in different ways. We want to see how Blacks perform as they age and move through these institutions.

To briefly summarize our results, Blacks do less well than Whites in primary and secondary school. Their grades are lower on average than those of Whites although the differential decreases as they progress through high school. However, the picture is quite different at the post-secondary education level where, as other Canadian researchers have found using earlier data, Black males outside Québec do as well as other Canadians in obtaining a university bachelor's degree and outperform Whites in getting advanced degrees. Black females are less successful. The difference in performance between the two levels of education for Black males is a puzzle which is hard to explain but it is an important feature of the data and we will discuss it in more detail later. It is in the labor market that the poor performance of Blacks is most evident. Blacks earn much less than Whites on average regardless of gender. At each level of educational attainment Blacks earn significantly less than Whites. They are less likely to be fully employed and are always under-represented in highly paid or prestigious occupations. Like Pendakur and Pendakur (1998) we conclude that Blacks still face monumental racial discrimination in the labor market.

The paper has the following format. The next section examines educational performance data for primary and secondary school students from the 2010-11 Youth Smoking Survey (YSS). Section three continues the analysis of educational performance by looking at data from the 2016 census on post-secondary educational attainments. In section four income data from the same survey is analyzed. The results are for Canada excluding Québec except for those involving the YSS survey. What happens in Québec will be discussed in a later paper. The paper ends with a discussion of the results in section five.

RESULTS FOR PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

Others before us have considered the issue of race in post-secondary educational and economic performance. But it is our position that the analysis of the role of race in education should begin at a point as early as possible in the educational system. Consequently, our analysis of academic performance begins with the examination of self-reported respondent marks in primary and secondary school that were obtained from the 2010-2011 YSS. This survey targeted schools. Students from the selected schools completed a questionnaire and the responses to the question: 'Which of the following best describes your marks during the past year' is the measure of academic performance used here. The answers to this question generate a set of categories or intervals to which the respondent's marks belong. As is clear from Table 2 which contains the variable means from the 2010-11 YSS, the thresholds for the categories are known and do not have to be estimated as is usually the case for ordered probability models which are used in the analysis of this type of data. The dependent variable, g , is a decimal representation of a student's marks or grade performance. Since g lies between 0 and 1 the probability distribution chosen to represent this random variable has to reflect this. An ideal candidate for this type of data is the Beta distribution whose probability density function is

$$f(g) = \frac{\Gamma(\alpha)\Gamma(\beta)}{\Gamma(\alpha + \beta)} g^{\alpha-1} (1-g)^{\beta-1} \quad (1)$$

The mean of this distribution is $\alpha/(\alpha+\beta)$. Regressors are introduced into the model by imposing the condition

$$\frac{\alpha_i}{\alpha_i + \beta} = \frac{\exp(X_i\gamma)}{1 + \exp(X_i\gamma)} \quad (2)$$

In equation (2) β is a parameter to be estimated and α_i is a function which is specific to each respondent since it depends on the vector of regressors X_i ; both have to be positive. The parameter vector γ is the same for all the respondents. Category probabilities are derived from the cumulative Beta distribution. For example, the probability of respondent i having a failing grade is

$$\Pr\{g_i \leq 0.5\} = \int_0^{0.5} f_i(g)dg \quad (3)$$

and is easily computed numerically like a normal probability when f is the normal density function. The categorical probabilities are then used to construct a likelihood function whose logarithm of the contribution of respondent i is

$$\begin{aligned} \ln(\ell_i) = & \{g_i \leq 0.5\} \ln\left[\int_0^{0.5} f_i(g)dg\right] + \{0.5 < g_i \leq 0.6\} \ln\left[\int_{0.5}^{0.6} f_i(g)dg\right] + \\ & \{0.6 < g_i \leq 0.7\} \ln\left[\int_{0.6}^{0.7} f_i(g)dg\right] + \{0.7 < g_i \leq 0.85\} \ln\left[\int_{0.7}^{0.85} f_i(g)dg\right] + \\ & \{0.85 < g_i \leq 1.0\} \ln\left[\int_{0.85}^{1.0} f_i(g)dg\right] \quad (4) \end{aligned}$$

which is then maximized to get estimates of (γ, β) parameters. The X_i vector contains the variables: age and school grade which are continuous variables. Grade refers to the school level, for example first year of high school, second year of high school and so on. Sex, fair and safe which are dummy variables where safe and fair are respectively: feeling safe in school and being treated fairly by the teacher. Race is a categorical variable for White, Black, Asian, Aboriginal and Others, and where White is the residual category. Region groups provinces into 5 different regions where Ontario is the residual regional category.

All of the estimated γ parameters were highly significant. Respondent marks decline with age and with school grade. Girls do better than boys and Whites do better than Blacks. All respondents have better marks if they feel safe in school and feel that they are being treated fairly by their teachers. These results are summarized in Table 3 which shows the effects of race on the probabilities of being in the top or bottom mark category. The differences by race are very large. For grade 6, white boys are 1.4 times more likely to be in the top mark category, ($g > 0.85$), than black boys. This differential increases as respondents get older and rises to 1.5 for grade 12 male students. For both Whites and Blacks, performance deteriorates as they progress through secondary school. The same story holds for girls; only the effects of race on performance are larger than is the case for boys.

The variables fair and safe are particularly important and their presence explains about 30% of the increase in ln-likelihood function over its base level. Being treated fairly by teachers doubles the odds of being in the top marks category for both males and females. This is unsurprising as the literature shows that teacher's view of a student's ability will be reflected in the student's performance (Hinnerich et. al. 2011). There is also a strong rank correlation in the data between this variable and marks, (0.17) for white males though it is less for black male students at (0.14). It is much higher for female students at (0.21) and (0.24) for white and black female students, respectively. Similarly, the variable feeling safe in school is a strong indication of willingness of the child to come to school and make the most of it. It is well-documented that victimized students will suffer from a compromised aca-

ademic performance (Juvonen et. al. 2011). Feeling safe increases the odds of being in the top marks category versus the other categories by about 70%. These results are consistent with some of the earlier literature on black performance in primary and secondary school. The problems that black students face in the schooling system have been noted by an Ontario Government (1994) survey, Dei (1997), Brathwaite and James (1996), Codjoe (2001) and more recently by a York University study (2017).

RESULTS FOR POST-SECONDARY ATTAINMENTS

The 2016 census provides information on success in the Post-Secondary school system. In Table 1, the distribution of educational attainments for respondents aged 25 to 64 is shown for Whites and Blacks by gender. These are assumed to be terminal educational outcomes since all of the respondents are over the age of 25. This may not be completely accurate since not all respondents complete their education by age 25 but most do. The lowest category is less than a high school diploma with having an advanced degree above a bachelor's being the highest level of attainment. These categories are assumed to be ordered since they, for the most part, are ordered by the level of difficulty or ability required to obtain them. This is possibly not true for the categories in the middle of the table; some post-secondary programmes below that of a university degree may not require as much skill or effort as some of the trades. However, this is an empirical matter and the results of applying the standard ordered probability model to the data will determine whether this assumption is appropriate for the data.

Ordered probability models generate the categories in Table 1 which need to be explained by specifying a latent variable

$$y_i^* = X_i\gamma + u_i \quad (5)$$

crossing a set of threshold points. In equation (5) u_i is a normally distributed random effect with mean 0 and variance 1. Let the category numbers in Table 1 be $\{y_i\}$ which take on the values 1 to 6. Then

$$\Pr\{y_i = 1\} = \Phi(\tau_1 - X_i\gamma) \quad (6)$$

$$\Pr\{y_i = k\} = \Phi(\tau_k - X_i\gamma) - \Phi(\tau_{k-1} - X_i\gamma) \quad k = 2, 3, \dots, 5 \quad (7)$$

$$\Pr\{y_i = 6\} = 1 - \Phi(\tau_5 - X_i\gamma) \quad (8)$$

where:

$\{\tau_k: k=1, 2, \dots, 5\}$ is a sequence of increasing threshold points that need to be estimated and $\Phi()$ is the cumulative normal distribution function. These category probabilities then can be used to construct the likelihood function in the usual way.

Two probabilities are shown in Table 4. These are the probabilities of achieving less than a high school diploma and the probability of getting a university bachelor's degree or higher. These results are gender specific and quite different from the ones obtained in the YSS data for primary and secondary school academic performance for males. In post-secondary education, Black males do slightly better than white males except for the age group 25-29. They are less likely to stop their education before completing high school and slightly more likely to obtain a university degree than their white counterparts. For females, post-secondary education outcomes are more similar to what they were in the primary and secondary system although the black/white differentials are not as large. But the

differences are still large and highly significant with the younger age group exhibiting the largest black/white differences.

The estimated threshold coefficients are increasing and the differences are significant suggesting that the ordered probability model is an appropriate vehicle in which to examine post-secondary attainments.

These results like those reported for primary and secondary school are similar to what others have found. Some examples are Davies and Guppy (1999) and Abada et. al. (2010). There are some results on the importance of how long Blacks have resided in Canada. Simmons and Plaza (1998) found the more recent Black immigrants from the Caribbean were less likely to attend university than those born in Canada. We found no effect on post-secondary educational attainments of place of birth of the respondent or the respondent's parents.

DISCUSSION

The differences in the effect of race on the two levels of male education is a puzzling and unexpected result. However, our results are consistent with what other researchers have found for both levels of education. For primary and secondary schools both Dei et. al. (1997) and more recently James et. al. (2017) noted the pervasive nature of racism in Toronto area public schools and its negative effect on Blacks performance in school. Likewise Davies and Guppy (1999) produce results using the 1991 census which are very similar to what we found using the 2016 census on post-secondary educational attainments. Outside of Québec, race has little or no effect on male educational attainments but being a Black female reduces the probability of doing better at the post-secondary level.

On the other hand, the income data from the 2016 census display large black/white differentials for both genders. Yet these differentials do not translate into large differentials in male tertiary educational attainments. It is well known, McIntosh (2006) that family background variables like parent education and occupation are important in determining how far a respondent goes in the educational system. Many children inherit the educational qualifications of their parents. However, there are few differences between black and white parents of male respondents as far as education is concerned. But occupations and earnings are not the same for these two groups. There are large income differences by race for both males and females as Table 5a and 5b indicate. Blacks are more than twice as likely to be in the bottom quintile of the income distribution, much more likely not to be fully employed, and less likely to have prestigious jobs. Having low income parents often means poorer housing and lower quality schools. One would expect this to have an impact on educational performance for younger respondents. Household wealth has a significant effect on the Canadian PISA mathematics test score for 16 year olds for the year 2009, McIntosh (2019). While some of the literature on this topic finds low or negligible associations between family income and child school performance¹ other papers do not so it seems reasonable to accept that the racial differences in incomes and occupations are part of the cause of the racial differences in primary and secondary school performance.

But if this is the case, why is it that the deficiencies in black primary and secondary school performance do not continue on into tertiary education or more specifically why don't racial income differences affect tertiary educational outcomes? There are several possible explanations. First, students in primary and secondary school are enrolled in facilities which are much smaller and more personal than institutions like universities, for example, where relations between students and staff are much more detached or anonymous. In many cases university professors do not even know the names of their students. At this level there is much less scope for institutional influences involving individual characteristics like race or gender to affect academic performance. There are also no quality differences in tertiary educational institutions as there are in primary schools which are affected by the level of affluence of the neighborhood in which they are located.

The net result of this is that access for black males to the tertiary educational system is virtually unaffected by racial considerations. This not true for black females and that raises the question of why there is a gender dimension to access to tertiary education. For both races, females are much more successful in navigating through post-secondary educational institutions than males. However, the superior ability of white females to benefit from advanced educational opportunities is not matched by black females. As Table 3 shows, the academic performance of black girls was well below that of white girls in primary and secondary school. This differential has persisted and appears in tertiary education although it is not as pronounced. Boys were able to overcome whatever caused their lower in marks in primary and secondary school while girls were much less able to do this. Unfortunately, the data from the YSS provides no information as to why this happens.

While there are minimal racial differences in terminal educational attainments for black males, they are accompanied by large racial income differentials as Table 5a and 5b show. There is also little change over age groups so that substantially lower income is an unchanging characteristic of black households regardless of the educational attainment of the respondent; black disadvantage is a stable and enduring feature of the Canadian social landscape. However, it is not apparent that the cause of lower incomes among Blacks is low income of their parents. One of the most disturbing features of black labor market performance is the huge difference in the returns to getting an advanced degree above a bachelor's degree. As Table 5b shows, white males earn on average more than 32 thousand dollars for doing this; Blacks get only 5500 dollars. When we examine participation rates in high level occupations we find that Blacks are under-represented. By high level occupations we mean those whose average earnings are in the top quartile of the income distribution. For males, 23.5 percent of black university degree holders are in the bottom quartile and 40.7 percent are in the top quartile. Whereas for Whites with a university degree only, 8.7 percent are in the bottom quartile and 59.0 percent are in the top quartile. Thus it would seem that low black parental incomes are not the cause of low black respondent incomes; the real cause is just being black. Canadian labor markets discriminate against Blacks; black credentials and human capital simply do not command the same rewards that accrue to Whites. Although the picture that emerges is extremely bleak in terms of how unfairly Blacks are treated in Canada there is one bright spot on the landscape and that is the success that black males have had in utilizing the educational system. By and large, black males are not undereducated and in spite of some difficulties in getting through primary and secondary school they seem to be able to perform as well as Whites when it comes to obtaining terminal educational qualifications. The situation is not so favorable for black females. They are not as successful as white females at acquiring advanced educational qualifications.

What is important, however, is that the differentials between black and white male earnings have increased substantially from the 1990's to the most recent census. Differentials also increase with the level of education so that black efforts to improve their situation by getting more education are frustrated by the discriminatory methods that Canadian employers select and pay those who work for them¹. This is racism against Blacks in the labor market pure and simple and it is a stain on Canada's reputation for being a fair and equitable country.

¹ Oreopoulos (2011) noted in his study of Canadian job applications that applicants with Asian sounding names had much lower chances of getting an interview. He also mentioned that other studies had exposed the same problems for Blacks.

APPENDIX**TABLES****Table 1: Variable Means for the 2016 Census**

Variables	Males		Females	
	White (%)	Black (%)	White (%)	Black (%)
Canadian born	90.4	20.8	90.5	20.4
Father Canadian born	78.1	4.0	79.6	3.1
Mother Canadian born	79.3	3.1	78.2	2.7
Age (years)	42.8	40.2	42.4	41.3
Education				
Less Than A high School Diploma	12.6	10.8	8.4	10.8
High School Diploma	24.9	27.1	24.0	19.5
Trade Qualification	17.4	11.1	7.6	10.4
Post-Secondary Qualification	22.8	24.5	31.2	34.5
Bachelor Degree	15.0	15.2	20.0	16.8
Higher than Bachelor Degree	7.1	11.2	8.3	8.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Income (000)\$	77.3	46.0	51.5	41.7
Region				
Atlantic	7.8	1.0	8.2	1.0
Québec	27.4	29.2	27.4	28.7
Ontario	34.7	51.1	35.6	56.9
Prairie	18.3	15.6	17.2	11.7
BC and NWT	11.8	3.0	11.5	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample Size	172,058	5,659	168,694	6,485

Table 2. Variable means: Youth Smoking Survey

Variables	Males		Females	
	White (%)	Black (%)	White (%)	Black (%)
Grade Distribution				
Grades \geq 85%	24.7	18.3	33.4	22.8
Grades between 70%-84	45.6	41.2	46.5	46.4
Grades between 60%-69	22.0	26.6	15.6	23.9
Grades between 50%-59%	7.5	13.8	4.4	6.8
Grades < 50%	1.4	5.4	0.7	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Age	14.3	14.7	14.3	14.3
School Grade	9.0	9.4	9.1	9.0
Region				
Atlantic	32.1	18.3	33.3	12.3
Quebec	9.5	8.6	9.0	10.5
Ontario	17.4	29.4	18.6	35.7
Prairie	29.2	27.0	28.3	25.8
BC and NWT	11.8	16.6	10.7	15.7
Perception				
Fair	28.8	22.6	30.4	25.2
Safe	33.5	26.9	33.3	27.6
Sample Size	18,381	839	19,345	543

Table 3: Probabilities of Being in the Bottom and Top Grade Categories

Grade	Boys			
	Whites		Blacks	
	Bottom Probability	Top Probability	Bottom Probability	Top Probability
6	0.06	0.32	0.09	0.23
7	0.07	0.29	0.11	0.19
8	0.08	0.26	0.12	0.18
9	0.09	0.23	0.13	0.16
10	0.10	0.21	0.14	0.15
11	0.11	0.20	0.16	0.13
12	0.12	0.18	0.17	0.12
Average	0.09	0.24	0.13	0.16
Grade	Girls			
	Whites		Blacks	
	Bottom Probability	Top Probability	Bottom Probability	Top Probability
6	0.04	0.40	0.08	0.25
7	0.05	0.37	0.07	0.27
8	0.05	0.34	0.08	0.23
9	0.06	0.32	0.09	0.22
10	0.06	0.31	0.09	0.21

Race, Education and Earning Differences between Black and White community

11	0.06	0.30	0.10	0.20
12	0.06	0.30	0.10	0.19
Average	0.05	0.33	0.09	0.22

Table 4: Probabilities of Education Attainment by Age Group, Gender and Race, Ages 25-64, Based On Data From the 2016 Census

Age Group	Males			
	Whites		Blacks	
	Less than HS Diploma	Bachelor Degree	Less than HS Diploma	Bachelor Degree
25-29	0.11	0.19	0.13	0.18
30-34	0.12	0.18	0.12	0.18
35-39	0.12	0.18	0.12	0.19
40-44	0.13	0.18	0.12	0.18
45-49	0.14	0.17	0.12	0.18
50-54	0.14	0.16	0.12	0.18
55-59	0.15	0.16	0.12	0.18
60-64	0.15	0.15	0.13	0.18
Average	0.15	0.17	0.12	0.18
Age Group	females			
	Whites		Blacks	
	Less than HS Diploma	Bachelor Degree	Less than HS Diploma	Bachelor Degree
25-29	0.05	0.27	0.08	0.23
30-34	0.06	0.26	0.09	0.22
35-39	0.07	0.25	0.10	0.22
40-44	0.08	0.23	0.11	0.21
45-49	0.10	0.22	0.12	0.20
50-54	0.11	0.20	0.12	0.19
55-59	0.13	0.18	0.13	0.19
60-64	0.15	0.16	0.14	0.17
Average	0.10	0.22	0.11	0.21

Table 5a: Total Income (000's \$) By Age Group, Gender and Race, Ages 25-64, Based On Data From the 2016 Census

Age Group	Males		Females	
	White	Black	White	Black
25-29	45.09	27.08	35.96	27.80
30-34	62.88	38.47	45.05	36.15
35-39	72.65	45.90	51.86	41.46
40-44	83.50	48.03	56.61	45.71
45-49	87.81	49.60	56.70	46.74
50-54	86.93	49.97	54.48	43.01
55-59	83.96	46.67	50.49	42.32
60-64	74.49	44.39	42.21	37.63

Table 5b: Total Income (000's \$) By Educational Level, Gender and Race, Ages 25-64, Based On Data From the 2016 Census

Education	Males		Females	
	White	Black	White	Black
Less Than A high School Diploma	43.9	30.3	26.0	24.7
High School Diploma	59.5	35.9	38.2	31.6
Trade Qualification	66.2	38.5	34.2	33.4
Post-Secondary Qualification	74.7	44.7	47.4	42.1
Bachelor Degree	108.9	54.7	66.4	50.9
Higher than Bachelor Degree	141.1	60.2	85.2	57.7
Average	75.3	43.3	49.3	40.0

Table 6: Maximum Likelihood Parameter Estimates Of The Two Mixture Model of Income: Ages 25-64, Based On Data From the 2016 Census.

	Latent class 1		Latent class 2	
	Male	Females	Male	Females
Intercept Term				
White	66.2	38.5	34.2	33.4
Black	2.889	2.714	1.332	0.612
Variables	White			
ED2	0.217	0.347	0.413	0.401
ED3	0.389	0.305	0.500	0.249
ED4	0.470	0.585	0.821	0.674
ED5	0.662	0.890	1.065	1.114
ED6	0.840	1.098	1.338	1.111
	Black			
ED2	0.166	0.234	0.213 [†]	0.624 [†]
ED3	0.292	0.333	0.511	0.504 [†]
ED4	0.416	0.482	0.750	0.897
ED5	0.584	0.717	0.629	1.412
ED6	0.652	0.874	0.629	1.169
	Average Income			
White	90.54	63.32	39.66	21.82
Black	61.88	53.73	17.63	19.66
Latent Class Probability	0.772	0.694	0.228	0.316

Table notes: Education categories are the same as those listed in Table 1. Estimates with no superscript are significant at the 1% level. † indicates not significant at 10%

REFERENCES

- Bégin, M & C. L. Caplan (1994). For The Love of Learning. Ontario Royal Commission on Learning.
- Belzil, Christian (2008). Testing the Specification of the Mincer Wage Equation. *Annales d'Économie et de Statistique*, 91/92, 427-451. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27917254>.
- Blanden, J & Paul Gregg (2004). Family Income and Educational Attainment: A Review of Approaches and Evidence for Britain. Centre for the Economics of Education, London School of Economics Houghton Street London WC2A 2AE.
- Botelho, Fernando, Ricardo Madeira & Marcos A. Rangel (2015) Racial Discrimination in Grading: Evidence from Brazil. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 7 , 37-52. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24739058>.
- Cameron, S. V. and J. J. Heckman (1998). Life Cycle Schooling and Dynamic Selection Bias: Models and Evidence for Five Cohorts of American Males. *Journal of Political Economy*, 106, 262–333.
- Clotfelter, Charles T, Helen F Ladd & Jacob L Vigdor (2009) The Academic Achievement Gap in Grades 3 to 8. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 91(2), 398-419. <https://doi.org/10.1162/rest.91.2.398>
- Davies, Scott and Neil Guppy (1998). Race and Canadian Education in *Racism and Social Inequality in Canada*, edited by Vic Saizewich, Thomson Educational Publishing, 131-155.
- Dei, G. J. S., Massuca, J., McIsaac, E., & Zine, J. (1997). *Reconstructing “drop-out”: A critical ethnography of the dynamics of Black students’ disengagement from school*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- DeSarbo, Wayne S. & William L. Cron (1998). A Maximum Likelihood Methodology for Clusterwise Linear Regression. *Journal of Classification*, 1988, 249-282.
- Erola, Jani, Elina Kilpi-Jakonen, Irene Prix, & Hannu Lehti, (2018) Resource Compensation from the Extended Family: Grandparents, Aunts, and Uncles in Finland and the United States, *European Sociological Review*, 34, 348–364, <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcy021>
- Fearon, G. & Wald, S. (2011). The Earnings Gap between Black and White Workers in Canada: Evidence from the 2006 Census. *Relations industrielles*, 66(3), 324–348. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1006342ar>.
- Fryer, Roland G. & Steven D. Levitt (2006). The Black-White Test Score Gap Through Third Grade, *American Law and Economics Review*, 8 249–281, <https://doi.org/10.1093/aler/ahl003>
- Heckman, J. J., L. J. Lochner, & P. E. Todd (2003). Fifty years of Mincer earnings regressions. Technical Report 9732, National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Hinnerich Bjorn T., Erik Höglén & Magnus Johannessen (2011). Ethnic discrimination in high school grading: Evidence from a field experiment. *SSE/EFI Working Paper Series in Economics and Finance*, no. 733, <http://hdl.handle.net/10419/56299>.
- Juvonen, Jaana, Sandra Graham & Adrienne Nishina (2011). Bullying Experiences and Compromised Academic Performance Across Middle School Grades. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 31, 152-173. DOI: 10.1177/0272431610379415.
- McIntosh, James (2010). Educational mobility in Canada: results from the 2001 general social survey. *Empirical Economics* 38, 457–470. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00181-009-0275-9>.
- _____ (2019). The Relation Between Household Income and Canadian PISA Performance in Mathematics. Unpublished Discussion Paper, Concordia University.
- Oreopoulos, P. (2011). Why Do Skilled Immigrants Struggle in the Labor Market ? A Field Experiment with Thirteen Thousand Resumes. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 3(4), 148–171.

- Pendakur, Krishna & Ravi Pendakur (1998). The Colour of Money: Earnings Differentials among Ethnic Groups. *Canadian Journal of Economics* 31,518-548 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/136201>.
- _____ (2002) Colour My World: Have Earnings Gaps for Canadian-Born Ethnic Minorities Changed Over Time? *Canadian Public Policy*. XXVIII, 489-512. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/4835636>.
- _____ (2011) Colour By Numbers: Minority Earnings in Canada 1996-2006. Etropolis British Columbia: Centre of Excellence on Immigration and Diversity. No. 11-05.
- Plaza, Dwayne B. & Alan Simmons (1998). Breaking through the glass ceiling: the pursuit of university. *Canadian Ethnic Studies / Etudes Ethniques au Canada*, 30, 99-120.
- Sprietsma, Maressa.(2013). Discrimination in grading: experimental evidence from primary school teachers. *Empirical Economics*, 45, 523-538, DOI 10.1007/s00181-012-0609-x.
- Swidinsky, R. & Swidinsky, M. (2002). The Relative Earnings of Visible Minorities in Canada: New Evidence from the 1996 Census. *Relations industrielles*, 57, 630-659. <https://doi.org/10.7202/006904ar>
- Yap, Margaret (2010), Slicing and dicing the gender/racial earnings differentials, *International Journal of Manpower*, 31, 466 – 488. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/01437721011057038>

Special Issue 2019, Article 4 from Series of 5

Collaborative Unity and Existential Responsibility

BLACK AND ENGLISH-SPEAKING IN MONTREAL: AN INTERSECTIONAL SNAPSHOT

Bonnie Zehavi

DESTA Black Youth Network,
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

bonnie@destabyn.org

* Corresponding author

ABSTRACT

Summary This paper presents a general overview of the challenges faced by English-speaking Black community members in Montreal, as well as the exacerbation of those barriers for individuals with a history of justice involvement. Frontline community initiatives focusing on education, employment, and entrepreneurship at DESTA Black Youth Network are profiled as an example of grassroots efforts to mitigate disparate circumstances between English-speaking Black Montrealers and their white counterparts. Statistical data in the areas of educational attainment, rates of unemployment, and income provide the platform for analysis and, recognizing the multiple identity experiences of belonging to a racialized and linguistic minority, an intersectional framework is employed. Recommendations for more race-based study, policy, and funding to better support equity strategies are provided.

Keywords Black Community, English-speaking, Montreal, Intersectional, Anti-Black Systemic Racism, Justice, Education, Employment, Income, Entrepreneurship

Accepting Editor: Clarence S Bayne | Received: May 25, 2019 | Revised: September 01, 2019 | Accepted: November 09, 2019

Cite as: Zehavi, B. (2019). Black and English-speaking in Montreal: an Intersectional Snapshot. *International Journal of Community Development & Management Studies*, 3 (sup 1), 90-96, Retrieved from: <http://ijcdms.org/Volume03/v3sup1p90-96Zehavi6071.pdf>

(CC BY-NC 4.0) This article is licensed to you under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/). When you copy and redistribute this paper in full or in part, you need to provide proper attribution to it to ensure that others can later locate this work (and to ensure that others do not accuse you of plagiarism). You may (and we encourage you to) adapt, remix, transform, and build upon the material for any non-commercial purposes. This license does not permit you to use this material for commercial purposes.

ANTI-BLACK RACISM AND THE MYTH OF MULTICULTURALISM

The Toronto Action Plan to Confront Anti-Black Racism (2017) identifies anti-Black racism as the “policies and practices embedded in Canadian institutions that reflect and reinforce beliefs, attitudes, and prejudice, stereotyping and/or discrimination that is directed at people of African descent and is rooted in their unique history and experience of enslavement and colonization here in Canada” (p.14). Arguably, many Canadians do not fully understand the impact that colonialism has had, and continues to have, on Canada’s Black and Indigenous communities, in particular, and on Canadian people of color, in general. Many Canadians are not even aware of the history of slavery in Canada – but one does not need to have full knowledge of history to be impacted by it or to benefit from its legacy. Like a microcosm of Canada itself, Montreal has long had a reputation as an inclusive multicultural city, when, in reality, it is made up of many solitudes divided along racial, ethnic, linguistic, and socio-economic lines. As in other North American cities, systemic racism in Montreal has created barriers to housing, education, employment and, arguably, the acquisition of fundamental human rights for many Black Montrealers. For Montreal’s English-speaking Black community, which occupies the intersection of both racial and language minority, the consequences of those barriers are especially profound. In order to better understand the impact of how these dual identities interact, a cursory introduction to the idea of intersectionality is useful. Coined by American race theorist and civil rights activist Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989, the term “intersectionality” was derived from Crenshaw’s work to describe the ways that multiple identities and experiences informed by race and gender intersect and affect the lives of Black women and women of color, in particular. The term has since been used to describe multiple identity intersections, such race, gender, class, sexuality, (dis-)ability and more – and how those multiple identities, at times embodying either privilege or oppression, “can combine with each other, compound each other, mitigate each other, and contradict each other” (Oluo, 2017). Although still infrequently used in discussions of race and language in Quebec, the concept of intersectionality provides a suitable framework for understanding the unique experiences of English-speaking Black Montrealers. As a minority within a minority, a racialized minority group laden with the additional challenges of belonging to the Official Language Minority (OLM) population of English speakers in Quebec, the resulting circumstances for English-speaking Black Montrealers can often be precarious.

The purpose of this paper is not to provide an in-depth critical analysis of intersectionality of race and language in Quebec, or a comprehensive study of how colonialism and systemic racism have impacted racialized communities in Canada. Nor will this paper endeavour to provide readers with *proof* of racism; racism is posited herein as a fact, existing in many forms and spaces, from the micro to the macro, and no empirical evidence will be supplied to reinforce that position. It should also be stated that this paper touches on a number of important topics, each deserving of more study and analysis than will be provided here. The aim, therefore, is threefold: first, to present the statistical profile of English-speaking Black Montrealers specifically in the areas of education, employment, and income level to illustrate the challenging realities of occupying a double-minority status in Quebec. The second objective is to briefly describe the exacerbation of those realities for community members with a history of justice involvement. Finally, the third purpose is to emphasize the need for more race-based study and policy revision, and for allocated funding to support community organizations on the frontlines of addressing systemic inequality with innovative and culturally-relevant programs, services, and advocacy work.

STATISTICAL PROFILE OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING BLACK MONTREALERS IN EDUCATION, (UN-) EMPLOYMENT, AND INCOME

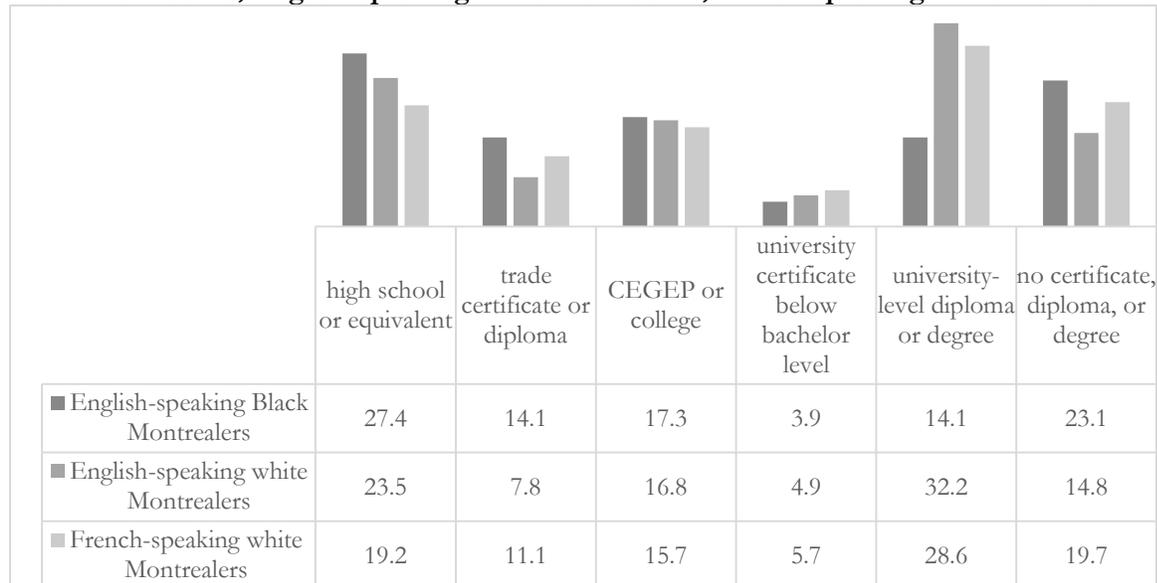
English-speaking Black Quebecers represent the second-largest racial minority group among both Quebec and Montreal Anglophones, with 53,845 in the province (the first largest group in both the

province and the city of Montreal are South Asians, at 59,855). With the majority (40,550) residing in Montreal, English-speaking Black Montrealers make up around 7.5% of the city’s total English-speaking population. *A note about terminology and the use of the uppercase in “Black”:* here Black is used to denote a racialized group that, although widely diverse, is considered a people for the purpose of this paper, and that consideration is reflected in the specificity of the statistical information provided. The uppercase is not used to describe white people because they are (systemically) not regarded as a group, but rather as the standard, with racialized peoples being deviations thereof. The problematic term “visible minority”, used in Canada almost exclusively, is avoided here as it reinforces whiteness as the norm and blurs race-based data when dissimilar racialized groups, uniquely deserving of their individual consideration, are regarded as a whole.

DISCOURAGING LEVELS OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

A look at the highest levels of education attained by Montrealers (Table 1) reveals that a greater number of English-speaking Black Montrealers (27.4%) only have a high school diploma or its equivalent (GED, GDT, etc.), compared to white Anglophones (23.5%) and white Francophones in the city (19.2%). At a rate of 14.1%, English-speaking Black Montrealers are obtaining apprenticeship certificates or trade diplomas at almost twice the rate of their English-speaking white counterparts (7.8%) and, again at 14.1%, earning university degrees at less than half the rate of the same group. (English-speaking white Montrealers have a university graduation rate of 32.2%, and French-speaking white Montrealers a rate of 28.6 %) 23.1% of English-speaking Black community members have no diploma, degree, professional attestation, or certificate whatsoever, putting nearly a quarter of English-speaking Black community members and their dependants at risk of poverty.

Table 1. Highest level of education attained; comparison of three groups: English-speaking Black Montrealers, English-speaking white Montrealers, French-speaking white Montrealers



Source: Pocock, (2016)

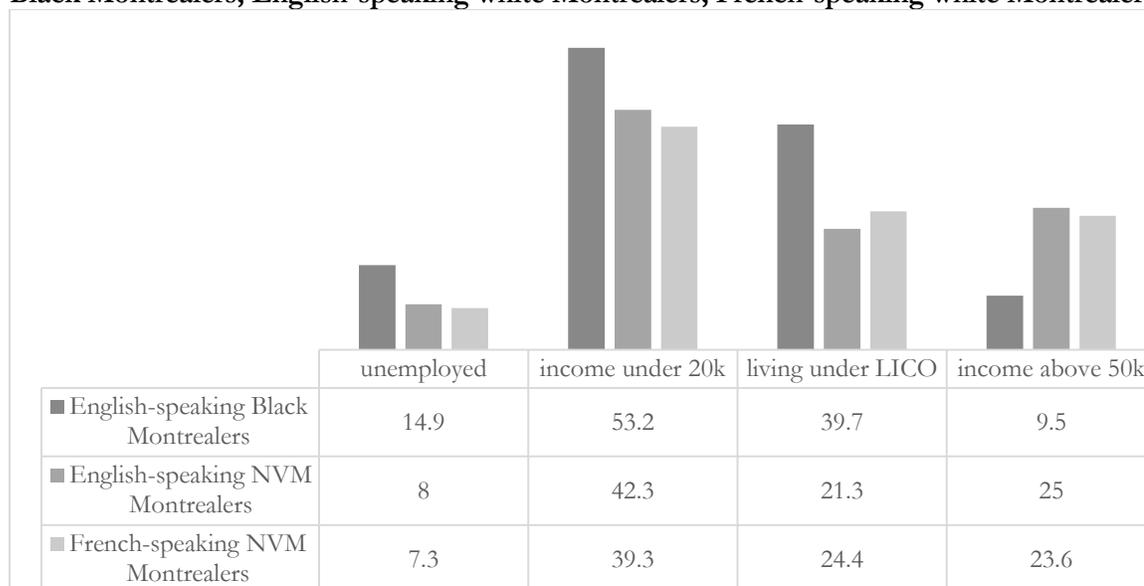
There are many reasons for the discrepancies in educational attainment between English-speaking Black Montrealers and white Montrealers, both English and French-speaking, and a comprehensive understanding requires an examination of the interplay of the systemic barriers that have adversely affected Black Montrealers in general, and English-speaking Black Montrealers, specifically, over several generations. These contributors include, but are not limited to the over-involvement of youth protection services in Black families and the stereotyping of and harsher disciplinary actions taken against Black students at all levels of education. Indeed, a report filed by the United Nation’s Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent (2016) called for the implementation of a “na-

tionwide African Canadian education strategy to address the inordinately low educational attainment, high dropout rates, suspensions and expulsions experienced by African Canadian children and youth.” A comprehensive strategy to address the current educational circumstances of Montreal’s English-speaking Black community, in particular, would also need to consider the outcomes of language laws such as Bill 101 that restrict access to education in English for many English-speaking Black children and youth.

GREATER RISK OF POVERTY: (UN-) EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME LEVELS

Almost twice the number of English-speaking Black Montrealers are unemployed (14.9%) compared to English-speaking white Montrealers, who are employed at a marginally higher rate (8%) than French-speaking white Montrealers (7.3%). Little surprise, with a quarter of working-aged community members being formally undereducated, and another quarter possessing only a high school diploma. The subsequent income levels reveal that more than half of English-speaking Black Montrealers (53.2%) earn an annual income under 20k, and almost 40% of wage-earning community members are living under the Low income cut-off (LICO). Only a small percentage of English-speaking Black Montrealers (9.5%) earn over 50k per year, compared to a quarter of both English and French-speaking white Montrealers (25% and 23.6%, respectively).

Table 2. Unemployment and income levels; comparison of three groups: English-speaking Black Montrealers, English-speaking white Montrealers, French-speaking white Montrealers



Source: Pocock (2016)

These discrepancies in education, employment, and wealth provide few opportunities for English-speaking Black community members to position themselves in spaces where policy is decided and power is yielded, a void easily observed in the city’s municipal administrations of past and present. The barriers of systemic racism, combined with what many consider linguistic second-class citizenship, have left the Anglophone Black community underrepresented among Montreal’s most affluent; in fact, many community members struggle to simply earn a living wage.

THREE STRIKES: CHALLENGES FACED BY ENGLISH-SPEAKING BLACK MONTREALERS WITH A HISTORY OF JUSTICE INVOLVEMENT

Where English-speaking Black Montrealers and Black Canadians as whole are overrepresented is, perhaps not surprisingly, in the justice system. Although representing approximately 3.5% percent of the Canadian population, Black Canadians represent around 10% of federally incarcerated people

across the country, and the number of incarcerated Black Canadians has increased every year, growing by nearly 80% over the last 10 years (United Nation's Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent, 2016). With approximately half of incarcerated Black people in Canada aged 30 years old or younger, and only 8% over the age of 50 (Annual Report of the Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2012-2013), the majority of formerly incarcerated Black community members are within the range of working age. Because Black Canadians receive the longest and severest sentences and, as a result, the least access to programs, training, and education while in prison (Annual Report of the Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2012-2013) their ability to successfully reintegrate the community is significantly compromised – assuming they can secure their release; at 72%, Black people incarcerated in Canada receive the lowest rate of parole of any federally incarcerated group (Parole Board of Canada: Performance Monitoring Report, 2016-2017).

Much can be said about the inequalities and injustices embedded in Canada's correctional system(s) and institutions. The context, however, of this particular discussion is simple: with the barriers shaped by systemic racism and language minority status firmly in place for the average English-speaking Black Montrealer, the additional barrier of a history of justice involvement is especially problematic. Numerous studies indicate that securing gainful employment and a living wage is the most critical component for successful reintegration (Pager, 2007), but formal studies are not needed to make that deduction. It is only logical that the inability to secure economic stability and self-sufficiency can compromise one's access to food, housing, and safety, and diminish feelings of purpose and security, – a combination of circumstances that can significantly aggravate the potential for recidivism.

DESTA BLACK YOUTH NETWORK: PROGRAMS AND SERVICES

Some small but impactful initiatives addressing the economic challenges in the English-speaking Black community can be found at grassroots organizations like DESTA Black Youth Network. DESTA is a non-profit organization based in Montreal that employs a holistic approach in supporting English-speaking Black community members in reaching their educational, employability, and entrepreneurial goals. Recognizing a gap in services for young Black adults in the neighborhood of Little Burgundy, DESTA was established in 2006 with a youth employability grant from the Government of Canada's Youth Employment Strategy. DESTA staff, comprised of a handful of community workers from the immediate vicinity, initially focused on one-on-one interventions with youth aged 18 to 25, with the majority of non-employment participant needs related to justice issues, housing, young parenthood, and psycho-social challenges. In 2017, as a direct response to the economic circumstances of Little Burgundy's Black community, DESTA redefined its mission to focus on education, employability, and entrepreneurship. As part of the new organizational design, more structured programming was developed to give participants access to diverse training opportunities in various areas. For individuals with employment needs, an 18-week paid data analyst training program was launched to offer participants introductory instruction in data and CRM management. (Other tech-based training programs have since been designed but are not yet underway, including coding, digital marketing, and a digital music production program.) Thinking of participants' various backgrounds, a focus on STEM training programs was adopted, as tech jobs in Montreal are increasingly in demand and generally have lower barriers to entry for individuals with limited formal education and/or a history of justice involvement. Careers in tech can also offer solid entry-level earning potential and the opportunity for upward mobility. In line with recommendations to ensure “access to resources and access to information needed to help individuals create businesses which will enable economic self-sufficiency and create jobs in a community that traditionally experiences extremely high unemployment” (United Nation's Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent, 2016), DESTA partnered with the John Molson School of Business' Community Service Initiative in 2017 to offer participants access to a 15-week entrepreneurship training program. To make the program more accessible to working participants, classes take place in the evening, and to increase accessibility for participants with children, childcare services and a meal program is provided at no cost. A

two-week Business Bootcamp was launched a year into the JMSB/CSI partnership to better prepare participants for the immersive 15-week evening program, and to support participant-entrepreneurs at the pre-start up stage of their businesses by providing more introductory-level training and mentorship. Towards the end of 2018, a formal partnership with the Community Economic Development and Employability Corporation (CEDEC) was established. This partnership allows DESTA to offer participant-entrepreneurs one-on-one consulting with experienced business advisors and, at no cost, access to GrowthWheel ©, a visual toolbox and online platform allowing participant-entrepreneurs, mentors, and course facilitators to remotely access and track participants' business growth, and respond to challenges and opportunities in 20 focus areas of business development.

The partnership with CEDEC also provided DESTA with an Adult Learning Specialist, who assisted with the creation of a pilot workforce development program to support participants with little or no work experience, or who have been out of work for some time. The program uses an integrated learning approach and offers participants training in both employability and soft skills, as well as essential skills integral to tech employment. Centering the unique needs and experiences of participants, the culturally-relevant design and content of the program not only considers the realities faced by English-speaking Black job-seekers in Montreal, but gives participants safe space to discuss their experiences openly. To address low high school graduation rates, DESTA provides a distance education program, allowing participants to complete secondary school at their own pace with the support of carefully selected tutors. Literacy classes in both English and French are provided at no cost to participants and, for individuals further along in their studies, support accessing vocational training and post-secondary education is provided. To ensure basic needs can be met, stipends are available to participants involved in full time literacy and/or educational programming at DESTA, and a bursary fund was established to support participants with tuition costs and start-up capital for their businesses. For English-speaking Black community members coming out of incarceration or with a history of justice involvement hindering their ability to secure or retain employment, structured Reentry Services were designed with the support of the Association des services de réhabilitation sociale du Québec (ASRSQ) to complement DESTA's three areas of programming. Participants accessing Reentry Services are provided with the extra support needed to prepare for job interviews and challenging workplace dynamics, and acquire the skills fundamental to success in the workplace.

INTERSECTIONALITY AND COMMUNITY INITIATIVES

With barriers informed by (scarcely) covert racism and overt linguistic second-class citizenship in place, it is not surprising that there are stark discrepancies in academic achievement, employment, and income levels between English-speaking Black Montrealers and their white counterparts. In October of 2016, the United Nation's Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent stated that in spite of "Canada's reputation for promoting multiculturalism and diversity... Canada's history of enslavement, racial segregation, and marginalization, has had a deleterious impact on people of African descent which must be addressed in partnership with communities." Community groups and organizations are indeed perhaps in the best position to do the most impactful work, with the informed and intuitive understanding offered by lived experience and a frontline perspective. Government bodies would do well to refer to the UN Working Group's recommendation to "provide funding and other resources to African Canadian community-based projects" such as DESTA's, and to consult with service providers working at the grassroots level whose expertise, often absent from policy and fund development processes, is essential to the successful alignment of needs assessments, goals, and outcomes. In order to support these important initiatives, more consideration of and investment in intersectional race-based study is needed, examining the past and present experiences of all Black communities in Canada and the generational impact of systemic barriers on those communities and their ability to thrive. The UN Working Group similarly called for the adoption of "an intersectionality framework to analyse and address the multiple forms of discrimination on race and other grounds" and stated that "despite the wealth of information and data on socio-economic indicators, there is a serious lack of race-based data and research that could inform prevention, interven-

tion and treatment strategies for African Canadians.” Intersectionality must move beyond theory and be employed as a practice – not only in social justice endeavors, but in all systems and institutions. For English-speaking Black Quebecers and Montrealers this is undoubtedly critical, because if we fail to consider the ways that multiple identities interact, we risk omitting or ignoring the very perspectives and voices that could most readily identify solutions for eliminating inequity.

REFERENCES

- The Black inmate experience (2013). Annual Report of the Office of the Correctional Investigator. Retrieved from <http://www.oci-bec.gc.ca/cnt/rpt/pdf/annrpt/annrpt20122013-eng.pdf>
- Pager, D. (2008). *Marked: Race, crime, and finding work in an era of mass incarceration*. University of Chicago Press.
- Parole Board of Canada: Performance Monitoring Report (2016-2017). Retrieved from <https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/pbc-clcc/documents/publications/Performance-Monitoring-Report-2016-2017.pdf>
- Pocock, J. (2015). MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF DIVERSITY IN HEALTH: THE NETWORKING AND PARTNERSHIP APPROACH OF QUEBEC’S ENGLISH-SPEAKING MINORITY. *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies/Revue d'études des Cantons-de-l'Est (JETS/RECE)*, (46).
- Oluo, I. (2019). *So you want to talk about race*. Seal Press.
- Diversity of the Black population in Canada: an overview (2019). Statistics Canada. Retrieved from <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/89-657-x/89-657-x2019002-eng.pdf?st=QlknscG9>
- The Toronto Action Plan to Confront Anti-Black Racism (2017). Retrieved from <https://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2017/ex/bgrd/backgroundfile-109127.pdf>
- United Nation’s Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent (2016). Retrieved from <https://www.ohchr.org/en/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=20732&LangID=E>

Special Issue 2019, Article 5 from Series of 5

Collaborative Unity and Existential Responsibility

BLACK ACADEMIC SCHOLARSHIP FUND (BASF) AND EDUCATION - GAINING EQUITY IN EDUCATION AND EMPOWERING BLACK LEARNERS

Sylvia E. A. Piggott*

President, BASF, Montreal

seapiggott@gmail.com

* Corresponding author

ABSTRACT

Aim/Purpose: This article explains the movement for Africentric public schools in Canada, particularly in Montreal, and the controversy it has generated. It is also argued that Black youth would gain significantly from community based educational programs that root their learning more closely in the life, experiences and needs of their community.

Background: The Black Academic Scholarship Fund (BASF) is a non-profit organization that has been active in the community since 1981. Its main goal is to provide scholarships to visible minority students who are actively pursuing a course of study in an accredited institution. The objective is to enhance the economic status of the Black community and provide more opportunities for students to achieve their educational goals. The organization received its letters Patent in March 1996 with the registered Charity No. 89440 6396. This has facilitated its fundraising initiatives. The motivation for this presentation derives from the commitment of the Black Academic Scholarship Fund (BASF) to responsible social action and hence to the principles of “collaborative unity and existential responsibility” espoused by the Black Community Forum of Montreal of which it is a member. The paper presents BASF’s actions and focus on “gaining equity in education and empowering black learners” wherever they are in the system.

Findings and Community Impact: The experiences of the work of BASF and other organizations such as the QBBE and the BSC are that Black learners, in Montreal, benefit from community-based education centered on the experiences of African Canadians. These programs are intended and are resourced essentially by the community. In turn they use this capacity to empower Black youth and their families, and better equip them to navigate public school systems and organize in their communities.

Keywords: Black learners, equity, education, non-profit organization

Accepting Editor: Clarence S. Bayne | Received: February 14, 2019 | Revised: August 25, 2019 | Accepted: November 19, 2019

Cite as: Piggott, S. E.A. (2019). Black Academic Scholarship Fund (BASF) and Education - Gaining Equity In Education And Empowering Black Learners. *International Journal of Community Development & Management Studies*, 3 (sup 1), 97-101, Retrieved from: <http://ijcdms.org/Volume03/v3sup1p97-101Piggott6072.pdf>

(CC BY-NC 4.0) This article is licensed to you under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/). When you copy and redistribute this paper in full or in part, you need to provide proper attribution to it to ensure that others can later locate this work (and to ensure that others do not accuse you of plagiarism). You may (and we encourage you to) adapt, remix, transform, and build upon the material for any non-commercial purposes. This license does not permit you to use this material for commercial purposes.

BACKGROUND

The Black Academic Scholarship Fund (BASF) is a non-profit organization that has been active in the community since 1981. Its main goal is to provide scholarships to visible minority students who are actively pursuing a course of study in an accredited institution. The objective is to enhance the economic status of the Black community and provide more opportunities for students to achieve their educational goals. The organization received its letters Patent in March 1996 with the registered Charity No. 89440 6396. This facilitates the provision of tax receipts to contributors to the funds. Research done by Rosalind Hampton (Hampton, 2010), "*Black learners in Canada*", is an important reference which describes some of the key aspects of how Black education is articulated in Canada as a whole and with specific reference to Afrocentric movement in Montreal in the nineties. Using Rosalind Hampton's work as background information, BASF chose to focus on two aspects of education in Canada, namely, "*Gaining equity in education and empowering black learners*". As a small organization we decided to focus on those areas where we think we can make a difference. So we have put aside all the negatives, stereotyping, blame, cultural differences and ideological arguments that separate us into different linguistic school spaces and focus our energy into supporting our students at all levels and places in continuing their education, because BASF believes that "*Education is the key to success*".

Thus the motivation for this presentation derives from the commitment of the Black Academic Scholarship Fund (BASF) responsible social action and hence to the principles of "collaborative unity and existential responsibility" espoused by the Black Community Forum of Montreal of which it is a member. The BASF has been specializing in Education and development since 1981. It evolved out of the activism of a group of Montreal Black business persons and professionals. As a member of the Black Community Forum we were invited to present a report on our activities pursuant to the following purposes: the provision of assistance and scholarships to visible minority students who are actively pursuing a course of study in an accredited institution; and the organization's long-term community objective. Part of that is to enhance the economic status of the Black community by providing more opportunities for students to achieve their educational goals, and helping to sustain the vitality of the Black Community of Quebec. This article is intended to provide information in support of the central proposition for this conference series of IJCDMS that Black educators in the Black Community of Montreal acted effectively to reduce the gaps they observed in the education of Black youth; that they engaged in identifying the causes of these gaps and took action to remedy the problem.

A REVIEW OF THE EXPERIENCES AND PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK LEARNERS

For the purposes of this presentation we use a review of case studies to capture the sense of alienation felt by Black learners in the system and to underscore the attitudes that inform the perceptions and expectations held in the education system about Black learners. In the literature review that follows we drew heavily on a qualitative case study done by Professor Rosalind Hampton "*Black learners in Canada*" (Hampton, 2010). The study examines the movement and reasons for Afrocentric public schools in Canada, particularly in Montreal. She argues that Black youth would gain significantly from community based educational programs that root their learning more closely in the life, experiences and needs of their community. Below are some quotes from Hampton's study that will help the reader to understand the mind set of individuals and institutions as they contemplate Black learners in Montreal and across Canada:

REVIEW OF SOURCES FROM AND THE BLACK LEARNERS ARTICLE

Hampton survey of studies conducted by Professor George Dei of OISE, the research and recommendations of the African Canadian Working Group in 1992, the Royal Commission on Learning in 1994 and the drug abuse prevention program of the Department of Public Health (1993) revealed three primary concerns expressed in the students' narratives: differential treatment because of their race, the lack of Black and African-Canadian history and culture in the curriculum, and the absence of Black teachers. "African-Canadian secondary school students were dropping out of the system because they felt a sense of racial and cultural alienation and marginalization". Hampton states that,

"Reports by Black students of feelings of alienation and of a lack of support were underscored by the fact that most teachers interviewed by George Dei of OISE of Toronto University and his colleagues failed to recognize any problems in the educational system and, instead, identified factors within the students' characters, the characters of the students' families or the students' earlier educational experiences. A prominent feature of the teachers' responses was the construction of drop-outs as socially and academically deficient in their families, their values and their attitudes towards education".

"The Canadian Association for Free Expression (CAFE), CAFE, a 'non-profit educational organization that was incorporated in the Province of Ontario in 1981, and later in Alberta', accused the TDSB of being 'punch drunk on minorities and suggested that the cause of 'serious Negro underachievement in Toronto schools' is the 'demonstrably lower Negro IQ'".

The impact of systemic discrimination and racist perceptions of the nature and intellectual capability of Black are reflected in the economic status of blacks. The Census data and demographic studies of Black in Montreal show that:

"Even Black families who have been in Québec for multiple generations face an unemployment rate and a proportion of low-income households more than double those of the general population. Nearly half of Québec's Black youth drop out of high school. A 2004 a study by professor Marie Mc Andrew et al study demonstrated that a group of Black students in Québec who started high school between 1994 and 1996 had a 51.8 per cent graduation rate, compared to 69 per cent for the population as a whole.⁴ The Steering Committee for an Afrocentric School in Montreal was formed early in 2008 by concerned members of the Black community. In this tradition, community-based education is the practice of eliciting human potential and agency, engaging learners on a personal level, and promoting their overall intellectual and social development."

Hampton concludes that for Black learners, particularly in Montreal, community-based education centered on the experiences of African Canadians can empower Black youth and their families, and better equip them to navigate public school systems and organize in their communities. While this review focused mainly on the work covered in the Hampton study for the period following 1990, it should be noted that in the seventies similar concerns about the failure rate of Blacks in the education system, alienation of the Black Youth in the school system, the value of a community-based education were expressed by the Quebec Board of Black Educators. They raised these issues aggressively with the Educators in the English speaking school Boards and CEGEPS demanding change. Their activism became the basis for reforms in the PSBGM that engaged the communities they served directly: the PSBGM Multicultural/ Multiracial policy (Code:CS-13. Community Services Department, Resolution #01-09-25-8.4) and new working relationships with the QBBE, other community educators and organizations, and parents (Bayne and Edina, 1995). In 2009, a research study was conducted by the Black Studies Center in collaboration with the City of Montreal and MEES to evaluate the tutorial and family programs of the QBE in collaboration with EMSB to consider expanded municipal and Provincial funding (Bayne and Williams, 2009).

BASF CONTRIBUTION TO EDUCATION IN THE MONTREAL COMMUNITY

As mentioned before, the BASF objective is focused on “Gaining equity in education and empowering black learners” wherever they are in the system. To accomplish this, the BASF collaborates with other organizations using a networking process. It provides career advice, and offer career counseling services to its clients when needed. The Jackie Robinson International Golf Tournament is one of the major activities hosted by BASF annually to raise funds for the BASF scholarship programs. In addition, there is some sponsorship from members of our community and agencies such as the Black Studies Center. On the average, BASF awards between 8-10 scholarships each September to deserving students for CEGEP, undergraduate, and graduate programs, to accredited institutions. Since the creation of BASF, we have awarded over 250 scholarships, with some outstanding results.

A SIGNIFICANT PARTNERSHIP: BATSHAW YOUTH AND FAMILY CENTERS AND FOUNDATION

Batshaw Youth and Family Centers intervenes with children and families in situations of abuse, neglect, abandonment, and when youth have serious behavioral problems. They are an important community intervenor in the holistic cycle of the development of the child. Most children and youth are being helped in their own homes, while others are entrusted to extended family, placed in foster families or in residential care. Some are adopted. Batshaw Centers serves the English-speaking and Jewish communities on the island of Montreal. Residential care is available to English-speaking youth from other regions of Québec. The Batshaw Youth and Family Centres Foundation support and complement the work of Batshaw Youth and Family Centres. The Foundation’s goal is to provide “pillars” on which futures can be built for youth and families. The Pillar programs support:

- Access to tutoring, therapy, cultural and sports activities
- Activities that teach leadership skills and build confidence
- Skill development programs; material and financial support to help older adolescents with limited or no family assistance prepare for adulthood and independent living
- Scholarships for post-secondary education and job training
- A camp experience in a lakeside setting at Camp Weredale

COLLABORATION: THE BATSHAW -BASF EXCELLENCE AWARD FOR YOUTH

In 2011 Mrs. Sylvia Piggott, President of BASF, expressed the interest of BASF to make one of their scholarship funds of \$1000 available for Batshaw clients starting in 2012. It was agreed that this yearly BASF bursary would be given as an additional Excellence Award to a candidate / recipient of the Lois Daly Bursary award. This scholarship program, called the Lois Daly Scholarship Fund, is intended to promote and encourage continuing education. Funds are made available for youth who are receiving or have received services from Batshaw Youth and Family Centers (and predecessor agencies). In order to qualify for the BASF- Batshaw scholarship the youth would need to meet the following criteria:

- Be or have been a client of Batshaw
- Pursuing a post-secondary education program
- Be in good standing at an accredited educational institution
- Be a member of a visible minority and identify as a member of the Black Community.
- Be a recipient/ applicant for the Lois Daly Scholarship

COLLABORATION WITH THE BLACK STUDIES CENTER CHARITY SCHOLARSHIP FUND

The Black Studies Center Capital Fund has recently made a scholarship of \$2500 available to the BASF for a student who is committed to community development studies renewable on an annual basis. The award will be given for the first time in September of 2019.

RECOMMENDATION

The Black Community needs to be on the Agenda of the city and Provincial governments for adequate funding in order to help the Black students continue their education in institutions of higher learning. Census Data presented in this Conference Series points to the decline in vitality of the English speaking Black community. The research and reviews of Hampton on “Black Learners in Canada” provide some insights into the challenges faced by the Black Community in securing opportunities for the same quality and level of education that the White/European community enjoys. The BASF experience tells us that support of governments, community organizations and parents are the ingredients of a good recipe for success. The community and parent support are present but what is lacking is focused and strategic government support which ensures integration of the Black students into the education system. This also requires teachers with at least basic cultural understanding of the students for whom they are responsible while in the classroom so that no student is left behind. This is a win-win formula for the country, province and the city. The BASF research shows that there exist Community organizations that are qualified and prepared to work with the governments to achieve equity and good results for investments in Black education.

REFERENCE

- Anderson, S. (2009). Africentric schools. *University of Toronto Magazine*.
- Bayne, C. (2009). A Portrait of the Artist as a Deviant: Turn the Switch off on "No Snitching". *Kola*, 21(1), 222-225.
- Bayne, E. and Bayne, C. (1995- revised 2009) The Quebec Board of Black Educators – an Innovator: Etching Educational Success. *National Council of Black Educators of Canada and Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada*. Available at: <https://bscportal.wordpress.com/the-quebec-board-of-black-educators-an-innovator/>
- Census (Statistics Canada 2001). See also: Bayne, C. S. (2019). Special Issue 2019, Article 1 from Series of 5: Community Education and Development: Perspectives on Employment, Employability and Development of English-Speaking Black Minority of Quebec. *International Journal of Community Development and Management Studies*, 3, 79-130.
- Hampton, R. (2010). Black learners in Canada. *Race & Class*, 52(1), 103-110.
- Jenkins, A. (2008, February 18). “Afrocentric+Algebra”(editorial cartoon). *Globe and Mail*, P22
- Mc Andrew, M., Garnett, B., Ledent, J., Ungerleider, C., Adumati-Trache, M., & Ait-Said, R. (2008). La réussite scolaire des élèves issus de l’immigration: une question de classe sociale, de langue ou de culture?. *Éducation et francophonie*, 36(1), 177-196.

SOME FURTHER READINGS

- Floch, W. (2003). Official languages and diversity in Canada. *Canadian and French Perspectives on Diversity*, 57.
- Floch, W., & Pocock, J. (2012). The Socio-economic status of English-speaking Quebec: Those who left and those who stayed. *Decline and prospects of the English-speaking communities of Quebec*, 129-173.
- Livingstone, A. M., & Weinfeld, M. (2017). Black students and high school completion in Quebec and Ontario: A multivariate analysis. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie*, 54(2), 174-197.
- McAndrew, M., & Lamarre, P. (1996). The Integration of ethnic minority students fifteen years after Bill 101: some issues confronting Montreal's French Language Public Schools. *Canadian Ethnic Studies= Etudes Ethniques au Canada*, 28(2), 40.
- Solomon, R. P., Levine-Rasky, C., & Singer, J. (2003). *Teaching for equity and diversity*. University of Toronto Press.