

**Bridging the Gap:
Addressing the Labour Market Barriers
of Black Youth in Canada**

**by
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Abstract

Black youth in Canada experience poor labour market outcomes compared to other Canadian youth. Data shows that Black youth experience a higher unemployment rate, lower employment rate and lower earnings compared to other Canadian youth. Using a literature review, case study analysis and expert interviews, this study identifies key labour market barriers Black youth face and policy options to address them. The barriers identified include socioeconomic, educational and discrimination, both during the job search and during employment. The study makes a case to focus on education and discrimination as the two significant barriers. The options evaluated include using mentorship programs for Black youth in secondary school and in post-secondary institutions, adopting AI technology in the hiring process and initiating workplace solutions such as anti-racism training and mentorship. The study concludes with the recommendation to implement mentorship programs at the secondary and post-secondary level to address the educational barriers Black youth face, which in turn affects their labour market outcomes.

Keywords: Black Youth; Labour Market Outcomes; Canada; Labour Market Barriers

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Glossary

Black	This refers to one of the visible minority groups defined by Statistics Canada in Census 2016 data. The "Black" category includes persons who gave a mark-in response of "Black" only or "Black" and "White" only. This category also includes persons with no mark-in responses who gave a write-in response classified as "Black"
Black Youth/Black Canadian Youth	This combines two definitions, referring to 15-24 years old who self-identify as Black. This includes both Canadian-born and immigrant Black youth.
Visible Minority	This refers to whether a person belongs to a visible minority group as defined by the <i>Employment Equity Act</i> and, if so, the visible minority group to which the person belongs. The <i>Employment Equity Act</i> defines visible minorities as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour". The visible minority population consists mainly of the following groups: South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean and Japanese.
Youth	This refers to the cohort aged 15-24 years old in Census 2016 data

Executive Summary

This study examines the labour market outcomes of Black youth, aged 15-24, in Canada and finds that in 2016, Black youth had a lower employment rate (39.6%) than the Canadian average (51.8%) and one of the lowest among visible minority groups. They also had a higher unemployment rate (24.3%) than the Canadian average (15.5%) and the highest among visible minority groups. Furthermore, Black youth had a lower median annual employment income (\$7517) compared to the Canadian average (\$9938) and the second lowest figure amongst all visible minority groups. To explain these labour market outcomes, the study conducts an extensive literature review to identify key labour market barriers.

Research Findings:

Segregated Job Market

Research demonstrates that racialized Canadians are over represented in precarious, temporary and low paying employment and underrepresented in high paying managerial positions (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Ng & Gagnon, 2020). Black workers including youth are over represented in menial service jobs & under-represented in managerial jobs compared to White counterparts (Darden, 2005; Gariba, 2009).

Discrimination in the Labour Market

Black applicants face a high degree of discrimination when applying for jobs as evidenced by resume audit studies (Henry and Ginzberg, 1985; Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004; Oreopoulos, 2011; Gaddis, 2015) Evaluators' attitudes towards Black applicants also demonstrate racially biased hiring decisions (Stewart & Perlow, 2001). Additionally, employer hostility, negative treatment and racial stereotyping hinders Black youth's access to higher employment and advancement (Gariba, 2009; Este et al., 2011) In particular, negative stereotypes and false racist tropes of Black workers undermine their capabilities in the workplace (Hasford, 2016).

Socio-economic Barriers

Black Canadians have higher poverty rates compared to Whites and face greater housing barriers (Block, 2019; Haan, 2012). Black youth are also more likely to be in the bottom quintile of family income compared to other Canadian youth (Turcotte, 2020)

Educational Barriers

Black youth have lower post-secondary education (PSE) graduation rates compared to non-Black. Accounting for socioeconomic and family characteristics does not minimize the education gap (Turcotte, 2020). Black youth face racialized barriers in the secondary school system including discrimination, negative racial stereotyping, racially-biased curriculum, low teacher expectations and alienating school environment (Codjoe, 2011). Low teacher expectations results in differential treatment, lower expectations of academic success, doubting of academic capabilities and lack of encouragement of pursuing higher education (Codjoe, 2011).

Methodology

Based on the literature review findings, the study makes the case to focus on education and discrimination as the two significant barriers to Black youth seeking meaningful employment. The link between higher educational attainment and higher wages is heavily examined in academic literature (Hansen, 2007; Aden 2017). Furthermore, race-based discrimination both during the job search and during employment reduces the capacity for Black youth to integrate and succeed in the labour market. Once the labour market barriers were identified, the study then conducts a case study analysis of three Canadian provinces – Ontario, Quebec and Alberta and one international case, the United States to identify policy options. Next, qualitative interviews were conducted with three subject-matter experts. The main limitations of this study are that Black youth themselves were not able to participate for interviews due to ethnical constraints and additional stakeholders could not particulate due to limited availability or interest.

Policy Options

1. Education Supports – Secondary School Mentorship Programs: This option establishes targeted mentorship programs for Black youth at the secondary

school level. The objective of this option is to ensure Black youth's successful completion of secondary school and to facilitate entry to post-secondary.

2. Education Supports – Post-Secondary Mentorship Programs: This policy option calls for mentorship programs for Black youth at the post-secondary level to mitigate the trend of lower PSE graduation rates. This first component of this option is to establish mentorship programs between post-secondary institutions and secondary school Black students. The second component of this option is to maintain mentorship relationships for the duration of the student's time at the post-secondary institution.
3. Workplace Supports – Artificial Intelligence Technology. This policy option calls for employers to adopt the use of AI technology in their screening and hiring process to address the hiring bias racialized job-seekers face.
4. Workplace Supports – Mentorship & Anti-Racism Training. The policy option includes two components. The first component creates mentorship programs for Black youth in the workplace. The second component mandates anti-racism training for employees and employers in the workplace. The objective of these measures is to mitigate the discrimination Black youth experience during employment.

Recommendation

The study evaluates these policy options against specific evaluation considerations including development, effectiveness, cost and administrative complexity. Based on the policy evaluation, the study presents two key recommendations. First, it recommends the use of mentorship programs at secondary schools for Black youth. This option has the highest rating for a majority of the criteria. It addresses a significant number of educational barriers Black youth face and requires minimal costs and administrative complexity. In addition, this study also recommends the implementation of option two. The trend of lower PSE graduation rates amongst Black youth can be mitigated by providing mentorship programs at the post-secondary level. Collectively, both option one and two have would have a profound impact to the educational barriers Black youth face. The case study analysis demonstrates that mentorship increases graduation rates at the secondary and post-secondary level. Increasing graduation rates

amongst Black youth would be an important step to improve their labour market experience as higher educational attainment is equated to improved labour market outcomes. Moreover, mentorship programs mitigate the educational barriers identified in this study including the effects of negative racial stereotyping, lack of representation and low teacher expectations. Additionally, mentorship provides important academic and career guidance. These options paired together would profoundly impact the educational outcomes of Black youth, which in turn would affect their career trajectories in the labour market.

Chapter 1.

Introduction

In the last 20 years, the Black population in Canada has nearly doubled in size, from 573,860 persons in 1996 to 1,198,540 persons in 2016 according to Census data. The Black population also accounts for 3.5% of Canada's total population and 15.6% of visible minorities. Moreover, Black Canadians are the third largest visible minority group in Canada. According to the population projections, the Black population could represent 5.0% to 5.6% of Canada's population by 2036 (Morency et al., 2017).

The Black population in Canada is clearly growing and is increasingly a younger and diverse cohort. In 2016, the median age for the Black population was 29.6 years, while it was 40.7 years for the total population in Canada. Furthermore, among youth aged 15-24 years old, Black youth are also the largest visible minority group with a population of 198,610 (Statistics, Canada, 2016a). A majority (51.6%) of the Black population was comprised of women in 2016 as well (Morency et al., 2017). Moreover, 44.3% of the Black population is Canadian citizen by birth, while 52.7% were immigrants and 3.7% were non-permanent residents (Morency et al., 2017). In terms of immigrant demographics, more than half (56.7%) of the Black immigrants who landed before 1981 were born in Jamaica and Haiti while Black immigrants admitted between 2011 and 2016 were from Haiti, Nigeria, Jamaica, Cameroon and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Morency et al., 2017).

Given the increasing prominence of this cohort and the lifelong impacts that can follow, it is imperative we understand the factors that influence their labour market experiences. When we examine Census data from 2016, we learn that Black youth in particular have divergent trends compared to other Canadians (Chapter 2). In particular, Black youth experience racial gaps in labour market outcomes with a higher unemployment rate, a lower employment rate and lower earnings compared to other Canadian youth (Chapter 2). Identifying explanatory factors for these trends and how they impact the labour market outcomes of Black youth is important to minimize the segregated job market of Black youth in Canada. The persistence of these trends means Black youth in Canada are being left behind and may suffer long term adverse

consequences. To ensure economic prosperity, analysis of this issue is required to ensure Black youth are better integrated in the labour market.

The next section in Chapter 2 provides a visual and written narrative of key labour market indicators including unemployment and employment rates and earnings of Black youth in Canada. Chapter 3 identifies the policy problem and key stakeholders. Chapter 4 outlines the methodologies used, and Chapter 5 includes a literature review of labour market barriers Black youth face. A case study analysis is conducted in Chapter 6 and interview findings with experts is outlined in Chapter 7. Chapter 8 identifies the policy options described from earlier chapters and Chapter 9 outlines the criteria and measures for policy analysis. The evaluation of policy options is presented in Chapter 10 including recommendations and implementation considerations and the conclusion is outlined in Chapter 11.

Chapter 2.

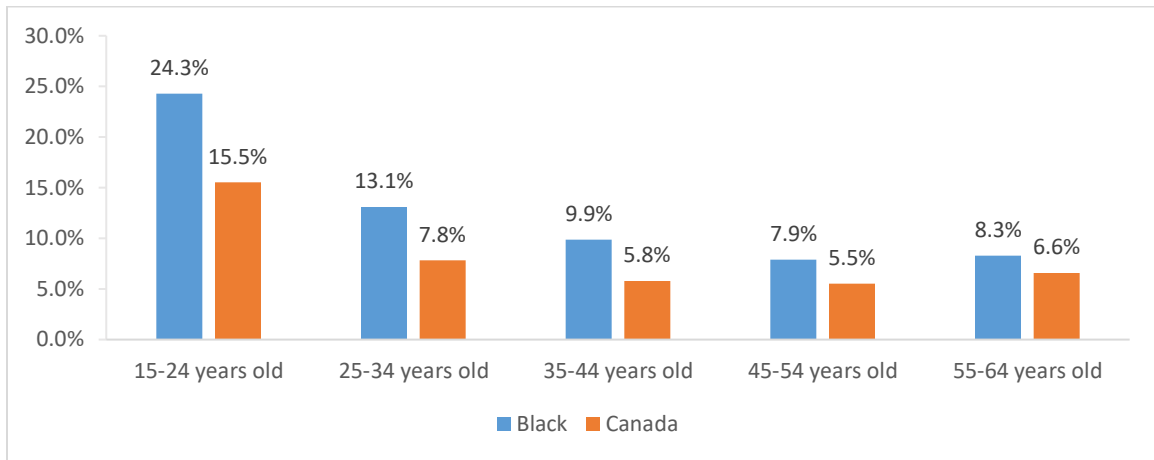
The Labour Market Experience of Black Youth in Canada

This chapter presents the labour market experience of Black youth in Canada. It includes a summary of labour market indicators such as unemployment, employment rates and median employment income for this group. It also includes labour market outcomes across all age cohorts and educational outcomes. It is important to note that the data for these indicators is taken from Census 2016 because it includes information about the visible minority population. While Statistics Canada does provide monthly labour market updates in the Labor Force Survey (LFS), the LFS excluded labour market conditions of visible minorities until July 2020 (Labour Force Survey, 2020). Examining the labour market data of LFS from July 2020 onwards would not be a reliable period of time to determine the labour market conditions of visible minority groups as the figures would be heavily influenced by the COVID-19 pandemic. Additionally, the time period from July 2020 to Spring 2021, when this capstone is published, is too short of a period for analysis. This capstone recognizes that the labour market outcomes described in the next section may not be the most recent but Census 2016 at this time, remains the most thorough source of understanding the labour market conditions of visible minority groups like Black Canadians. Furthermore, this issue highlights the continued gaps in gathering and collecting race-based data. More on the topic will be discussed in the later sections.

2.1. Labour Market Outcomes

Census 2016 highlight key labour market outcomes for Blacks in Canada. Across all age cohorts, the Black population has higher unemployment rates as observed in Figure 1. For the working age group (25-64 years old), the unemployment rate overall was 10.1% for the Black population compared to the Canadian average of 6.4% for the same cohort. Moreover, Black youth (15-24 years old) have a higher unemployment rate (24.3%) compared to Canadian youth (15.5%). If we breakdown the youth cohort, these trends persist. Amongst 15-19 year old's, Black youth face a 30% unemployment rate compared to 18.2% for Canadian youth and amongst 20-24 year old's, Black youth face a 23% unemployment rate compared to 15.8% for Canadian youth.

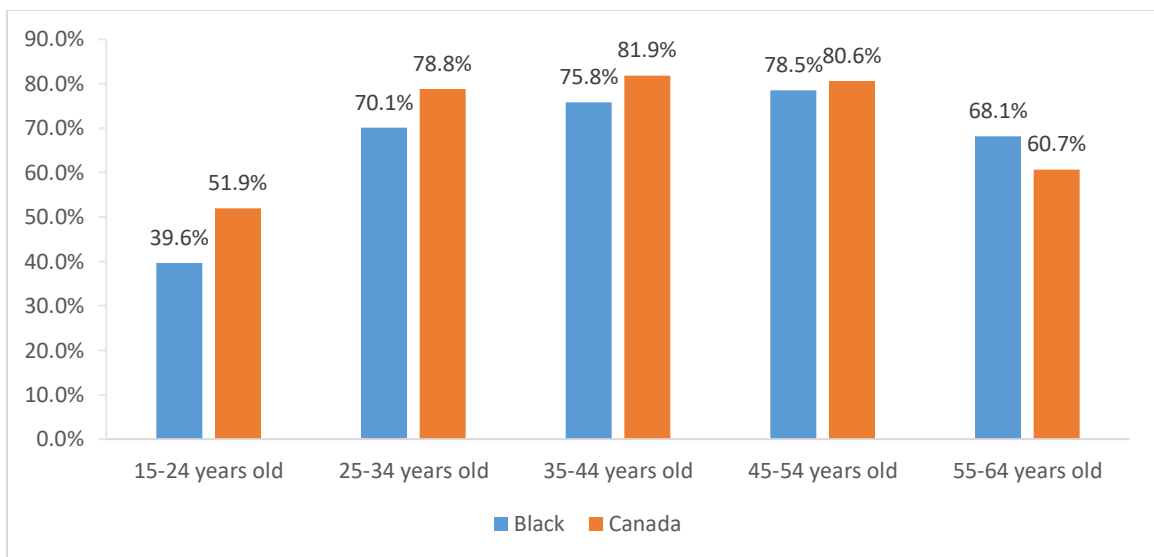
Figure 1: Unemployment rate of Black and Canadian population by age group, 2016



Source: Statistics Canada, Census (2016), Catalogue #: 98-400-X2016210.

Except for older workers (55-64), Blacks of all other age groups also have lower employment rates than the Canadian average as seen in Figure 2. For the working age group (25-64 years old), the employment rate overall was 73.6% for the Black population compared to the Canadian average of 75.4% for the same cohort. Moreover, Black youth (15-24 years old) have a lower employment rate (39.6%) compared to Canadian youth (51.9%). Furthermore, amongst 15-19 year old's, Black youth face a 36.7% employment rate compared to 52.1% for Canadian youth and amongst 20-24 year old's, Black youth face a 54.1% employment rate compared to 62.8% for Canadian youth.

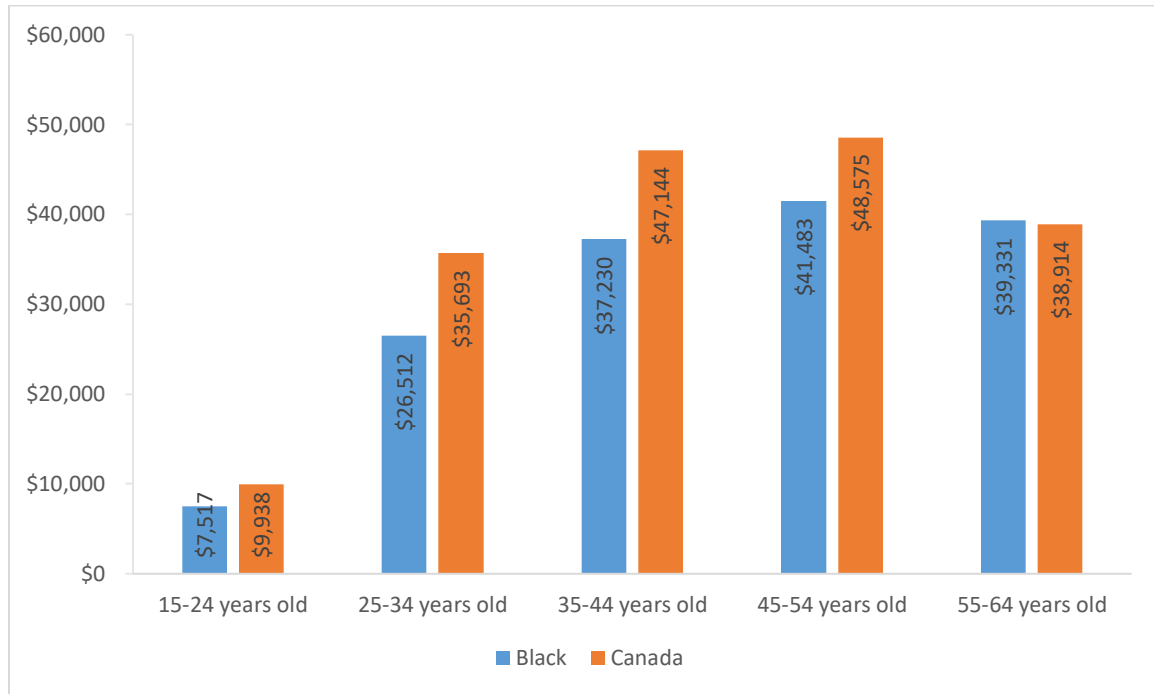
Figure 2: Employment rate of Blacks and Canadian population by age group, 2016



Source: Statistics Canada, Census (2016), Catalogue #: 98-400-X2016210.

An earnings gap exists for all age cohorts except older Black workers (55-64 years old) as seen in Figure 3. For the working age cohort (25-64 years old), median annual employment was in \$35,008 for the Black population in 2016 compared to Canadian average of \$42,374 for the same cohort. Additionally, Black youth (15-24 years old) earned \$7517 compared to \$9938 for Canadian youth.

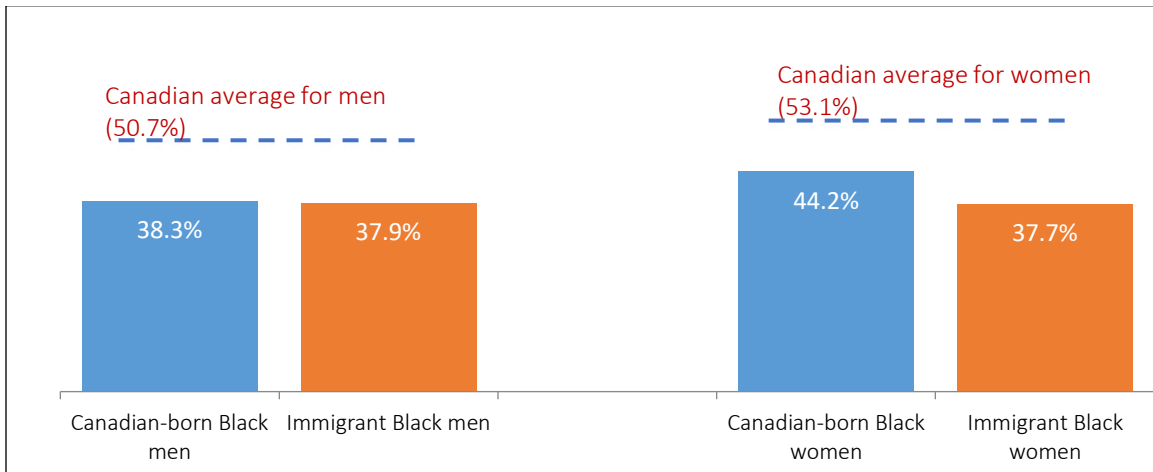
Figure 3: Median annual employment income, Black Canadians and Canadians by age group, 2016



Source: Statistics Canada, Census (2016), Catalogue #: 98-400-X2016210.

If we consider the racial differences of these labour market indicators in the 15-24 cohort, we notice that they persist across gender and immigrant status. For example, the employment rate (15-24 years old) of Canadian-born Black men (38.3%) and Immigrant Black men (37.9%) is lower than the Canadian average for all men (50.7%) in the same age cohort. Moreover, the employment rate of Canadian-born Black women (44.2%) and Immigrant Black women (37.7%) is lower than the Canadian average for women (53.1%). Figure 4 illustrates these key trends.

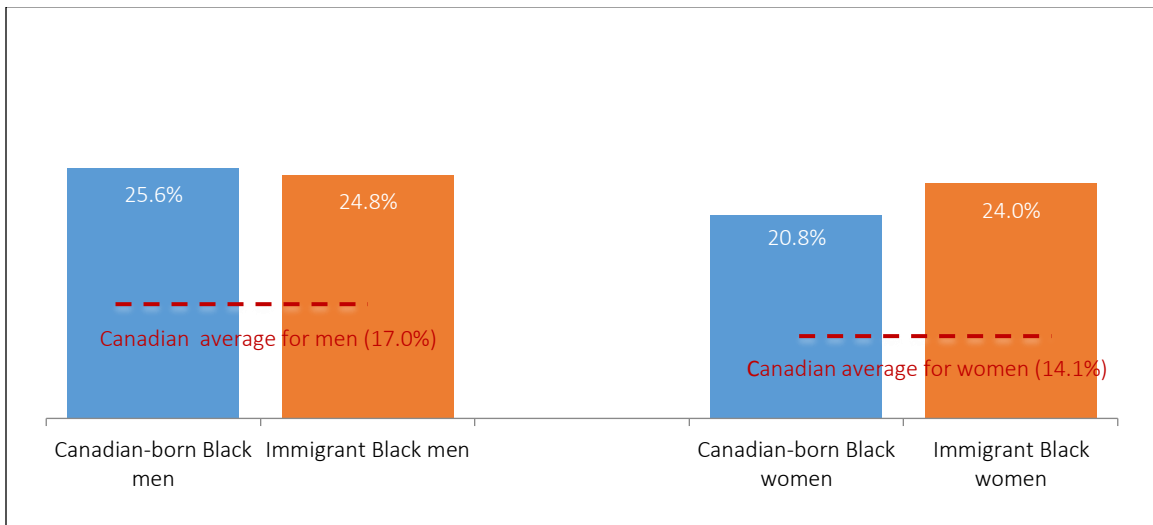
Figure 4: Employment rate (aged 15-24), 2016



Source: Statistics Canada, Census (2016), Catalogue #: 98-400-X2016286.

The unemployment rate of this age group exemplifies a racial difference across gender and immigrant status. For example, the unemployment rate (15-24 years old) of Canadian-born Black men (25.6%) and Immigrant Black men (24.8%) is higher than the Canadian average for men (17.0%). Moreover, the unemployment rate of Canadian-born Black women (20.8%) and Immigrant Black women (24.0%) is higher than the Canadian average for women (14.1%) in this age cohort. Figure 5 illustrates these key trends.

Figure 5: Unemployment rate (aged 15-24), 2016

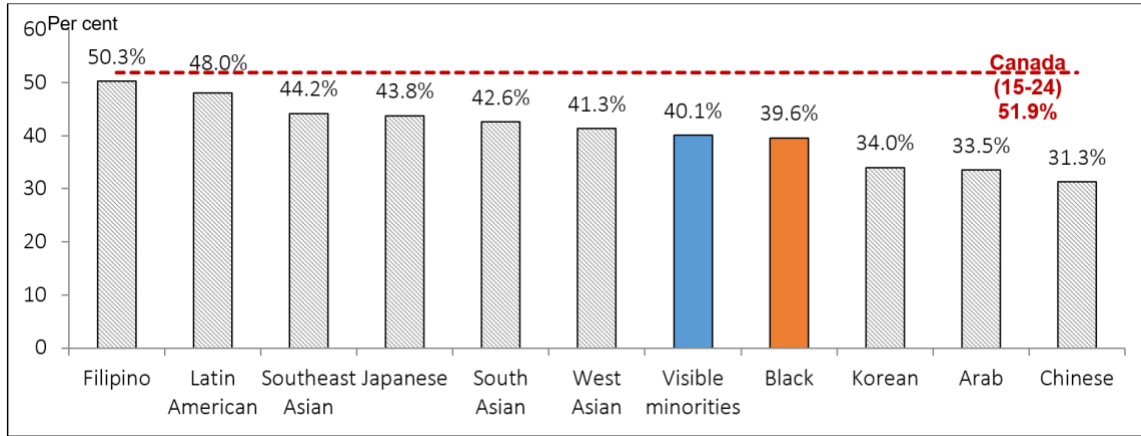


Source: Statistics Canada, Census (2016), Catalogue #: 98-400-X2016286.

Furthermore, the employment rate of Black youth is amongst the lowest in comparison to other visible minority youth. In 2016, Black youth had the fourth lowest

employment rate (39.6%). The employment rate of Black youth was also lower than the rate for all visible minority youth (40.1%).

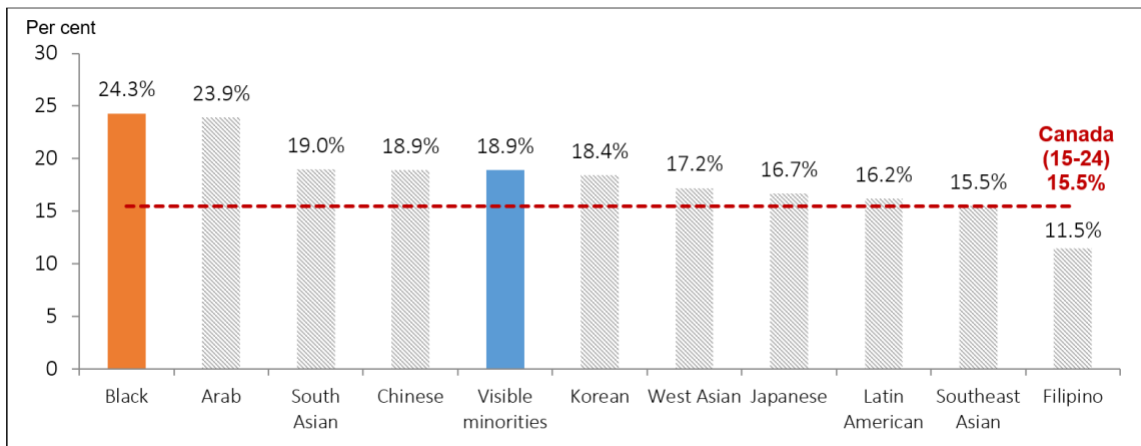
Figure 6: Employment rate of visible minority youth (15-24), 2016



Source: Statistics Canada, Census (2016), Catalogue #: 98-400-X2016286.

The unemployment rate of Black youth is also the highest amongst all visible minority youth as observed in Figure 7. Moreover, the unemployment rate of Black youth (24.3%) is higher than the unemployment rate of all visible minority youth (18.9%)

Figure 7: Unemployment rate of visible minority youth (15-24), 2016



Source: Statistics Canada, Census (2016), Catalogue #: 98-400-X2016286.

An earnings gap also persists amongst Black youth and their counterparts as observed in Figure 8. Black youth also had the second lowest figure amongst all visible minority groups.

Figure 8: Median annual employment income of visible minority youth, (15-24), 2016



Source: Statistics Canada, Census (2016), Catalogue #: 98-400-X2016210.

Chapter 3.

Policy Problem and Stakeholders

The data covered in Chapter 2 from the 2016 Census illustrates that Black youth (15-24 years old) in Canada have had poorer labour market outcomes compared to non-Black youth, with a lower employment rate (39.6%) compared to non-Black youth (51.7%) and a higher unemployment rate (24.3%) compared to non-Black youth (15.5%). These trends are persistent across gender (men and women) and immigrant status (Canadian-born vs. immigrant). Furthermore, Black youth experience an earnings gap, with a median annual employment income of \$7517 compared to the Canadian average of \$9938. Identifying the factors that impact the labour market experiences of Black youth is important to improve not only their economic prospects but also their overall wellbeing as having stable employment and earning a living wage is an essential aspect of overall well-being. Consequences of unstable employment and low earnings for youth leads to long-term labour market risks, unfavorable career trajectories and social exclusion (Bäckman & Nilsson, 2016). Thus, the goal of this study is to assess policy options to identify means to improve the integration of Black youth in the labour market and thus improve their well-being both in short and longer term.

The primary stakeholders are Black youth, aged 15-24 years old in Canada. Additional stakeholders that affect labour market outcomes of Black youth include parents of Black youth who may have a socioeconomic influence on these outcomes and educators both in the secondary school and post-secondary level who may shape the educational experiences of Black youth and their career trajectories. It is also important to consider employers in the labour market and how their hiring and retention practices affect Black youth. Lastly, local, provincial and federal governments would be additional stakeholders whose policies could impact labour market integration of Black youth.

Chapter 4.

Methodology

The research objective is to understand the key labour market barriers facing Black youth in Canada and identify the potential policy options to ensure greater labour market integration. For this study, three methodologies were used. The primary methodology was a review of existing academic literature that includes quantitative and qualitative studies, grey literature and government sources to better understand the labour market barriers of Black youth in Canada. The secondary methodology was a multiple case study analysis to examine policies and programs in other jurisdictions and identify policy prescriptions. The third methodology was a series of qualitative interviews with subject matter experts and the fourth was a policy analysis of the findings from the previous methodologies and an evaluation of policy options.

4.1. Methodological Considerations

Consideration was given to conducting a quantitative survey or a qualitative set of interviews focused on Black youth aged 15-24 years old. However, these methods were not taken for two reasons. Firstly, that there was a high level of ethical risk in interviewing participants below the age of 18. Additionally, the literature review includes a variety of quantitative and qualitative studies in which the target cohort of Black youth are interviewed and surveyed in great detail to identify their labour market barriers and experiences.

4.2. Literature Review

The purpose of the literature review was to identify labour market barriers faced by Black youth that could explain the poorer outcomes illustrated in Chapter 2. A summary of the findings is provided as seen in Figure 11 in Section 5.3 of Chapter 5. The literature review identified that educational barriers were a key labour market barrier for Black youth, which informs the evaluation framework of the next methodology.

4.3. Case Study Analysis

The purpose of the case studies was to understand how the policy problem is framed in other regions and to identify policy prescriptions that may help Black youth overcome labour market barriers, including education. The scan was led by the evaluation framework seen in Table 1.

For the case studies, three provincial jurisdictions were examined: Ontario, Québec and Alberta. In addition, one international jurisdiction was also examined: United States. While the policy problem is framed at the federal level in Canada, the case studies look at the problem under a provincial lens because education is provincially managed. Ontario was chosen because it is home to the largest Black population in Canada (Maheux and Do, 2019). Québec was chosen because it is home to the second largest Black population in Canada (Maheux and Do, 2019). Alberta was chosen because it represents the Prairie region, which accounts for the fastest growing Black population in Canada (Maheux and Do, 2019). Finally, the United States was chosen because of its history of education policy initiatives for marginalized groups. These regions have various measures that address the labour market barriers Black youth face.

Table 1: Case Studies Evaluation Framework

Policy Context	
Labour Market Outcomes	What is the unemployment and employment rates of Black youth, aged (15-24) or comparable, in this jurisdiction?
Policy Characteristics	
Policy/program structure	How is the policy/program structured? What are the key features?
Actors/institutions	What actors or institutions are involved?
Policy Outcomes	
Impacts	What are the impacts of the policy/program? What labour market barriers does it address – education or discrimination? How does it/how could it help Black youth overcome these labour market barriers?

4.4. Interviews

The study also included three qualitative interviews with experts and key stakeholders, which were conducted in January and February 2021. The interviews were transcribed, coded and analyzed with NVIVO software.

4.4.1. Sample Framework

Participant recruitment was targeted to stakeholders who worked with Black youth, were familiar with their labour market or educational experiences, or, had worked closely with the topic in the past, and/or were an expert in the fields of labour market economics, human resources or education. Specific stakeholder groups contacted were educational advocacy groups, academics, government officials, employer and human resource professionals. Only three out of the four groups were interviewed as part of this study due to limited availability and interest from stakeholders.

4.5. Policy Analysis

The final phase of the study included a policy analysis that examined the findings from the literature review, case studies and interviews. The analysis incorporated an evaluation of policy options with recommendation(s).

4.6. Limitations

As discussed in Chapter 2, the lack of up to date race-based data presents limitations in defining the policy problem. The labour market outcomes presented in Chapter 2 are done with Census 2016 data as there are no recent figures. Additionally, this study excluded direct engagement with the targeted cohort, Black youth, due to ethical considerations. Other key stakeholders that were not represented in the interviews was employers and educators. Lastly, the interview sample size was limited to three due to time restraints. Thus, the interviews are not entirely representative of a broad sample population. It is important to factor these limitations when interpreting the findings of the study.

Chapter 5.

Literature Review

This chapter presents the summary of labour market barriers facing Black youth in Canada. It is important to note that there is a lack of race-based data in the academic literature pertaining to the specific labour market barriers Black Canadians and specifically Black youth face. Thus, this section draws on broad barriers faced by racialized groups in Canada and draws focus to the Black experience where the literature is available.

5.1. Labour Market Barriers

Racialized¹ Canadians face occupational segregation across racial lines in the labour market meaning they are disproportionately represented in particular segments of the labour market. Block and Galabuzi's (2011) research shows that racialized Canadians are more likely to engage in precarious, temporary and low paying employment, such as janitorial services and administrative support work in call centres, compared to non-racialized Canadians. The over-representation of visible minorities in low paying occupations is a clear pattern also observed in a recent study. Ng and Gagnon's (2020) work confirms their under-representation in high paying occupations such as management positions is not only evident but when visible minorities are in these high paying positions, they make less than their non-visible minority counterparts. Furthermore, Chen and Hou (2019) found that second generation Black workers had the second lowest percentage (19.1%) of workers in high skill occupations, amongst all visible minority groups in Canada. Moreover, Darden (2005) examined the level of occupational achievement for the Black labour force in Toronto and found that Black males and females were overrepresented in menial and service jobs and under-represented in managerial jobs compared to their White counterparts.

¹ Block and Galabuzi use the term "racialized" to refer to visible minority groups. Their report uses data from the 2006 Censuses on visible minority status. Visible minority is defined as persons, other than Indigenous peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.

One barrier persistent in the labour market is discrimination on the basis of race. Employment discrimination based on racial background is noted in academic literature (Henry and Ginzberg 1985). Henry and Ginzberg's (1985) study looked at racial discrimination in Toronto's labour market and included two forms of field testing, a direct-in person method and over the telephone. For the direct-in person portion, White and Black applicants with similar educational and employment histories, were sent to apply to 201 jobs in person that had been listed on classified sections of a Toronto newspaper. Applicants were given similar resumes and the only distinction between them was their race. The results of the in-person method revealed that preference for White applicants occurred in a quarter of all job contacts from employers. Additionally, of the 36 job offers received, White applicants received 27 while Black applicants only received 9. There were also differences in how applicants were treated with Black applicants being treated rudely and with hostility in 38 cases (19%) of the sample while there was no hostility or rude behavior noted against White applicants. These results were further exemplified in the telephone portion of the study in which the researchers tested to see if job applicants' non Canadian accents and ethnic sounding names would be treated differently by employers. The results demonstrated that 52% of employers who were contacted discriminated against callers of racial minority groups by first, telling them that the job was no longer available while telling White applicants it was and second, by screening them out of the opportunities when White applicants were not screened at all.

Henry and Ginzberg's findings from 1985 are replicated in more recent resume audit studies as well. Resumes with minority distinctions such as Black or Asian names, receive fewer callback from employers compared to equivalent resumes with non-racialized names (Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004; Oreopoulos, 2011; Gaddis, 2015). Oreopoulos (2011) sent resumes to job postings in Toronto and found that resumes with English sounding names were 39 percent more likely to receive callbacks than resumes with racialized names such Indian, Pakistani, or Chinese names. Furthermore, another meta-analysis of 97 field experiments across nine countries in Europe and North America found that in all countries, non-White applicants suffered significant disadvantage in receiving callbacks for interviews compared with White natives with similar job relevant characteristics (Quillian et al, 2019). The analysis also showed that Canada had a higher discrimination rate compared to the United States (Quillian et al., 2019). Additionally, Stewart and Perlow (2001) examined applicant race, job status, and

the evaluator's attitudes toward Black candidates as possible predictors of unfair selection decisions. Results showed that racially biased evaluators reported greater confidence in their hiring decision for Black applicants for low status job positions such as janitors than for White applicants (Stewart and Perlow, 2001). The findings also showed that biased evaluators reported greater confidence in their hiring decision when choosing White applicants for high status jobs than for Black applicants (Stewart and Perlow, 2001). Considering the importance of hiring in securing employment, the evidence of this discrimination highlights the extent of labour market inequities that visible minorities face prior to even entering the labour force (Pager, 2007).

Experiences upon entry into the workforce mirror similar patterns of discrimination. In one survey of 5000 employees in Canada, one third of respondents reported facing persistent barriers to recruitment, retention and advancement (DasGupta et al., 2019). In another survey of over 3000 participants in Canada, 54% of Black Canadians reported ongoing personal experiences with discrimination, and 38% of all respondents indicated that location of the discrimination was in their workplace (Neuman, 2019).

Furthermore, Este et al. (2011) used both a survey and interviews to examine the experiences of Black Canadians in Toronto, Calgary and Halifax in the workplace. Findings demonstrate that Black Canadians experienced various forms of racism in their workplace, including having their efforts minimized, not getting credit for work and not being taken seriously. Participants also described how they had to fight against stereotypes that painted Blacks as lacking a work ethic or being unintelligent, often resulting in feelings of being overworked. Other participants highlight that options for advancements were restricted by policies and practices and they felt trapped in entry level and low paying jobs. Being denied advancement opportunities, many participants reported feeling devalued and inferior. In one case, a participant with two advanced degrees (PhDs) described how his employer used his qualifications to secure large contracts but refused the participant a salary level mirroring his skills and qualifications. Participants also described that these experiences were exacerbated when senior leadership ignored issues of racism and failed to condone unfair treatment of employees. Collectively, these incidents of unfair treatment reflect institutional racism in the workplace when established norms and practices of the organization produce differential treatment and outcomes for racialized groups (Este et al., 2011).

The labour market experiences of racialized groups is also shaped by their experiences in youth. Gariba (2009) interviewed and surveyed Black youth aged 19-24 years old from the Ghanaian and Somali communities in the Greater Toronto Area to examine disparities they experienced in the labour market. Gariba's (2009) findings exemplified that Black youth reported working in largely minimum wage menial jobs, predominately part time and in areas such as fast food restaurants, grocery stores, warehouses and call centres. Furthermore, participants noted discrimination as a major explanatory reason for a lack of equitable access to higher employment citing employers' rude treatment based on negative stereotyping (Gariba, 2009). The rude treatment in the job search was previously noted in Henry and Ginzberg's (1985) work as well.

Similar to Gariba, Hasford (2016) interviewed 24 Black Canadians aged 16-35 in the Greater Toronto Area to better understand their labour market experiences. Participants described how racial characterizations and negative stereotyping limited their capacities as young Black workers. Hasford highlighted specific tropes including that of the "scary black person" where an angry or violent Black youth is prone to confrontation or criminality. Another trope is that of the "underachiever" which frames Black workers as lazy and incompetent. Another characterization is that of being the "only Black person" in a workplace which creates a heightened awareness of race and a greater felt pressure to perform for young Black workers. Furthermore, these narratives also shape the participants' interpersonal relations in the workplace. Many participants told narratives of perceived exclusion from employment, based upon "underachiever" racial characterizations. Participants also described cases of unfair discipline through excessive punishment for minor mistakes or inequitable administration of workplace rules. To many participants, these incidents exemplified the "underachiever" characterizations in which employers exaggerated the perceived incompetence of Black workers. Collectively these experiences shaped by racial characterization demonstrate how dominant cultural narratives influence the lived experiences of racism among young Black Canadians in the workplace.

Referring back to Gariba's work (2009), Black youth in his study were asked questions about their relationships with parents, schools and community organizations and how these relationships affected their labour market success. Participants noted that these actors and institutions could contribute to their labour market success if greater

focus was given to specific barriers youth experience in accessing the labour market. However, participants noted that these actors and institutions were not adequately equipped to do so, citing a lack of community resources like job information centres, employment preparation programs and employment counsellors in assisting youth. When asked about community based solutions, participants called for community leaders to work closely with Black youth in designing programs and activities, establishing community centres focused on their identity and needs and forging links with other bodies in the city that could help youth network with employers and organizations to improve labour market access. Participants also perceived networking as an effective tool to help them find employment information and opportunities. In regards to parental influence, participants noted parental support as being important in their job search, citing a desire for parents to show more interest and efforts in their children's career aspirations. Furthermore, participants noted that while schools provided a baseline knowledge of career planning, the amount of support and guidance targeted for visible minority youth was lacking. Participants believed the school system itself and their experiences navigating it showed that it was an inflexible in improving their employment prospects. Lastly, participants noted an insufficient coordination among schools, government and community based organizations and employers in helping them find employment.

5.2. Socio-Economic and Education Barriers

The labour market outcomes of Black youth may also be shaped by a range of additional barriers including socioeconomic factors, family dynamics and in particular, barriers to education (Sierra et al., 2018). The next section highlights the experiences of Black youth in these areas.

5.2.1. Socio-economic Factors

Using Census data, Turcotte (2020) found that Black youth were at an economic disadvantage compared to other Canadian youth. Research highlights parental education levels as an important predictor of children's educational and labour outcomes (Dubow et al., 2009; Davis-Kean, 2005; Haverman & Wolfe, 1995). Turcotte (2020) found that 23% of Black children lived with a parent whose highest level of education

was a university degree compared to 30% to other Canadian youth. Additionally, Black youth (37%) were almost twice as likely to be in the bottom quintile of family income compared to other Canadian youth (20%) (Turcotte, 2020). Block (2019) also found that 67% of Black Canadians were in the bottom half of after-tax adjusted family income deciles in 2015 compared to 60% for all other visible minority groups and 47% for non-visible minority groups. Furthermore, while 67% of first generation Black Canadians were in the bottom half of family income deciles, 67% of second generation were also in this category as were 66% of Black Canadians who have been in Canada for three generations or longer (Block, 2019). Moreover, the low-income (LIM) is another measure of inequality that capture the share of the population living on an income that is less than half of the median income of the total population and in 2015, Black Canadians had poverty rates of 23.9% below the LIM (after tax) in 2015, compared to 12.2% of non-visible minority Canadians (Block, 2019). This persistent trend of poverty across generations is an economic barrier for Black youth, and a trend noted by the Black community during consultations for the federal government's Canadian Poverty Reduction Strategy (ESDC, 2018).

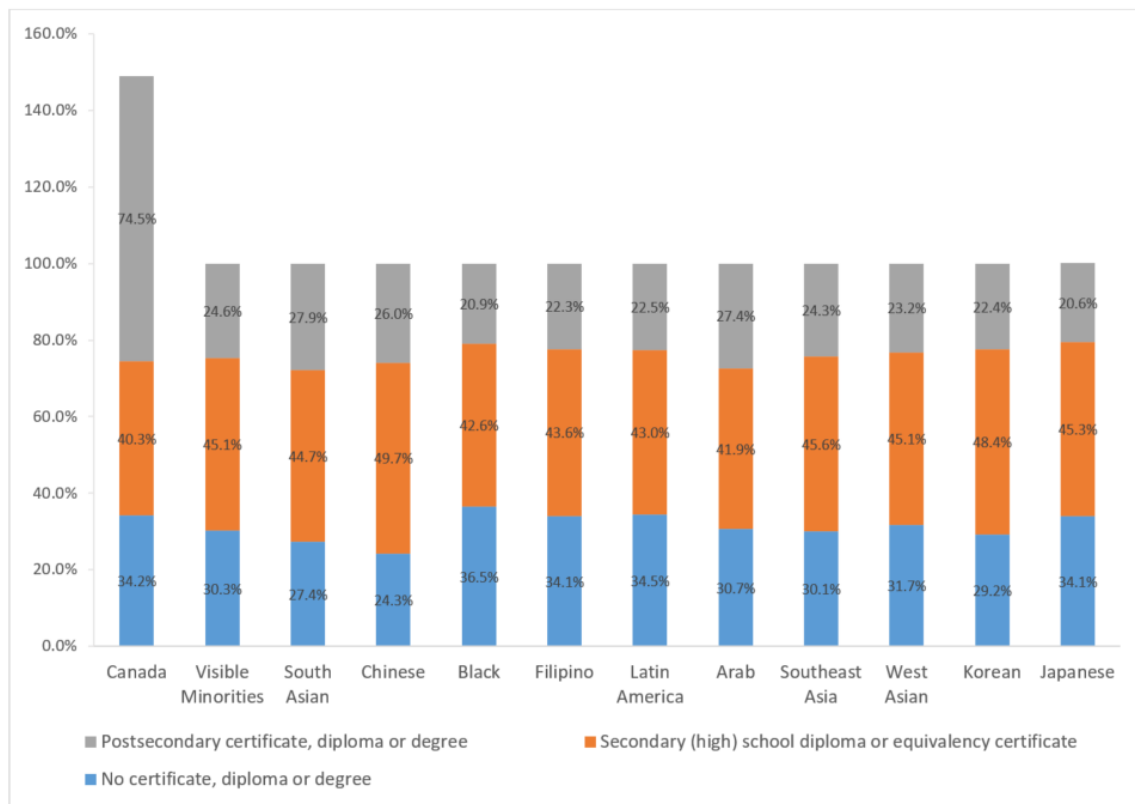
Turcotte (2020) also highlighted that Black youth in Canada were 56% likely to live in a dwelling owned by a house hold member compared to 83% of other Canadian youth. Disparities in home ownership among racial groups was noted in a study by Darden and Kamel (2000), who found that Black people had the lowest likelihood of home ownership among visible minority groups in Toronto even when they had similar socio-economic and demographic characteristics as the White population. These housing barriers were further exemplified in another study looking at longitudinal data by region of origin, which found that people from Africa faced the greatest affordability constraint in Canadian housing (Haan, 2012). Collectively, these socioeconomic trends for Black families may affect the welfare of Black youth as they lack important social and financial capital, negatively impacting their educational and labour market outcomes.

5.2.2. Educational Outcomes

Census 2016 data signifies that Black youth have poorer educational attainment amongst visible minority youth and compared to Canadian youth as seen in Figure 9. In 2016, amongst 15-24 year old's, Black youth have the highest rate of no certificate, diploma or degree (36.5%) amongst all visible minority youth and a higher rate

compared to the Canadian average for the same cohort (34.2%). Additionally, Black youth had the second lowest rate for secondary school diploma (42.6%) amongst visible minority youth. While the secondary school diploma rate for Black youth was higher than the Canadian average (40.3%), this diverges in post-secondary. For post-secondary certificate, diploma or degree, Black youth have the second lowest rate (20.9%) amongst all visible minority youth and a much lower rate compared to the Canadian average for the same cohort (74.5%).

Figure 9: Educational Attainment of visible minority youth (15-24), 2016

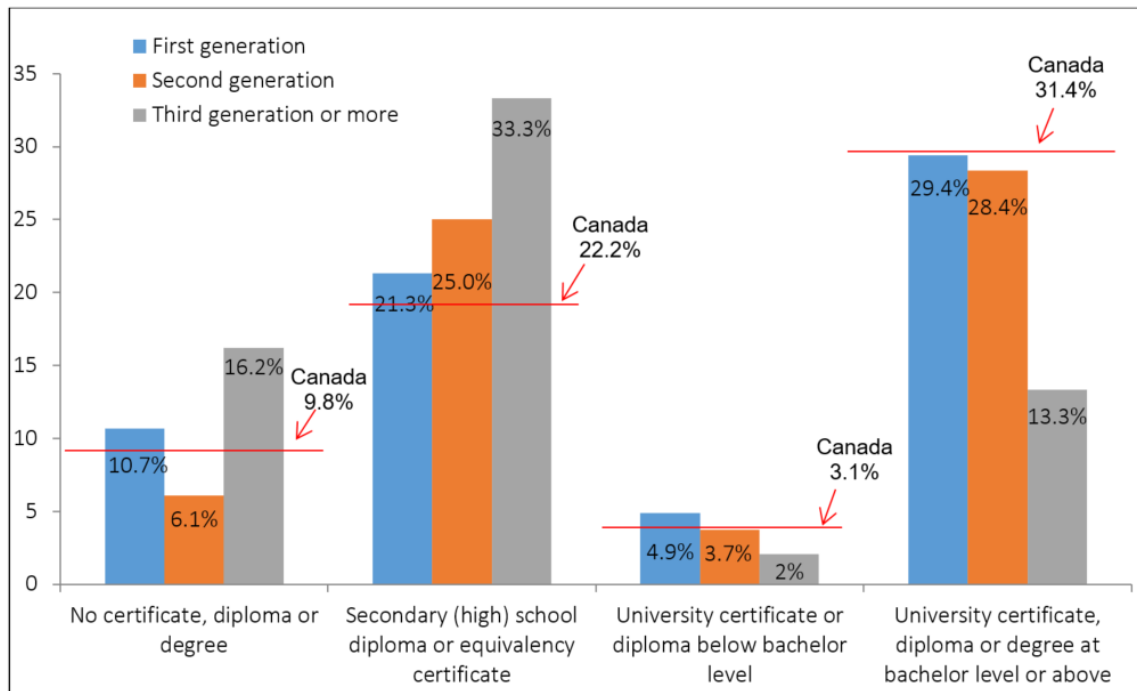


Source: Statistics Canada, Census (2016) Catalogue no. 98-400-X2016275.

When examining educational attainment across a larger age cohort, Black Canadians (25-54 years old) have lower educational attainment levels than the Canadian average. In 2016, the percentage of third or higher generation Black immigrants with no high school diploma was as high as 16.2%, compared to 10.7% for the first generation Black immigrants, and the Canadian average of 9.8%. While the percentage of Blacks with high school degrees tends to increase over generations, the percentage of Black Canadians with post-secondary education decreases. For example, while 29.4% of first generation Black immigrants have a university degree, it drops to

28.4% for the second generation, and 13.3% for the third or higher generation. A Statistics Canada study also found that the second generation of most visible minority groups achieve higher education levels than their fathers, while Blacks and Filipinos are the only groups that do not exceed their father's levels of education (Abada et al., 2008).

Figure 10: Educational attainment level of Black Canadians and Canadian population, (25-54), 2016



Source: Statistics Canada, Census (2016) Catalogue #: 98-400-X2016277.

An additional study used Census data over an extended period to examine trends in educational outcomes for Black youth, specifically looking at the characteristics of young Black Canadians while living at home with parents in 2006 and their education and labour market outcomes in 2016 (Turcotte, 2020). The results indicate that Black youth between the ages of 9 and 13 in 2006 were as likely as other Canadian youth to obtain a high school diploma in 2016; approximately 90% of Black youth in this category finished high school. However, post-secondary education (PSE) graduation rates were not as favorable. Black males and females aged 13 to 17 in 2006 were less likely to have a postsecondary certificate, diploma or degree in 2016 compared to their peers. To explain these findings, Turcotte considered various social and economic determinants including parents' educational levels, income levels, parents' cultural and social capital, parental and personal educational aspirations and expectations, cognitive skills, interest

in studies, sex, area of residence, special education needs, family structure, and immigrant status. The analysis determined that accounting for socioeconomic variables and family characteristics had minimal impact on reducing gaps in PSE graduation rates between Black youth and other Canadian youth. Collectively, the data from the Census and Turcotte's findings indicate that while Black youth's secondary school outcomes are generally favorable, gaps in post-secondary outcomes persist and these gaps may be attributed to experiences in secondary school education.

In one study, Smith et al. (2005) surveyed groups of Black high school students in Toronto and Halifax examining their academic and achievement-related beliefs. The authors asked the students their beliefs about parental expectations, the students' own expectations and aspirations and peer support amongst other topics. The results were examined across the two regions, gender, and country or origin of birth. Findings demonstrated that perceived parental values and support were strong predictors of participants' attitudes and school marks while socioeconomic status and perceived peer support were non-significant indicators of academic outcomes. Interestingly, when considering the children of Black immigrants and the children of Black Canadians, the study found that the Canadian group and their parents were far less oriented to education than all other groups, whereas the immigrant groups was far more education-oriented.

The divergence between the children of Black immigrants and those of Black Canadians demonstrates the importance of strong parental influence and parental educational aspirations. Research has shown that children of immigrants have an expectations advantage compared to native-born counterparts (Felicano & Lanuza, 2018). This advantage is a form of cultural capital in which immigrant parents tend to have higher expectations for their children's education which in turn influences their children's own expectations for themselves (Felicano & Lanuza, 2018). In tangent with parental support, these children also demonstrate a greater interest in school, which is likely explained by immigrant family dynamics including an ethos that favors high academic achievement and a sense of obligation to repay their immigrant parents for their sacrifices (Fuligni et al., 1999).

5.2.3. Systemic Racism and Teacher Expectations

While some research highlights factors that support positive beliefs and motivation for educational attainment, other studies examine barriers that impede academic achievement of Black Canadian youth. Codjoe (2001) investigated the experiences of Black students in Alberta's secondary schools and found evidence of systemic racism in Canadian schools as a significant barrier for Black students as summarized in the Annex. All student participants in Codjoe's (2001) study reported experiencing racism from peers and teachers. Students described incidents of name calling and how such incidents caused them psychological harm, emotional pain and personal humiliation. Research has confirmed that racism creates environmental stressors for Black students which affects their academic performance (Gougis, 1986). Racism is also perpetuated by teachers and their interactions with Black students in which they have low expectations of their Black students' academic potential (Codjoe, 2001).

Similar sentiments were explored in a report highlighting the racial inequalities Black students face in Toronto schools. James and Turner (2017) reported the negative experiences of high-achieving Black students who felt teachers would attribute their high quality work to plagiarism or cheating. Additionally, students reported how teachers and guidance counsellors would discourage their ambition of attending university. Furthermore, Fitzpatrick et al. (2015) used a Québec population sample to determine whether ethnicity and teachers' perceptions of disadvantage in kindergarten could predict child reports of relationships with teachers in the fourth grade. Results showed that visible minority children were 50% less likely to report having a positive relationship with teachers. Furthermore, children who were rated by their teachers as showing more signs of disadvantage were 32% less likely to report having a positive relationship with teachers. These associations were observed after controlling for actual socioeconomic status, kindergarten classroom engagement, sex, and school-entry math ability. Numerous other studies have also reported teacher bias where expectations are persistently lower for visible minority youth despite similar academic abilities with Caucasian counterparts (Burgess and Greaves, 2013; Cherng, 2017).

5.2.4. Negative Stereotyping

A pervasive sentiment among Black students is that anti-Black racism and low expectations permeate their public school experience from kindergarten to high school and are further exacerbated by negative racial stereotyping (James and Turner, 2017). Teacher expectations for Black students group them as underachievers, trouble-makers with an inclination to be gifted in athletics rather than academic work (James and Turner, 2017). This negative stereotyping particularly affects young Black boys. James (2012) argues that such treatment of young Black boys contributes to their marginalization, which in turn structures their learning processes, social opportunities and educational outcomes.

The athlete trope is used as a narrative for troublesome youth to overcome obstacles faced in their community and personal lives (James, 2012). These tropes are rooted in historical images that characterize Black men in athletic pursuits such as basketball, as natural athletes (Ferber, 2007). Thus, the image of Black students as natural athletes becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy that contributes to blindness in the use of the stereotype (James, 2011). Teachers and coaches will view athletics as the most productive opportunity for Black students to participate in schools and the students themselves will be attracted to the attention and recognition and scholarship possibilities athletics may offer, which in turn perpetrates the stereotype (James, 2011). Yet, Black athletes also face negative labelling in which they are seen as “dumb” and “unintelligent” (Harrison et al., 2011). Thus, the notion that Black students are not expected to succeed in the classroom, but in athletics, is a reflection of the racism and structural inequity they receive from school administrators and the education system itself (James, 2011).

Another marginalizing narrative is that of the “at risk” label. In one report, teachers described their students in racially and ethnically diverse inner city schools, as at risk, low achievers, learning disabled, drop-outs, disruptive, trouble-makers, rebellious and those who are likely to get into illegal activities (James, 2004). The trouble-maker label associated with Black students leads to what Farmer (2010) describes as a “moral panic” where Black Canadian students are perceived to be unable to fit into the education system. Thus, their behavior triggers anxiety among teachers and school administrators who respond by punitive measures and a “get-touch” approach (Farmer, 2010). Punitive measures such as suspensions are detriments to academic success,

reflecting lost instructional time, reductions in opportunities to learn and undermine a student's attachment to their school if they feel they've been subjected to unfair measures (James and Turner, 2017). According to data from the Toronto District School Board (TDSB), by the end of high school, 42% of all Black students had been suspended at least once, compared to only 18%% of White students and 18% of other radicalized students from the 2006 and 2011 cohorts (James and Turner, 2017). In addition, TDSB data also shows that of the 213 students who were expelled between 2011 and 2016, 48% were Black students (James and Turner, 2017). These figures are representative of the excessive punitive measures Black students face in the Canadian education system, which in turn produce "deficient narratives about the moral capacity of Black youth...and constrain the public moral imagination" of them (Farmer, 2010, pg. 373).

5.2.5. The Issue of Streaming

The repercussions of negative stereotyping impacts the quality of education Black students receive. Parents of Black students have reported that school administrators use the disguise of "behavioral problems" to exclude their children from advanced programming such as French immersion or to "voluntarily" move their "disruptive" child to another school or program (James and Turner, 2017). Furthermore, the "disruptive" label causes differential types of education for Black students and results in streaming, where students are grouped in programs based on perceived ability or potential. Research exemplifies that marginalized youth are three times as likely to be placed into classes with disruptive behavior compared to White students, and Black youth are half as likely to be placed in classes for gifted students (Horvat, 2006).

Data from the TDSB shows that Black students are more likely to be enrolled in "applied" or "essential" programs compared to "academic" program even when it does not suit their academic skills (James and Turner, 2017). These programs of study offer varying levels of post-secondary preparation and rigor. Academic programming is the most challenging and are precursors to university prep courses taken in senior years of high school. Applied programming prepares students for college prep courses taken in senior years while essential programming provides students with an opportunity to meet compulsory credit requirements if they are functioning below grade level but does not assist them in attending college or university directly from high school. In the 2006 to

2011 cohort, TDSB data shows that 53% of Black students, 81% of White and 80% of other radicalized students were enrolled in academic programming while 39% of Black students, 18% of White and 16% of other radicalized students were enrolled in applied programming (James and Turner, 2017). Moreover, 9% of Black students were enrolled in essential programming, compared to only 3% of both White and other radicalized students (James and Turner, 2017). Research has also shown that students in applied courses were less likely to meet the provincial standards on math and reading tests, graduate high school, and attend post-secondary education institutions (People for Education, 2013).

The practice of streaming has resulted in Black students being overrepresented in applied and essential programming, which reflects the lower expectation teachers have of them and the negative racial stereotyping that they lack the capacity to succeed in more rigorous courses. Black students in Toronto schools narrate tales of how teachers who advised against taking academic courses even when they maintained A averages or guidance counsellors, without prior knowledge of the student's academic record, would assume the student would enroll in Applied courses (James and Turner, 2017). Some have argued that special education and behavioral classes have become warehouses for Black students, creating racially stratified environments that prevent Black students from enrolling in academically rigorous classes and pursuing post-secondary education (James and Turner, 2017).

5.2.6. Lack of Representation

The alienation of Black students in the school environment is also aggravated by the lack of representation in the teaching community. According to one study, only 19% of all teachers in Toronto were racialized while 42% of the student population was radicalized in 2006, indicating a large diversity gap in the classroom (Ryan et al., 2009). In addition, this lack of representation of Black teachers may affect the outcomes of Black youth as they have no role models to identify with. According to one study, Black students who have at least one Black teacher are more likely to graduate and attend post-secondary education institutions (Papageorge et al., 2018). Researchers also found that students of color do better academically, socially and emotionally when their educators were also of color (Villegas and Irvine, 2010). Furthermore, representation concerns also arise when discussing biases in school curriculum and textbooks.

Codgie's (2001) interviews with Black students highlight the Eurocentrism of school curriculum in Canada with students describing the lack of Black history in social studies classes, or narrow focuses on select Black leaders such as Martin Luther King and how the history of Africa was taught to begin with the arrival of White colonizers, excluding any prior history. The exclusion of Black history is an example of "how cultural hegemony operates in the Canadian system (Prince, 1998, p. 244). McBean (2018) describes how "students who are incapable of finding their bearings within the periphery of the school curriculum find it challenging to bond with their educational experiences and see the limited curriculum content committed to their history as a way of robbing them of a part of their historical experiences and legitimacy" (pg.32). Collectively, the lack of representation both in the teaching body and in the curriculum is a significant contribution to academic disengagement of Black youth (Wiredu, 2013).

5.3. Summary of Literature Review

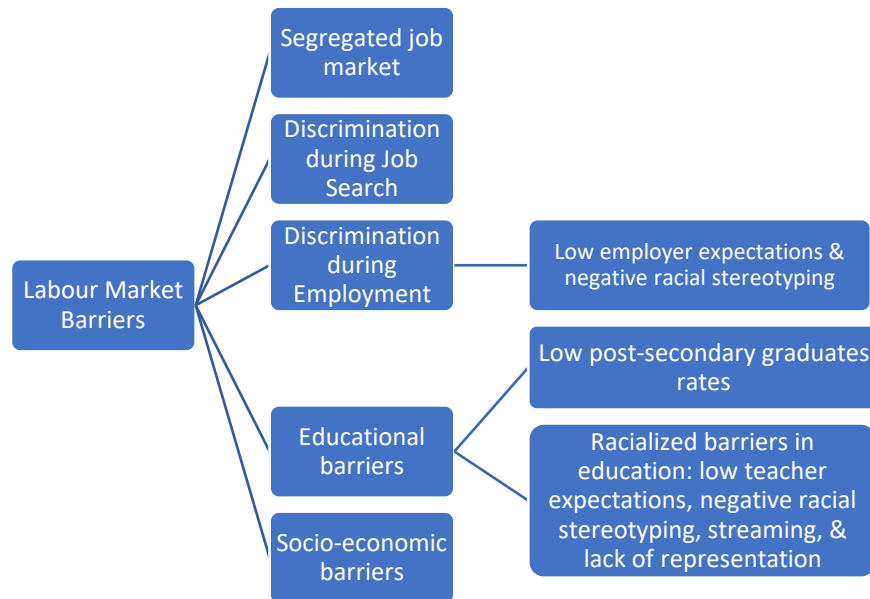
The findings of the literature review are visualized in Figure 11. In summary, Black youth in Canada face a range of barriers that explain their labour market outcomes. Firstly, they face a segregated job market in which they are overrepresented in low paying and low skill employment. Their access to the labour market is also hindered by evidence of race based discrimination in the hiring process. This discrimination also extends to the workplace, where employer hostility, negative treatment and racial stereotyping hinders their access to higher employment and advancement. Additionally, Black youth experience higher rates of poverty, face greater housing barriers and low post-secondary graduation rates. These socioeconomic factors including educational barriers may affect the labour market outcomes of Black youth.

Using linear regression, Hansen (2007) found evidence of a significant relationship between educational attainment and wages, specifically that those with post-secondary education earned higher wages compared to those with lower levels of educational attainment. Additionally, Aden (2017) examined the impact of different levels of education on unemployment in Canada's labour force and using a regression model, found that those with no certificate, diploma or degree had the highest probability of being jobless. Moreover, Turcotte's (2020) work exemplified that Black youth have lower PSE graduation rates compared to non-Black & accounting for socioeconomic and family characteristics does not minimize the education gap. These gaps in educational

outcomes was also proven by Chen and Hou (2019) who found that second generation Blacks had even lower university completion rates than third-plus generation Whites. Clearly, it is evident that education is a key determinant of labour market outcomes.

Additionally, the literature review summarizes the extent race-based discrimination both during the job search and during employment is a significant labour market barrier for Black youth. Left unchecked, race-based discrimination reduces the capacity for Black youth to integrate and succeed in the labour market. Thus, this study will focus on these two barriers – education and discrimination in next sections in search of viable policy prescriptions.

Figure 11: Literature Review Summary - Labour Market Barriers



Chapter 6.

Case Studies

This chapter provides a scan of how the policy problem is framed in other case studies. It also examines the policy responses and prescriptions employed by institutions in these cases. The scan is guided by the evaluation framework as seen in chapter four, Table 1. The categories include policy context, policy characteristics and impacts to prioritized barriers. Policy context includes labour market outcomes of Black youth of the comparable aged cohort in each jurisdiction. Policy characteristics summarizes the key features of each jurisdiction's programs and policies. Lastly, the impacts to barriers describes how the policy prescriptions mitigate the labour market barriers Black youth face, particularly education and discrimination.

6.1. Ontario

Policy Context

Ontario is home to the largest Black population in Canada with 627 710 Black people living there in 2016 (Maheux and Do, 2019). Between 2006 and 2016, the Black population grew at a rate of +32.5%, representing 52.4% of Canada's Black population (Maheux and Do, 2019). Additionally, 63% of Black youth in Canada live in Ontario where they faced a 38.8 employment rate and 25.7% unemployment rate. (Turcotte, 2020; Statistics Canada, 2016b). In comparison, non-Black youth in Ontario face a higher employment rate (49.6%) and lower unemployment rate (17.6%) (Statistics Canada, 2016b).

Policy Characteristics

For policy characteristics, in 2017, Ontario launched the Anti-Racism Directorate (ARD), a government body that works to eliminate systemic racism in government policy and legislation (Government of Ontario, 2020a). Ontario also created an Anti-Racism Strategic Plan in 2017 that included broad initiatives surrounding policy research and evaluation, sustainability and accountability, public education and awareness, and community collaboration. Some key initiatives included a call to strengthen race-based

data collection, create anti-racism legislation, lead targeted public education campaigns and consultations with community groups. This strategic plan had population specific measures as well including an anti-Black racism strategy that focused on child welfare, education and justice (Government of Ontario, 2017). Additionally in 2017, Ontario passed the *Anti-Racism Act*, legislating an evaluation and renewal of the strategic plan every five years (Government of Ontario, 2020a).

The commitment to anti-racism also extends to the education system in Ontario. In 2020, the provincial government announced it would move forward with ending Grade 9 streaming of students into applied and academic courses, which negatively affects Black students and limits their post-secondary opportunities (Government of Ontario, 2020b). Furthermore, the government announced it would eliminate discretionary suspensions for elementary students, strengthen sanctions against teachers who engage in racist behavior, and provide additional anti-racism training to educators and in classrooms. Research suggest that anti-racism education results in positive outcomes for students such as the validation of student identity, a social justice perspective, and relationship building (Okolie, 2016).

Moreover, the government launched the Premier's Council on Equality of Opportunity, an advisory group that provides advice on how racialized youth can overcome social and economic barriers (Government of Ontario, 2020b). In support of the Anti-Racism Strategic Plan, the government also mandated race-based data collection for all school boards in Ontario by 2023 (Government of Ontario, 2020b). Lastly, the government committed up to \$3.5 million in supports of Black and Indigenous grad coach programs, which provide additional mentoring to students who are at risk of not graduating (Government of Ontario, 2020b).

Impacts

With the creation of government body, a strategic plan and legislation that prioritizes anti-racism, the Government of Ontario is a suitable jurisdiction to consider for policy prescriptions. The various initiatives focused on racialized students in the education system offers insight into transferable policy lessons in particular, the grad coaching program. In early 2020, eight school boards in Ontario launched pilot programs of the coaching program for Black students with \$1.57 million in funding from the

provincial government (Ministry of the Solicitor General, 2020). The Black coaches offer representation to students who experience isolation and negative stereotyping at the hands of educators and the school system (Hristova, 2020). Additionally, the use of Black grad coaches offsets the negative impacts of low teacher expectations as the coaches offer greater support for Black students increasing their confidence (Hristova, 2020). Furthermore, the coaches work with the students' families to engage parental influence in student's educational outcomes and lead community activities as safe spaces for Black youth (Hristova, 2020). While no results of graduation results have been yet released, the use of Black grad coaches is thought to follow the success of the Indigenous grad coaching program, which doubled the graduation rates of that cohort (Hristova, 2020). Collectively, the use of grad coaching programs for a targeted cohort like Black youth may mitigate the educational barriers they face at the secondary school level, affecting their trajectory to post-secondary and the labour market.

6.2. Québec

Policy Context

Québec is home to the second largest Black population, with 26.6% of Canada's total Black population (Maheux and Do, 2019). Between 2006 and 2016, the Black population grew at a rate of +69.7% with 319,230 Black people living there in 2016 (Maheux and Do, 2019). Furthermore, Québec is home to 23% of Black youth in Canada, where they faced a 38.86% employment rate and 23.2% unemployment rate (Turcotte, 2020; Statistics Canada, 2016b). In comparison, non-Black youth in Quebec face a higher employment rate (54.8%) and lower unemployment rate (12.5%) (Statistics Canada, 2016b).

Policy Characteristics

In June 2020, the government of Québec created the *Groupe d'action contre le racism* (GACR), a government action group tasked with fighting racism. In December 2020, GACR released its report, *Racism in Québec: Zero Tolerance*, after consultations with 50 organizations and individuals and offered 25 recommendations to take against racism (Government of Québec, 2020). The report does not focus on anti-black racism but does offer some recommendations that may affect the Black population Québec. For

example, the report calls for the provincial government to increase hiring of visible minority groups in the public service and increase education of racism (Government of Québec, 2020). For education, the report recommend that racism and discrimination be included through school curriculum in the Quebec education system and recommends that racism training be mandatory for teachers (Government of Québec, 2020).

Within Quebec, one educational institution is pursuing a targeted initiative focused on Black youth. At McGill University, the McGill Black Alumni Association, the Subcommittee on Racialized and Ethnic Persons of the McGill Joint Board-Senate Committee on Equity, and the McGill Alumni Association launched the McGill Black Mentorship Program in Winter 2021 (McGill University, 2020). The program is designed to foster relationships between Black undergraduate and graduate students with Black alumni, faculty and staff. Students and mentors are paired based on shared interests and goals and are expected to meet once a month over an eight month academic year.

Impacts

The results of the government report, *Racism in Québec: Zero Tolerance* are not available as the report was released in December 2020. How and when the government will deliver on the recommendations such as increased racism training for educators is not yet known. Such training for educators may mitigate the negative experiences racialized youth including Black youth have with teachers in the school system. Additionally, the McGill Black Mentorship Program is novel as well and no measured results are available to assess its potential impact for Black youth. However, it is plausible to infer that targeted mentorship would reap a wide range for Black youth at the post-secondary level. Black youth experience lower PSE levels compared to other youth, and mentorship programs may provide academic guidance, cultural representation and networking to alleviate educational barriers Black youth experience.

6.3. Alberta

Policy Context

The Prairie provinces are home to the fastest growing Black population in Canada, quadrupling from 39, 955 in 1996 to 174, 655 in 2016 (Maheux and Do, 2019). Between 2006 and 2016, the Black population grew at a rate of + 174.9% with 129,390

Black people living in Alberta in 2016 (Maheux and Do, 2019). Moreover, 5% of Black youth in Canada live in Alberta where they faced at 42.3% employment rate and 21.5% unemployment rate in 2016. (Turcotte, 2020; Statistics Canada, 2016b). In comparison, non-Black youth in Alberta face a higher employment rate (54.4%) and lower unemployment rate (15.8%) (Statistics Canada, 2016b).

Policy Characteristics

In 2018, the Government of Alberta released their *Taking Action Against Racism* plan, outlining anti-racism initiatives and priorities including the creation of Anti-Racism Advisory Council. While, the plan does not specifically focus on the Black population, it does include broad ideas that may affect the Black population in Alberta including funding community grants for anti-racism programs, updating school curriculum focused on fighting racism and anti-racism training for educators (Government of Alberta, 2018).

Within Alberta, there are two educational institutions with programming that may be transferable to Black youth. At the secondary school level, the Edmonton Catholic Schools have implemented grad coaching programs for First Nations, Métis and Inuit students (FNMI) which provides comprehensive, individualized, in-school support for FNMI students (Edmonton Catholic Schools, 2011). The coach program focuses on building supporting relationships with students, supporting transitions between high school and post-secondary, creating a sense of belonging through cultural activities, career planning, academic support and facilitating parental engagement (Edmonton Catholic Schools, 2011).

At the post-secondary level, the University of Alberta launched the Black Youth Mentorship and Leadership program in 2020, where Black high school students are paired with university faculty to gain meaningful mentorship (McMaster, 2020). Using a hands-on participatory approach, the program is designed to facilitate community belonging, leadership, increase post-secondary entry and completion rate for Black youth and support positive cultural identity (McMaster, 2020). The program was launched for the Fall 2020 school term, where 36 high school students aged 16 to 19 met on weekends and after school to work on projects under their mentor's supervisor and attend conversation cafes among other activities between September to November 2020 (University of Alberta, 2021). Mentors include 17 Black scholars and a mix of

undergraduate, graduate and post-doctoral fellows across various faculties. The program is funded by federal government through its Community Support for Black Canadian Youth Initiative. This initiative funds projects that address the barriers Black Canadian youth face by combating discrimination through awareness, providing opportunities for Black youth and empowering them through promotion of Black history, culture and identity and developing leadership skills (Government of Canada, 2020a).

Impacts

The grad coaching program in Edmonton Catholic schools has increased the graduation rate for FNMI students. For example, at St. Joseph High School, the graduation rate was 14.9% for FNMI students but after the implementation of the grad coaching program in 2009, the rate arose to 41.4% in 2009-2010 and 43.4% in 2010-2011 (Edmonton Catholic Schools, 2011). The 2010-2011 rate of 43.8% was higher than the provincial FNMI rate for all other schools (40.2%). Furthermore, the benefits of a targeted grad coaching program are evident as high school graduates can earn up to \$428,000 more than non-graduates over their lifetime and earn \$1 million more if they complete a university degree (Edmonton Catholic Schools, 2011). The key lessons from this initiative demonstrate that implementing a grad coaching program increases graduation rates at the secondary level. While the Edmonton Catholic Schools does not provide figures on how many FNMI students went on to attend post-secondary, the successful completion of secondary school is still an important step in transitioning to post-secondary. For Black youth, a targeted grad coaching program may alleviate the educational barriers they experience at the secondary school level and ensure a path onwards to post-secondary.

A report released in February 2021 provides measured impacts of the University of Alberta mentorship program. Responses from Black youth participants indicate that they feel more empowered about issues facing Black youths' full participation in the society and economy and how racism and discrimination impacts their education (University of Alberta, 2021). Respondents also indicated greater awareness of resources to support post-secondary education, including finances, writing support and study skills (University of Alberta, 2021). Additionally, at the start of the mentorship program, 75% of Black youth reported they were very likely to begin postsecondary education and by the end of the program, this figure increased to 84% (University of

Alberta, 2021). Moreover, the proportion of youths who reported they were very likely to complete university increased from 61% to 84% at the end of the mentorship program (University of Alberta, 2021). Lastly, 96% reported strong positive cultural identity as a result of the mentorship program and felt a sense of community belonging by interacting with colleagues, mentors, speakers, and professionals who shared a similar heritage. (University of Alberta, 2021). It is clear that the pairing of Black mentors at the post-secondary level with Black students in secondary school would be a beneficial relationship for Black youth. The program's measured impacts demonstrate its success in facilitating community belonging, leadership, willingness of Black youth to attend and finish post-secondary and increased positive cultural identity (University of Alberta, 2021). These goals address the educational barriers Black youth experiences including low teacher expectations, negative stereotyping and a lack of representation and may reverse the trend of low PSE graduation rates among Black youth.

6.4. United States

Policy Context

In 2019, the unemployment rate for Black youth aged 16 to 19 years old was 20.7% and 11.5% for youth aged 20 to 24 years old in the United States (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2020). In the same period, the employment rate for Black youth aged 16 to 19 years old was 23.9% and 62.3% for youth 20 to 24 years old (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics). In comparison, White youth aged 16 to 19 years old experienced an unemployment rate of 11.5% while those 20 to 24 years old had a rate of 5.8% (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2020). Moreover, the employment rate was 33.2% for White youth aged 16 to 19 years old and 69.6% for youth aged 20 to 24 years old (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2020). Collectively, a racial gap in labour market persists for Black youth in the United States.

Policy Characteristics

In 2006, the Georgia Department of Education introduced a graduation coaching program to support students who were at at-risk of dropping out of high school. Graduation coaches provide intervention for these students through mentoring, tutoring, life skills programming, college planning, parental engagement and youth leadership

amongst others (Georgia Department of Education, 2008). While the Georgia program is not a targeted program for a specific cohort, it's program structure and success rate has been cited by similar models used in Canada such as the FNMI grad coaching program used by the Edmonton Catholic Schools.

According to one report, 41% of first-time, full-time Black students who enrolled at four-year institutions in the fall of 2008 earned a degree within six years (The Education Trust, 2017). The rate for Black students was the lowest among all racial groups and 22% points below the graduation rate for White students (The Education Trust, 2017). To combat these gaps in educational outcomes at the post-secondary level, some institutions in the U.S. have incorporated mentoring programs to ease the transition to university. For example, Ohio State University uses its Young Scholars Program to connect low-income, first-generation potential students, when they are in high school with support services. Students receive a summer bridge program to ease the transition to college, meet regularly with coaches and mentors, attend off-campus weekend retreats and more. The program is designed to provide pre-college preparation, targeted coaching and continued academic, leadership and cultural engagement with students.

Impacts

During the 2007-2008 school year, graduation coaches in Georgia marked 282,400 interventions with students and 11 million hours in work with students (Georgia Department of Education, 2008). Furthermore, a 3.1% increase in the graduation rate was observed in that school year compared to the previous school year, with an additional 8277 students graduating from high school (Georgia Department of Education, 2008). The use of graduation coaching programs has clear impacts for increased graduation rates and may be transferable to targeted cohorts like Black youth, and assisting them in overcoming educational barriers.

In addition, the results of university level support programs to increase post-secondary graduation rates is also evident. For example, the Young Scholars Program at Ohio State University saw the Black graduation rate increased from 42% in 2003 to 73% in 2013 (DeRuy, 2016).

6.5. Case Studies Summary

The summary of the case study analysis is given in Table 2.

Table 2: Case Studies Summary

	Ontario	Québec	Alberta	United States
Policy Context				
Is there a racial gap in labour market outcomes?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Policy Characteristics				
Targeted Provincial Action Plans	Yes	Partially	Partially	N/A
Secondary School Level Solutions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Post-Secondary Level Solutions	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Policy Outcomes				
Measured results	No	No	Yes	Yes
Impacts to educational barriers	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive

Chapter 7.

Interview Analysis

Expert interviews were conducted to complement the findings of the earlier methodologies. Three interviews were conducted in late January 2021 and early February 2021. The following experts were interviewed:

- Participant 1: Representative from a Black youth educational advocacy group
- Participant 2: Henry Codjoe, PH.D - Director of Institutional Research and Planning and Associate Professor at Dalton State College
- Participant 3: Provincial Member of Parliament, Legislative Assembly of Ontario

7.1. Perception of Labour Market Outcomes & Experience

While interviewees were not always aware of the specific labour market outcomes of Black youth when given the data, they were not surprised by the figures. A key component of this sentiment was a general understanding of the pervasiveness of a racial gap in labour market outcomes for racialized groups in Canada and for the Black population in Canada. Moreover, interviewees noted how Black youth, similar to other racialized groups in Canada, faced a segregated job market, working low income and low skill employment.

7.2. Barriers

7.2.1. Education – The Most Barrier

A common theme in the interviews was the idea that education was the most important barrier impacting the labour market outcomes of Black youth. Interviewees cited education as the avenue from which feasible policy options could make meaningful impact in closing educational gaps, and in turn impact labour market gaps.

When asked to describe how education affects labour market outcomes, interviewees noted that experiences in secondary and post-secondary school determines the quality of opportunities one receives in the job market including access to

high paying jobs. In particular, interviewees described how university graduates have higher earnings in their lifetimes compared to non-university graduates.

When asked to specify educational barriers Black youth face, interviewees described racist stereotyping, problematic beliefs of educators, Eurocentric curriculum, lack of representation and discrimination. Interviewees cited that how teachers have low expectations of Black students' capabilities and skillsets based on negative racial stereotyping, and stream Black students into less rigorous courses compared to their peers, limiting their opportunities for university. When asked to describe examples of racist stereotyping, interviewees noted how Black students are wrongfully labeled as troubled youth, not capable of succeeding in accelerated or advanced programs and are athletically gifted but not academically. Interviewees described how these racist stereotypes negatively affect the confidence of Black youth. Interviewees also highlighted the lack of Black educators and the lack of Black history and culture in school curriculum. When asked to describe the importance of representation, interviewees said that having Black representation in positions of power, particularly in the education system, provides Black students with positive role models. Interviewees characterized the Eurocentric nature of school curriculum as a form of social dominance to control minority students like Black youth. According to interviewees, when Black students are denied learning about their history, they are told a narrative that their community hasn't contributed undermining their self-confidence in their own capabilities.

7.2.2. Socio-economic

Various socio-economic conditions were discussed as a labour market barrier for Black youth including poverty, immigrant family dynamics and housing insecurity. Higher poverty rates amongst Black Canadians was noted as a financial barrier. Interviewees also cited the challenges for Black youth with immigrant parents, who face their own barriers such as lack of Canadian work experience, lack of recognition for education credentials and prevalence of low skill and low income employment. In addition, interviewees mentioned that Black youth may lack parental support with immigrant parents who are unable to advocate for them in the school system or who are forced to work long hours to support their family.

7.2.3. Discrimination

Interviewees identified discrimination as a labour market barrier for Black youth, both in accessing jobs and during employment. In particular, interviewees cited evidence from resume audit studies and supplemented their commentary with personal anecdotes in which they were ignored during a job process by an employer upon hearing their accent over the phone or during an interview. Furthermore, interviewees highlighted narratives of working with Black youth who shared similar credentials as their peers but did not hear back from employers while their peers did. Lastly, interviewees drew similarities between the educational barriers Black youth face with their experiences while working, including negative racial stereotyping and low expectations from employers. Interviewees noted that these influences undermine the confidence of Black youth as their capabilities and skillsets are questioned, their achievements are minimized and they are passed over for advancement opportunities.

7.3. Perceptions of Policy Options

7.3.1. Workplace Level

When discussing workplace solutions, interviewees noted the importance of employers re-evaluating their hiring practices and listening to experiences of Black and racialized workers. When asked to comment on the use of Artificial Intelligence (AI) technology to remove bias in hiring process, interviewees expressed skepticism and doubt. Interviewees expressed having little confidence in algorithms in erasing bias from the hiring process. In particular, interviewees noted that while AI could address the bias observed in resume studies, bias still exists during the interview process. When asked to comment on anti-racism training in the workplace, interviewees were supportive of the existence of such training and believed it was a step in the right direction but expressed doubt on solely relying on such training to improve the experienced of racialized people. In particular, interviewees described that while an employer could mandate anti-racism training for all employees, many could be unwilling to critically engage with the material and confront their own biases. When asked what anti-racism training should include, interviewees cited the systemic racism experienced by racialized people and greater awareness of negative racial stereotyping and discrimination. Lastly, interviewees also noted the importance of mentorship at the employment level and how informal or formal

mentorship programs that pair racialized workers with senior counterparts offers positive guidance and career networking.

7.3.2. Education Level

When asked to comment on the use of targeted mentorship programs, interviewees described these measures as having positive impact for Black youth. Interviewees explained that mentorship programs at the secondary level helps facilitate entry to university for students and during university, mentorship continues to provide positive impacts such as representation, academic support and career connections. Interviewees considered mentorship measures as good investments, particularly if Black youth are paired with individuals from their community. When asked to describe the benefits of mentorship, interviewees cited the positive impact of representation that counters the negative stereotyping and treatment from other educators. When asked to comment on costs, interviewees noted that while there could be financial costs, there was also a cost in excluding Black youth from educational and job market success. When asked to comment on the feasibility of implementing mentorship programs, interviewees described mentorship programs at the secondary school level as being easy to fund as such programs were already on going in the education system. When asked to comment on the feasibility of mentorship programs at the post-secondary level, interviewees explained that provincial governments should create partnerships with universities to support the use of these programs.

When asked about anti-racism training for educators, interviewees acknowledged the importance of such training but were mixed on its effectiveness in improving educational experiences for Black youth. In particular, interviewees cited resistance from educators in acknowledging their biased treatment of racialized students. Interviewees noted that anti-racism training should incorporate a greater understanding of the racial stereotyping and discrimination racialized students experience. Interviewees described that it was important for educators to understand the experiences of racialized students to build more positive rapport.

7.4. The Data Problem

An additional sentiment amongst interviewees' responses was concerns surrounding data. Specifically, interviewees noted the lack of reliable and recent race-based data for racialized groups and their experiences. Interviewees described this data problem as a gatekeeping mechanism in which, one could not explore problems thoroughly or look for policy solutions without adequate data.

Chapter 8.

Policy Options

This section presents the policy options derived from the preceding chapters. The goal of these options is to address the labour market barriers Black youth face.

8.1. Option 1: Education Supports – Secondary School Mentorship Program

This policy option establishes targeted mentorship programs for Black youth at the secondary school level. This option takes inspiration from the graduation coaching programs observed in Georgia (U.S.), in Ontario for Black youth and in Alberta for Indigenous students. The objective of this option is to ensure Black youth's successful completion of secondary school and to facilitate entry to post-secondary. The first component of this option warrants that graduation coaches be members of the Black community to mitigate the lack of representation in the education system (Codjoe, 2001). Having mentors of the same community is supported by research as one study found that Black youth rated African American mentors as being more culturally sensitive and more credible source of help than White mentors (Grant-Thompson and Atkinson, 1997). The second component of this option requires that mentors have appropriate skills in education, advocacy and cultural competency to mentor marginalized students effectively (Sanchez, 2016). The third component of this option is to ensure the coaches provide comprehensive support to Black youth through various measures. Comprehensive support is defined by (1) providing academic support through tutoring and encouraging academic potential in Black youth, (2) providing post-secondary and career planning, (3) facilitating parental engagement and (4) supporting positive cultural identity. These measures of comprehensive support are supported by academic research. For example, Black youth experience increased academic performance when mentors reinforce high expectations of their potential and skillsets (Sanchez, 2016). Another study found that a program model that included tutoring and mentoring resulted in higher academic improvement, compared to only tutoring (Somers, Wang & Piliawsky, 2016). Additionally, emphasizing parents and guardians as true partners in the mentoring process is reported as a marker of successful mentorship programs

(Sanchez, 2016). Youth programs that create space for Black youth to talk about their experiences, reinforce positive cultural indemnity and emphasize empowerment are found to be beneficial for Black youth (Sanchez, 2016). Collectively, the coaches serve as individualized support for Black youth to overcome the educational challenges they may face.

8.2. Option 2: Education Supports – Post-Secondary Mentorship Programs

This policy option calls for mentorship programs for Black youth at the post-secondary level to mitigate the trend of lower PSE graduation rates amongst Black students compared to their counterparts (Turcotte, 2020). This option takes inspiration from the mentorship programs observed at McGill University in Quebec, the University of Alberta and the Young Scholars Program at Ohio State (U.S.) This first component of this option is to establish mentorship programs between post-secondary institutions and secondary school Black students. The aim of this component in particular is to facilitate Black youth's entry to post-secondary and offer pre-college preparation. The second component of this option is to maintain mentorship relationships for the duration of the student's time at the post-secondary institution. Mentors can include a mix of alumni, faculty members, post-doctoral fellows and undergraduate and graduate students from the Black community to offset the issue of lack of representation (Codjoe, 2001). The collective aim of this policy option is to facilitate community belonging, leadership, support positive cultural identity and increase post-secondary entry and completion rates for Black youth.

8.3. Option 3: Workplace Supports – Artificial Intelligence Technology

This policy option calls for the use of artificial intelligence (AI) technology during the employment process. The objective of this component is to remove the hiring bias racialized job-seekers face in the labour market as evidenced by resume audit studies (Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004; Oreopoulos, 2011; Gaddis, 2015). By screening out personal details such as one's name on applications, AI technology can potentially eliminate discriminatory bias in the hiring process (Florentine 2016; Raghavan et

al. 2020). This policy option calls for employers to adopt the use of AI technology in their screening and hiring process.

8.4. Option 4: Workplace Supports – Mentorship & Anti-Racism Training

The policy option includes two components. The first component creates mentorship programs for Black youth in the workplace. The second component mandates anti-racism training for employees and employers in the workplace. The objective of these measures is to mitigate the discrimination Black youth experience during employment. In particular, employer hostility, negative treatment and racial stereotyping hinder Black youth's access to higher employment and advancement and undermine their capabilities in the workplace (Gariba, 2009; Este et al., 2011; Hasford, 2016). A targeted mentorship program in the workplace between Black youth and senior employees can improve their access to advancement and build networking relationships. Furthermore, mandating anti-racism training in the workplace can bring greater understanding of negative racial stereotyping and how discrimination takes form in the workplace.

Chapter 9.

Policy Criteria and Considerations

This section sets out the criteria and measures against which each policy option will be evaluated. Each policy receives a score of desirable, acceptable or insufficient for the purpose of quantifying the results. A summary of the evaluation framework is provided in Table 3 on page 46.

9.1. Development

This criterion is measured by the degree to which the policy options help Black youth overcome racialized barriers in education including low teacher expectations, negative racial stereotyping & lack of representation. Evidence is drawn from the literature review, case studies and interview conducted earlier in this study. Policy options that address a significant amount of educational barriers will be given a desirable rating, followed by an acceptable rating for addressing some educational barriers and an insufficient rating for addressing no educational barriers.

9.2. Effectiveness

This criterion is measured by the degree to which the policy options help Black youth overcome race-based discrimination during job search and during employment. Policy options that have a significant impact will be given a desirable rating, followed by an acceptable rating for moderate impact and an insufficient rating for minimal impact.

9.3. Cost

This criterion is defined by a policy option's financial impact to government and to employers. It considers the costs to implementation and operations. Policy options that have a minimal cost will be given a desirable rating, followed by an acceptable rating for moderate cost and an insufficient rating for significant cost.

9.4. Administrative Ease

This criterion is defined by the level of administrative burden. It is measured by the degree of collaboration required between stakeholders and the degree of administrative complexity for implementation. Key actors will be those playing an integral part in leading, developing, or implementing the option. Policy options that require minimal collaboration and minimal complexity will be given a desirable rating, followed by an acceptable rating for moderate collaboration and moderate complexity and an insufficient rating for significant collaboration and significant complexity.

9.5. Evaluation Framework

Table 3: Policy Evaluation Framework

Criteria	Definition	Measures	Rating
Development	Decreases educational barriers Black youth face	Degree to which the policy overcomes racialized barriers in education including low teacher expectations, negative racial stereotyping & lack of representation.	Desirable (3) - Policy addresses significant amount of educational barriers Acceptable (2) - Policy addresses some educational barriers Insufficient (1) - Policy addresses no educational barriers
Effectiveness	Decreases discrimination-based barriers Black youth face in the labour market	Degree to which the policy overcomes race-based discrimination during job search and during employment	Desirable (3) - Policy has significant impact Acceptable (2) - Policy has moderate impact Insufficient (1) - Policy has minimal impact
Cost	Financial impact on government and/or employers	Implementation and operating costs to government and/or employers	Desirable (3) - Policy has minimal cost Acceptable (2) - Policy has moderate cost Insufficient (1) - Policy has high cost
Administrative Ease	Level of administrative burden	Degree of collaboration required between stakeholders and degree of administrative complexity for implementation	Desirable (3) — Policy requires minimal collaboration and minimal complexity Acceptable (2) — Policy requires moderate collaboration and moderate complexity Insufficient (1) — Policy requires significant collaboration and significant complexity.

Chapter 10.

Policy Evaluation

This section evaluates each of the policy options against the criteria and measures against outlined in Chapter 9. A summary of the evaluation is provided in Table 4 on page 53.

10.1. Evaluation of Policy Option 1: Secondary School Mentorship Program

For *development*, option one is given a desirable rating because it would address a significant amount of the educational barriers Black youth face. The case study in Ontario reveals that Black graduation coaches offer representation to students who experience isolation and negative stereotyping in the school system (Hristova, 2020). Additionally, the use of Black graduation coaches offsets the negative impacts of low teacher expectations and increases students' confidence and their outlook towards their academic efforts, attitudes, and overall school performance (Rhodes et al., 2000). Youth who participate in mentoring relationships attend class more often, have fewer school absences, take part in more college preparatory activities, and have a better chance of engaging in higher education according to research on the benefits of mentorship program (Brinter et.al, 2006). In one study examining the impact of mentoring for Black youth in New Brunswick, participants reported improved high school academic performance, increased interest in pursuing post-secondary and increased awareness of the application process for post-secondary (Gray, 2011). Other mentorship benefits include the ability for youth to build a trusting relationship with an adult, to learn how to model appropriate behavior, to develop new skills and interests, and to have the opportunity to be exposed to new experiences (Loeser, 2008). Furthermore, another study conducted a 4-year evaluation of a high school mentorship program for Black youth in Chicago and found a 16% increase of participant GPAs (Wyatt, 2009). Participants also reported that mentorship helped them prepare for college readiness (64%), helped them understand the importance of academics (85%), helped them set and achieve their goals (88%), and helped them acquire the interpersonal skills to respect themselves and others (91%) (Wyatt, 2009), Furthermore, Hickman and Garvey

(2006) also determined that youth in mentoring programs were as much as 3 times more likely to attend college or some form of postsecondary training than the students in the control group while Dubois and Silverthorn (2005) found that Black youth were more likely to complete high school and attend college as a result of having a mentor.

This option would also increase graduation rates as evidenced by the case studies in Alberta and Georgia. The Indigenous graduation coaching program in the Edmonton Catholic School System in Alberta increased the graduation rate at one school from 14.9% to 41.4% for Indigenous students (Edmonton Catholic Schools, 2011). In the U.S., Georgia saw graduation rates increase by 3.1% in one year with its coaching programs (Georgia Department of Education, 2008). It can be expected that a similar targeted program for Black students would have comparable results.

For *effectiveness*, option one is given an insufficient rating because it would have minimal impact in addressing the specific race-based discrimination Black youth face during their job search and during employment at a workplace. While a mentorship program in secondary school may alleviate the effects of discrimination experienced in school, it isn't targeted towards such occurrences in the hiring process for a job or while a Black youth is working. It is plausible that a mentor at the secondary school may indirectly assist Black youth with career planning and help them navigate discriminatory experiences in the workplace, but there isn't enough evidence in the literature review and case study analysis to demonstrate this.

For *costs*, option one is given a desirable rating because it would have minimal costs for government. The case study in Ontario revealed that a pilot program of coaching program for Black students was merely \$1.57 million across eight school boards (Ministry of the Solicitor General, 2020). This degree of funding across several school boards is considered to be a minimal expense for provincial governments and school districts compared to the benefits of mentorship programs.

For *administrative ease*, option one is given a desirable rating because it requires minimal collaboration and much of the operational structures for implementation already exist in the education system. Only key stakeholders would need to collaborate on program design and funding including provincial ministries of education and local school districts.

10.2. Evaluation of Policy Option 2: Post-Secondary Mentorship Program

For *development*, option two is given a desirable rating because it would address a significant amount of the educational barriers Black youth face. Black youth experience lower PSE levels compared to other youth in Canada and mentorship programs provides academic guidance, cultural representation and networking, which collectively should increase PSE graduation rates for Black youth. Case study analysis exemplified that mentorship programming at Ohio State in the U.S. saw Black graduation rate increased from 42% in 2003 to 73% in 2013 (DeRuy, 2016). Furthermore, the pairing of Black mentors at the post-secondary level with Black students in secondary school, as seen with the University of Alberta's mentorship program, would facilitate community belonging, leadership, increase post-secondary entry and completion rate for Black youth and support positive cultural identity (University of Alberta, 2021). For the University of Alberta program, 75% of Black youth reported they were very likely to begin postsecondary education and by the end of the program, this figure increased to 84% (University of Alberta, 2021). Moreover, the proportion of youths who reported they were very likely to complete university increased from 61% to 84% at the end of the mentorship program (University of Alberta, 2021). Lastly, 96% reported strong positive cultural identity as a result of the mentorship program and felt a sense of community belonging by interacting with colleagues, mentors, speakers, and professionals who shared a similar heritage. (University of Alberta, 2021). It is evident that the pairing of Black mentors at the post-secondary level with Black students in secondary school would reap many benefits.

For *effectiveness*, option two is given an insufficient rating because it would have minimal impact in addressing the specific race-based discrimination Black youth face during their job search and during employment at a workplace. This policy option is targeted to an educational setting and may alleviate the effects of discrimination experienced there. It isn't targeted towards such occurrences in the hiring process for a job or while Black youth are working. It is plausible that a mentor at the post-secondary level may indirectly assist Black youth with career planning and help them navigate discriminatory experiences in the workplace, particularly if the mentorship relationship is sustained after graduation. Yet, there isn't enough evidence in the literature review and case study analysis to demonstrate this.

For *costs*, option two is given an acceptable rating because it is considered to have moderate costs compared to the minimal costs of option one. The increased complexity of organizing mentorship programs across post-secondary and secondary school institutions would require more funding. The case study analysis of the University of Alberta mentorship program revealed it was funded by the federal government's Community Support for Black Canadian Youth Initiative. This is a \$9 million program introduced in Budget 2018 to enhance local and community support for Black Canadian youth. (Government of Canada, 2020b). No specific details for how much was given to the University of Alberta is shared, but this case study example offers a source of funding for similarly designed programs.

For *administrative ease*, option two is given an acceptable rating because it would requires moderate collaboration and moderate complexity compared to the minimal rating of option one for the same criterion. More stakeholders would need to be involved in the operations and implementation of post-secondary mentorship programs including post-secondary institutions, local school districts and various forms of government. As option two transcends multiple educational settings, both the provincial and federal governments may need to be involved to source funding, adding a layer of administrative complexity.

10.3. Evaluation of Policy Option 3: Artificial Intelligence Technology

For *development*, option three is given an insufficient rating because it has no impact to educational barriers. The intent of option three is focused on the hiring process job market and the barriers specific to that setting.

For *effectiveness*, option three is given an insufficient rating because it does little to truly minimize discrimination based barriers both during the job search and during employment. Employers may seek to diminish human biases (e.g., prejudices, personal beliefs, racial stereotypes) by using AI technology, thereby increasing the objectivity and fairness of their recruitment process. AI technology can potentially eliminate discriminatory bias in the hiring process by screening out personal details such as one's name on job applications (Florentine 2016; Raghavan et al. 2020). In theory, this could address the discrimination racialized workers face as demonstrated by resume audit

studies (Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004; Oreopoulos, 2011; Gaddis, 2015). Interview analysis from this study found little confidence in AI technology's ability in erasing bias from the hiring process. Research also shows that algorithms can themselves create discriminatory outcomes in hiring if the technology is trained on inaccurate, biased or unrepresentative input data (Kim, 2017; Barocas and Selbst, 2016; Chander, 2017). In one case, e-commerce giant Amazon stopped using AI technology after it showed bias against female applicants (Dastin, 2018). Collectively, this policy option has minimal impact in this criterion.

For *costs*, option three is given an acceptable rating because it is considered to have a moderate cost for employers. While the upfront costs of sourcing and testing an algorithm based solution for hiring and the cost of monitoring and evaluating its effectiveness would have a financial impact to employers, the cost-savings of using AI technology reaps many financial benefits for employers. In one case, tech company IBM estimated \$1 billion in savings since 2011 after implementing AI technology in its human resources systems and hiring process (Aspan, 2020).

For *administrative ease*, option three is given an acceptable rating because it requires moderate degree of collaboration and moderate complexity. Employers would need to source the AI technology from other companies and devote resource and energy towards design, evaluation and monitoring.

10.4. Evaluation of Policy Option 4: Workplace Mentorship & Anti-Racism Training

For *development*, option four is given an insufficient rating because it has no impact to educational barriers. The intent of option four is focused on the work environment and the barriers specific to that setting.

For *effectiveness*, option four is given an acceptable rating because it would have a moderate impact in reducing the race-based discrimination Black youth face in the hiring process and in the workplace. In terms of mentorship programs in the workplace, it would have positive impacts for Black youth in rectifying the effects of negative racial stereotyping which undermines Black youth's advancement and capabilities (Gariba, 2009; Este et al., 2011; Hasford, 2016). In terms of anti-racism

training, greater awareness of the effects of negative racial stereotyping may make employers more conscious of the hiring bias they exhibit against racialized workers like Black youth. However, it is difficult to rely on such training as other employees in a workplace or employers in general may be unwilling to critically engage with the material and confront their own biases.

For *costs*, option four is given an acceptable rating because it would have moderate costs compared to the significant upfront costs of technology like option three. Employers would need to allocate more funding towards building internal mentorship programs and towards funding anti-racism training.

For *administrative ease*, option four is given an acceptable rating because it requires moderate degree of collaboration and moderate complexity. Similar to option two, option four requires increased complexity in organizing the measure unlike option one's pre-existing structures which gave it a desirable rating. In this option, employers would need to collaborate with external organizations and experts on anti-racism training to design their programming. Employers would also need to collaborate with various internal stakeholders to mandate such training and ensure compliance in its completion. Employers would also need to collaborate with internal stakeholders to design, operate and evaluate mentorship programs.

Table 4: Policy Evaluation Summary

Criteria	Definition	Option 1 – Secondary School Mentorship	Option 2 – Post Secondary Mentorship	Option 3 – AI to remove hiring bias	Option 4 – Workplace Mentorship & Anti-Racism Training
Development	Decreases educational barriers Black youth face	Desirable (3)	Desirable (3)	Insufficient (1)	Insufficient (1)
Effectiveness	Decreases discrimination-based barriers Black youth face in the labour market	Insufficient (1)	Insufficient (1)	Insufficient (1)	Acceptable (2)
Cost	Financial impact on government and/or employers	Desirable (3)	Acceptable (2)	Acceptable (2)	Acceptable (2)
Administrative Ease	Level of administrative burden	Desirable (3)	Acceptable (2)	Acceptable (2)	Acceptable (2)
Total:		10	8	6	7

10.5. Recommendation

Based on the policy analysis conducted, this study makes two recommendations.

First, option one is ranked the highest as noted in Table 4. Thus, option one, the use of mentorship programs at secondary schools, should be implemented for Black youth. This option has the highest rating for a majority of the criterion. It addresses a significant amount of educational barriers Black youth face and requires minimal costs and administrative complexity. Many school districts and provincial governments have the administrative structures in place to undertake the operation of mentorship programs with minimal financial impacts in terms of costs. In addition, this study also recommends the implementation of option two. The trend of lower PSE graduation rates amongst

Black youth can be mitigated by providing mentorship programs at the post-secondary level. Collectively, both option one and two would have a profound impact to the educational barriers Black youth face. The case study analysis demonstrates that mentorship increases graduation rates at the secondary and post-secondary level. Increasing graduation rates amongst Black youth would be an important step to improve their labour market experience as higher educational attainment is equated to higher wages in academic research and those with no certificate, diploma or degree have the highest probability of being jobless (Hansen 2007; Aden, 2017). Moreover, mentorship programs mitigate the educational barriers identified in this study including the effects of negative racial stereotyping, lack of representation and low teacher expectations. Additionally, mentorship provides important academic and career guidance. These options paired together would profoundly impact the educational outcomes of Black youth, which in turn would affect their career trajectories in the labour market.

10.5.1. Implementation Considerations

There are three areas to consider for implementation including jurisdiction, pilot projects, stakeholder collaboration and program structure of mentorships.

For *jurisdiction*, the implementation of mentorship programs at the secondary school level should be of particular priority for provinces with the largest population of Black youth including Ontario, Quebec and Alberta (Maheux and Do, 2019). The provincial government, ministries of education and local school districts within each of these province should explore pilot projects similar to those currently underway in secondary schools in Ontario (Ministry of the Solicitor General, 2020).

An additional consideration for implementation are *pilot projects*. For mentorship programs at the secondary school level, local school districts can work with provincial educational ministries to fund pilot projects of coaching programs for Black students. A pilot project would allow school districts to test the effectiveness of mentorship programs, collect valuable feedback from participants and identify ways to improve the program for Black youth.

For mentorship programs strictly at the secondary school level, *stakeholder collaboration* is primarily concerned with provincial ministries of education and local

school districts. Much of the operational structures for implementation already exists between these two stakeholders and little novel relationship building is required. Provincial ministries of education and local school districts can take advantage of pre-existing relations and operations to fast track the design, funding and operations of a mentorship program for Black youth in secondary schools.

At the post-secondary level, there are more stakeholders to consider. To address this complexity, local school districts and provincial ministries of education could expand the pilot mentorship programs at the secondary level by collaborating with local post-secondary institutions. Additionally, provincial governments and post-secondary institutions should collaborate to create robust and sustainable funding for long term use of mentorship programs. Furthermore, the University of Alberta mentorship program demonstrates that the federal government can also be a source of funding for such programming.

For *program structure*, mentors at the secondary school level and post-secondary level should be representative of the Black community, be skilled in cultural competency to work with Black youth and provide comprehensive support. Comprehensive support should include academic support through tutoring and active encouragement of academic potential of youth, post-secondary and career planning, facilitation of parental engagement and activities to support positive cultural identity. Additional details of mentorship characteristics are not defined in this study due to scope of the project, limited academic research supportive specific initiatives and the complexity of organizing a universal framework for mentorships. The needs of Black youth may vary across jurisdiction and each mentorship program should be designed accordingly.

All of these considerations should be explored and considered to ensure the success of mentorship programs.

Chapter 11.

Conclusion

The intent of this study was threefold. First, it was meant to highlight the labour market outcomes of Black youth in Canada. Using Census 2016 data, this study showed that Black youth had a lower employment rate than the Canadian average and one of the lowest among visible minority groups. They also had a higher unemployment rate than the Canadian average and the highest among visible minority groups. Furthermore, Black youth had a lower median annual employment income compared to the Canadian average and the second lowest figure amongst all visible minority groups. Second, through an extensive literature review, this study demonstrated the various labour market barriers Black youth face including socioeconomic, educational and discrimination, both during the job search and during employment. The literature review also outlined a case to treat education and discrimination as the two significant barriers. Third, using a literature review, case studies and expert interviews, policy options were identified and analyzed and a recommendation was made to use mentorship programs at the secondary school and post-secondary level to help reduce the labour market barriers Black youth face.

More work needs to be done to better understand the labour market experiences of Black youth in Canada and other racialized groups. While this study heavily examines education as a barrier and recommends an education based solution, strictly converting improved educational attainment to labour market success has its limitations. Future research should try to understand the effects of additional barriers on the labour market experiences of Black youth. Another key lesson from this study was the limitations of data and the absence of disaggregated and recent race-based data. It would be beneficial to re-examine these labour market outcomes of Black youth after the next Census data is released. Furthermore, it would be beneficial for future studies to consider other methodologies including econometrics techniques to analyze the economic relationships between the various barriers identified.

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Appendix.

Interview Guide

Introduction: (5 minutes)

- Review purpose of the interview:
 - Seeking perspectives of individuals familiar with the labour market barriers Black youth, 15-24 years old, face in Canada and what policies and programs can be used to ensure greater labour market integration of Black youth
 - Information obtained will be used for a capstone policy project.
- Guidelines: speak from your own perspective; no right/wrong answers; interested in your views; my opinions don't count
- Is there any specific work that you do with Black youth or on this subject matter?

Labour Market Outcomes (10 minutes)

- Let's begin with general questions. Are you familiar with the labour market outcomes of Black youth, 15-24 years old, in Canada? What are their outcomes (eg. Unemployment rate, employment rate, earnings?) How do you think their outcomes compare to other youth in Canada? Is there a racial gap in these outcomes?

Labour Market Barriers (15 minutes)

- What do you believe are the top 3 barriers Black youth face in the labour market? Please describe in detail. Of the barriers you mentioned, which is the most impactful and why?
- How do these barriers affect Black youth specifically? How do these barriers affect Black youth's career trajectories, access to the labour market and experiences during employment?

- What are the negative impacts of this issue? What are the costs of addressing this issue? What are the benefits?

Education as a Labour Market Barrier (10 minutes)

- According to a Statistics Canada study¹, young Black men and women aged 13 to 17 in 2006 were less likely to have completed a postsecondary education in 2016 than their counterparts in the rest of the population in Canada. Are you familiar with this study?
- What do you think explains the lower postsecondary education rates amongst Black youth? What educational barriers do Black youth face during post-secondary and/or prior to post-secondary at the secondary school level? How do these educational barriers affect Black youth's labour market experiences?

Government and Policy Options (15 minutes)

- Who do you think is responsible for taking action on this issue? Why? What can they do?
- What role do you think government policy has? Are you familiar with any government actions done to address this issue? Can you provide details of specific initiatives? Are you aware of any other jurisdictions that have taken action to address this issue?
- What do you think of the following policy options? (PROBE for each option below: does this address the barriers mentioned before? How? Why/why not? Is it effective? Is it feasible? What limitations exist with this policy? How do you think this policy option can be improved? What impact do you think this policy option will have?
 - Education Solutions
 - Targeted Graduation Coaching Programs for Black Youth at Secondary School Level
 - Targeted Mentoring Programs for Black Youth at Post-Secondary Level

- While in Secondary School to facilitate entry to post-secondary
- During post-secondary to ensure successful completion
 - Anti-Racism Training for Educators
- Workplace Solutions
 - Artificial Intelligence (AI) technology to remove bias in hiring process
 - Anti-Racism Training in the Workplace

Questions for Employers/HR Professionals (5 minutes)

- What policies or practises do you have in place to remove bias/discrimination during the hiring process?
- Do you offer any anti-racism training at your workplace? Is it mandated for all employees? How often? What does it incorporate?
- Do you think these solutions are beneficial? How much do you think these costs the employer?

Closing (5 minutes)

- What advice would you give to a policy analyst evaluating policies to support Black youth and their labour market experiences?
- Is there anything else you would like to add?

Thank you for taking the time to participate.